

**AFRICA IN THE FACE OF A GLOBAL MEDIA, NATIONAL
IMAGE AND NATION BRANDING: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
THE COVERAGE OF NIGERIA BY THE BRITISH PRESS FROM
2007 TO 2010**

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Leicester

by

Akintayo V. Adetokunbo-Edmund

School of Media, Communication and Sociology (MCS)

University of Leicester

2016

ABSTRACT

AFRICA IN THE FACE OF A GLOBAL MEDIA, NATIONAL IMAGE AND NATION BRANDING: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE COVERAGE OF NIGERIA BY THE BRITISH PRESS FROM 2007 TO 2010

Akintayo V. Adetokunbo-Edmund

Globalisation, the manifestation of a global village, has meant that countries compete with each other for the attention, respect and trust of investors, tourists, consumers, immigrants, the government of other nations, and the media. A desired national image has become a form of soft power which has the ability to get what a country wants through attraction. Third world countries are facing the need to create a positive image to the West for sustainable economic development.

It is with this background that this thesis examines how Nigeria as a country has been reported by the British press between 2007 and 2010. It assesses the image of Nigeria presented by the British press and appraises Nigeria's rebranding campaign 'Good people great nation' launched in 2009. This thesis also addresses the question 'Can rebranding work for Africa?'

With the aid of content, framing and discourse analyses, the results showed an increase in the amount of news coverage on Nigeria from 2007 to 2010 but the coverage was sporadic, negative and centred on crisis events. The rebranding campaign did not show much effect on the reporting of Nigeria in the British press. The launch of the campaign and all the activities carried out by the campaign were not considered newsworthy by the four newspapers in this thesis. A few positive indicators of change noted were shadowed by the continual negative portrayal and recycling of frames from the colonial era.

This study concludes that rebranding can only work if Africa as a continent invests in its own communication networks, and utilise all forms of media to counter negative reporting. African countries should leverage the power of technology to project their success stories and potential. Rebranding of African countries shouldn't be about defending the indefensible, a few positively targeted stories in the West but a measured process of reform.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I will like to give honour and appreciation to my creator and all the creatures of the Earth that had always inspired me to pursue success with a passion.

Many thanks to Olyne T. Mutambisi whose contribution was priceless. I also appreciate the care and support of the former Lagos State Governor, Babatunde Raji Fashola (SAN), who planted the seed for the research in 2008.

I will never forget the prayers and support of my family members, academic colleagues, friends and fans.

I will always cherish the six-year academic partnership with my supervisors, Dr. Kostas Saltzis and Mr. Anders Hansen, who gave their priceless guidance and mentorship. I also appreciate the efforts of my past PhD tutor, Dr. Gillian Young, examiners Dr. Vincent Campbell and Mr. Roger Dickinson who gave valuable suggestions during and after my APG examination in 2010.

This research is dedicated to the memory of a rare selfless woman, late Mrs. Esther Oyebowale Shonde, and former Nigerian Minister of Information and Communication, late Professor Dora Akunyili (14 July 1954 – 7 June 2014) who shared my passion in making Nigeria great again.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Significance of study.....	4
1.2 Objectives of Study.....	7
1.3 Research Scope	9
1.4 Contributions to Knowledge.....	10
1.5 Organisation of Thesis	10
2.0 REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	13
2.1 Africa’s colonial media heritage.....	13
2.2 Global media and global news.....	15
2.3 Who speaks in the World News?	16
2.4 Gatekeeping and News Values	18
2.5 Newsworthiness of African Stories	23
2.6 The impact of global news: Agenda setting.....	25
2.7 The framing of African news	27
2.8 Africa’s news coverage: The structure of global news flow.....	30
2.9 Imbalance in Global news flow.....	32
2.10 The New World Information and Communication Order.....	35
2.11 Post-colonial media systems.....	36
2.12 Global media ethics.....	39
2.13 Media bias in news coverage of Africa	40

2.14 Africa's News determinants in the British press.....	42
2.15 Types of News reported on Africa.....	44
2.16 International News coverage.....	46
2.17 The Decline of Foreign Correspondents.....	49
2.18 Content Analyses of African Coverage.....	60
2.19 The global media effects on Africa and Nigeria.....	61
2.20 Nigeria.....	63
2.21 Nigeria and Britain – the relationship.....	64
2.22 Nigeria's Image.....	65
3.0 PUBLIC RELATIONS AND NATION BRANDING	67
3.1 Public Relations.....	67
3.2 Importance of National Image.....	69
3.3 International public relations' influence on media coverage.....	70
3.4 Nation Branding.....	73
3.5 Forms of National Branding.....	78
3.6 The role of media in nation branding.....	79
3.7 Success factors for developing a country brand	82
3.8 Examples of countries and their national brands.....	83
3.9 Nigeria, Global Media Representation and Efforts.....	86
3.10 The Nigeria Rebranding Campaign : Good People, Great.....	89
3.11 The Nigeria 'Good People, Great Nation' Rebranding.....	95
4.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY Background.....	98
4.1 Study Aims and Data Analysis Technique.....	106

4.2 Data Sources.....	118
4.3 Sampling design.....	120
4.4 Sampling Frame.....	120
4.5 Definition of Major Terms.....	121
5.0 RESULTS AND ANALYSIS.....	123
5.1 Amount of coverage: quantity of articles.....	123
5.2 Distribution of news stories.....	125
5.3 The amount of coverage: size of articles about Nigeria.....	128
5.4 Nigerian news in the headlines.....	129
5.5 Subjects of headline stories.....	132
5.6 Types of Stories: Subject.....	133
5.7 Types of stories before and after the rebranding campaign...	135
5.8 Sports	135
5.9 Politics	137
5.10 Business.....	138
5.11 Conflict and Violence.....	140
5.12 Human rights.....	142
5.13 Crime and Law.....	144
5.14 Poverty and health.....	146
5.15 Literature and music.....	147
5.16 Location of Journalists.....	149
5.17 Location of Journalists before and after rebranding.....	150
5.18 Stories by African Correspondents.....	154

5.19 Number of Sources.....	157
5.20 Types of Sources.....	158
5.21 Number and Types of Sources before/after rebranding.....	159
5.22 Tone of Stories and Headlines.....	161
6.0 FRAMING OF STORIES ON NIGERIA.....	166
6.1 Types of frames.....	167
6.2 Yearly news frames.....	168
6.3 Criminality and Law.....	172
6.4 Conflict and Violence.....	175
6.5 Stereotypes.....	178
6.6 Poverty.....	179
6.7 Politics.....	180
6.8 Business.....	185
6.9 Sports.....	188
6.10 The rebranding campaign coverage.....	191
7.0 DISCUSSION.....	199
7.1 Assessing the image of Nigeria.....	200
7.2 What story subjects drew coverage?	203
7.3 News frames employed in the headlines of news stories.....	206
7.4 Sources and gatekeepers in the reporting of Nigeria.....	210
7.5 What was the tone of stories on Nigeria?	213
7.6 Systematic changes in the reporting of Nigeria after.....	214
7.7 Key discussion points.....,	219

7.8 Appraisal of the rebranding campaign.....	221
8.0 CONCLUSION Background.....	223
8.1 Study objectives, questions and key findings	223
8.2 What was the amount of coverage.....British press?.....	224
8.3 What was the direction and tone of stories.....	225
8.4 What story subjects drew coverage?.....	225
8.5 What were the news frames employed.....	226
8.6 What were the changes in the reporting of Nigeria.....	226
8.7 Can rebranding work for Africa?.....	228
8.8 Who were the sources and gatekeepers.....	233
8.9 What mental images did journalists'.....	234
8.10 Limitations.....	234
8.11 Areas for further research.....	235
APPENDICES.....	237
Appendix 1: Coding sheet.....	237
Appendix 2: Business stories collocates.....	241
Appendix 3: Crime and Corruption collocates.....	242
Appendix 4: Politics stories collocates.....	243
Appendix 5: Sports stories collocates.....	244
Appendix 6: Minister of Information speech 21-02-2009.....	245
Appendix 7: Launch of the Re-Branding speech 17-03-2009.....	250
Appendix 8: Nigeria's Democratic development exhibition speech.....	253
Appendix 9: Masquerades parade Abuja streets.....	256
Appendix 10: Re-branding project will change character.....	258
Appendix 11: Nigeria: It needs Goodluck 7-05-2010.....	260
Appendix 12: 500 die in machete attacks in Nigeria.....	262
REFERENCES	263

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 1: The chain of news communication	16
Figure 2: Good People Great Nation image	90
Figure 3: Number of news stories	123
Figure 4: Distribution of news stories in 2007	125
Figure 5: Distribution of news stories in 2010	126
Figure 6: Length of news stories	128
Figure 7: Nigeria, Nigerians in the headlines	130
Figure 8: Headline stories	131
Figure 9: Subjects of headlines	132
Figure 10: Types of stories	134
Figure 11: Types of stories before and after rebranding	135
Figure 12: Tone of Sports stories	136
Figure 13: Human rights stories	142
Figure 14: Crime and law	144
Figure 15: Location of journalists	149
Figure 16: Location of journalists before and after rebranding	150
Figure 17: Tone of stories/headlines by foreign correspondents	153
Figure 18: Stories by foreign correspondents	154
Figure 19: Tone of stories by African correspondents	155
Figure 20: Number of sources	157
Figure 21: Types of sources	158
Figure 22: Number and Types of sources before/after rebranding	159
Figure 23: Types of sources before and after rebranding	160
Figure 24: Tone of stories and headlines	161
Figure 25: Types of frames	167
Figure 26: Types of frames before and after rebranding	171
Figure 27: Criminality and law frame	172
Figure 28: Conflict and Violence frame	175
Figure 29: Stereotype frame	178

Figure 30: Poverty frame	179
Figure 31: Politics frame	180
Figure 32: Business frame	185
Figure 33: Sports frame	188
Table 1: The Newspaper distribution of stories	127
Table 2: Length of stories	129
Table 3: Types of stories	134
Table 4: Headline and stories tone of Sports stories	136
Table 5: Tone of Business stories	139
Table 6: Tone of Conflict and Violence stories	141
Table 7: Tone of Human rights stories	143
Table 8: Tone of Crime and law stories	145
Table 9: Tone of Poverty and Health stories	146
Table 10: Tone of Literature and music stories	147
Table 11: Types of correspondents	151
Table 12: Number of sources	157
Table 13: Types of sources	158
Table 14: Tone of stories and headlines	161
Table 15: Yearly news frames	168
Table 16: Examples of frames	170
Table 17: Collocates of ‘Nigerian’ in Crime stories	173
Table 18: Collocates of ‘Nigerian’ in Conflict	176
Table 19: Collocates of ‘Nigeria’ in Political stories	183
Table 20: Collocates of ‘Nigeria’ in Business stories	187
Table 21: Collocates of Nigeria in Sports stories	190
Table 22: Headline titles and subjects	194

**AFRICA IN THE FACE OF A GLOBAL MEDIA, NATIONAL
IMAGE AND NATION BRANDING: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
THE COVERAGE OF NIGERIA BY THE BRITISH PRESS
FROM 2007 TO 2010**

1.0 Introduction

There is a war out there, a raging media war against Nigeria, Africa and the rest of the developing world. This war serves only the interests of the west, and thrives mainly on stereotypes and half-truths. The war also aims to reinforce the servant-master ideology of the west unleashed on a people some of whom unfortunately are caught up in the warped subservient mind-set. The war by the western media against the developing economies lends credence to the African proverb that a toad will not grow unless it swallows another. (Nworah, 2009)

The expression above expressly describes the feelings of many Africans, particularly Nigerians, over the way foreign media portray their country and continent. According to Nworah, the feelings and concerns are not new and concerns over the way the African continent is being portrayed globally have raged for more than thirty years (Nworah 2009).

News organizations are commonly credited with immense influence over public discourse and perceptions (Cohen 1994). Media takes a central role as a mediator between governments and foreign citizens. (Kepplinger, 2006, Stromback, 2008). As explained by this area of scholarship, news media organizations no longer just cover international politics and events but may in fact be active participants in global political processes. Mass

media reporting of other countries often governs what kind of image a country is perceived to have.

To buttress this point, a content analysis of network newscasts on Agenda setting and international news by Wanta, Golan and Lee 2004 tested the hypotheses that the more negative media coverage a nation receives the more individuals will think negatively about the nation, and the more positive media coverage a nation receives the more individuals think positively about the nation. They concluded that the hypotheses were true. Their results showed that the way the media covers a country impacts on how those countries are viewed by the public.

According to Kavoori and Malek 2000 “when Africa is cited in international news, readers and viewers are likely to be left with an image which consists of an unaccountable series of disasters, refugees, famine, economic instability, epidemics and war” (Rife and Shaw 1982 cited in Kavoori and Malek 2000). This gives rise to the question: how is Africa cited in international news and what image this could impact on the readers?

Critics (Hawk 1992, Ebo 1992 and Chavis 1998) chide the international press for exhibiting a penchant for stereotypical reportage on African states. “With the stroke of a journalist's pen, the African, her continent, and her descendants are pejoratively reduced to nothing: a bastion of disease, savagery, animism, pestilence, war, famine, despotism, primitivism, poverty, and ubiquitous images of children, flies in their food and faces, their stomachs distended. These "universal" but powerfully subliminal message units, beamed at global television audiences, connote something not good, perennially problematic, unworthiness, deplorability, black, foreboding, loathing, sub humanity, ...” (Chavis 1998).

This gives credence to a widely-held opinion on the continent that the general view of Africa in the West is negative. It can be argued that it may be true that news emanating from the Third World has a negative character but the same could be said of news flowing within Western countries themselves.

A positive national image enables a nation to achieve a more advantageous position in global economic and political competition. According to Lee and Yoon (2010, p.15), a positive national image may influence other nations' foreign policies to favour a country, increase revenues from trade, and draw tourists and foreign investment. In a bid to achieve these benefits, many governments are actively practising international public relations to improve their national images throughout the world.

The global news media has mostly become a major target for governments trying to influence news content about international issues and foreign affairs, especially with regard to their own countries. Governments also reach foreign publics directly by disseminating information about their countries, launching government-sponsored international broadcasting channels and websites, and hosting cultural exchange programs.

According to Kunczik (2000), third world countries are facing the need to craft a positive image to the West for many reasons, among which concerns for sustainable economic development are more prominent (Kunczik, 2000). Governments and countries are beginning to employ branding and marketing techniques to sell their regions and countries to the world, in a bid to change their national image (international profile), attract foreign investments and make their countries ideal destinations for tourism and trade (Nworah, 2006).

A country's image is an important tool used in judging the country's position in the international system. A good image translates to respect, influence and prestige. (Kunczik, 2000) One of the main objectives of this study is to appraise the Nigerian rebranding campaign and answer the question "Can rebranding work for Africa?"

It is with this background in mind that this thesis is looking at the reporting of Africa in the British media and hence the image of Africa portrayed, using Africa's economic powerhouse Nigeria as a case study. Though the research is limited to Nigeria yet it is more representative of Africa as it is the most populous and has had a long history of image challenges stemming out of long military rule, corruption and the high crime rate. It

is also one of the few African countries to have severally tried to rebrand their image.

1.1 Significance of study

This study is anchored on the premise that information imbalance and negative publicity can bring about wrong perception and negative image. Knowing how heated and controversial the debate on news flow from developing countries to the West has been, this study aims to investigate if there was negative portrayal of Nigeria hence Africa in the global media between 2007 and 2010, and Nigeria's efforts at rebranding with the use of public relations as a tool. The research looks at the image of Nigeria yearly from 2007 to 2010 with special focus on changes that might have been influenced by the 2009 Nigeria re-branding campaign "Good People, Great Nation" and analyses the stories reported for any changes that might have impact towards the image of Nigeria in the long term.

This study seeks to fill a research gap on the reporting of Africa and developing countries in the West and to draw attention to the role the British press plays in creating the perceived image of Africa. Lader (2007) reported that 47 percent of UK citizens use newspapers as a source of information about the lives of poor people in Africa.

Nation branding can be defined as a compendium of discourses and practices aiming to reconstruct national image through marketing and branding paradigms. Nation branding includes a wide variety of activities, from "cosmetic" operations, such as the creation of national logos and slogans, to efforts to institutionalise branding by governments.

In light of this, communication scholars should be particularly interested in developing a critique of nation branding because efforts to rethink nations as brands relate to theoretical debates central to critical scholarship of culture and communication. Research on nation branding has been the focus of a number of literature reviews from marketing by scholars including Kavaratzis, 2005 and Papadopoulos, 2004 and Wang, 2006. Some scholars have also conducted partial cross-disciplinary reviews with

the goal of clarifying the relationship between nation branding and public diplomacy Gilboa, 2008, Szondi, 2008. These conceptual debates are discussed in more detail later in this thesis.

The study also critically analyses, reviews and appraises the importance of national image re-branding as a method of creating a more positive national image and attempt to investigate if the re-branding campaign 'Good People, Great Nation' influenced any changes in the reporting of Nigerians and the Nigerian nation, and hence the image of a country. This study will not be able to see the long term effects of the campaign as it is limited to the first 21 months after the campaign

The rebranding campaign aimed to change the image of Nigeria by combating corruption and crime, promoting good morals and self-pride within the country hence changing the way the country was being reported. Evidence has not been found to specify how the rebranding campaign targeted reporters and media organisations but the changes are loosely expected to come from the changed perceptions of the Nigerian people and their self-pride in their identity and country. This was done with the view that if the Nigerian people themselves were good it would reflect on the way the country is reported hence the portrayal of a great nation.

The Minister of Information, Professor Dora Akunyili claimed that the negative perception about Nigerians was largely because "Nigerians allowed others to tell our story and it stuck. But more importantly because a few Nigerians through their activities gave our country a bad name." This view is also supported by Hawk (1992) who noted that "foreign journalists are routinely denounced by African politicians as the enemy agents of international imperialism, or mischief-makers bent on spotlighting domestic problems that don't exist."

This idea of information self-reliance has since been raised by former Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi when she spoke to leaders of developing countries stating that "we want to hear Africans on events in Africa. You should similarly be able to get an Indian explanation of events

in India. It is astonishing that we know so little about leading poets, novelists, historians and editors of various Asian, African and Latin American countries while we are familiar with minor authors and columnists of Europe and America.” (Gandhi as cited in Richstad 1981) Hence this thesis analyses the reporting of Nigeria and notes the reporters that covered Nigeria as well as the tone of their reports in the British media before and after the rebranding campaign. The changes in the reporting on Nigeria might be gradual hence this thesis investigates and notes signs towards change based on the strategies employed by the rebranding campaign.

The media coverage of Africa and Nigeria is an important area of study. With the convening of the New International Information Order in which the Third World raised concerns and complained that the Western press gives inadequate and superficial attention to the realities of developing countries, it is crucial to review how Western press now views the Third World nations. Third World nations also critiqued the Western monopoly on the distribution of news. Many developing nations complained that the international news services generate inaccurate pictures of their countries with incomplete reporting. There were also complaints that not enough is reported from their areas and that what is reported concentrates on catastrophes and sensational stories. It is therefore important to verify if these concerns still exist. If the global media portrayal of Africa is understood to be so distorted that it allegedly deceives audiences about their position in the world, then there is a moral duty to reform it. It is of vital importance to look at the picture 27 years later.

The increasing importance of the global media as a source of information for the global audience gives it greater responsibility to give its audience an accurate, balanced and realistic picture of the world. This responsibility is more significant as the world has become more interdependent, and people interact with each other on a daily basis. As globalization and migration continue to encourage the interaction of different peoples and cultures, so also the media portrayal of different parts of a country or

nation plays an increasingly important role in either discouraging or promoting respect for other cultures.

The intended contributions of this thesis are to offer a review of the reporting on an African country Nigeria in the British press and to illustrate the relative weight of an approach on nation branding. Second, it teases out themes and assumptions that cut across disciplines, and it does so from a critical vantage point. The study intends to stimulate interest in nation branding among media and communication scholars, and it hopes to encourage a new wave of research on this topic that is informed by critical theories. The research interest in the review of the African image and nation branding is, admittedly, in line with the author's own understanding and perspective as an African journalist and news anchor.

1.2 Objectives of Study

This thesis uses media content analysis, framing analysis and discourse analysis of the coverage of Nigeria by the British press between year 2007 and 2010. The study is aimed at investigating the image of Africa (with its most populous country, Nigeria, as a case study) projected by the British press with emphasis on the effect of Nigeria's rebranding campaign on the image of the country. More specifically, the objectives are to:

- Examine how Nigeria as a country has been reported by the British press;
- Assess the image of Nigeria presented by the British press;
- Appraise Nigeria's rebranding campaign initiative 'Good People, Great Nation'.

In order to achieve these objectives, this study answers the following research questions, for the first objective:

- What was the amount of coverage, frequency and depth of Nigerian stories in the British press?
- What was the direction and tone of stories reported by the British press?

- What story subjects drew coverage?

Journalism is about reporting facts which make the hard news. Scholars have criticised the lack of explanation of the ‘why’ of news events. Mody (2010) states that news from Africa is not aimed for public understanding but rather for astonishment. She called this “explanatory impoverishment and lack of reporting that ‘illuminates’ a significant and complex subject.” The depth of stories indicates if explanations which enable elaboration, discussion of causes, background and context of events are being given to give a true picture. According to Mody, scholars have found limited explanations in US news content and on TV news in the UK. “Studies by the Glasgow Media Group on TV news content and public understanding of the global South found British audiences were misinformed because of the low level explanations and context.” (Mody 2010)

According to Fahmy (2010) in her report on foreign reporting, “Just as a great cook cannot work miracles with poor ingredients, foreign news cannot be any better than the quality of news stories upon which it is based.” (Fahmy as cited in Golan et al 2010) Fahmy made the submission in the debate over quantity versus quality of international reporting.

For the second objective:

- What images did journalists’ or newspapers’ choice of words or phraseology portend to the British reader?
- What were the news frames employed in the headlines of news stories in the British media?
- Who were the sources and reporters in the reporting of Nigeria in the British media?

This is important because the Nigerian Minister of Information claimed that the negative perception of Nigeria was due to foreign correspondents reporting on Nigeria. It has also been argued that Africa’s bad image has been due to an exclusion of African voices in telling African stories. Communication researchers have often questioned that “when an event is covered, whose version of foreign events does the news ‘represent’, what

does it emphasize, and what is it silent on?” (Mody 2010) This thesis examines in detail who the reporters on Nigerian stories in the British press are, as well as who the sources of the news stories are. It considers the number of sources in stories and the authority of chosen sources to report on Nigeria in the British press. This thesis analyses the types of stories reported by different types of journalists, their location, tone and depth of stories.

For the third objective:

- How was Nigeria reported before and after the rebranding campaign?
- Can rebranding work for Africa?

This study focuses on the changes in the subjects that drew coverage before and after the rebranding campaign, the difference in the correspondents and tone of stories, frames and collocations in the stories on Nigeria.

The literature review looks into the characteristics of branding campaigns carried out by other countries and their effects on the image of the countries. This thesis expects to find changes in terms of less non-developmental negatively toned stories to more positively toned developmental stories. More positive business stories attracting investors and tourists to Nigeria would be a positive outcome for the rebranding campaign. A change in the types of news frames used for more positive frames will have Nigeria shining in a positive light. An increase in depth of stories and an increase in African journalists reporting on Nigeria in the British press would also be seen as success for the rebranding campaign.

1.3 Research Scope

The study primarily focuses on investigating the reporting of Nigeria by the British press between year 2007 and 2010 and the significance of the country’s rebranding campaign “Good People, Great Nation” which was launched in March 2009. It analyses news content to find out who and how reported on Nigeria in the British press between 2007 and 2010, as well as the stories on Nigeria that drew coverage between 2007 and 2010

with emphasis on stories with Nigeria or Nigerian in the headlines. The study looks at the Nigerian rebranding campaign's impact based on tone of stories, types of stories and frames, the reporters and co-occurrence of words describing Nigeria and Nigerians. This is limited to documents available on the rebranding campaign such as the speeches, press reviews and other research studies to analyse its execution. The study did not look at all the African countries but uses Nigeria as a case study and used the results to generalise on the reporting of African stories.

1.4 Contributions to Knowledge

This study has the potential to establish and give insight into the nature of the coverage of Africa's issues by the media in the developed world with Nigeria as a case study. This study highlights the significance of a national image and the influence of rebranding via public relations and media.

1.5 Organisation of thesis

To examine the above-mentioned perspectives, this study is divided into three broad sections. The first section is the umbrella of the study (Chapter One: Introduction, Chapter Two: Literature Review-Agenda setting and information imbalance and Chapter Three: Literature Review- National image and re-branding) which provides the context in terms of background and consulted literature. Section two is the core of the study (Chapters Four: Methodology and Five: Findings and Analysis). The final section, comprising Chapters Six to Eight, summarises issues, debates and potential areas for future research resulting from this study.

Based on these divisions, Chapter One offers an introduction to the study, digs into the general subject of Africa's perceived image as portrayed by the global media and defines the objectives of the study.

Chapter Two presents a literature review which focuses the study and locates it within the theoretical discourse. It looks at the role of the global media and global news. The literature review offers and discusses as much backgrounds proffered by scholars on the subject of news, its definition, selection and the news values that inform the angles and context from

which the British press report on Africa. In highlighting the pros and cons of arguments relating to the continent's coverage, it provides a backdrop to question areas that drive this research and forms the basis for a future analysis of the extent to which the continent's coverage potentially influences British public opinion about Nigeria. The thesis examines the agenda setting theory, framing theory and related studies, Africa's news coverage, the structure of global news flow and global information imbalance. It reviews literature on the newsworthiness of African stories in the Western media, mainly the British and American media. It also looks at the impact of global news in agenda setting. It also reviews the framing of African news and the structure of the global news flow. It assesses media bias in the news coverage of Africa and the determinants of news coverage.

Chapter Three presents the second section of literature review which focuses on the use of Public Relations and Nation Branding in changing the image of a nation. It reviews literature on the use of International Public Relations, its effects on national image and the influence of media coverage. It also looks at the importance of Nation Branding, forms of Nation Branding, and the role of the media in Nation Branding. It analyses Nigeria's rebranding campaign 'Good People, Great Nation' and the rebranding activities. This chapter concludes by giving an overview of Africa's emerging image.

Chapter Four discusses the methodology used in the study. Content analysis of four of the most circulated British newspapers between 2007 and 2010. It describes how content analysis is complemented by frame analysis and discourse analysis to analyse how Nigeria and Nigerians were portrayed in the British press. Collocation analysis is used to analyse the language employed to report on Nigeria. It includes a discussion on the research design: research problem, questions and objectives. It gives a justification of the design chosen and methods used.

Chapter Five presents the results and findings in this study using content analysis, noting the results before and after the rebranding campaign.

Chapter Six presents the results for the frame, collocation and discourse analysis before and after the rebranding campaign. It attempts to note any changes that could have resulted from the rebranding campaign's influence and activities.

Chapter Seven discusses the results presented in chapters five and six. It analyses the results, contrasting them to previous studies and literature. This chapter attempts to conceptualise emerging themes and how they are informed by existing frameworks.

Chapter Eight concludes this study by answering the questions 'Can public relations significantly affect a country's image? And 'can a rebranding campaign work for Africa?' It draws conclusions on the discussions and answers questions raised in this thesis. It offers some suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Literature review - Introduction

This literature review focuses on factors influencing international news flow with emphasis on Africa. In order to provide background information to support a study of the image of Africa, several sectors of the literature have been examined: (1) the components of global media and global news: it is essential to look at the components as they will help in determining the type of media that has the most coverage globally. (2) The impact and effects of global media- agenda setting: this section analyses the impact of media in setting the global agenda and hence how media can shape the image of a country. (3) The world's most influential media, (4) the role of journalists and how they work: this study looks at who reports on Africa hence it is important to understand the role of journalists, the various types of journalists and the impact they have in the reporting of Africa. (5) World news and its sources: this study looks at the global impact of news therefore it is vital to know what constitutes World news and its sources. (6) An overview of literature on the patterns of reporting Africa: in order to understand the reporting of Africa it is important to look at the patterns observed by previous scholars.

2.1 Africa's colonial media heritage

Colonialism had a major and lasting impact on the African continent, hence it is essential to assess the influence it had on the media and the international media coverage of Africa. The African continent lost political power during its more than 70 years of colonialism. This means that it lost the ability to communicate with other nations and the ability to survive as a physical and cultural entity. To understand the development of mass media in Africa we need to look at contemporary mass communication philosophies of African countries. The media policies are mainly based on colonial experiences, the African legend, myths and traditions (Ziegler and Asante 1992). During the colonial era, mass media were used by settlers to promote their ideas and messages, which were mainly focused on the settler communities hence omitting

the local population. The newspapers were mainly government owned and reflected the values and interests of colonial authorities and European business people while disregarding the needs, interests and values of Africans. Europeans controlled the economy of colonial Africa, and they monopolised the media. According to Ziegler and Asante 1992, “few Africans could afford to import the necessary equipment for printing newspapers or setting up radio stations.” Africans had restricted press rights as the colonial authorities didn’t want them to use it against colonial rule.

During the colonial rule, the image portrayed of Africa was mainly sustained by negative media campaigns against the continent. Africa was presented as “primitive and as culturally and mentally inferior.” (De Beer et al 1995) The media was used to foster loyalty and conformity to the colonial rule. The horrors of colonisation and exploitation show how debauched Europeans were in their treatment of African people during the colonial era. One scholar Uche (1996) argued that “most Europeans and Americans thought of the situation as bad, horrible, even brutal but as far as making a difference in the way Africans were portrayed or treated the Westerners were content for the most part to look the other way.” The African image was solidified negatively in the minds of white writers, journalists and missionaries, which meant that, “nothing could be written and accepted that showed Africa in any other light.” (Asante 2013)

The colonial administration of Africa could be said to have “bequeathed contemporary African government with draconian press laws and a legacy of government monopoly of the media.” (De Beer et al 1995) The idea of mass media didn’t develop in Africa, hence the practices, norms and ethical standards were all western brought from Europe and America. It can also be argued that colonial press in Africa brought the tradition of newspapers and values of press freedom. African journalists later used print media to “speed and ease the historic process of decolonisation” (Hachten 1993)

The post-colonial media philosophies were mainly shaped by the efforts of African governments to reject their colonial inheritance. According to de Beer et al (1995) these philosophies were created by African countries “seeking new ways to imbue their social institutions and people with both new meaning and self-identities”. The colonisers left many African nations with curricula that are filled with the diminution of Africa.

2.2 Global media and global news

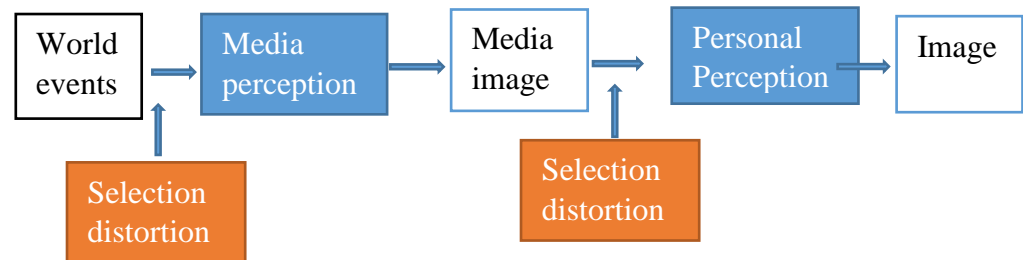
Mass media and its types

“They name the world’s parts, they certify reality as reality and when their certifications are doubted or opposed, as they surely are, it is those same certifications that limit the terms of effective opposition. To put it simply: the mass media have become the core systems for the distribution of ideology. That is to say, every day, directly or indirectly, by statement and omission, in pictures and in words, in entertainment and news and advertisements, the mass media produce fields of definitions and association, symbol and rhetoric, through which ideology becomes manifest and concrete.” (Gitlin 1980)

In an attempt to understand the global media, it is necessary to understand the mass media, their messages and the elements that make them up. According to Hawk 1992, the media hold the responsibility for the interpretations of the events they report which in turn define the understanding of their readers and viewers. He states that, “the media give meaning to current events and identify for the reader those events that are important” (Hawk 1992) With this in mind, this thesis will reflect on the effects of mass media and its responsibility in shaping views and interpretations of the British people on stories from Africa.

2.3 Who speaks in the World News?

Figure 1: The chain of news communication



(Ginneken 2005)

This thesis focuses on the first half of the chain from the World events to the Media image as printed on the newspapers. News is not what happens, but what someone says has happened or will happen. Reporters are seldom in a position to witness events first-hand. They have to rely on the accounts of others. Ginneken 2005 explains that news is based on “a selective articulation of certain voices about supposed events: not only the voices of journalists themselves, but also their sources.” Journalists play a major role in formulating global media messages with the aid of their sources.

Another study on the British press had similar conclusions on its news sources. O’Sullivan et al (1988) concluded that “the routine activity of news production is heavily dependent upon and directed towards these official and accredited sources and their representatives. As a consequence, a good deal of news coverage tends to reproduce and translate the interpretative frameworks and definitions generated by primary definers, and in such a way the media usually operate as secondary definers.” (O’Sullivan et al 1988) This confirms that the main sources for the international news flowing from the developed countries were officials from governments, major corporations and established institutions. With the dawn of the new information age, it is essential to investigate into who the sources of news stories on the case study Nigeria in the British press are.

This study acknowledges that it has been and can be difficult to get sources in some 'hard to reach places' but with information technology advancement and coverage this should become less of a problem and more of an opportunity to have multiple sources verifying news stories and hence giving a broader picture.

According to Ginneken 2005 in his book 'Understanding Global News', there are three main criteria that journalists use in their choice of sources, which are authority, credibility and availability. The authority of the source is very important as journalists prefer someone who is in the know. Higher levels of authority are more preferred in contrast to lower ones, hence the favouring of information from the spokesmen and women. This study analyses the authority of the sources used to report Africa. The second criterion is the credibility of the source, journalists believe some sources than others, some information are often presented as unconfirmed rumours and allegations. Availability of sources is also a major criterion; sometimes sources are unavailable when an event takes place leaving the stories reported without the official view.

The other main source of global news is the foreign based correspondent, which means the organization has one or more foreign correspondents based in another country with an office, or a full-time salaried correspondent who works on their own or a part-time salaried correspondent who is shared with other media organizations or a freelance correspondent who gets paid only when their stories have been accepted. The few foreign correspondents still face difficulties and limitations. News organisations send inexperienced reporters to the Third World, where they struggle with the challenge of unfamiliarity with local customs and thought processes which can be misleading. The other issue is that foreign correspondents are seldom specialists, which means a reporter may write about politics, football, oil exploration, budget deficits and crime.

2.4 Gatekeeping and News Values

“Important events happen throughout the world every day. Because of time and space limitations, news media must sort through the endless stream of these international events and make valued judgements regarding which are important enough to receive coverage. Thus, only a small portion of international events ever gets through the media gatekeepers.” (Wanta et al 2010)

For every news publication in the British press, more news items are obtained by an organisation than can fit within the confines of the newspaper. A selection process occurs to determine what will be included and what will be scrapped in the editing rooms. The gatekeeping theory explains this selection process with news items evaluated according to importance. Apart from selection by perceived importance, other gatekeeping processes include withholding news, the transmission of news between reporter and editor, the shaping of the story (framing), how prominently the item is displayed within the publication (page number), the timing of the release of the information, and a view of the audiences’ needs (Shoemaker 1991).

In an attempt to look at the image of Africa in the global media, it is of paramount importance to analyse the news people, their professional values, editorial structures and routines used for news selection especially what is included and excluded, and why. News values also referred to as news criteria or news factors can be defined as, “a system of criteria which are used to make decisions about the inclusion and exclusion of material” (Palmer 2000) and about which aspects of selected stories to emphasise. News values, as Palmer 2000 notes, “transcend individual judgements, although of course they are to be found embodied in every news judgement made by particular journalists.”

Gatekeeping is the process of selecting news items to be presented to audiences. It plays a key role in the reporting of Africa by the global media. White (1950, p.383) was the first scholar to apply the gatekeeping

concept to journalism when he studied the decisions made by a newspaper wire editor in selecting stories that should be published. White discovered that most of the decisions were based on purely subjective reasons, including personal values.

A number of studies (Gieber, 1964; Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Tuchman, 1978; Shoemaker et al, 1987) have also focused on the gatekeeping theory and identified individual and organizational factors that influence news selection. These factors have been referred to as news values. News values determine the amount and nature of coverage of an event or issue by the media. They influence editorial decisions on the African news items that are published by Western media. As much as no editor actually uses a checklist to determine a story's news value, most of them consider the same factors in making that determination (Harrigan & Dunlap, 2004).

According to Harrigan and Dunlap (2004), those factors include impact (the number of people affected by the story), proximity (the geographical closeness of an event to the news media's primary audience), timeliness (the newness of the story), prominence of the subjects involved, and presence of conflict, novelty and community interest. Other researchers, Shoemaker, Chang, and Brendlinger (1987) also conclude that novelty or oddity; conflict or controversy; interest; importance; impact or consequence; sensationalism; timeliness; or proximity are conditions that make people or events more newsworthy.

News values are not universal; they often vary across nations. Negativity - bad news is favoured more than good news, proximity, impact, timeliness and currency - stories that have been in the public eye for a particular time are deemed valuable. An example of this is the reporting of South Africa before the football World Cup in 2010. People already had their eyes set on South Africa; hence any stories about the country became newsworthy.

Various lists of news values exist (Ryan, 1991) and have been generated using a wide variety of methods, including interviews and surveys of

journalists, case studies of news coverage, newsroom ethnographies, content analyses of finished news items, and by journalists/academics.

A study on news values by Harcup and O'Neill 2010 aimed to shed light on the news selection process by examining the news values currently operational in British newspapers. Millions of events occur every day in the world but only a small percentage becomes news stories and of this only a small fraction actually gets produced as daily news in the press. Journalists and their editors seem to have ground rules that inform their selection of what becomes news. These ground rules or story selection values may not be written down or coded by news organisations, but they exist in daily practice. In order to understand how the British press selects news on Africa it is essential to understand their selection processes and values. The process of news selection attempts to identify and define the news values informing the ground rules that come into operation when journalists select stories. It is vital to know how foreign events become "news" in the British press.

Harcup and O'Neill (2001, p.261) did a content analysis of three UK national daily newspapers, Daily Telegraph, Daily Mail and The Sun. Their results showed stories concerning powerful individuals, organisations, stories concerning people who are already famous, stories concerning sex, show business, human interest, animals, an unfolding drama, or offering opportunities for humorous treatment, entertaining photographs or witty headlines, stories that have an element of surprise and or contrast, stories with particularly negative overtones such as conflict or tragedy, stories with particularly positive overtones such as rescues and cures. Stories with magnitude and are perceived as sufficiently significant either in the number of people involved or in potential impact. Stories about issues, groups and nations perceived to be relevant to the audience. Stories about subjects already in the news. All the stories meeting these criteria were deemed news worthy and selected in the British press.

Wu (1998, p.493) found out that gatekeeper factors such as traditional newsworthiness, socio-cultural structure and organizational constraints over news professionals and the agenda-setting impact of international news services all influence international news flow. He also concludes that logistical factors such as a country's financial resource and economic development, volume of trade, regionalism, population, geographic size, geographic proximity, political and economic interests of host countries, exclusiveness, communication resources and infrastructure and cultural affinity play a crucial role.

Wu (1998) argues that the everyday representation of the world by the news media is far from a direct reflection of global realities. Wu (1998) in his paper titled "Investigating the determinants of international news flow", cites an investigation he conducted which involved e-mail and phone interviews with news editors (gatekeepers) of selected web sites to establish some of the news values and factors that they consider in their selection of the African news items prominently featured on their sites. Based on his results, Wu concludes that the state of international news production and distribution remains different from the idealist objectives that the NWICO advocated. News values play an important role in the reporting of Africa and hence Nigeria in the global media. This thesis highlights some of the news values used in the selection of news on Africa with Nigeria as a case study.

A follow-on study by Wanta and Golan in 2010 on 'Coverage of Foreign Elections in the United States' presented and tested a model of International News Flow. Their model predicted that the amount of coverage was affected by the location in the world system, with core nations receiving more coverage than semi-peripheral or peripheral nations. This is supported by Wu's (2000) attempt to develop a model of international news flows between nations using factors that affect elite nation status. His analysis of 38 countries found that these variables do not uniformly affect all nations. It can also be argued elite nations (developed countries) have better developed communications systems and hence it is easier to gather and transmit information. (Wanta et al 2010)

Secondly, international interactions mean semi-peripheral countries that have close ties with core nations through strong trade relations, cultural ties, or because they are receiving foreign aids from core nations receive more coverage from the U.S. media. Cultural proximity has consistently been found to influence news coverage. Nigeria and most of the African countries can be said to have strong ties to Britain as a former colonial power through trade relations and aid. Thirdly, a nation with positive attributes such as a large gross domestic product, a large population, or high oil production will receive a higher level of coverage. And lastly, negative attributes from nations that pose a threat to the United States attract news coverage. African countries have some positive attributes such as high oil production which can influence news coverage. (Wanta et al 2010)

While events-based variables serve as powerful indicators of international news coverage, they still fall short of fully explaining the selection process. A review of research on news determinants identifies some variables: geographic variables (Wu, 2003 and Wang 2009); cultural affinity variables (Shoemaker et al, 1991) and location in the world system (Chang 1998).

According to Fahmy (2010) “high quality international reporting attempts to convey the economic, historical, political and social dimensions of international issues and makes an effort to convey the importance of events as they affect international relations and international cooperation.” Scholars have repeatedly criticized the American news media for reporting news in a less complex manner and for oversimplifying and de-contextualizing international news events. Events have been shown to increase news coverage. According to Lichter et al (2004), the 9/11 increased the volume of foreign news, but she concluded that the breadth of news was reduced. Many studies have also shown that the British and US news media do not cover much news and when they do, they fail to meaningfully translate foreign news. According to Fahmy (2010), “the viewers who are assumed to know nothing of foreign lands and in general to perceive foreign news as having little influence on their everyday lives,

are also assumed to care little about having their news world translated into symbols, ideas and slogans that make sense to them.” This then raises the question of quantity versus quality of international news. Several scholars have criticised both the quantity and quality in international reporting. Their findings suggest that the quantity of foreign news does not necessarily equal comprehensive and useful coverage of foreign events. The debate also suggests that increase in volume of foreign news is always beneficial. (Golan et al 2010) But Fahmy 2010 argues that “if professionals widely perceive that the quality of international news is not very important to the audience, this in turn may lead the audience to receive superficial forms of reporting.” She also adds that on the second phase of the news making process, the audience of the developed countries of the West who already have a limited understanding of the foreign nations are then subjected to episodic reports which build their perceptions of foreign nations and the people.

The global media’s way of selecting some stories while ignoring others frames news events and directly influences public perception of events. An example is given by The Harris Poll (2005) which showed that despite the fighting in Congo claiming 10 times as many lives as the December 2004 earthquake and tsunami, 57% of Americans perceived the earthquake and tsunami to have claimed more lives than the war in Congo.

2.5 Newsworthiness of African Stories

Ebo in Hawk (1992) argues that the negative portrayal of Africa in the global media “is a deliberate and systematic process that is created and sustained by the bias in the way American media select foreign news stories.” He claims that this is shown in the commercial, political and socio-cultural criteria used to determine which nations are newsworthy. Ebo (1992) stresses that America and the Western cultural values are treated as superior to Africa’s. Africa is treated as abnormal and unnatural.

The forces that shape the global news value flow and the allocation of media resources are based on the commercial value. Phil Harris (cited in Ebo 1992:16) pointed out that “the production and distribution of news

stories in the present international arena is in fact the production and distribution of a commodity.” News as a commodity is subjected to position of commercial laws. The global media will select and present African stories in ways that make them commercially viable. According to Ebo (1992), a major implication of the selection criteria is that “correspondents in Africa look for news stories that are easy and convenient to gather. As a result these correspondents are readily attracted to exceptional and aberrational news stories.”(Ebo 1992) Ebo also argues that media is not interested in meaningful development news about Africa because they are ordinary and commercially unattractive. Ebo (1992) also notes that “Profit maximisation influences the determination of events as newsworthy.” This directly affects how media resources are allocated around the world.

Most research literatures (Sarpong 2007, Righter 1981, Ebo 1992) refer to a scenario where an obsession of ‘selling’ the news determines the dark side of the economic logic behind mass media. Righter (1981 as cited in Sarpong 2007) questions whether the commercial dependence on audiences highlights commercial pressures that lead to inadequate reporting of developing countries. Hence, the cost of international reporting discourages the media organisations.

Africa is considered as not having any political incentive to the global media; hence it is only when the politics in Africa threatens to affect the Western countries’ interests that it becomes newsworthy.

The sociocultural criterion is mainly due to correspondents not being sensitive to the African culture, hence African stories are viewed with a different socio-cultural mind-set. The cultures of the industrialised nations are treated as superior to the cultures of the developing nations. According to Ebo, “the western media treat the cultures of industrialised nations as superior and place them at the top of this imaginary hierarchy, while the cultures of developing nations are at the bottom of the hierarchy.”(Ebo 1992) In response to these critics, journalists highlight the conditions under which they work, the deadlines they have to meet, the life-

threatening conditions they face to gather news stories, the political barriers and the language barrier. (Mody 2010)

2.6 The impact of global news: Agenda setting

“The press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful in telling its readers what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. And it follows from this that the world looks different to different people, depending not only on their personal interests, but also on the map that is drawn for them by the writers, editors and publishers of the papers they read. Perhaps the notion of a map is too confining, for it does not suggest the full range of the political phenomena that are conveyed by the press. It is more properly an atlas of places, personages, situations and events; and to the extent that the press even discusses the ideas that men have for coping with the day’s ration of problems, it is an atlas of possibilities, alternatives, and choices.” (Cohen 1963 as cited in Ginneken 2005)

The American political scientist Bernard Cohen in a study on the press and foreign policy was analysing how the press affected the agenda of the public on foreign policy issues. He notes the importance of the press in influencing its readers on what to think about. This is also supported by Ginneken (2005) in his book *Understanding Global News*. Media effects on people could be seen as the result of the daily work of the press in informing the public of the opportunities and warning them of the dangers, real or imagined, in their environment and in the rest of the world. This study does not look at audience responses to press coverage, but takes a view from agenda setting theory on the relationship between how the case study Nigeria is viewed by British people based on how Nigeria is reported in the British press and hence the image of Nigeria and Nigerians.

Research on agenda setting has specifically inquired into the manner by which ordinary citizens come to form their judgments about what is an

important political concern and what is not. The analysis of such research has offered some light into the public's consciousness in a more general way. The notion that some form of sentiment plays a role in ordering society was found in the early Greek tradition by writers such as Plato, Aristophanes, Thucydides and Aristotle. Further research and analysis have been conducted by Hobbes and Locke, Rousseau, Hegel, Marx, Freidman and others trying to understand how public's orientation come to be formed.

An agenda can be described as a list of things one has to think about and /or act upon. Individuals, committee meetings and organisations all have agendas. If someone has the power to set other people's agenda then one does, to some extent, have the power to influence what they will think and talk about, power to draw attention to certain rudiments and drive away from others. Hence major information providers have the power to be a major agenda setter. "Certain sources have the power to set some of the media's agenda, and certain media have the power to set some of the public agenda." Ginneken 2005

The argument that it is the press which shepherds citizens' attention is of particular importance as it implies that the public consciousness of its environment is mediated by the perspectives of others. According to Wanta W and Hu Y (1993), "if citizens' desires are a simple result of news coverage, then the drivers of a democratic system would be those agents which determine mediated messages and not the citizenry." Investigations conducted by McCombs and Shaw (1972, p.176) have revealed a definite correspondence between the degree of concern expressed by the public across several issues and the amount of news coverage granted those topics in the media. McCombs and Shaw conducted an election research which involved five dailies, two weeklies and two TV networks and the personal agenda of a hundred undecided voters, they noted a perfect correlation between the media agenda and the voters' decisions. This correlation has been shown to exist in other settings and other populations.

The media are persuasive in focusing public attention on specific events, issues, and persons and in determining the importance people attach to public matters. The agenda setting theory says that because of newspapers, television, and other news media, people are aware or not aware, pay attention to or neglect, play up or downgrade specific features of the public scene. People tend to include or exclude from their cognitions what the media include or exclude from their content. People also tend to assign an importance to what they include that closely resembles the emphasis given to events, issues, and persons by the mass media.

If the same principle holds true for public diplomacy and international affairs, it would mean that a government has the power to put certain issues on the agenda of the world media and it may also exert considerable influence on the world opinion.

C. Giffard and N. Leaven in the paper ‘How news agencies cover the UN millennium development goals’ note that “one lesson that has been learned from efforts to promote development is the necessity of communication at all levels. This is true not only of people and organisations directly involved in development projects, but also of wider communities whose understanding and support is essential if programs are to succeed.” (Giffard C, Leaven N 2005) They describe the important role played by mass media and new agencies as ‘wholesalers of news’. They note that “news agencies essentially set the agenda for public discussion. They largely determine what issues will be covered, and whose voices will be heard.” (Giffard C, Leaven N, 2005)

2.7 The framing of African news

Framing theory developed out of research into media agenda setting. A frame, in the context of news media, is the central idea for media content that, by selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration, suggests what the issue is and determines its context. According to Jeffers (1997) framing can have a major effect on how the media’s audience interprets a news story. Gamson (1989) defines a frame as “a central organising idea for

making sense of relevant events and directly influences suggesting what is at issue.”

Media coverage frames of other nations can significantly affect how favourably people view them. When media framed nations as sharing national interests, people tend to view those nations more favourably (Brewer, 2006). Hence, the media can be very influential. As Brewer stated, “If national interest frames can shape public opinion and if public opinion about international relations, in turn, can shape election and policy outcomes then scholars, journalists and practitioners of foreign policy should pay close attention to the nature and quality of such frames” (Brewer 2006).

According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p.93), the conflict frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions. This frame occurs in news items that highlight tension, disagreement or clashes between individuals, parties, groups, countries and regions. This frame is frequently used in the media’s coverage of political news (Patterson, 1993). This study examines the frames used in the coverage of the case study Nigeria before and after its rebranding campaign.

The economic consequences frame is mainly noted in stories that highlight the potential or actual financial or economic consequences of an event or issue. Such consequences may affect an individual, group, institution, country or region (Semetko & Valkenburg 2000). The economic impacts of political events are often featured in the front and center of news items (Graber, 1993) as the media seek to make such events relevant to their audiences.

Neuman et al. (1992) describe the human interest frame as the “human impact” frame. This frame occurs in stories that provide human examples or give an emotional angle to an issue. In such stories, the writer may descriptively word the story in such a way as to spark readers’ emotions and retain audience interest (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

According to Semetko and Valkenburg, the morality frame puts an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. They note

that the professional norm of objectivity leads journalists to make reference to moral frames indirectly, for instance through quotation or inference. Due to the objectivity standard, this frame is not as common in news reporting as it is in the minds of audiences (Neuman et al., 1992).

The attribution of responsibility frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to put responsibility for causing or solving a problem to an individual, group, or institution (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). This frame is featured in studies by Iyengar (1991), who broadly categorizes media frames as episodic or thematic. Iyengar argues that news formats that cover problems in terms of an event, instance, or individual (episodically), rather than in terms of the broader historical and social context (thematically), encourage people to attribute responsibility for problems to individuals and not the social factors that cause them.

The disaster frame occurs when a news item covers a natural or man-made occurrence or issue that caused widespread destruction, distress and suffering. The news can focus on the event or its subjects. This frame featured prominently in a study by Li and Izard (2003, p.204), an analysis of how eight major U.S. newspapers and five television networks covered the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001.

Fahmy (2010) analyses the differences between frames used for the same story and her main argument is that “these constructed news frames in turn conventionalize the way future foreign correspondents and editors perceive foreigners and foreign places and the way they look at foreign news events in general.” In other words, future correspondents will use the same frames which scholars have argued to produce distorted news. In this vein, Eric Louw (2004, p.151) notes that “these existing images determine the questions they ask and the images they seek. Hence, the partiality of news frames tends to be recycled and reproduced, so that discourses about foreigners and foreign places are resistant to change.” (Louw 2004 as cited in Golan, 2010)

This study accepts that these frames exist and are used while writing stories on Africa. This study will look for the frames used to write Nigerian stories in the British press before and after the rebranding campaign. It will assess if rebranding is enough to change the framing of the image of a nation or if pre-existing frames will continue to be recycled.

2.8 Africa's news coverage: Globalisation and global news flow

Globalisation has accelerated dramatically in the latter half of the 20th century, fuelled by the emergence of technology. To look at how Africa is reported by the global media, it is essential to explore the structure of global news flow in reference to the evolution of technologies which has introduced changes in the character of global news. Reporting nations through international news has become so important in today's world. Globalisation today is increasingly de-westernised. It is no longer under the control of any group of nations. It can be claimed that globalisation is set to extend the basis of cultural and communication exchange between nations.

According to Alleyne (2007), new technologies have produced drastic changes in the character of global news flows with the coming of global satellite television networks and interactive multimedia systems. Alleyne describes an old structure which provided governments and domestic media organizations with opportunities to censor, edit or control the flow of news into and from their countries or region. (Alleyne 2007)

Mowlana (1986) states that news flow is vertical from developed countries of the Northern Hemisphere to the less developed countries of the Southern hemisphere, with supplemental horizontal flows within the North and lesser volume of supplemental flow within the South. He also notes that while there is a considerable quantity of news flow from South to North, it tends to be significantly less in volume in comparison with the flow from the North to South. (Mowlana 1986)

Alleyne (2007) argues that the evolution in technologies has only increased the quantity and quality of information flows, but has failed to

subvert the basic hierarchical structure of global news flows. Alleyne (2007) suggests that the quantity and quality of news flowing from the richer countries of the North to South, greatly exceeds the quantity and quality going in the other direction. Alleyne states that “while there are high quantitative and qualitative news flows between the richer countries, the reverse is the case with the poorer nations, as the “Big five” international news agencies, the elite newspapers and magazines of North America and Europe and the global TV networks such as CNN, have vast majority of their foreign news bureaus concentrated in the major capitals of the world- London, New York, Paris, Washington, Brussels, Tokyo and Hong Kong.” (Alleyne, 2007, p.13)

Franks (2005) also noted that as the improvement in communications and technology have improved, the coverage of difficult to reach and faraway places has in some cases deteriorated. She adds that it is now easier to fly to remote locations and to broadcast stories from them, but it seems that no one is now inclined to do it.

In agreement with Alleyne, McQuail (2005) citing Galtung also posits that some larger and more central countries which include the United States, France, Britain, Italy, Germany, and Spain, originate news and other media contents and distribute to their media ‘satellites’ in tow. What ordinarily should have been of immense benefit to mankind, considering the crucial nature of international news, has allegedly turned to a clog in the wheel of progress of the developing part of the global community. The paradox has been that as communications and technology have improved, Africa’s coverage has deteriorated. The increase in information to report has led to other stories being selected and African stories not gaining more coverage.

Badejo-Okusanya in his paper talks about the power of modern technology and telecommunication widening the information reach which has had a most profound effect on Africa. He says that “Africa was initially described as the dark continent because very little was known about it. Africa has for a long time been and is still evolving as the

continent to reckon with in the scheme of world politics.”(Badejo-Okusanya, 2007, p.11)

Badejo-Okusanya (2007) notes the conclusion made at a G8 Summit in Heilingendamm, Germany, where Africa was described as ‘the continent of the future’, hence the summit declaration ‘Growth and Responsibility in Africa’. In spite of this, he states that “as African image makers and image managers, we face the challenges of various negative perceptions caused by incessant civil strife, poverty, disease, sit-tight rulership and corruption. Sit-tight rulership and corruption, in particular, are responsible for the inability of many African nations to access the much needed funds for development.” (Badejo-Okusanya, 2007)

He states the challenges of barriers to African unity, some of which have been identified, based on observations from reports by NEPAD include: lack of infrastructure, lack of access to funds, a profound mutual ignorance of all 53 countries and their cultures, language barriers (South Africa alone has eleven official languages; Nigeria has well over 390 dialects; few (if any) of which are widely spoken by any of its immediate neighbours) and the issue of differential economics. (Badejo- Okusanya 2007) He talks of the ‘Emerging Africa’ as, “one consciously striving to take pride of place on the world stage; an Africa conscious of its past and ready to effect necessary changes to move it ahead; an Africa where democracy, as a form of globally accepted governance, is slowly but gradually taking root.” (Badejo-Okusanya, 2007)

2.9 Imbalance in Global news flow

The developing world, Africa in particular, has always argued against the imbalances and injustices in the coverage of their affairs by the western media. Nworah (2006) in his article ‘Africa and the Global Media Imbalance’, states “Such coverage is not only paternalistic but most times grossly unfair, and serves only to sustain the imperialistic interests of the developed world. Such imbalanced, negative and biased reporting is bound to continue because of the concentration of global media networks and resources in the West.” (Nworah, 2006) This study looks at the history

of global news imbalance with special attention to news flow from Africa to the West.

Akinfeleye, Amobi and Oloruntola (2011), three scholars and researchers from Nigeria raised this point in their recent study on 'Unending imbalance in global news flow direction and intensity'. They wrote thus: "concerns, that the pattern of global news flow is inherently lopsided, has occupied the realm of discourse for decades now. Developing nations had in the 60s cried out against the imbalance in the volume, intensity and direction of flow of news." (Akinfeleye et al, 2011)

It is often assumed that the representation of developing nations in the media of first world nations is usually negative, laden in reports of war, poverty, diseases and other endemics. The MacBride report of 1980 (cited in Quist-Adade, 2001) suggests that "the act of selecting certain items for publication while rejecting others produces in the mind of the audience a picture of the world that may well be incomplete or distorted." (Quist-Adade, 2001)

Some researchers have argued against the imbalance. Sobowale (1987), as a researcher, questions the popular view that the Western media negate the image of the Third World through unprofessionally acquired reports that concentrate on negative activities while ignoring the positive ones. Sobowale's study claims that there is no empirical validation of the view that there is an imbalance in news coverage between the West and the Third World. By content-analysing a sample of Nigerian papers, the author arrives at the conclusion that these newspapers not only do not have a better balance than the Western ones in reporting world news, but they do not even give more prominence to Third World news. (Sobowale, 1987)

According to Sobowale (1987), "available evidence does not appear to justify the verbal assault against the Western Press for its "negative" coverage of Third World countries. Empirical evidence in this regard is rather scanty." (Sobowale, 1987) Arguments about imbalance in the reportage of Africa affairs and the denial are not all unfounded. Those who

argue for the imbalance have a case and those who argue to the contrary also could have a good reason to deny. (Sobowale, 1987)

Masmoudi condemned the unidirectional flow of news in favour of the developed world adding that even when developing world coverage exists it is focused on negative or bad news such as catastrophes, violence and corruption. Accusations were made against the Western press for covering the select few rather than the multitudes and that emphasis of international news was on events, rather than on factors leading to and causing events. (Alleyne, 1987)

According to Alleyne (1987), Masmoudi's quest was "a just and equitable balance in the flow and content of information, a right to national self-determination of domestic communication policies and at the international level, a two-way information flow reflecting more accurately the aspirations and activities of less developed countries." (Alleyne, 1987) The debates and recommendations demanded for balanced flow of news in and out of the Third World countries, more detailed, inclusive, and unbiased news coverage on a continuing basis, with more emphasis on both good and positive news.

On their part, some Western countries dismissed the idea of a new information order as a contemptuous effort to politicize international news and gain international respectability for government control of news and censorship. They opposed proposals to implement a new 'order' because it would involve forms of state regulation or press controls, which were shunned in the West, where the media are largely privately owned (Hachten, 1981). Western news media opposed attempts to control their reporting of issues and events in developing countries, citing the importance of their press freedom rights. Hachten observes that many thoughtful journalists and others conceded some of the concerns of developing countries. They agreed that real disparities in news flow existed and that Western news media should report more non-Western news and do it with more understanding and regard for the views of other nations. This study accepts that disparities in news flows exist, but it will

be limited to mainly look at the effects and images created by the news flows.

2.10 The New World Information and Communication Order

To address this imbalance, the Non-Aligned Movement and UNESCO encouraged initiatives like the establishment of regional news agencies such as Pan African News Agency PANA, the Caribbean News Agency CANA, and the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool NANAP to give journalists in these regions more editorial control over news from their regions and abroad. Alleyne (1997) also notes that, “none of these organizations had the resources to set up their own bureau in faraway capitals, to balance the North- South and South-South flows.” (Alleyne, 1997)

In Africa, the Pan-African News Agency (PANA) was created by the Organization for African Unity (OAU) in 1979 and professed as an intergovernmental agency to challenge stereotypical news coverage of Africa and offered a more balanced view of the continent. It relayed on a network of national news agencies, as it sought to enhance news flow within the continent. As an alternative wire service for African media, PANA committed itself to the promotion of African unity (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen, 1998). PANA was the first transnational news agency in Africa, its reliance on state-owned national news agencies indirectly restricted its ability to criticize African governments hence it was perceived as a propaganda tool for these governments.

Ejime, a correspondent with PANA, notes that “sustaining the agency had become near impossible as other African countries, with the exception of Nigeria were unable to pay their bills and by 1991, the agency was on the brink of collapse and UNESCO once again intervened with a recovery plan, part of which is the intention to privatise PANA, allocating 25% holdings to African states and 75% to African investors.” (Ejime, 2009) According to Ejime (2009), this plan has however yielded little or no results as only very few investors have indicated interest and though the

agency is still in operation, it is unable to function optimally. (Ejime, 2009)

Western countries resolved to fight UNESCO's efforts to set up a new information order to redress the imbalances alleged by developing countries. They urged the organization to abandon its attempts to regulate news content and formulate rules for press conduct. Alleyne (2009) notes that the McBride's report propositions were seen by the West as a "Soviet-inspired Third World design" aimed at attacking the freedom of the press and their business interests in the developing world, culminating in the withdrawal from UNESCO of the US, UK, and Singapore in 1984 and 1985 respectively. She concludes that, "NWICO thus became stillbirth" (Alleyne, 2009).

Although some proponents still champion the NWICO cause, it is no longer a serious international issue (McPhail, 2006). Some scholars (Alleyne, 2009; D'Haenens, 2003; McPhail, 2006) believe that news flow disparities still exist. They contend that the NWICO debates and the efforts of UNESCO and the MacBride Commission neither redressed imbalances in the flow of news volume and content between developed and developing countries nor yielded the positive reporting for which developing countries demanded.

2.11 Post-colonial media systems

"In the eyes of much of the world, Africa south of the Sahara has become a 'basket case'" de Beer et al (1995). He also cited the New York Times as stating that "every bit of bad news - civil wars, military coups, refugees and displaced persons, droughts and disease - has sadly reinforced a mood of fatalism or still worse, callous unconcern." (Editorial 1994 as cited in de Beer et al 1995)

16 years after the NWICO debates, scholars such as Uche (1996) were still concluding that the news stories on Africa were still being "infected with the prevailing wisdom of the 19th century." Uche claimed that at the dawn of the 21st century, the North and South were still living in '*Many*

Worlds, One Voice.’ The scholar stated that “the *one voice* is the one the industrially rich North has imposed through its claim to economic and technological superiority and hegemony.” (Uche, 1996)

In 2001, the United Nations General Assembly initiated a World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) which was held in two phases in Geneva (December 2003) and Tunisia (November 2005) to debate on information and communication twenty years after the MacBride report. The key themes for the communication and information were ‘information accessibility to all using traditional and new technologies’, ‘producing multimedia content to address cultural diversity’, ‘training ICT professionals to develop suitable infrastructures especially for marginalised groups such as women and emphasis on independent media organisations’.

In the documents UNESCO contributed to the preparation of the summit, it mainly focused on new approaches to freedom of expression and its effects, and the freedom of the press as pillars of every democratic society in the new media landscape generated by technology. Additionally, the topics were aimed at contributing “to the transformation of the global information society into knowledge societies based on the principles of cultural diversity, equal access to education, universal access to information, and the freedom of expression.” (UNESCO, 2002) The main idea that drove the Western countries during the NWICO debate, the ‘free flow of information’, was covered again without any mention of imbalance. The WSIS made reference to the need of having ‘independent and pluralistic media’, as well as preserving minorities’ media, but no reference was made to the trans-nationalization of the media or the concentration of ownership.

What happened after the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) and the report prepared by the MacBride Commission? Mastrini and de Charras (2005) wrote a paper titled ‘Twenty years mean nothing’ analysing the global discussions around the flow of

information and communication from the NWICO to the WSIS held in December 2003 in Geneva.

Mastrini and de Charras (2005) looked at the movements, breaks and continuities which relate not only to the relationship between governments, but also to the main economic, technological, political and social trends in both historical moments. The proposals were aimed at democratizing the communication structures. They conclude that the struggle to democratise communications is political and based on disputes over economic and symbolic resources.

National communication policies being implemented by the western countries are those of privatisation or nationalisation of communication, and not in line with what was proposed by academics. Mastrini and de Charras (2005) argued that theoretical resources have not been able to prevent 'democratising communications' being discussed on a technical and business level which are "as removed from the generation of meaning and culture as from the problems of distribution of economic and symbolic wealth." (Mastrini and de Charras 2005) They cited Kwa (2002) who stated that the World Trade Organisation's principle of consensus imposes a free market logic that favours the developed nations by lobbying and exerting pressure on the poor countries. This change in the political design of regional and global trade agreements has transferred the decision making power from the legislature to the impersonal market forces and supranational bureaucracies outside popular control.

Four texts emerged from the WSIS international debates including the Geneva Declaration of Principles and Geneva Plan of Action (2003), Tunis Commitment and Tunis Agenda for the Information Society (2005). The analysis made by Mastrini and de Charras (2005) on the WSIS Declaration of Principles (2003) highlighted that several notable omissions were made. It did not make reference to the concentration of ownership and its damaging effects on the plurality of opinion, and the effect that this in turn has on democracy. It only highlighted that ownership should abide by the national laws and regulations. The role of

community media was not mentioned and it also omitted the role of state owned media, only assigning the governments the role of ensuring that organisations competed fairly. Issues on access and participation which were raised in previous debates were also omitted and the focus was shifted to digital access. One of the key achievements of WSIS was how it provided a forum for human rights experts, NGOs and civil society. 175 governments were represented with a total of 11,000 delegates in 2003 and nearly 19,000 at the Tunis summit. The participation catered for cultural diversity and participation.

The WSIS declaration of principles highlighted the need to bridge the gap created by the digital divide between the northern and southern countries but this merely reduced the information and communication issues discussed in the NWICO debates to a matter of connectivity and access to information technology. It also tried to shift the dependency paradigm between the North and South countries global imbalance by implying that it should be transferred to consumers hence exempting the rich countries and large companies. The WSIS debates neglected key aspects and lost the sight of the cultural and social aspects influencing communications and mainly focused on technology. This study uses the above-mentioned scholarship on international news flow between developed and developing countries to examine the flow of Nigerian news to the UK years after the WSIS debates.

2.12 Global media ethics

In order to explore how Africa (with Nigeria as a case study) is reported in the global media, it is essential to explore the ethics and principles used to shape news media. Stephen Ward (2013, p.326) explains the news media are global in content, impact and reach with the ability to gather information from around the world, report on global issues and create stories that have “impact across borders, sparking riots in distant lands or prompting global responses to natural disasters.” (Ward 2013) The power of the news media comes with global responsibilities. Ward explores the concept of a ‘cosmopolitan media’ that reports issues in a way that reflects

the global plurality of views. He concludes by noting three principles for news media which are accuracy, sincerity and care. He defines accuracy as “the disposition to aim at the truth and to make the necessary investigative investments to achieve truth. Sincerity: “the disposition to only make statements which match with whatever else I believe.” Care: “the disposition to show care for the common fabric and spaces of interaction that media make possible.” (Ward 2013)

2.13 Media bias in news coverage of Africa

Over the years, extensive studies have interrogated international news coverage of the third world, some with specific focus on Africa (Ahern 1984; Chang 1988; Galtung and Ruge 1965; Gans 1979; Graber 1989; Hopple 1982; Lent 1977; Mazharul Haque 1983; McNelly and Izcarey 1986; Peterson 1981; Sreberny-Mohammadi and Grant 1985; Stevenson and Cole 1984; Van Dijk 1984, 1988). All have shared a common finding: media coverage is often biased and negative, with a strong Western influence (Kavoori and Malek 2000).

In a UNESCO-sponsored research document, “Foreign News in the Media: International reporting in 29 Countries”, Sreberny-Mohammadi and Grant (1985) suggest that regions of the developing world make news when undergoing some kind of disturbance that makes them, for a time at least, a ‘hot spot’ of tension and crisis. News in most media systems seems to be defined as the exceptional event, making coups and catastrophes newsworthy wherever they occur. It is not so much that the developing world is singled out for such ‘negative’ attention, but that the developing countries tend to be reported only in this manner. In her dissertation, *The Image of Africa on BBC Television News*, Maureen Nkandu (1995) prominently attributes the negative images of Africa to the definition of news as the unusual, sensational or bad occurrence.

The mass media have been accused of bias in their representation of certain issues. Part of that criticism includes but not limited to imbalance of information news flow, negative portrayal of developing countries, misrepresentation of the situation in the developing world, etc. McQuail

(2005) defines it as “any tendency in a news report to deviate from an accurate, neutral, balanced and impartial representation of the reality of events and social world according to stated criteria.” (McQuail, 2005)

According to McQuail (2005), there are two types of bias namely intended bias and unintended bias. While the former stems mainly from partisanship, advocacy and the ideological standpoint of the medium or source, the latter is generally attributed to organizational and routine factors in selection and processing of news. (McQuail, 2005)

Media bias is the bias of journalists and news producers within the mass media in the selection of events and stories that are reported and how they are covered. The term "media bias" implies a pervasive or widespread bias contravening the standards of journalism, rather than the perspective of an individual journalist or article. The direction and degree of media bias in various countries are widely disputed. (McQuail, 2005)

Practical limitations to media neutrality include the inability of journalists to report all available stories and facts, and the requirement that selected facts be linked into a coherent narrative. Because it is impossible to report everything, selectivity is inevitable. Government influence, including overt and covert censorship, creates media bias in some countries, for example North Korea and Burma (McQuail, 2005). Market forces that result in a biased presentation include the ownership of the news source, concentration of media ownership, the selection of staff, the preferences of an intended audience, and pressure from advertisers. (McQuail, 2005)

Merrill (1980) disagrees with the argument that Western news agencies are biased against Third World countries. He states that “the Third World also wants Western journalism to be “unbiased” and to present news on a “continuing” basis, eliminating the “piecemeal” sporadic nature of news coverage.” Merrill agrees that this is the goal of journalism but he argues that it is unrealistic. He states that the existence of bias in news from the Third World is not an indication of Western prejudice. In his view, “News is always a piecemeal and biased as to reality, and is so because of somebody’s perceptive. A journalist in any society selects what will be

news and fashions it according to his value system.” (Merrill, 1980) He argues that due to the journalist’s subjectivity, all news is biased in some way so it would be unreasonable for Third World nations to expect no bias in international news.

This study takes the view that what is termed ‘bias’ cannot be totally eradicated in news reports and the minds of journalists but more room should be made for news values and objective policies if bias is to be minimised. Hence, the study will look at the level of objectivity or bias in the reportage of Nigeria in the British press.

2.14 Africa’s News determinants in the British press

“Important events happen throughout the world every day. Because of time and space limitations, news media must sort through the endless stream of these international events and make value judgements regarding which are important enough to receive coverage.”(Golan et al ,2010)

Chang, Shoemaker and Brendlinger published a study in 1987 “Determinants of international news coverage in the US media.” They investigated seven predictive variables that may influence news media selection of international events to cover these include normative deviance of an event, relevance to the US, potential for social changes, geographic distance, language affinity, press freedom and economic system. The world news determinants proposed by Chang et al (1987) might differ to the British determinants and the relationship between Britain and Africa as former colonial master and colonies. There are three main categories that have been used by scholars to gauge the impact of news determinants in international news reporting. These are organisational determinants, context-oriented and event oriented determinants.

Chang et al (1989) indicate that factors internal to news institutions would influence the nature of media coverage due to activities within and outside the news room as well as the choices of available news reports for publication. The reduction in correspondents stationed in Africa is likely

to reduce the coverage. This study aims to investigate the impact of correspondents as a determinant of coverage on Africa.

The context-oriented approach “examines the interactive relationship of the foreign nation where events occurred with such contextual elements as economic relations, political affiliation, geographic proximity and press freedom.” (Chang et al 1987) This study analyses the relationship between Africa and Britain and how this is reflected in the choice of news from Africa.

The event oriented approach suggests that regardless of external contextual factors, some internal characteristics inherent in global news such as negative nature of the event can determine whether such events are covered. Chang and Lee (1992) unveiled a filtering process of international news events by directly surveying gatekeepers (news editors) of 279 newspapers of various sizes. They examined how editors’ perception of the importance of 12 news criteria may have influenced the selection of international news events. The 12 factors they used were threat of the event to the United States, threat of events to the world, readers’ interests, timeliness, US involvement, loss of lives or property, human interest, cultural relevance to the US, US trade relations, physical distance, military strength and economic development of the country. This thesis does not investigate to find who the gatekeepers for Africa are, the type of stories they select and identify the image portrayed by the chosen stories as well as how they frame the headlines of stories from Africa.

The study by Chang and Lee (1992) showed that the editors rated ‘loss of lives or property’, ‘human interest and cultural relevance important’, ‘threat to World events’, ‘readers interest’, ‘timeliness and country involvement’ as very important. In another study, Chang et al (1986) identified deviance as an important factor to newsworthiness. They defined deviance as “a result of some act, the breaking of some norm.” They argued that this underpins the criteria of newsworthiness for both domestic and international news reporting, and was positively linked to the likelihood of being selected for coverage. According to Shoemaker,

“the more deviant an event is, the more likely it would be covered by the news media.” (Shoemaker et al, 1986) Hence, deviance is often part of newsworthiness definition.

According to Shoemaker (1994), news outlets care more about the bottom line. Fewer news outlets are willing to maintain news bureaux in many countries. With a limited budget, news editors have to decide which countries to place their correspondents permanently or to parachute them when needed.

This thesis will investigate into the determinants of news stories about Nigeria in the British press as it is the news stories that are selected that shape the perceived image created and or reflected. It is essential to analyse the values, factors and effects of the identified news determinants.

2.15 Types of News reported on Africa

This thesis investigates the prevalence of development news in contrast to hard news. This section attempts to define development news and hard news in the reportage of Africa and explore the selection of stories which the content analysis focuses on.

Development news

With the growth of media systems in Africa, the role of the press within the context of national development has come into question (Ziegler & Asante, 1992). Development journalism is “a concept which is centred on the belief that all mass media should be tools for the government to help fight poverty and illiteracy, increase political consciousness and to aid in economic development.”(Faringer, 1991) This study uses Vilanilam (1976)’s definition of development news which defines it as “news relating to the primary, secondary and tertiary needs of developing countries.” (Vilanilam 1976 as cited by Black 1995)

This thesis is going to use content analysis to view the prevalence of development news in the British media between 2007 and 2010. Based on the types of development news identified, this thesis looks at the following categories of development news: Tourism and transport development;

industrial, scientific, and technological development; administrative reforms; rural and urban development; employment and labour welfare; agricultural development and food production; social change and telecommunication development.

Hard news

According to previous media scholars Ansah, 1984 and Korzenny, Del toro and Gaudino, 1987 the Western media tend to report negatively on the developing nations. Hausman (1992) defines hard news as a timely, breaking news story of great importance. A hard news story is a timely item, it "does not necessarily have to be breaking at the moment it is reported in order to qualify as hard" (Black 1995).

Black, 1995 also asserts the notion that the Western media focuses on turmoil and disasters while neglecting development stories. The disaster stories which dominate the Western media's coverage of developing countries fall into the category of hard news.

This thesis identifies the following news categories: Corruption and crime, Conflicts (armed and social), Poverty, Disasters and accidents, Politics and governance and others. The category codes used to define the subject of each article were partially based on the Nigeria rebranding campaign objectives, with more codes derived from Brookes' 1995 study which developed a set of subject codes based on an analysis of 133 African articles in the UK press in 1990. The thesis uses the Lexis Nexis news database to analyse the prevalence of hard news as compared to development news reported about Nigeria between 2007 and 2010. It also tries to analyse to see if the proportion of the development news to hard news increased or decreased after the Nigerian re-branding campaign.

2.16 International News coverage

Africa's media image

Image can be defined as a conceptual picture in the mind of a person, about a person, thing or a country and it may be brought about by political, social, or religious background or circumstances. In journalistic terminology, the image of a country can be defined in terms of political, economic, military, diplomatic and religious relations in the changing domestic, regional and international scenario and its effects on the thoughts, behaviors, feelings, and inclinations of the owners of the media organization (Noshina, 2000). The image of a country in the global media can be analyzed through the language used by the media, including value given to the words, phrase, metaphors, adjectives and sentences which appear in support or opposition to that country's government policies on various domestic and international issues (Hanan, 2006). A country's image can therefore be defined as "a representation of a country's positive or negative standing in media, in terms of historical, political, economic, military, diplomatic and religious context" (Hanan, 2006).

The world composes their impressions and images about Africa from the information that is available to them. According to Hawk (1992), "most Americans have never visited Africa and will never visit Africa, yet there is an image of Africa in the American mind." This could also be applied to the rest of the world as their knowledge of Africa is formed by messages from many sources such as school textbooks, the news media and entertainment industry. Edward Said (1981) in his book 'Covering Islam: How the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world' stated that, "all knowledge that is about human society, and not about the natural world, is historical knowledge, and therefore rests upon judgment and interpretation. This is not to say that facts or data are non-existent, but that facts get their importance from what is made of them upon interpretation." (Said, 1981 as cited in Hawk 1992)

The sociologist C. Wright Mills in his article 'The cultural apparatus' concluded that, "the first rule for understanding the human condition is

that men live in second-hand worlds. They are aware of much more than they have personally experienced; and their own experience is always indirect. The quality of their lives is determined by meaning they have received from others” (C. Wright Mills as cited in Ginneken, 2005) He continues by explaining that no man stands alone, meaning that the global audience needs and uses other information to formulate meaning to the facts they receive. Hawk explains that it is difficult for the world audience to interpret and understand the Africa story as there is limited information on African history and culture. He argues they lack the contextual information necessary to interpret the meaning of reported events. Africa is often viewed as the ‘Dark Continent’ which is “an allusion not only to the skin colour of its inhabitants but to the ignorance.” (Hawk, 1992)

Hawk concludes that “Western beliefs about Africa have constructed an image of Africa as the repository of our greatest fears. The colonial image has become the media image. Image becomes fact.” (Hawk, 1992, Ebo, 1992) The image of Africa to the global audience is said to be incomplete and inaccurate. According to Hawk (1992), Africa is seen as a wild adventure story and a fascination. The public in search for information about African political and economic change “is met with images and messages of media coverage.” (Hawk, 1992) This view is supported by Bosah Ebo (1992) in his work on ‘American Media and African Culture’ arguing that, “much of what the American people know about Africa is derived from the negative and misguided images of Africa as a crocodile-infested dark continent where jungle life has perpetually eluded civilization.” Most of the world then associates Africa to the images of Tarzan and the jungle. Ebo (1992) goes on to explain the significance of the news media in shaping the image of Africa by stating that “news media have shaped the American image of Africa as a most unpleasant part of the world, where coups and earthquakes are staples of life.”

Hawk’s view is supported by a recent study by Ayisi (2013, p.125) on ‘Audience Reception: Alternative Visions of Africa’ in which she asserts that “Western media has confidently misrepresented or underrepresented

African people and cultures.” She argues that the popular and dominant media effort in the Western society has consistently constructed images of African life and society that are ‘reductive’ and ‘offensive’. She links this to influence by histories of slavery, colonialism and neo-colonial relationships with Western countries. Ayisi (2013) argues that the images and ideas from the works of early European explorers established and triggered the circulation of a highly stereotyped and oppressive portrayal of Africa. How Africa is represented affects the way people think and feel about Africa. The early cultural representations have implications to the kinds of memory and consciousness stimulated. The Nigerian novelist and poet, Chinua Achebe examined the way in which Africa was portrayed as “the other world, the antithesis of Europe and therefore of civilisation, a place where man’s vaunted intelligence and refinement are finally mocked by triumphant bestiality” (Achebe C. as cited in Ayisi, 2013)

According to Entman (2001), Africa is still misrepresented in the media and underrepresented for the abundance of important contributions that are made in culture, science, art, sport and politics. Africa has sought to counter the images which are believed to have been left by the colonizers which have resulted in the diminution of Africa. Writers on African press (Asante and Zeigler, 1990) have stated the need for Africa to be more assertive in countering the false images.

African countries have long chafed at the way they are portrayed in the Western media. They have characterized Western media’s reporting of Africa as inadequate, negative and mainly focused on crises or disasters that occur in those countries. A number of studies have examined the Western’s new media framing of international news to vindicate this claim. According to Gerald Long, the then managing director of Reuters Ltd, “the aspirations of those countries that feel that they are badly reported, or too little reported, or that they have too little possibility of being known to the rest of the world ... are entirely legitimate.” (G. Long cited in Richstad, 1981) Long went on to argue that for an international flow of information, countries must have a well-developed internal flow.

Hence, according to Long, for Africa to increase its international flow it should have a well-developed internal flow.

According to Asante (2013) “the falsification of Africa occurs through the distortion of news events, the untrue statements about Africa are repeated as facts, when biased interpretations are interwoven into news reports and through the use of pejoratives whether as metaphor or as stereotypes.”

Malaolu 2012 in his thesis on media representation and democracy in Africa conducted a critical analysis of UK news media’s representation of Nigeria’s democracy. His findings suggested that Nigeria was predominantly portrayed negatively by the British news media. The study looked at 3,127 articles from five British newspapers between 1997 and 2007. 41.1 percent of the articles links Nigeria to democracy, infrastructure and sports but the majority 58.9 percent links Nigeria to corruption, fraud and crime.

In the next section, this thesis looks at the foreign correspondents and their role in reporting Africa.

2.17 The Decline of Foreign Correspondents

S. Ellis (2000, p.221) in her paper ‘Reporting Africa’ noted that, there is a decrease in the number of newspaper foreign correspondents. She claimed that foreign correspondents have no freedom of choice when it comes to the newsworthiness of their articles as this is now determined by the editors in their offices (Ellis, 2000).

This view is also shared by Fenton (2005) who observed that American newspapers significantly reduced the number of their foreign correspondents. According to Fenton (2005), “in the past, foreign correspondents were an important and extremely visible part of American news coverage. Some were quasi-celebrities. Now, the average American cannot name even one” (Fenton, 2005).

This decline is also noted in the British press by Suzanne Franks (2009), who said Africa has been inadequately covered by the Western media since the end of colonial rule. She states that Africa is rarely reported

“except as a backdrop to disaster or as the scene of a celebrity visit” (Franks, 2009). She puts it down to an absence of sustained and well-informed reporting about Africa in the British and global media. She uses exclusive access to the BBC archive to examine how and why media coverage of Africa has been misleading and misinformed in the post-colonial period.

Media organizations have reduced their commitment to investing in reporting on Africa. In the colonial period, Africa mattered to the European powers. She notes that in the immediate post-colonial period Africa was still covered in a “considered and serious fashion”. She notes that middle market papers like The Daily Express and The Daily Mail had Africa specialists. According to Franks, having correspondents based in Africa who filed stories on a regular basis offered informed stories on African affairs. The fact that newspapers and broadcasters had to invest in correspondents meant that they were more likely to take their material and the story was reported in a steady and informed way.

“Today Africa no longer matters as a colonial or a Cold War story, but has in many cases been reduced to a series of journalistic stereotypes.” (Franks, 2005) She posits that this is because journalism tends to be “episodic rather than the incremental, regular reporting which depends upon a regular presence on the ground instead of a network of locally based correspondents.” (Franks, 2005)

Denis Wu (2003, p.9) illustrates the role of economic interaction as an important indicator in the range and extent of foreign reporting. He states that “colonial powers had much at stake, economically and politically” (Wu, 2003), and as a result of this, news on Africa was more comprehensively covered by journalists. He observes that even middle-market UK newspapers had full-time Africa-based correspondents who showed a real understanding and context of the places they lived in and were reporting on a regular basis. News organizations now rely on ‘parachute journalism’ in their coverage of Africa (Pawson, 2007). This

quick-fix reporting is described as superficial and frequently full of stereotypes.

An example of this misreporting happened in 1994: the reporting on the refugee camps in the Great Lakes after the Rwanda genocide. The murderous killing spree of almost a million people (Tutsis and some moderate Hutus) by the Hutu majority had been ignored by most of the foreign media (Mackintosh, 1996). This was mainly because the timing coincided with the first democratic elections in South Africa.

Franks (2009) comments that “the feeling in newsrooms was that one story at a time from Africa was enough.” The ignorance of what had happened in Rwanda was compounded weeks later when the Interhamwe Hutu killers arrived in the camps in eastern Zaire. There was a huge rush by journalists to Goma to report the stories about the poor refugees. Franks notes that, “for days there were misleading reports where many of the journalists, who knew little about the background, missed the point that the camps were not ministering to fleeing victims of the slaughter, but full of the recent killers and their relatives.”(Franks, 2009) George Alagiah covered this story for the BBC, he admitted later that for the whole week when he first reached Zaire he was in effect misleading the audience and he had ‘lost the plot’ (Alagiah, 2001) and was unconsciously telling the wrong story. Alagiah is no more to blame than the rest of the Western media in failing to understand what was going on.

The compelling book by Joris Luyendijk (2006), ‘People like Us: The Truth about Reporting the Middle East’ gives an insight to the manner in which British journalists interpret foreign news reporting. It establishes a recurring series of paradoxes in the way that the media covers and explains international news. It exposes the paradigms that journalists use to construct understanding of faraway places, “where the media are in most cases the only available source that audiences have to understand a difficult, complicated and remote location.” (Luyendijk, 2006) Previous studies show a lack of comprehension is more characteristic in the reporting of Africa, a misunderstood continent.

The American researcher, Lent (1977, p.46) notes in his studies that news from developing nations is often crisis-oriented in the American media. Larson (1979, p.136) analysed international news on U.S. television networks between 1972 and 1976 and noted that developing countries received less coverage than developed nations. Coverage of underdeveloped nations contained a higher proportion of crisis stories than the coverage of developed nations.

Various scholars have also criticised the British media over this issue. A comparative analysis of two British papers by Brookes (1995, p.461) found out that Africa was stereotypically portrayed as a homogenous block with violence, helplessness, human rights abuses and lack of democracy as its main characteristics.

Using a case study to illustrate how news events in two African nations, Ghana and Tanzania, were reported in the American and British press between 1965 and 1982, Hachten and Beil (1985, p.626) found out that the reporting was mainly crisis-oriented. Hawk (1992) and Onyedike (2000, p.195) contend that Western media's reporting of Africa is often negative, crisis-oriented and stereotypical. Chang, Shoemaker, and Brendlinger (1987) describe Western news media's coverage of underdeveloped and developing nations as limited and often negative, thus reinforcing stereotypes against those nations.

Alozie (2006) notes that Western media still portray Africa as a dark continent where tradition and socio-economic and political mindset inhibit progress. African news on the pages of Western newspapers, the broadcast airwaves of Western media and the wires of the world press agencies are scarce and mostly bad, negative, crisis-oriented and violent, often taken out of context (Hawk, 1992; Onyedike, 2000; Sung & Jang, 2003).

In an analysis of selected issues of Time magazine's news and related coverage of Africa between 1979 and 1986, Alozie (2006) found that African reports were accentuated by political events. The magazine had no account of sports, arts and entertainment. "Various economic and social projects such as irrigation, mineral exploration, housing, medicine,

and manufacturing going on in Africa were not reported; rather, economic news emphasized the famine in Sudan and Ethiopia” (Alozie, 2006). This lends credence to the allegation that Western news coverage of Africa still neglects social and economic development on the continent.

In a study of the coverage of African nations by four U.S. television networks between 2002 and 2004, Golan (2008) found out that despite the fact that African nations faced many newsworthy events during the period, American television newscasts did not view the African continent to be newsworthy. The study also highlights a dozen of African nations accounted for the majority of U.S. news coverage, while the majority of African nations received limited to no coverage. Golan also found that the majority of stories about African nations focused on negative and highly deviant issues such as conflict and disasters, both natural and man-made.

Marthoz (2007) posits that coverage of Africa is predominantly influenced by the classic reflexes of the U.S. press, which needs a storyline and such labels as “ethnic war” and “ancestral traditions,” onto which individual or complex elements can be grafted. Marthoz notes that since the disaster of the U.S. intervention in Somalia at the beginning of the 1990s and the Rwandan genocide in 1994, the form of African reality provided by the major Western media organizations, “has proceeded from the war of the Great Lakes to the implosion of Cote d’Ivoire, from the confrontations in Liberia to the conflict in Darfur, moving through compassion, cynicism and despair” (Marthoz, 2007).

According to Marthoz (2007), from time to time, Western newspapers have tried to present a less one-sided image and therefore closer to the reality of Africa, by promoting economic achievements, calm electoral processes, rural development initiatives, or the courage of human rights defenders, but this journalistic effort that aims to illustrate the complexities and specificities of the continent remains the exception.

In 1999, George Alagiah, the BBC newscaster and former Africa correspondent, wrote a piece for The Guardian titled ‘New Light on the Dark Continent’ in which he pleaded with his colleagues in the Western

media to drop their way of reporting on Africa. He states that “For most people who get their view of the world from TV, Africa is a faraway place where good people go hungry, bad people run government, and chaos and anarchy are the norm.” (Alagiah, 1999)

In his own words, Alagiah says “My job is to give a fuller picture. [But] I have a gnawing regret that, as a foreign correspondent, I have done Africa a disservice, too often showing the continent at its worst and too rarely showing it in full flower. There is an awful lot of historical baggage to cut through when reporting Africa.” (Alagiah, 1999) Alagiah defines the term historic baggage as “the 20th century view of the continent infected with the prevailing wisdom of the 19th century.” (Alagiah, 1999)

George Alagiah quotes a description of African from a speech given by the British John Hanning Speke in the 1860s, ‘As his father did, so does he. He works his wife, sells his children, enslaves all he can lay his hand upon, and unless fighting for the lands of others, contents himself with drinking, singing, and dancing like a baboon, to drive dull care away’ (Alagiah, 1999). He went on to share his own view of Africa by saying “I know it to be a place of great passion and variety. Above all, it is a place where the outsider is forever welcome. In the hardest of times and in the most desolate of places, I have been greeted with a warm hand and an open heart.” (Alagiah, 1999)

In conclusion, Alagiah admits that in spite of his noble sentiment towards Africa it is “not one you will easily glean from my reporting [of Africa]. There has been too much of Africans as victims, and not enough showing their daily triumphs against impossible odds”. (Alagiah, 1999)

10 years after this insight into reporting on Africa, freelance writer, lecturer and scholar Uche Nworah in his 2009 publication ‘BBC, CNN and the rest don’t mean Nigeria well’ notes the extent and pattern of news reporting thus: “many Western journalists make their living reporting only an Africa that is war-torn, corrupt and beyond salvage.” In his report, Nworah goes on to blame the journalists for painting Nigeria as a failed state to the world for their selfish reasons. He goes further to accuse

Western journalists and international development agency workers for living in Nigerian hotels, eating expensive food, enjoying the night life and yet still describing Nigeria as a primitive state. (Nworah, 1999)

This view on how Africa is reported and portrayed is supported by Daiyabu Muhammad Hassan (2001) in his paper titled 'Global Media and the Propagation of African History and Culture: Problems and Prospects.' He states that "some of the people who report negativity about Africa and its people hardly know the continent or its configuration. Their jobs place restrictions on them as a result of what their masters had fed them with, real or imagined. They are hardly on ground and few ones who come around quickly jump into hasty conclusion about the people of Africa." (Hassan, 2001)

These alleged restrictions are mirrored by Baffour Ankomah, in his paper titled 'Reporting Africa' featured in the Global Media Journal 2008 Vol. 2. Ankomah talks about a media retreat he was invited to outside London organised by a group that wanted to bring a change to how Africa and other 'faraway places' were reported in the British media. Senior British editors, correspondents, and journalism teachers and trainers were brought together at this weekend retreat to talk about how they report Africa and what they could do to improve it. He recalls hearing for the first time that 'British media report into a box'. Ankomah states that, "the box contains pre-set ideas. So if a correspondent returns from Africa with a story, or sends a story from Africa, and it does not fit the box, one of two things happens: One, it is edited to fit the box; or two, it is thrown into the dustbin." He concluded that if a correspondent from a major paper wanted their story published they would feel forced to conform to 'the box'. (Ankomah, 2008)

Nworah supports the notion and believes that, "a little goodwill and responsibility on the part of the Western media is really needed at this time to prevent the continued psychological scares and damages, leading sometimes to feelings of inferiority complex on the part of the African as

a result of continued sensationalisation and criminalisation of everything African”. (Nworah, 2009)

In his paper, Nworah disclaims the perceived negative image of Africa being painted by the Western media by claiming that, “Not all Africans are criminals, rapists and savages. Also, there are many good things about Africa. Not all Africans live in slums; neither do they all scavenge rubbish heaps for food. Africa has also produced intellectuals and academics that can stand their own in the Western world.” (Nworah, 2009) He was of the view that the continent still faces various challenges, just like the rest of the world. He believes that their challenges are not being blown out of proportion like that of Africa and its people. (Nworah, 2009)

The Kenyan writer, Binyavanga Wainaina published an illuminating article in *Granta* magazine, ‘How to Write about Africa’, in which he highlighted typical portrayals of the Africa in Western publications. “Never have a picture of a well-adjusted African on the cover ... unless that African has won the Nobel Prize. An AK-47, prominent ribs, naked flat and empty breasts – use these.... Treat Africa as if it were one country. Her children have flies on their eyelids and pot bellies. It is hot and dusty with rolling grasslands and huge herds of animals and tall, thin people who are starving. African characters should be colourful, exotic, and larger than life – but empty inside with no dialogue.” (Wainaina, 2005) The article also points out other stereotypes employed in the stories about Africa which, according to Wainaina, other journalists have referred to as “the National Geographic”

Michael Peel in his book titled, “A Swamp Full of Dollars: Pipelines and Paramilitaries at Nigeria's Oil Frontier” (2009) tries to answer questions on why Africa and Nigeria in particular have a poor image. In his own assessment, he declares that his book “tells the murky and revealing story of the relationship between Africa’s most populous nation and oil that pumps through Western cities”. (Peel, 2009)

In Peel’s view, “Nigeria is a country where petroleum and polio have both boomed, where small villages challenge giant oil companies, and scooter

drivers run their own mini-state. The crude-rich Niger Delta region at the heart of it all is a trouble spot as hot as the local pepper soup. [It has] a host of characters, from the Area Boy gangsters of Lagos to the Graham Greene-esque multinational representatives in Port Harcourt.” (Peel, 2009)

While reviewing the book “A Swamp Full of Dollars: Pipelines and Paramilitaries at Nigeria's Oil Frontier” in The Guardian UK (2009), John Vidal admitted that “not much news comes to Britain from Nigeria because our press and TV correspondents are mostly based in Johannesburg or Nairobi. Travel there is expensive and, because it's not at war and is beastly hot and volatile, the world's 10th largest country and Africa's second largest economy is woefully under-reported and greatly misunderstood,” referring to Nigeria. Vidal (2009) raises the question that, “if no correspondent is based in Nigeria, albeit few in some capital cities around Africa, what is the source of alleged bias reporting of the foreign media about Africa and her people?” (Vidal, 2009)

Vidal supports the view made by Peel on the ignorance of reporters on Nigeria and Africa. “The longer he lives in Lagos, the more he sees the parallels with Britain. The rich men's houses are as obscene as those in London, but their opulence is starker. The rubbish on the street is actually far less than the amount produced in London, but less well hidden.” (Vidal, 2009)

Vidal also highlights that “a few fine Nigerian writers and artists help to pierce the ignorance.” He holds the belief that when foreign media write about Nigeria, it is usually from the point of ignorance because their correspondents are not based in the country but most importantly, they have made up their mind about the country as they have preferred news which they only recognize. (Vidal, 2009)

This view is also held by Ankomah when he referred to the USA-based Trans Africa Forum survey of March to August 2000 in which 89 stories on Africa published by The New York Times and Washington Post were analysed, “Of the 89, 75 were negative, and 63 of the 89 were about

conflict in Africa. What this statistic does is to portray in a small way the massive problem of how Africa is reported by the Western media, and which we, the African media, sometimes reflect and amplify in our reporting of the continent, by mimicking the Western media” (Ankomah, 2008).

These two journalists opine that it is not only the Western media that is badly reporting on Nigeria and Africa but that the African media itself mimics the west and to some extent amplifies the negative portrayal.

A very similar incident was detailed by the director of London-based Royal African Society, Richard Dowden, in his April 2012 letter to BBC correspondent John Humphrys on his trip to Liberia. Dowden writes, “I listened to your reports from Liberia on The Today programme this morning with growing fury. I am not angry because your reporting is bad. It is extremely good. My complaint is this: you say you have been reporting Africa for more than 45 years but why, only now, are you reporting these deeper realities? “You can’t come here with European eyes,” you say. But that is precisely what you and the rest of the British media have been doing all this time.” (Dowden, 2012)

Dowden continues, “European eyes however have always dictated the global image of Africa. Trying to get a news editor interested in the story behind Africa’s famines and wars was always difficult. It is always easier to show an aid worker saving an African child overlaid by a tragic-voiced reporter. That was why most journalists were sent there.” (Dowden, 2012)

Dowden, who worked in Africa for three news outfits, The Times, The Independent and The Economist, dwelt on his experience as his letter identifies the complexity of reporting Africa; “but getting some of these deeper insights into a newspaper article or onto the radio or TV was extremely difficult. The British media’s news values did not include a mission to explain, to dig a little deeper. The editors are only interested in dramatic news from Africa: coups, wars, hunger, disease and Robert Mugabe.” (Dowden, 2012)

In support of Dowden's view, Hawk (1992) notes that, "by reporting those aspects of African life deemed to be important to the Western readers, the media select stories according to Western values. As a result, African successes measured according to African values are never reported. Although a water pump in a rural area may transform a community and its economy, it hardly makes good copy. Coups and wars make better copy and can be succinctly communicated to a reader. Press coverage of Africa in the context of world events marginalizes things uniquely African." (Hawk, 1992)

In contrast, in Desbarats and Southerst (1986), Michael Nicholson, former senior foreign correspondent for UK's Independent Television News (ITN) stages a robust defence. In his work 'Bias or Balance: Reporting from the Third World', (Nicholson as cited in Desbarats et-al, 1986) asserts that "it is difficult to argue that bad news drives out good, that the coverage lacks balance, that it concentrates on the bizarre and the irrelevant". He actually throws a challenge "if one still insists that we need a more positive approach from the media, tell us where to go" (Desbarats et-al, 1986). In his estimation, it will be impossible to honestly report positively on a balance of a dozen stories, that there would be seven positive news stories and five negative ones.

In his own view, Ankomah states that, "No right-thinking African will ever deny that conflict does happen in Africa." (Ankomah, 2008) He adds that Africa is a continent of 53 countries and this brings about variation. Ankomah claims that Africa "is the most variegated continent on Earth. Conflict is part and parcel of human nature, of life. In that context, Africans would not be human if conflict did not happen on this huge, variegated continent" (Ankomah 2008) He goes further to contrast the size of Africa to that of Western Europe by land mass. Ankomah used the Atlas to argue that the original 12 members of the European Union can fit into the DR Congo, and you still get over 4,000 square miles left. He claims that journalists and media houses should put the size of Africa into consideration when looking at conflicts in Africa. [Ankomah, 2008]

Dowden sheds more light on his view of the complexity in Africa as a continent by stating that, “wherever you go you will find “old” Africa and “new” Africa close by. As Mali heads into civil war, its neighbour Senegal holds a good election and changes its president. But our news editors cannot comprehend that complexity of Africa – that it can be both poor and disease-ridden and rich and dynamic at the same time, sometimes in the same village. To be a proper news story and fit into the outdated news agenda, it has to be one or the other.” (Dowden, 2012) Dowden argues that Africa is varied hence both good and bad things happen, he does not support only the bad news being reported and the good being neglected.

Suzanne Franks, a former BBC TV current affairs producer concludes that contemporary news about Africa is very largely about sudden disasters. She identifies an overwhelming need for more depth and understanding in the way news about Africa is reported, so as to enable audiences to move beyond the rigid stereotypes. She lays the blame on the cutbacks by the BBC in foreign news reporting, as Africa is considered to be expensive and complicated to report.

2.18 Content Analyses of African Coverage

There have been few studies on media coverage of Africa in the twenty-first century. This research study is going to use the few studies as background on the reporting of Africa. Osunde (1996) conducted a content analysis of two United States prominent papers, the Washington Post and the New York Times between December 1990 and December 1995. His focus was on the coverage of African stories in these two newspapers. The study investigated categories and subcategories of news, portrayal, position and length of story, and origin of news (Osunde, 1996).

Osunde’s (1996) study found out that selected U.S. elite print media gave significantly less attention to Africa than they did to Europe based on the frequency of their coverage. He cited that this could have been because Africa is not considered an important influence on world politics. The United States media also gave significantly less in-depth coverage to Africa than they did to Europe. He also concluded that the majority of this

coverage seemed to be related to events that threaten American political interests. European, Asian and Latin American business-oriented news stories received substantial coverage of the print media, while Africa received none. His analysis showed that newspaper coverage of Africa devoted more attention to crisis-oriented news than to development or human interest news, such as wars, corruption, starvation and AIDS. The results showed that newspapers rarely reported any progressive news from Africa, and had more negative portrayal. Osunde (1996) attributed this to cultural ignorance and stereotyping.

Sarpong (2007) conducted a comparative analysis of the image of African states: Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Liberia between June 1999 and December 2007 in the British press. He conducted a content analysis on news stories in four British newspapers: Daily Telegraph, Daily Mail, Guardian and the Sun to test the existing theories on news values by investigating the tone and stories that drew coverage. (Sarpong, 2007)

Sarpong (2007) concluded that the tone of stories in the study contained stereotypes, and the stories that drew coverage were mainly stories about war, bad governance, dictators and killings. He attributed this to “news values that allow reporters to easily relate to and recount events without the trouble of having to repeatedly provide context and other depth, bearing in mind the interests of their newspapers. The results showed that negative stories were chosen over positive stories. (Sarpong, 2007) This study accepts these results but it will analyse stories on Nigeria between 2007 and 2010 to identify frames and types of stories that drew coverage.

2.19 The global media effects on Africa and Nigeria

Ankomah in his paper ‘Reporting Africa’ published by the Global Media Journal in 2008 highlighted what he believes to be the effects of Africa’s image. He states that, “In today’s globalised world, where everybody is fighting for a place in the economic sun, a positive portrayal of Africa in the Western media will mean that Africa, on whose natural resources Western economies depend, may get more investments and may even dare to use its resources for itself.” (Ankomah, 2008)

Ankomah (2008) continues his argument by quoting a statement made in 1999, by the then Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohammed during an Asia-Africa Business Forum in which he said, “When we were all struggling for a place in the economic sun, Western investors came here to invest, which became the engine of our growth. That is what Africa has missed out.” (Mahathir Mohammed as cited by Ankomah, 2008) Ankomah agrees with Mohammed that Africa missed out on Western investments due to its image. (Ankomah, 2008)

He buttresses his point by asking the question: “if you are an investor, with a pot of gold, looking for somewhere to invest this money, and suddenly this week’s Economist magazine falls on your table, with the front cover headline: 'The Hopeless Continent', would you ever consider Africa as a place to invest your money or even take a holiday?” (Ankomah, 2008)

In his letter Dowden (2012) went further to highlight the rapid progress being experienced in the continent, “for the past ten years many African countries have been growing at rates we in the West can only dream about – thanks largely to an emerging middle class, mobile phones and China’s demand for its raw materials. Now our businesses are following the Chinese into Africa looking for its fabled wealth. Africa is now a place for investment.” (Dowden, 2012)

Ankomah (2008) further reinforces this view by citing a comment made by the Rwandan president, Paul Kagame in 2007, who admitted that, “The constant negative reporting of Africa kills the growth of foreign direct investment. There has even been a suggestion that it is meant to keep Africa in the backyard of the global economy.” (President Paul Kagame as cited in Ankomah, 2008)

In his report, Ankomah (2008) also suggests that, “the negative portrayal aims at making Africans feel self-pity and self-hate, to loathe themselves and their heritage. These feelings are dangerous, because it makes you wonder, sometimes, why God created you, this wretched African. It is psychological warfare.” (Ankomah, 2008) In this, he argues that the negative portrayal of Africa and its people can create bad self-image on

the African people. He supports his view by citing the example of African teenagers born in the UK, who would answer that their parents were from Africa but they are British, when asked where they come from. He claims that teenagers want to disassociate themselves from Africa due to, “the wretchedness they see about Africa on TV, in the newspapers and at school.”(Ankomah, 2008)

Africa is the second largest continent on Earth, but is often presented as a country. According to Asante (2013, p.64), “when someone speaks of African food or African culture or African language without specifying which and what, the conversation can be meaningless.” Africa is a massive continent with over a billion people and more than 2000 languages hence making Africa the most diverse continent.

2.20 Nigeria

Nigeria, the most populous black nation in the world with more than one-seventh of the African nations population, is lying 10° North of the Equator and 8° East of the Greenwich Meridian on the west coast of Africa. It is a nation that is richly endowed in mineral resources which include petroleum, coal, limestone, tin, iron ore, gold, bitumen and bauxite. Nigeria is variety personified – its people, cultures, vast land and water mass, human and natural resources, belief systems and often vividly, its political evolution – reflecting a nation of different shades.

Known today as Nigeria (culled from Niger Area), this did not come about until 1914 when the protectorates of northern and southern Nigeria were amalgamated. Nigeria obtained independence from the Great Britain on October 1, 1960 and became a Republic in October 1963. The country’s official name is the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

At present, the nation operates a federal system of government with 36 states and a Federal Capital Territory known as Abuja. The present 36 states structure came into being in 1995 and these states of the federation fall under 6 geo-political zones, North East, North West, North Central,

South East, South West and South zones. At the end of May 2007, there were 774 local government councils in the country.

One prominent feature of the country's political experience has been the dominance of the military in the management of the country. However, since May 29, 1999, Nigeria has been operating a democratic system of government.

Nigerian people belong to many different ethnic groups, and these groups give the country a rich culture, but they also pose major challenges to nation building. Ethnic strife has plagued Nigeria since it gained independence.

Today, aside from the government established media houses – television and radio stations and newspapers, there are a good number of privately owned, ultra-modern media outfits, some of which have satellite services linking the country to the international media. Also, the nation boasts of well-established privately owned newspapers, magazines and professional journals published on a daily, weekly, monthly or quarterly basis, and most of these publications utilise the latest technology in their operations. But the general development of the nation has been highly hindered by the present appalling state of the nation's basic amenities and infrastructures including the power generating sector; the nation experiences an indescribable level of mismanagement of available resources and unchecked corruption amongst its supposed leaders in governance and government.

2.21 Nigeria and Britain – the relationship

This study uses content analysis to highlight the reporting of Africa in the British press, it is hence essential to look at the relationship between these two countries. The British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) website describes the relation between the two countries as deep and bound by strong historic, social, cultural, political and economic ties.

“Politically, Nigeria is one of the UK's key international partners, and we work closely together bilaterally and in multilateral fora, on a range of

domestic and international issues including climate change, peacekeeping and reform of international institutions.” (Foreign and Commonwealth Office 2012) It continues to describe Nigeria as a priority country for the UK.

According to the FCO, the UK trades with Nigeria. It states that, “Nigeria is an increasingly important market for British companies, and the UK is one of the largest investors in Nigeria, in sectors from oil and gas to financial services, to agriculture.” (Foreign and Commonwealth Office 2012) The FCO also notes that the trade between the two countries increased by 67% from 2007/8 to 2008/9. Its website states that the UK is home to about 800,000 people with family ties to Nigeria. The image of Nigeria in the global media is therefore of significant importance.

2.22 Nigeria’s Image

Nigeria is a good example of nations that have experienced damaged international reputation and a long standing image problem that resulted from unpleasant human activities. According to Egwemi (2000, p.131), there has been several issues of image crisis in Nigeria that erupted from unstable political situation, civil war in the 60’s, biases of the global system towards the African continent, corruption in the system of governance and most noticeably in the fallacious electoral process. Agunbiade and Ayotunde (2011, p.357) noted that some bad image of Nigeria resulted from the recent series of terrorist activities credited to religious sects regarded as Boko Haram which is translated as ‘western education is forbidden’. These activities also threaten the business environment and the unity of the Nigerian state. Agunbiade and Ayotunde (2011) stated that the internet scam by some Nigerian youths popularly known as the yahoo boys, ethno-religious and inter-ethnic violence also attracted negative publicity.

Yina (2009) portrays a grim picture of the portrayal of the Nigeria as a failed nation, with battered reputation and negative publicity. He describes Nigeria as a catalogue of adversities, which is viewed as the land of crooks, criminals, armed robbers, kidnappers, assassins, hostage takers,

fraudsters. It is also viewed as a battle ground for religious fanatics and ethnic militias, drug and human traffickers, a country with a brigade of corrupt, incompetent and indisciplined political class. According to Yina (2009), Nigeria as a nation is viewed as dysfunctional, violated and looted by its leaders. He continues to argue that Nigerians are viewed as dishonest people, who are dying from HIV/AIDS and other poverty related diseases.

Nigeria must thus re-brand; to redefine and promote its image, vision, interest, and its people and advertise its potential to the outside world to attract direct foreign investments and make Nigeria an attractive tourist destination.

CHAPTER THREE

This chapter looks at Public Relations and Nation Branding, and the role of the media in influencing international relations. It also assesses the importance of national image and its forms. It concludes by looking at Nigeria's rebranding efforts, the rebranding campaign (Good People, Great Nation) and its activities.

3.0 Public Relations and Nation Branding

According to Olav Stokke (1971), mass media has a variety of functions, which include information, education, mobilisation and entertainment. One of the major roles of mass media which consist of broadcasting services and national newspapers are national building, national and social integration. The national mass media provides a link between the government and the governed. Other functions of the mass media concern "the development efforts of many African countries: to provide information at the level of adult education in various fields, and to mobilise the population for development efforts by motivating and stimulating such efforts and by directing attention to the achievements." (Stokke, 1971)

3.1 Public Relations

"The market-based view of the world, on which the theory of place branding is largely predicated, is an inherently peaceful and humanistic model for the relationships between nations. It is based on competition, consumer choice and consumer power; and these concepts are intimately linked to the freedom and power of the individual. For this reason, it seems far more likely to result in lasting world peace than a statecraft based on territory, economic power, ideologies, politics or religion." (Anholt, 2006)

During the 1970s, countries of the Third World embarked on a concerted program to overcome what they perceived to be the informational colonialism of the industrialised nations. The cornerstone of this effort was the New World Information Order; one of its main objectives was to address the news flows, what messages are conveyed and the process by which they are carried. According to Albritton and Maheim (1985), Third World countries, worried that they lack control over in-flows of information, started having political image-making campaigns using professional public relations consultants in national governments. The assumption was that an improved national image can change the nation's reputation and be translated into more concrete gains.

Rainer Fabian, a German public relations practitioner, was asked what public relations could do to remove prejudices between people? He responded "they present one's own nation to the other as being as likeable as possible. They exchange ambassadors and arrange state visits, they put on art shows and transport warm blankets to the locality of a disaster, they print brochures and invite students to a language course, they do all they can ..." (Fabian, 1970 as cited in Kunczik, 1997)

To effectively execute public relations programs in foreign countries (mainly Britain and United States), many governments hired public relations firms in target countries. According to Gilboa (2000, p.275), contracting public relations firms in the target country is believed to be effective to reach and affect both foreign public and media hence strengthening the legitimacy and authenticity of public relations campaigns. Gilboa (2000) noted that geographic proximity of the PR firms operating in a target country allows for quick reactions when a crisis occurs.

According to Manheim and Albritton (1984), the main services offered by American PR firms are to improve the respective governments' access to America journalists; write press releases; do direct mailings; send out newsletters and brochures; train embassy personnel how to speak about sensitive issues; organise field trips for the press and visit editors and

organise lunch with business groups. (Manheim and Albritton 1984) The PR activities that were planned ranged from visits by heads of state; invitations to the heads of state for the target countries to make state visits; the release of political prisoners; trips for journalists organised by the respective governments; establishment of information offices; cosmetic redistribution of power within a country; scheduling of elections and sporting events; (Cutlip, 1994; Kunczik, 1990; Manheim, 1994; Manheim and Albritton, 1984) It can be argued that this type of public media campaigns and image making were not addressing the causes of the poor image but just increasing the number of stories covered and ensuring positive stories were covered. This study looks at the PR activities and tactics employed by the Nigerian government to change the way Nigeria is reported in the British press.

3.2 Importance of National Image

National image and reputation are vital in international interactions and transactions. According to Anholt (2010) the world is now one market, “the rapid advance of globalisation means that every country, every city and every region must compete with every other for its share of the world’s consumers, tourists, investors, students, entrepreneurs, international sporting and cultural events, and for the attention and respect of the international media, of other governments, and the people of other countries.”

Jervis (1970) claimed that a desired image and reputation can be “of greater use than a significant increment of military or economic power.” Nye (2004, p.94) in his paper “Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics” described national image and reputation as a form of soft power. Nye extended the argument made by E.H. Carr decades ago, who categorized international power into military, economic, and power over opinion. According to Nye (2004), soft power refers to “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies.”

National image can indicate of a nation's power and strength. It reflects and affects the country's standing in the world. A nation's reputation may affect the country's ability to build coalitions and alliances to achieve international political objectives (Nye 2004), to influence perceptions and purchase decisions regarding products from certain countries of origin (Bilkey et al, 1982; Jeffe and Nebenzahl, 2001), to attract foreign investment (Kotler and Gertner, 2002, p.249) and for tourism (Tapachai and Waryszak, 2000, p.37).

Countries with a competitive national identity benefit from having a clearer domestic agreement on national identity and societal goals, acclimate where innovation is valued and practised, more effective bidding for international events, more effective investment promotion, more effective tourism and business travel promotion, a better country of origin effect for exported goods and services, better profile in the international media and more productive cultural relations with other countries.(Anholt, 2010) The perceptions, opinions and image held by foreign publics regarding a given nation become important to decisions by other nations. These perceptions, opinions and images are built from the information presented in the global media. Managing the information is of paramount importance in the new world of globalization and communication. Due to the benefits of a competitive national identity countries have often tried to get a positive national image. This thesis analyses how the international public relations' influence on the media coverage of countries can be used to improve national identity.

3.3 International public relations' influence on media coverage

Many countries make substantial efforts and invest resources to promote their national image and reputation by targeting foreign media and publics. Researchers have found empirical evidence of the influence of country-level international public relations on media coverage and public opinion of a target country (Albritton and Manheim, 1983, Albritton and Manheim, 1985, Kiouisis and Wu, 2008, Lee, 2007 and Manheim and Albritton, 1984). Studies have found that international public relations

efforts by other countries have an impact on the visibility and valence of those countries in U.S. news coverage. After Argentina, Indonesia, South Korea, the Philippines, and Turkey hired U.S. public relations firms, positive coverage of each country in the New York Times increased (Manheim and Albritton, 1984, p.641).

Negative coverage about Rhodesia in the New York Times decreased because of international public relations by the Rhodesian government (Albritton and Manheim, 1983). Albritton and Manheim in their paper titled 'News of Rhodesia: The impact of a Public Relations campaign' analysed a case study of Rhodesia now Zimbabwe. They noted that Rhodesia during the violent years before the beginning of majority rule, Prime Minister Ian Smith contracted an American public relations firm to improve its image in the United States. (Albritton and Manheim, 1983, p.622)

Albritton and Manheim (1983) observed that during the year following this signing, the Rhodesian government engaged in a range of image-related activities including the establishment of an information office in Washington, conducting a press tour of a village which had been subjected to a guerrilla attack, portrayal of the kidnapping of black children by Botswana-based rebels, drawing of attention to guerrilla raids on Catholic missions and development of protected villages for the black population. (Albritton and Manheim, 1983) The researchers believed these events were efforts to manipulate the projected image of Rhodesia and change their portrayal of the country in the American press.

The research analysed the coverage of Rhodesia in the New York Times, one of the prominent American papers, before and after the signing of the public relations intervention campaign. They aimed to find any systematic differences in coverage which might be attributed to the public relations effort. Albritton and Manheim 1983 were trying to answer the question, "can a public relations effort significantly affect reporting in the face of so strong and historical force?" Their results were positive showing that "substantial and significant changes in reporting of the major determinant

of national image, domestic violence, are (were) associated with the public relations contract.” (Albritton and Manheim, 1983) The analysis shows that the contract was associated with a reduction of just over eight reports of violence per month.

In one of their earlier research observations in this area, Manheim and Albritton (1984) analysed the New York Times coverage of six countries to find out how hiring American public relations firms altered media coverage of those nations. By making a comparison of coverage before and after the hiring of the firms, they found out that countries receiving public relations counsel were able to improve their visibility and valence in news content. It is important to note that decreasing the frequency of coverage for some countries was indicative of success because the prior coverage was predominantly negative.

A recent study by Lee (2007, p.158) on ‘International public relations as a predictor of prominence of US news coverage’ concluded that the number and dollar amount of international public relations campaign contracts by other countries in the United States were positively linked to the prominence of coverage by mainstream United States newspapers and television news. Lee and Hong (2012) in their study on ‘International public relations’ influence on media coverage and public perceptions of foreign countries’ examined the influence of international public relations on a target country's news coverage and public perceptions toward other countries. This study used a public relations influence model of national image formation and tested its relationships based on 27 countries’ public relations effort targeting the United States news coverage and publics. This study found out that the public relations of other countries in the United States had a direct impact on how significantly and favourably the United States public perceived those countries. It also had impact on the increased prominence and positive coverage of the foreign country in the United States news media.

Kiousis and Wu (2008) in their study based on agenda building and agenda setting frameworks, showed associations among international

public relations activities, United States news media coverage, and public perceptions of foreign countries. They found that international public relations campaigns were related to a decrease in the amount of negative news in the United States media and that negative news salience was positively related to public salience and negative attitudes toward the foreign countries. International public relations were indirectly linked to the U.S. publics' favourable perception toward those countries. (Kiousis and Wu, 2008)

By successfully building and maintaining a positive national reputation in foreign media and with foreign publics through country-level international public relations, countries expect political and economic gains as ultimate outcomes. Scholars have suggested the impact of country-level international public relations on economic outcomes such as trade, foreign direct investment, and tourism without providing empirical data. Wang (2006, p.91) mentioned that a positive national reputation enables a nation to increase economic returns (such as profits from sales of country-origin products) and to draw foreign investment and tourism. Kunczik (2002) studied the relationship between international public relations in national image cultivation and the flow of international capital flow. He pointed out that developing countries and/or emerging markets need more active international public relations to draw investors' attention because rating agencies (e.g., Standard & Poor's and Moody's) often use Western or Americanized perspectives to evaluate other countries. Public relations campaigns can change how a nation is viewed, but it can be concluded that the developing countries have to continually invest in campaigns to maintain that image and valuation.

3.4 Nation Branding

Every nation is a brand and most nations have had their brands made for them. The nation brand could have been developed deliberately or by default, formed from a myriad of different sources, such as word of mouth, education, mass media, travel, product purchases and dealings with its people. (Davies, 2006)

Branding in the past was usually associated with the positioning of products and services in the minds of consumers. According to Arens (1999), branding denotes the brand name, words, symbols, designs and the packaging that identifies the product and its source, which distinguishes it from competing products. Manufacturers and organizations have adopted the strategy of branding to promote their products and services to gain customers' loyalty and patronage for improved sales figure and profit.

It must be noted that multinationals, corporations, and other organizations use branding for other purposes than identifying and distinguishing their products and services from competing products. Alexander (1993) affirmed that each brand and each product develops or projects an image which is generally conveyed to customers and prospects through the various promotional techniques, particularly through advertising. Thus, brand image not only makes the product, it also makes the consumer patronize the physical and psychological benefits of the product or brand.

In the words of Alexander (1993), there are three component parts of brand image; image of the maker (the corporation making the product), image of the product (the product itself), and image of the user (the consumer using the product). Nevertheless, it is not only the corporate world that has adopted the strategy of branding or brand image to promote products and services, government at all levels have adopted it to shore up their corporate image and welfare services to the people.

Anholt claims that he coined the term "nation branding" in 1996 (earthspeak.com, n.d.). He is undoubtedly the most prolific author on the subject (e.g., Anholt, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2007, 2008), and he has played a key role in establishing nation branding through consulting practice, speaking engagements, and efforts to institutionalize it as an academic field with scientific legitimacy. Another "founding father" of nation branding is Wally Olins, also a British brand consultant, whose work for governments, speaking engagements, and publications (e.g., Olins, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2005) are commonly referenced.

According to Moilanen and Rainisto (2009), a nation can increase its profile in the target audience through a strong country brand which is derived from the identity of the nation. A professionally managed country brand has the ability to attract companies, investments, talented people, residents as well as visitors. Various effects of a nation brand include: “the public diplomacy; the interests of the export industry; enterprises and investors; destination marketing; and the identity and self-confidence of the people of the country.” (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009)

National branding can be defined as the strategic self-presentation of a country with the aim of creating reputation capital through economic, political and social interest promotion both at home and abroad. This strategy called Nation Branding is used to promote the goodwill of a country among the comity of nations. It deals with the management of a country’s image and reputation locally and globally. With globalization, the manifestation of the ‘global village’ theory of Marshall McLuhan has actually made nation branding inevitable (Osho and Odetoyinbo, 2010). Attesting to the idea of nation branding, Badejo-Okusanya, (2007) affirmed that it is an important concept in today’s marketing world, and this is so because globalization means that countries compete with each other for the attention, respect and trust of investors, tourists, consumers, immigrants, the government of other nations, and the media. Nation branding may be inevitable but it should not negate historic inequalities among nations.

According to Moilanen and Rainisto (2009), how a country is perceived in relation to the quality of its products and services, how interesting its culture is viewed as, how interesting the country is considered to be, the kind of business opportunities available, politics, economics and diplomacy are all linked to country brand. A strong country brand must attract businesses and investments; must promote the goals of the tourism industry; must promote public diplomacy; must support the interests of exporting industries and must strengthen national identity and increase self-respect.” (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009) It can be argued that nation

branding in this context lays more emphasis on the economic and obscures the political.

Nation branding, however, is not a mere synonym for propaganda, nor are its suggested applications limited to influencing public opinion through advertising or public relations. Despite nation branding's growing popularity, there is much disagreement about its meaning and scope. Nation branding can be defined "as a compendium of discourses and practices aimed at reconstituting nationhood through marketing and branding paradigms." The architects of nation branding envisage it as "a component of national policy, never as a 'campaign' that is separate from planning, governance or economic development" (Anholt, 2008, p.1).

Besides, nation branding is a major tool of Integrated Marketing Communication (IMC) to influence the socio-economic development of a country. Such strategy and tactics are being adopted by Nigeria to shore up the image, reputation and credibility of the most populated country in Africa (Osho et al, 2010).

Nation-building activities can be threatened by programming from outside sources. The efforts of Africa to rebrand itself can be jeopardized "if the distribution system flows directly from sources in the industrialised world to consumers in the Third World, then making national policy become an empty endeavour" (Poindexter, 1991).

A successful brand lives in the minds and hearts of its prospective audience, similarly the bad brand. A brand must provide what the public think of the product or service. Almost anything can be branded: a service, a location such as a country, a person and manufactured goods. The most successful brands hold a power positive position within people's mind. For the purpose of this study, the focus is on place branding, which can be described as the process whereby a town, region, or country actively seeks to create a unique and competitive identity for itself, with the aim of positioning it formally and externally as a good destination for trade, tourism and investments (Adebola, 2012, p.424).

Nations with a chaotic or turbulent past which are endeavouring to emerge with a new social, political, industrial, commercial and cultural persona must realise that in order to be noticed they should take active steps to create a positive identity, and such identities must be based more around opportunities for the future than today's reality. In this sort of situation, an identity programme can act as a catalyst for change (Olins, 1999). From the viewpoint of Anholt (2005), he argued that a national brand strategy determines the most realistic, most competitive and most compelling strategic vision for a country, in which the vision should be supported, reinforced, and enriched by communication between the country and the rest of the world. This raises the question, what is the role of global media in national branding and image building?

Olins (1999) and Anholt (2005) have argued that communication strategy can make a huge difference to both the internal confidence and the external performance of a country, state or region. Further, there are communication principles that could be applied and used by cities, regions and states. For a country, company, state or organisation, the classic communication model consisting of 5 Ws + 1 H (*Who, What, Why, When, Whom and How*) is a good starting point in attempting to create and manage an image, identity and communications programme. *The Who*: the source or originator of the message, *The What*: the message, the logo, slogan or the contents of communications to be communicated, *What* should the target audience do after getting the message? Change in attitude or behavior? *The Why*: this refers to the communications objectives. What is the intended desired outcome? What is in it for the message recipients? *The When*: this refers to timelines for breaking the communication campaign, *The Whom*: the primary and secondary target audience of the communication campaign. This must be clearly defined from the beginning. *The How*: The overall strategy, communications techniques and media to be used, tone of voice.

When the brand is being created, the messages are passed to the target audience through planned messages (e.g., advertising, brochures), product

messages (e.g., physical settings, features), service messages (e.g., contacts in the service process), unplanned messages (e.g., word-of-mouth, newspaper articles) (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009) This study looks at the communication strategy employed by the Nigeria rebranding campaign and analyse if the strategy was effective in changing how Nigeria is reported by the British press.

The models of national branding are meant to advance an applied research agenda that is intended to inform, but not to question, the practice of brand management for nations. It can be argued instrumental approaches obscure the political dimensions of national governance and identity construction in order to make them applicable to the logic of marketing.

The theories, authors and applications of national branding are all based on assumptions about the current state of nationhood, which are resolutely rooted in a marketing and management orientation. They assume the domination of global markets and global competition among nations. There is a narrowed definition of national wellbeing primarily in terms of securing an economic competitive advantage, and nation branding is expected to contribute to this by attracting investments, tourists, human capital, or trade.

3.5 Forms of National Branding

According to Osho et al (2004), national branding is similar to product branding and much more. As branding and trademark are crucial in advertising, marketing and public relations, and both form the essential elements of corporate identity of any organisation, so also they are to a country.

Some countries have changed their names and common identities to reflect new ideas, values and vision. For instance, Benin Republic, Egypt, Ghana and Democratic Republic of Congo were initially referred to as Dahomey, Misra, Gold Coast and Zaire respectively. As part of national branding identities, a nation must have a flag, coat of arms, national anthem and pledge, and national slogan. The system of government and

the constitution of the country, the laws, and statutes, acts of parliament, government policies, programmes and strategies also form part of the national brand. Other national branding strategies include good governance, leadership by example, safe and clean environment, rule of law, human rights, and people oriented programmes, open and serious war against bribery and corruption (Osho et al, 2004). To successfully rebrand Nigeria he suggests the “appointment of professional journalists and public relations experts as Ministers of information and commissioners for information for the proper handling of information management of the country.” (Osho et-al, 2004)

Nation branding has included public diplomacy which incorporates the government, the media and public opinion. According to Szondi (2008), public diplomacy focuses on influencing the general public of target nations in order to influence a change in foreign and domestic policies. Public diplomacy has been defined as working with a soft power. Gilboa (2008, p.55) states that “soft power is a nation’s values, cultures and policies for the development of politics, economics, and cultures.” To create a national reputation, nations must communicate with international publics, hence it includes the use of mass media and communication strategies. (Wanta, 2006)

3.6 The role of media in nation branding

“Let’s be straight about it, we share this small and fragile planet with a growing number of our fellow human beings. What happens in one country increasingly affects those who live in other countries. We will not have a safe and secure world unless we do something about poverty, injustice and inequality. We can do something. And it is the media, the mirror that we hold up to ourselves that has an enormously powerful part to play in helping to make this happen---.” Hilary Benn, UK Secretary of State for International Development (as cited by Franks, 2005)

Baffour Ankomah in a paper titled, ‘Why should journalism curriculum be Africanised’ published by the Global Media Journal 2008, argues that the curriculum for teaching journalism should cater for Africa and what

he terms 'national interests'. He proposes that, "while we were sleeping in Africa, journalism was slowly transforming from being merely a tool for information, education and entertainment, to one that looks after, and protects, national interest; a tool used by the power centres of the world for their own ends." (Ankomah, 2008)

In his view, Ankomah (2008) claims that, "National interest is by far the most important factor influencing the coverage of news, both domestic and foreign." He reinforces his point by quoting Ronald Spark, the chief lead writer of The Sun 1991, who admitted that, "Truth is sacred, but a newspaper that tells only part of the truth is a million times preferable to one that tells the truth to harm his country." (Ronald Spark as cited by Ankomah, 2008)

Governments and national leaders are becoming more and more aware of the power of mass media to frame, define and shape reality, mostly through a selection process based primarily on ideological orientation. The media has the power to frame the issues that define nations and its people. (Hagos, 2000)

The rising trend of globalization and the breaking down of international trade barriers have increased the competition amongst countries and companies for consumers and investments, also known as Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs). Therefore, it is the country, place or region that is able to project the most positive image to potential investors and tourists, and also guarantees peace and stability of investment, as well as security of life and value for money that will likely attract tourists and foreign investments. (Ankomah, 2008)

These views are also supported by Charles Brymer (2003), who suggests that "countries will compete daily with neighbours or block regions for tourism, inward investment and export sales. There is only so much business that can go around. Those countries that start with an unknown or poor reputation will be limited or marginalized. They cannot easily boost their commercial success". (Brymer 2003) Taking from the above view, it could be argued that competition among nations and countries is

part and parcel of the globalised world. Therefore, rather than avoiding competition, nations should exploit it to display their innovativeness and hence show case their competitiveness to win attention in the global world.

Similarly, Olins (2002, p.241) writes that "countries which have thought most about branding issues have been those, like Britain, with some kind of traditional position, influence and reputation which they seek to change or improve." (Olins, 2002) In conclusion, the role of media and communication in nation branding is summarised by Moilanen and Rainisto (2009), who state that "a good place image needs good communications, good operations and substance. Since image is the reality, it needs to be supported by good operations. Communications give promises, and operations fulfil these promises."

Nation branding has included public diplomacy which incorporates the government, the media and public opinion. According to Szondi (2008), public diplomacy focuses on influencing the general public of target nations in order to influence a change in foreign and domestic policies. Public diplomacy has been defined as working with a soft power. Gilboa states that "soft power is a nation's values, cultures and policies for the development of politics, economics, and cultures. To create a national reputation, nations must communicate with international publics, hence it include the use of mass media and communication strategies. (Wanta, 2006)

Most people are heavily dependent on mass media for information about international affairs, as a result media can play an important role in shaping public perceptions and hence images of other nations. Studies have found that exposures to news coverage increases knowledge about nations and can significantly influence public opinion towards foreign nations. (Albritton and Manheim, 1983, 1985) These perceptions and images in turn have important implications in a number of areas, ranging from the nature of personal interactions among people of differing nations to foreign policy. Hence nations make big efforts in shaping the content of media coverage.

Iyengar and Kinder (1987) carried out experiments which demonstrated that news coverage of an issue gives that issue more weight. The experiments showed that exposure to media coverage of an issue tends to make that issue more accessible in people's minds; this in turn increases the likelihood that people will base their evaluations of that nation. This raises the possibility that news stories affect how citizens evaluate foreign nations.

Media framing is another way in which media can influence attitudes towards foreign countries. According to Gamson (1992) a frame is a story line or an organising idea. Framing consists of selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communication text in a way that promotes "a particular problem, definition, casual, interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation." (Entman, 1993, p.51) Frames may guide how people understand the world and thus form perceptions of other nations.

This study is based on this scholarship which indicates that news coverage shapes perceptions and hence images of other nations. If news coverage can shape perceptions, how can it be incorporated in the development of a national or country brand? This study looks at examples of other country brands to determine the success factors for developing country brands.

3.7 Success factors for developing a country brand

Country branding is a complex process which involves a large number of stakeholders who need to cooperate together in a legislative environment in order to have a unified direction in an integrated purpose to achieve the overall strategic interest of the country. Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) recommends that it requires *a working group*: a planning group is required to coordinate a holistic country marketing and branding system. This is also supported by Osho (2010) who recommends the appointment of professional journalists and public relations for the proper handling of information management of the country.

According to Moilanen and Rainisto, successful rebranding projects start by having a clear vision. It has set achievable goals or objectives for the campaign. SWOT analysis includes identifying strengths, weakness, opportunities and threats to the campaign. Professional qualitative and quantitative research is usually carried out to find out how the nation brand is perceived internationally, by the target markets and by its own residents. The research findings are then analysed. Experts, national key players and stakeholder are then consulted and a unifying vision formulated. (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009) According to Moilanen and Rainisto (2009), some of the central success factors for developing a country brand also include: development of a value-based point of difference; a national identity and core idea created; umbrella and sub concepts; communication system and Public-private partnerships.

The above theories, strategies and studies support the notion of nation branding as occurring when a government uses its power to persuade whoever has the ability to change a nation's image. Some scholars such as Gudjonsson's (2005, p.283) dismiss the idea of nation branding as a process to brand a nation. He argues that nations cannot be branded but agrees that governments can use the techniques of branding. All studies agree that nation branding is successful when the brand is lived by the citizens.

3.8 Examples of countries and their national brands

Countries like the United Kingdom, United States, South Africa, China, Wales, Spain and Ireland have succeeded in attracting businesses and tourists to their countries as a result of well managed branding programmes sustained by fairly stable political, social and economic environments. Examples of this form of branding are the United Kingdom's "*Cool Britannia*" and "*Ok, UK*", New York's "*I love NY*", and Spain "*Turespana*". All these are the campaigns executed to attract both tourists and potential investors to these places (Adebola, 2012).

According to Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) examples of successful country brands include, "Spain's transformation from a poor European

backwater nation to a modern, civilized country; the transformation of Ireland from a fringe area to an IT centre; and Croatia's conversion from a theatre of war to an interesting tourism destination and area of business.”

Spain, during Franco's dictatorship, was Europe's poor backwater nation, but after Franco left, Spain promoted affordable beach resorts for the wealthier people of the north. Between the 1980s and 1990s, Spain started a campaign to develop a strong country brand, using Joan Miro's modern sun symbol. Spain then hosted the Barcelona Olympic Games and the world fair at Seville. This valuable campaign was vital in the shaping of Spain's country brand, “from a unilateral and scarce country brand to a culturally rich, productive, and interesting economy and a modern European force.” (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009)

The process of rebranding a country is not always successful. An example of a country that tried to rebrand but failed is Norway. The country branding process was initiated in Norway in 1998 and was worth hundreds of millions of NOK, the Norwegian currency. The project started by hiring a managing director to realize operations and increase the relative coordination between different tourism boards. As a result of the changes, NORTRA (the Norwegian Travel Board) was launched in 1998. The goal was to create a new name, look, and logo for Norway as a tourist destination. NORTRA, in cooperation with the Scandinavian Design Group, an advertising agency, started the project initiation by conducting a planning process concentrating on values, communication methods and visual look. This effort resulted in a new name, Norwegian Tourism Board (NTB) as well as a new logo and visual directions, which differed strongly from the old, traditional visual look and colour range from the Norwegian flag; red, blue and white. A new website was also launched to fit the new visual look. The Norwegian government instructed a group called the Selnes group to establish procedures that Norway's tourism industry could develop to improve profitability. The Selnes group concluded that 200 million NOK that was invested in communications had to be increased to at least 500 million NOK to attract attention. The project gained more

financial support from 20 of the largest companies in the tourism industry. The campaign was launched on seven main markets which had been identified through the research namely Germany, Sweden, Denmark, France, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. After 5 years, the project faced criticism and folded up in 2003. (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009)

According to Moulanen and Rainisto (2009), the project failed because a small number of the participants (the tourism companies) took part in the planning process and the crucial parts of the brand were planned by a few people from the tourism industry who implemented it without approval from the other sponsors. Hence this study looks at the efforts by Nigeria to brand itself in the global media. It uses the success criteria identified to look at the Nigerian rebranding campaign.

Australia is one of the pioneers of country branding and rebranding and it is one of the few countries to succeed. Their first branding project was between 1995 and 2002 and the expansion or rebrand from 2003 to 2006. Australia started its rebranding project after the Sydney Olympics Games had ended and the 9/11 attacks and the SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) outbreak had shaken the tourism industry. The tourism industry intended to develop a brand of excitement, the government secured a white paper and sufficient finances. The rebranding program started by conducting a research, a follow up study of Australia's image in the target markets. They appointed an external consultant to find out what expectations, opinions, and goals the different parties had for the future country brand. According to Moulanen and Rainisto (2009) the branding process was a success due to its clear objectives, clear decision making process and good communication processes. (Moulanen and Rainisto, 2009) Anholt (2008) emphasizes that nation branding should be seen as a long-term project that does not yield immediate results. He argues that there are two "schools" of nation branding "communication-based" and "policy-based" and that, while communication based branding is more common, only policy-based branding produces real results.

3.9 Nigeria, Global Media Representation and Efforts at Image Building

The image of a nation might as well be the destiny of a nation. Nigeria's disfigured image in the global village has become an insignia of dishonest, dishonor and disrespect; this is outright humiliation of a nation of almost 150 million people. (Aremu and Bamiduro, 2012, p.11)

Nigeria is the most populated country in Africa. Out of the 54 countries in the continent with a total population of over one billion, according to United Nations estimate, Nigeria forms a quarter of the head count with its over 160 million people.

Nigeria's economy is the second largest in the continent, with oil reserves bringing great revenues to the country. Yet, it remains one of the poorest countries in the world. It is associated with poverty, ethnic and religious violence, conflicts, scamming, and primitive cultural practices. It is adjudged one of the most corrupt nations in the world by Transparency International in its corruption perception index. This image creates negative perceptions in the minds of people around the world about Nigeria and its people.

It was in realisation of this that the administration of former President Olusegun Obasanjo launched the Nigeria image project in July 2004 to project the positive sides of Nigeria so as to gain global acceptance, goodwill and confidence. Obasanjo also introduced the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to combat corruption which Nigeria is widely known for.

The Nigerian Image Project (also known as the Heart of Africa Project) initiated by the then Minister of Information and National Orientation, Chief Chukwuemeka Chikelu, was launched with over ₦600 million with the purpose of improving Nigeria's internal and external image. Nworah (2007) in his paper 'Branding Nigeria's cities' stated that the branding was aimed at improving Nigeria's image in the international community, and

to position it as a good destination for tourism and investment in Sub-Saharan Africa. Some state governments in Nigeria also complemented the branding effort. The multi-million-naira Cross River State *Tinapa Holiday and Business Resort* stands out as Africa's best, putting Nigeria on the map of world tourism. To complement the Heart of Africa Project, the Abuja Carnival, modelled after the Rio de Janeiro Carnival in Brazil, was staged to celebrate 30 years of the Federal Capital Territory. The Kwara State government also invited white farmers, displaced by the Zimbabwean government, to boost food production and export.

Osho et al (2010) declared that the national branding of the eight-year government of President Obasanjo achieved its desired results with the anti-corruption crusade, payment of international debts, conflict and dispute resolutions, and corporate governance and transparency. Further, it was attested that the rebranding project was a success according to Bello (2007) who stated that the Obasanjo's government had succeeded in putting Nigeria back on the map of civilization to the extent that the civilized world had been shown what Nigerians are capable of achieving.

However, despite declarations of the success of the 'Heart of Africa' project, some believed it was a failure and was scrapped by the subsequent administration's Information and Communications Minister, Professor Dora Akunyili who described the previous effort as faulty in concept and presentation.

Perhaps one of the most ambitious and most expensive rebranding efforts ever embarked upon in Nigeria was initiated by the military regime of General Ibrahim Babangida in 1987. Tagged MAMSER: Mass Movement for Self-Reliance, Social Justice and Economic Recovery, it was introduced as part of the transition programme of the regime with the sole aim of giving Nigerians and Nigeria a new beginning. MAMSER had on board eminent Nigerians who have excelled in their various areas of calling in both private and public lives. To date, MAMSER remains the longest internal rebranding effort ever embarked upon by any government in Nigeria. (Osho et al, 2010).

However, before MAMSER was WAI. WAI which means War Against Indiscipline was launched by the government of General Muhammadu Buhari and the late General Tunde Idiagbon when the regime came on board in 1983. WAI, another rebranding effort was aimed at giving Nigerians a new lease of life. WAI espoused discipline in both public and private lives, and Nigerians were fast adapting to some aspects of it before the regime was overthrown. All these public relations programmes embarked upon by the government of Nigeria were all geared towards correcting negative impressions about the country, especially at the international arena.

In the last decade since Nigeria returned to democracy, the country has undergone considerable changes most notably moving from a military dictatorship to becoming a democracy. On the ground, there have been tangible noticeable changes. For instance, the influx of foreign companies (outside of the oil sector) and the genuine improvement of the public infrastructure as evidenced in the successful introduction of the Bus Rapid Transport system in Lagos. Coupled with these are Nigerian men and women who are world changers in their chosen field everywhere in the world. A Nigerian, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, served at the top of the World Bank hierarchy as vice president. Wole Soyinka became the first black African Nobel laureate for literature in 1986. Chinua Achebe is another literary icon and author of the bestselling novel *Things Fall Apart*. Booker Prize winner, Ben Okri and businessman Adebayo Ogunlesi, who recently acquired London Gatwick Airport, are also trailblazers. These achievers show that Nigerians are not all involved in crime and violence but they are also of creativity, skills, and enduring legacies.

Nigeria as a nation achieved some desirable achievements, and Nigerians are said to have good survival instincts and to love life. Nigeria is well known globally, for its prowess in soccer, having won the Under 17 World Cup in 1985, 1993, and 2007. The country also won the under-23 Olympic football Gold in Atlanta 1996. Football has become a unifying force that cuts across ethnicity and religion, and Nigeria has contributed enormously to global football development. Nigeria has made contributions to the

United Nations peacekeeping initiatives with the Nigerian peacemakers having been sent to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chad, Lebanon, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, and other global hotspots. Nigeria is the fourth largest contributor of troops to the United Nations. Nigeria aimed to change its image by showcasing its strengths, while working on its weak points.

3.10 The Nigeria Rebranding Campaign: *Good People, Great Nation*

"Today as a nation, we begin a new journey. We open a new chapter in our attempt as a people to take conscious steps at redefining our nation, re-examining our values and character and re-dedicating ourselves to the ideals of our founding father. In this renewed effort to improve our image, we aim at birthing new patriotic spirit and ensuring that our name and battered image as a people are restored. This is a journey we must undertake at this time as a nation and as a people. We are all gathered here to begin this journey today, powered by the desire to see this great nation shed its toga of untrustworthy, unreliable and ungovernable people. This will no doubt be a journey like no other." (Akunyili, 2009)

In 2009, the Nigerian government decided to repackage the country's image with an emphasis on good public relations through the reportage of investment and tourism potential by the Western media to the international audience. Under late President Umaru Yar'Adua, Professor Akunyili instituted yet another re-branding project. A new campaign was launched under the tag ***"Nigeria: Good People, Great Nation"***.

Figure 2: Good People Great Nation image



The then Vice President, later President Goodluck Jonathan, unbundled the purpose of the campaign as a genuine attempt to re-orientate Nigerians towards believing in themselves once again and to change the perception of the country both locally and internationally (Osho et al, 2010). The Ministry of Communication did not have detailed documentation on the objectives and aims of the rebranding campaign. The Minister of Communication has since been replaced, hence the information on the aims, objectives and activities of the rebranding campaign were compiled from the speeches made by the communication minister as well other research documents on the rebranding campaign. Other studies on the Nigerian rebranding campaign have used the speeches made by the Minister of Information.

Rebranding Nigeria is an initiative of the Federal Ministry of Information and Communication. The minister, Professor Dora Akunyili defined it as “a new chapter in our attempt as a people to take conscious steps at redefining our nation, re-examining our values and character and rededicating ourselves to the ideas of our founding fathers” (Alao, 2009). According to The Punch Newspaper (2009), President Yar'Adua urged Nigerians to renew the national spirit and re-invigorate faith in the nation. This, he said, could only be achieved through collective resolve to do things the right way. He explained that the re-branding campaign was designed to change the negative perception of Nigeria and Nigerians both locally and internationally. Yar'Adua added that it was meant for

reorientation of Nigerians to believe in themselves and the country (The Punch Newspaper, 2009).

The main philosophy behind the rebranding project could be derived from the statements made by Professor Akunyili. She stated that “when I assumed office as minister and chief image maker for Nigeria, about three months ago, I busied my mind with thoughts on what can be done differently.”(Akunyili, 2009) She came up with three considerations. Firstly she claimed that the negative perception about Nigerians was largely because Nigerians allowed others to tell their story and it stuck, but more importantly because a few Nigerians through their activities gave their country a bad name. Secondly she recognized that despite the struggles, and not too good a reputation, Nigerians were to use every opportunity to make a change. She stated that “though Nigeria is a country with problems, it is also one with countless opportunities. Nigeria has many brilliant minds and experts who can hold their own in virtually every field of endeavour.” Thirdly she was optimistic based on her experience in government, she had a conviction that something could be done to make Nigerians believe in themselves and their country. (Akunyili, 2009)

She concluded that a more systematic way of addressing the pressing issues is through a people oriented national rebranding campaign, backed by better information management and dissemination. Based on these considerations, Akunyili stated that, “I have decided to take this journey, and invite people. If not now, then when? Because as long as this great country and her citizens continue to be put down and suffer discrimination and humiliation, the more difficult it becomes to rise up and challenge these stereotypes.” (Akunyili, 2009)

The minister had two main objectives in the rebranding campaign. These were attitudinal change and value reorientation on the part of Nigerians, and to tell the outside world that Nigerians are not altogether bad people. These objectives fit into Chia’s (1958) thesis of “revolution through evolution” which states that “revolutions are changes that move people away from existing situations to completely different situations. In the act

of governing people, the changes move them away from the existing philosophies of governance to completely new concepts of order and the pursuit of goals in society. The changes may be positive or negative to the needs of the people concerned. They are positive when the objectives in them are in line with the yearnings and aspirations in society, and are negative when this is not the case.” (Chia 1958 as cited in Bamiduro, 2012)

According to Bamiduro (2012), Chia (1958) stresses the importance of those responsible for this revolution to gradually steer the society away from the old situation to a new one until the change is fully completed. He notes the length of time it may take as years or even a few generations.

The ‘Rebranding Nigeria’ project campaign faced a lot of challenges including volatility of financing: at the launch of the project, the minister in charge was not aware of how much will be used to fund the rebranding effort. The main funding (N150 million) which had been budgeted for the previous branding programme was redirected to fund the new effort. According to The Punch newspaper, the launch came at the same time as the decline in Nigeria’s revenue, making it lose popularity with Nigerians. At the time of launch, about 90 million Nigerians were without adequate food. Nigeria had lost over 1,000 lives and \$23.7b to the Niger Delta crisis in 2008 with the loss continuing in 2009. (The Punch Newspaper, 10/04/2009 and 15/04/2009)

The NewsWatch Magazine (4/5/2009) also cited criticism from the Minister of Health, Professor Babatunde Osotimehin who said, “What manner of rebranding is Nigeria campaigning for while malaria kills 300,000?” (The Punch Newspaper 5/8/2009). The Director-General of Rivers State Sustainable Development Agency, Mr Bolaji Ogunseye, on Monday 11th May, 2009, said that “over 70 million Nigerians were under-employed in a country of abundant tapped and untapped mineral resources but chose to rebrand herself” (The Punch Newspaper, 12/5/2009).

Critics such as Akinjide (2009) described the campaign as a joke, sheer waste of resources, and one of those gimmicks to make the nation’s shame

more glaring. But Shuaib (2004) pointed out that the difficulty with rebranding Nigeria externally has to do with the fact that the foreign media often prefer African stories that relate to war, hunger and disease.

The Nigeria rebranding project had many challenges, but it seems to have started by following the success criteria by Moilanen and Rainsto which recommend that a working group should be created followed by research and consultation. The minister of information, Professor Akunyili “convened a People’s Forum to flag off the National Rebranding project” (Akunyili 2009). She invited stakeholders, including a group representing the Nigerian people and the leaders, to the forum and outlined the rationale behind the need to take another initiative at addressing the negative perception of Nigeria and Nigerians in general. The minister wanted to start the rebranding campaign internally through interfacing with various stakeholders and getting their buy in and support.

During this forum and from the research conducted, the Information Minister concluded that, “to a very large extent the perception about Nigeria is very bad especially abroad.” (Akunyili’s speech 21/2/ 2009) She highlighted that there were certain aspects of Nigeria’s narrative as a nation that were regrettable, demeaning, destructive and unacceptable. And persistent corruption remained the bane of development and self-pride as a people. She noted that, “the perception of what we have as a brand is a corruption brand, a near collapse state brand, a dysfunctional people brand and a brand that is hard to sell.” (Akunyili’s speech 21/2/2009)

In her speech, Akunyili stated that, “Corruption today has become Nigeria’s greatest liability. Every average Nigerian carries an unseen, yet very present burden of being perceived as corrupt. Corruption in the past four decades was allowed to permeate the Nigerian body polity without let or hindrance.” (Akunyili 21/2/2009) She laid the blame on the door steps of Nigeria’s successive governments who did not fight corruption leading to the failure to provide Nigerians with a decent livelihood. (Akunyili, 2009)

Nigeria is branded as a corrupt nation and its people as potentially corrupt globally. According to Akunyili, the prevalent image that Nigeria is irredeemably corrupt has inflicted collateral damage on the country as Nigeria loses billions to financial crimes and other forms of corruption every year. She declared that, “Do we as a people give up the fight against corruption and other ills in our society simply because we fear that we cannot win? No.” (Akunyili, 2009)

According to Akunyili, the high corruption perception index of Nigeria is responsible for its poor image at home and abroad. She urged Nigerians to think about and support the twin initiative of fighting corruption in all forms and rebranding Nigeria’s image. The rebranding strategy adopted was to start the changes from within Nigeria. She saw a need for Nigeria to soul-search and take corrective steps that would bring about a change in attitudes, introduce a new leadership orientation and prepare a way for the emergence of a new Nigerian brand.

Akunyili said “we must start to make serious attempts at rebranding through concrete efforts. The starting point is that there must be self-belief in Nigeria for rebranding to work. We must start to believe in ourselves. By obeying the laws of our country, being honest in our business dealings, abstaining from taking or giving bribes, stopping the rigging of elections, staying clear of credit card scams and advance fee fraud (419) and holding public office holders accountable.” In her view, Nigeria can serve notice that it is serious about correcting the negative image that prevails. (Akunyili, 21/2/2009)

She admonished Nigerians to change their projection of Nigeria’s image by how they obey the traffic laws, how they stay in line for their turn, how they conduct themselves in public places, how they behave at foreign embassies, their ethics of business dealings and financial transactions and their range of relationships which must project a more positive Nigeria. (Akunyili 21/2/2009)

The Information Minister accepted that challenges exist but she answered her critics by stating that, “For those who argue that we don’t need re-

branding because of the present challenges, I wonder if they prefer that we have no brand at all or keep our current objective brand.” (Akunyili, 21/2/2009) She asked the Nigerian people to give the rebranding project a chance by making the necessary adjustments and acknowledging government efforts.

This study attempted to find the information on how the media was targeted to meet the second objective of the campaign but was unsuccessful as the administration had changed hence this study like many other studies on the Nigerian rebranding campaign will rely on information from the speeches made by the Information minister.

3.11 The Nigeria ‘Good People, Great Nation’ Rebranding Activities

The Nigerian rebranding campaign started when a new Communication and Information Minister was appointed. The previous branding campaign “Heart of Africa” had failed to achieve its objectives. The minister started some research and consultation into changing the international image of Nigeria. The research and consultation was done through open forums with the public and industry executives. This was followed by the establishment of a working group.

The rebranding campaign was launched on the 17th of March 2009, by the use of the slogan ‘Nigeria: Good People, Great Nation,’ which was broadcast on radio, television, and billboards in locations around the country and outside, one of which was strategically placed at the departure lounge of London’s Heathrow airport. The same message and rebranding logo were sent to individual mobile phones to make citizens aware of this campaign. The campaign also included the production of collateral package such as T-shirts, face caps, table clocks, mugs, crests, umbrellas; production of different literature on Nigeria that will impact on a positive image; the production of audiovisuals such as radio jingles, TV commercials and their placements in the media, locally and internationally; logistic support for the series of town hall meetings in all states of the federation; media package support for comprehensive coverage and interventions. Akunyili (2009) urged that “we will showcase

our strengths, build upon our areas of success and work on those areas in which the country has clearly failed to perform.”

Unlike the PR campaigns, the target audience was the Nigerian nationals at home and abroad as the campaign aimed to revolutionize the Nigerian people and reflect this on the nation. The campaign also involved state governors, ministers, members of the National Assembly and ordinary Nigerians. Participation was facilitated through town hall meetings so that the public could present and get feedback on governmental activities. As part of the implementation strategy, rebranding clubs were established in some Nigerian high schools and tertiary institutions with a view to indoctrinating a culture of civility and patriotism in the students. Nigerian embassies in 105 locations worldwide including Britain were used for the campaign project because the Minister viewed them as windows through which Nigeria is perceived. Nigerian embassies were targeted by rebranding campaign managers so that the ambassadors could drive the messages to their various countries and to engage over 17 million Nigerians in the diaspora in the campaign.

The Rebranding committee called upon the mass media to ensure objective reportage of issues by avoiding sensationalism, and realizing that what she termed “outrageous reportage” only produces short-term gains. This study is interested in the media objective of the rebranding campaign, hence the study looks at the reporting of Nigeria by local and the foreign correspondents in the British press before and after the campaign.

The theatre and music industries were urged to produce art that depicts Nigeria's cultural identity, showcasing the spirit and sense of brotherhood, culture, hard work, and to compose meaningful songs that can change the hearts of Nigerians. A 3-Day Photo Exhibition on Nigeria's Democratic Development was also held to celebrate and highlight the successes of Nigerian governance. This study looks at visibility of these activities in the press as positive news from Nigeria.

This was also followed by the launch of The Global Database of Nigerians in the diaspora, which would act as an encyclopaedia of Nigerian professionals working in other countries. The database was registered with the Data Protection Commission in the United Kingdom, a strict regulatory body which assured of the highest respect for their privacy if they registered members. This was part of the rebranding campaign aiming to create opportunities for Nigeria to benefit from the vast skills of Nigerians all over the world towards national development. The campaign believed that proper harnessing of the experts abroad would contribute to the development of the country. The press release on the global database of Nigerians was a strategy by the rebranding campaign to showcase the vast amounts of talented Nigerians who are professionals around the world. This could deter the stereotypical image of Nigerians as criminals or corrupt people.

There is no evidence to show that the Nigerian rebranding campaign targeted particular journalists to report positively on Nigeria in the British press. The campaign did not aim for a quick fix to change the image of Nigeria in the British press. Studies show that it sought to address the root cause of its negative reportage, the Nigerian public. As reflected by its motto “Good People, Great Nation” Nigeria targeted the Nigerian people. The strategy follows that if Nigerian people’s perspectives are changed, it will reflect on the stories reported on the country. If Nigerians are proud of their country and identity they would protect the image of their nation. This study will analyse the reportage of Nigeria before and after the campaign, to assess the impact of the strategy taken by Nigeria to improve its reportage.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Background to the methodology

This chapter explains and justifies the research methodology used in this study, detailing the analytical techniques employed in assessing the coverage of Nigeria in the British press. The content of this chapter is drawn from and supported by the existing literature that was reviewed in Chapters Two and Three. This chapter will highlight the rationale of the chosen research techniques. Examples taken from past research into the reporting of Africa will be used to highlight issues related to this study. This chapter also presents and discusses research questions that the study aims to answer.

Study objectives

This aims to answer three main objectives by asking key questions for each objective, which are to:

1. Examine how Nigeria as a country has been reported by the British press;
 - a. What was the amount of coverage, frequency and depth of Nigerian stories in the British press?
 - b. What was the direction and tone of stories reported by the British press?
 - c. What story subjects drew coverage?
2. Assess the image of Nigeria presented by the British press;
 - a. What images did journalists' or newspapers' choice of words or phraseology portend to the British reader?
 - b. What were the news frames employed in the headlines of news stories in the British media?
 - c. Who were the sources and reporters in the reporting of Nigeria in the British media?

3. Appraise Nigeria's rebranding campaign initiative 'Good People, Great Nation'
 - a. How was Nigeria reported before and after the rebranding campaign?
 - b. Can rebranding work for Africa?

Content analysis

The methodology used in this study is a combination of content, framing and discourse analysis. Content analysis is a systematic method to analyse message content. It is an exceptional way to describe mass communication content objectively, systematically, and quantitatively, and it has become one of the frequently used methodologies for mass communication research (Kaid and Wadsworth, 1989, Stempel, 2003). Content analysis was considered suitable for this study as it allows for the analysis of message content of newspaper articles. The limitations of content analysis are being complimented by framing analysis which "provides a way to understand how news media structure messages and people's perceptions of those messages." (Teng'o, 2008) When analysing media coverage, comparative case studies help illuminate the inevitable biases, framing, or other news judgments journalists use in constructing a narrative (Entman, 1991). The aim of discourse analysis is to uncover how language works to construct meanings that signify people, objects and events in the world in specific ways.

The role of content analysis in mass communication research is to attempt to determine who says what to whom, how, and with what effect (Stempel, 2003). It allows this study to look at who reports on Nigeria and to what effect in the British press. Content analysis used in conjunction with attitude and demographic information, allows the researcher to make predictions about the communication process. This enables this study to deal with broader questions of process and effects of mass communication (Kaid and Wadsworth 1989)

According to Hansen et al (1998) "content analysis also grew to become an important component in the armoury of studies of international media

flows, carried out within wider debates and concerns about a New World Information and Communication Order and about cultural imperialism, development communication, globalization, and transitional information and image flows (Srebeny-Mohammadi, 1984). Content analysis supports this study in looking at the news flow from Nigeria to the British press and the subsequent image portrayed.

In content analysis, the researcher starts by determining the subject to be investigated, then defines the population that will be studied, the media source and time span. In the case of an excessively large population, a sample is selected. Categories are defined for the purpose of classifying content, the sample's content is then objectively coded. Reliability and validity are then calculated. The findings are then analysed and interpreted according to accepted media theories (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989). This is the structure that this study takes in analysing the news stories on Nigeria in the British press.

Quantitative content analysis is an important tool as quantification increases the accuracy of the study's conclusions and is able to better describe covariance between elements (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989). Four methodological problems that content analysis must take into account: selection of the unit of analysis, category construction, content sampling, and coding reliability.

The unit of analysis, that is, whether the study considers words, sentences, paragraphs, or whole articles, is determined by the purpose of the study. In selecting category systems, it is often advisable to use a system that has been used in other studies, and which has been proven to be workable. A unique set of categories should be developed if no existing system serves to meet the objectives of the study. Categories should be functional and relevant to the study's objectives, and the system must be manageable. The unit of analysis in this study considers whole articles with emphasis to the headlines of the articles.

Content must be sampled in such a way that the sample accurately represents the selected population of study. Time must be randomly

sampled, and when sampling daily media, each day of the week should be represented equally. Reliability in coding, that is, consistency of classification, is necessary for a content analysis to be objective and systematic. Inadequate definition of categories, lack of a common frame of reference between coders, and oversights can all affect coding reliability negatively. (Stempel, 2003) This study develops clear categories to avoid oversights and increase coding reliability.

Content analysis, according to Kerlinger (1973) “can be applied to available materials and to materials especially produced for particular research problems”. Therefore, content in archived newspapers used for research are analysed and subjected to scrutiny. The researcher’s decision on what represents appropriate and meaningful communications for content analysis is based on the research task and is specified clearly and without ambiguity. This study uses content analysis to analyse and scrutinise newspaper articles.

The suitability of Content Analysis is best explained as an approach that is systematic and objective in the analysis of media content being sampled (Davies and Mosdell, 2006). As a quantitative technique, objectivity and rigour are vital in content analysis to avoid accusations of deliberately creating a technique that will find particular or pre-determined results (Davies and Mosdell, 2006). So this research analyses as many examples of a particular type of text by applying the same criteria to each instance.

A broader view of content analysis is referred to by Stempel (2003) as “a formal system for doing something we all do informally rather frequently—draw conclusions from observations of content”. Another view is proffered by Weber (1990) when he said: “content analysis uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text”. Reliability and credibility are emphasized by Krippendorff (1980) who argued it is a research technique for making replicative and valid inferences from data to their context. According to Riffe et al. (2005), the emphasis on data “reminds the reader that quantitative content analysis is reductionist, with sampling and operational or measurement procedures that reduce communication

phenomena to manageable data (e.g. numbers) from which inferences may be drawn about the phenomena themselves”.

Within the context of this study, the definition of content analysis is culled from Davies and Mosdell (2005) “the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption” (Davies and Mosdell, 2005). A review of the key terms within this definition clarifies the context in which this study is conducted.

The main key term is systematic; the requirement for generalizable empirical and not just circumstantial evidence in this case study is very important (Riffe et al, 2005). Explanations of phenomena, relationships, assumptions and presumptions are not accepted uncritically but are subjected to a system of observation and empirical verification. This research systematically tested the study design by planning employed operational procedures, that is, time frame for the study, employed variables and the preciseness of measurement for the outcome to sufficiently provide answers to the research questions.

A systematic and replicable research procedure in the definition of content analysis highlights reliability, objectivity, and clarity. The assertion that a scientist’s “personal idiosyncrasies and biases” (Wimmer and Dominick, 2003), views and beliefs should not influence either the method or findings of an inquiry is key to this study. Findings should be objective and not subject to what the researcher believes or hopes the outcome will be. Employed definitions and operations must be reported exactly and fully for the process to be fully understood and appreciated by interested parties. This will mean the process and outcome can be evaluated and the entire operation repeated, if required.

As a research method, content analysis has specific advantages; firstly, it is able to assess a large amount of materials. Materials for content analysis

are often readily available, and content analysis can be implemented quickly. Content analysis is useful for evaluating patterns over time, and for retroactive measurement. It is unobtrusive – that is, it does not typically interfere with the sample. Content analysis does have several limitations: it is restricted to recorded communication, using it to isolate effects is problematic, and it tends to be bound to rigid categories and definitions (Kaid and Wadsworth, 1989). This study caters for these limitations by using framing analysis to isolate effects.

Framing analysis

Content analysis is complemented by the use of framing analysis to analyse how Nigeria is portrayed in British press and how the global audiences view the media messages. Black (1995) suggests that the media select and highlight certain things or issues, pushing them to the front burner of society. Consequently, those things or issues gain prominence and occupy the minds of people in a given society or shape their thinking. Journalists present their news in a way that determines how audiences remember and make sense of the news, using the media's power to construct social reality.

According to Fredin (2001) “a frame is a device for organizing material that emphasizes some aspects of an issue, event or situation and downplays or ignores others” (Fredin, 2001). A frame can also be defined as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them.” Gamson and Modigliani (1987)

Tuchman (1978) as cited in Entman (2004) brought the idea of framing to communication research and argued that framing in mass communication is how media constructs reality. It has since been used by media researchers and advanced as a theoretical perspective in mass communication research. Entman (2004) defines framing as “selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation and/or solution” Entman (2004) considers salience and selection as major

elements of framing. Salience focuses on a message, making it noticeable, meaningful or memorable. Selection involves choosing some aspects of news and ignoring others.

Entman (2004) notes that the aspects that are ignored carry as much weight as those that are included because the excluded ones could have reinforced the included ones. Hence, this deprives the audience of information needed to forge alternative perspectives. The news that the global media do not report about Africa and its people are as important as the ones they report because both help shape audiences' perceptions of the continent hence, affect the image of Africa. Entman (2004) implies that "framing is a kind of second-level agenda setting in the sense that it makes certain aspects of an issue more salient in such a way as to promote a particular perception" (Entman 2004 as cited Teng'o, D.2008).

Discourse analysis

This study also uses discourse analysis to further analyse the language used to construct meaning in news articles about Nigeria. Discourse analysis is concerned with the way in which discourse builds social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge or belief and how these discourses can maintain power through their ideological properties (Fairclough, 1992). The discourse on Nigeria is viewed as the pattern of language used in association with Nigeria in news articles. Uncovering the way in which discourse operates requires a systematic textual analysis. This study uses WordSmith Concordance for systematic textual and collocation analysis, which allows it to retain the rigorous and systematic features of content analysis, while at the same time allowing for a more detailed and sensitive exploration.

The strength of content analysis resides in its ability to deal with large bodies of text, with discourse analysis giving much more insightful observations. The disadvantage of discourse analysis of narrow focus on a small number of selected stories is eliminated by content analysis. According to Baker and McEnery 2005, lexical analysis using tools such as WordSmith Concordance can help illuminate the existence of discourse

that may otherwise be unobserved. The use of WordSmith Concordance comes with the systematic computer-assisted analysis of selected linguistic patterns which are occurring and carefully selected texts. (Biber, Conrad and Reppen, 1998) WordSmith Concordance is a computer programme which allows the production of a concordance, a listing of each word in its immediate context and the analysis of collocations appearing immediately to the left or to the right of selected keywords.

An important component of the lexical analysis focuses on the types of discourses invoked through the use of particular words and metaphors. This study also uses collocation analysis. Other studies such as Brookes (1995)'s critical disclosure analysis of news on Africa in the British press titled 'Suit, Tie and a Touch of Juju – The Ideological Construction of Africa' used collocation analysis. This study will follow the same path to critically analyse the language used to construct meaning in news articles about Nigeria. This analysis is important to further understand how discourses produce particular meanings which construct ideological representations of different groups of people and how these representations contribute to the shaping of popular knowledge or belief and hence the image. This draws on the approach of systemic functional linguistics by Fairclough 1992. This analysis will explore how characteristic features of news combine to produce particular meanings and image representations.

This study uses the software package WordSmith Tools version 5, developed by Scott (2010), in identifying collocates of the key words Nigeria and Nigerian. According to Scott (2010), collocates are words which occur around the key words. He asserts that by examining the collocates you can find out more about "the company the word keeps which helps to show its meaning and its usage." The words found before and after the key words Nigeria and Nigerian will help shape the discourse in the British press.

4.1 Study Aims and Data Analysis Technique

This research study focuses on the way Nigerian news stories are reported in the British press; and the image created by the way and manner in which the nation was covered in the British press between 2007 and 2010. It aims to find any systematic differences in coverage which might be attributed to the national branding campaign ‘Good People Great Nation’ which was launched on the 17th of March 2009 and hence appraise the Nigerian rebranding effort in terms of change of image due to the reporting in the British press.

The main objectives of this study are to:

Examine how Nigeria has been reported by the British media between June 2007 and December 2010. This study answers the question, what was the amount of coverage, frequency and depth of Nigerian stories in the British media? The results have the following sub- heading, amount of coverage: quantity of articles, amount of coverage: size of articles, positioning of coverage and location.

The quantity of articles highlights the visibility, frequency and significance of Nigeria to the British press. Amount of coverage in terms of the size of articles indicates whether in-depth research was done in writing the story. The length (number of words) reflects on the degree of importance and attention accorded to the story. The location (page number) of the articles is important as it indicates the prominence of the story. According to research, most readers read the first few pages of a newspaper, hence a story in the first 10 pages have more chances of being read as compared to the one on the later pages, hence the editors tend to place stories that will sell the paper on the front page. The amount of coverage: day of the week is vital as it will indicate the importance of the story and its readership. This helps to examine how Nigeria is reported by the British media.

The second research question is what was the direction and tone of stories reported by the British media? According to Ebo (1992) “the negative portrayal of Africa by American media is a deliberate and systematic

process that is created and sustained by the bias in the way American media select foreign news stories.” The Nigerian Minister of information claimed that Nigeria was negatively perceived in the international media which include the British press. This study sets to find out if news from Nigeria is predominantly negative and also to examine whether a rebranding campaign alters the reporting of a country. An additional form of measuring the tone of news stories about Nigeria involved a qualitative analysis of employed phraseology. The idea was to examine if journalists’ choice of words depicted certain imagery that concretized pre-conceived perceptions or reinforced dominant pre-images of the time. Practically, this implied a scrutiny of particular words used in describing and providing a background to an event or personality in the news story.

The direction and tone of coverage was evaluated on a three-point scale: positive, negative and neutral. The study considered if the headline was positive and reflected the country in a developmental way. A positive article was determined by news reflecting progress, advancements, reliability, strength, social cohesion, co-operation, political and economic stability, and dependability. Articles containing news on successful development efforts of countries were considered positive. Also, economic successes, sports, individual success or the movement towards that were considered positive. Stories that reflected Nigeria as fighting crime and corruption, fighting terrorism, resolving conflict, fighting poverty and good governance were considered to be positive.

A negative tone was determined on the basis of how the stories reflected Nigeria and Nigerian people. Any articles that emphasized corruption and crime, conflict, poverty and starvation, violence, terrorism, fundamentalism, disasters, accidents, human right violations and disease and related attributes was considered negative. Stories which were positive but carried a negative headline were also considered as negative. Stereotypical news articles were also considered negative as they painted a negative image of the country. Neutrality was determined by news reflecting neither positive nor negative conditions because of its focus on noncontroversial issues. Stories that reported on incidents in depth

covering all sides of the story were considered to be neutral, as they gave all the facts. Stories on music, some obituaries and world cup fixtures that just gave information were considered as neutral.

In order to establish the most prominent and widely used ideologies used in reporting on Nigeria, textural analysis was used to analyse and examine the headlines. This analysis of headlines examines the choice of wording in the newspapers which represent Nigeria or Nigerians. Words express views and attitudes hence, they have an evaluative function. According to Brookes (1995), “producers of texts lexicalize domains of experience by drawing on clusters of interrelated words and meanings. Often when large concentrations of interrelated terms are used, it indicates a key preoccupation of the society of which the text is part. This over-wording may take the form of multiple words around a key concept.

The key concepts for this study are the images of Nigeria and Nigerians, hence this study uses them as keywords in order to find the pattern of words associated with them in various subjects. Lexis Nexis subject groupings are used for analysis using WordSmith Concordance tool. WordSmith Tools is an integrated suite of programs for looking at how words behave in texts. It is used to find out how words are used in news texts downloaded from Lexis Nexis. The Concord allows the researcher to see the keywords Nigeria and/ or Nigerians in context hence analysing the words that are associated or collocates of the keywords Nigeria and Nigerians in the news stories. WordSmith is a reliable tool “which has been used by Oxford University Press for their own lexicographic work in preparing dictionaries, by language teachers and students, and by researchers investigating language patterns in lots of different languages in many countries worldwide.” (Scott, 2010)

The subjects chosen were based on the frames being analysed in this study which are derived from the image of Nigeria as defined by the rebranding committee and the targeted image. According to the then Minister of Information, Professor Dora Akunyili, Nigeria’s reputation and image globally and locally had been declining. She described Nigeria as an oil

rich African country, the 6th largest oil producer in the world with an estimated population of 140 million people. She notes that Nigeria is rated as a corrupt country. Nigeria is rated as the third most corrupt nation in the world in a survey of 146 countries by Transparency International corruption perceptions index in 2004. Hence this study looks at how Nigeria is reported in terms of the stories on crime, poverty and corruption. Hawk (1992) states that the media portrays Africa as “a confusing place with instability in government and society” hence this study seeks to find how the politics of Nigeria is reported in the British press.

The objectives of the rebranding campaign are to give the nation a more positive image home and abroad thereby attracting foreign investment. The project is targeted at re-orienting Nigerians, changing the negative attitudes of Nigerians, making Nigerians to believe in themselves, inculcating optimal spirit of patriotism in Nigerians and at the same time, celebrating our (Nigeria's) very best before the international community (Akunyili 2009) This study therefore seeks to find changes in the reporting of Nigeria as a result of the rebranding effort. The contrasting frames were from the expected frames after the rebranding effort.

The second question explores the relationship between the sources, reporters to the tone of the messages that they report. Who were the sources and gatekeepers in the reporting of Nigeria in the British media? Reporters tagged as foreign or Africa correspondents work on the African beat to report on events deemed to be newsworthy. In cases where a reporter is not specifically assigned, a journalist was dispatched to the location of an event or developing story, such as reporters on kidnap of British nationals. This is another objective form of measurement because it helps in analysing newspapers' commitments to reporting these stories by exploring how many different bylines appear along with the articles. This measure was valid because the assignment of multiple reporters to such coverage represented a measure of resource or personnel commitment (Riffe et al. 2005). Akwasi (2007) in his study on West Africa's image in the British press examined the relationship between the

story and its author and he concluded that “the tone of news stories was most negative when it was reported by a foreign/Africa correspondent (91.5%).” He also found that when reported by a correspondent on location sent by the newspapers to cover a particular event, it remained negative (88.5%) and local journalists accounted for 33.3% of negative reports.

The correspondents that wrote all the stories in the sample were recorded. The writers based in Africa were considered as African correspondents, the stories that didn’t have the name of the writer were considered to have been written by the editors and these were categorised as written by foreign correspondents. The tone and length of their news stories were noted. The writers who wrote more than five stories were analysed in more detail taking note of the length, tone and sources of their stories. This helps in answering if the location of the correspondents affects the way Nigeria is reflected in the British press.

The second objective is to assess the image of Nigeria presented by the British press. What is the agenda set by the news articles on Nigeria in the British media? What is the news frame employed in the headlines of news stories in the British media? To answer this question, this study employs frame analysis of the sample articles. The framing theory is adopted to examine the news frames found in the Nigerian news reported by the four sampled British newspapers, The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, The Sun UK, and The Daily Mirror newspapers, between 2007 and 2010. Framing theory empowers researchers to understand how “the media influence public perceptions of the social world and set agenda for societies.” (Black, 1995) Researchers use the theory to investigate how the media portray issues and groups as well as how the audiences interpret media messages.

In this study of British press reporting Nigerian news, news frames are derived from the headlines and story text that are used by the Guardian UK, Daily Telegraph, The Sun UK and the Daily Mirror newspapers to cover Nigerian news before and after the rebranding campaign. Fredin

(2001) says that people often have frames which are almost similar to the frames found in news. This then implies that the Nigerian news frames reported by the British press are most likely similar to the ones developed by their audiences.

According to Teng'o (2008) framing analysis "provides a way to understand how news media structure messages and people's perceptions of those messages." Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) note that news frames can be analysed either inductively or deductively. The inductive approach involves analysing a news story with an open view to attempt to reveal the array of possible frames in it. They note that although this approach can detect the various possible options in which an issue can be framed, it is labour-intensive, often based on small samples, and can be difficult to replicate.

Brookes (1995) argues that in the reporting of African affairs, the UK press uses frames such as presenting Africans as animals, as chaotic, brutal and wild, Africa as a place of savagery and witchcraft, as dependent upon the West and a burden to it. The choice of frames used by the British media to construct African events is a key area of concern for many authors who argue that frames often mask the 'ideology, values, implications, orientations, views and aims conveyed in media artefacts' (Alozie, 2007, p.211), and are crucial in 'structuring our beliefs, thoughts and actions' (Brookes, 1995). Framing analysis has been criticized by some for lacking methodological rigor, not least because of the difficulty in defining and separating individual frames (Carragee 1991). In spite of this, framing analysis remains a useful technique for examining the ways in which African affairs are presented and made comprehensible to the public. The frames and examples were established from the linguistic cues within the headline (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999).

Chen Yi-jun, Shen Lingh-yan and Zhu Jieqiong in their study on 'National Interest and International News Reporting' investigated the difference in coverage of China Daily and The New York Times during the period of 2009 Copenhagen Climate Change Conference. They used content

analysis to analyse 150 stories, which were randomly chosen as the sample from newspapers and three major dimensions, source, tone and frame to examine whether national interest plays a role in international news reporting. The results of this study showed that there was a significant difference in source and tone in the news coverage from both newspapers about the global conference while the frame shows a similar structure.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) explain that a deductive approach involves predefining certain frames as content analytic variables to verify the extent to which these frames occur in the news. This approach allows a researcher to have a clear idea of the kinds of frames likely to be in the news. Semetko and Valkenburg note that this approach can be replicated easily, can cope with large samples, and can easily detect differences in framing between media.

Fair (1993, p.5) argues that Western media frames Africa as “black,” “primitive,” “savage,” “war-torn,” “AIDS-ridden,” and “impoverished.” He adds that, “the media, by how they frame their coverage of Africa, replicate and reinforce these concepts” (Fair, 1993)

Based on previous studies on news frames, this study adopts the deductive approach and examines the presence and occurrence of various news frames in Nigerian news items prominently featured in the Guardian UK, Daily Telegraph, The Sun UK and the Daily Mirror between 2007 and 2010. The Nigerian rebranding campaign did not target any British newspapers to get coverage but there is evidence of the BBC being at the launch of the campaign. The campaign’s approach was to have positive stories and rely on the normal selection criteria. The initiated attitudinal changes, development events and stories were available for selection by the British press in the same way that negative stories that are published in these newspapers are. The campaign did not alter the selection process of the chosen newspapers. Based on previous studies on Western news coverage of developing countries, this thesis looks at the various frames used to shape the image of Nigeria in the British media.

This study is not limited to the frames identified in other studies. All the stories in the sample were analysed, and the frame and image of Nigeria and Nigerians perceived were recorded. The frames were selected from previous studies to help analyse the perceived image of Nigeria and the objectives of the rebranding campaign. According to Ebo 1992, Africa is portrayed as a “crocodile infested dark continent where jungle life has perpetually eluded civilisation” (Ebo, 1992). He also adds that Africans are portrayed in the Western media as abnormal, unnatural from the most unpleasant part of the world.

Research into public understanding of developing countries by Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO, 2001) identified that 80% of the British public strongly associate with the doom-laden images of famine, disaster and western aid. VSO identified the framing of Africa in the British media as consisting of poverty and famine. Brookes (1995) argues that in the reporting of African affairs, the UK press uses frames such as presenting Africans as animals, as chaotic, brutal and wild, Africa as a place of savagery and witchcraft, as dependent upon the West and a burden to it.

Another study on the coverage of Africa in the UK press used frames and examples established from the linguistic cues within the headlines to find out if the coverage of Africa by the British press was marginalized, negative or trivial. This study identified frames such as Africa or Africans as wild or part of nature, Africa or Africans as chaotic or brutal, Africa as dependent on the West or as a responsibility/burden for the West, Africa as unclean, risky, a battleground, helpless or a place to be feared, Africa as a place of witchcraft, Africa and Africans as positive, helpful or assertive.

A study into “West Africa’s image in the British press” by Sarpong (2007), identified the reporting of Nigeria as mainly portraying Nigeria as a corrupt country with poverty and bad governance. This is supported by Nigeria’s chief image maker Dora Akunyili who claimed that Nigeria’s image was negative in the international media. Based on the previous

studies and the objectives of the campaign, this study looks for the following frames:

- Nigeria or Nigerians as criminals and corrupt people / country (Crime and law frame)
- Nigeria or Nigerians as violent (Conflict and violent frame)
- Stereotype
- Nigeria or Nigerians as poor (Poverty)
- Nigeria or Nigerians as politically stable or unstable (Political stability frame)
- Nigeria as investment friendly or unfriendly (business frame)
- Nigeria or Nigeria as a sporting nation (Sporting frame)

The study is not able to find out if there were changes in framing showing activities or actions towards reform due to the time frame used being so close to the launch of the campaign.

The literature on framing indicates that media frames can play a vital role in stimulating opposition to or support for an event or issue. Media frames provide moral judgment, causal interpretation and solution for media-focused problems. Media frames generally represent specific ideology. Media frames including attractive words, metaphors, and phrases also help to determine the “tone” of media coverage of an event or issue. (Resse 2001, Hackett 1984, Berenger 2004, King and Lester 2005) According to Berenger (2004), “frames make messages memorable and understandable” (cited in King and Lester, 2005). This study uses the linguistic cues within the headlines and the stories to find out the frames. The study also analyzes the connection between the headline and the story when two or more frames are found in the same story. Comparison is made where the same story appears in the four newspapers with attention to the headline and content of each version.

In an attempt to assess the image of Nigeria in the British press, this study asks what story subjects about Nigeria drew coverage in the British press? Ebo argues that media is not interested in meaningful development news about Africa because they are ordinary and commercially unattractive.

Ebo (1992) also notes that, “Profit maximisation influences the determination of events as newsworthy.” Alozie (2006) notes that Western media still portray Africa as a dark continent where tradition and socio-economic and political mindset inhibit progress. African news on the pages of Western newspapers, the broadcast airwaves of Western media and the wires of the world press agencies are scarce and mostly bad, negative, crisis-oriented and violent, often taken out of context (Hawk, 1992; Onyedike, 2000; Sung & Jang, 2003).

This study looks at the subjects that were considered newsworthy on Nigeria. All the stories in the sample were analysed to determine the subject and the Lexis Nexis subject categories for each of the stories were also used to determine the subject of the story. The categories that were identified were:

- Politics and governance
- Business
- War and conflict
- Human rights
- Corruption and crime – bribe,
- Conflict and war – terrorism, fundamentalism, kidnap, violence
- Poverty and starvation
- Health
- Law and justice
- Sports
- Others.

The third objective of this study is to appraise Nigeria’s rebranding campaign initiative. It aims to answer if there was a change in the reporting of Nigeria hence its image after the rebranding campaign. According to Olins (1999), nations with a chaotic or turbulent past which are endeavouring to emerge with a new social, political, industrial,

commercial and cultural persona must realise that in order to be noticed they should take active steps to create a positive identity, and such identities must be based more around opportunities for the future than today's reality. In this sort of situation, an identity programme can act as a catalyst for change (Olins, 1999). From the viewpoint of Anholt (2005), he argued that a national brand strategy determines the most realistic, most competitive and most compelling strategic vision for a country, in which the vision should be supported, reinforced, and enriched by communication between the country and the rest of the world.

The Nigerian chief image maker, Minister Dora Akunyili claimed that Nigeria's image in the international media was negative.

One way of changing a country's image in the international arena is by changing the way a country is reported. This view is supported by Albritton and Manheim in their analysis of the coverage of Rhodesia in the New York Times, before and after the signing of the Public relations intervention campaign. Their results were positive showing that "substantial and significant changes in reporting of the major determinant of national image, domestic violence, are (were) associated with the public relations contract." (Albritton and Manheim, 1983, p.622) The analysis shows that the contract was associated with a reduction of just over eight reports of violence per month.

Lee and Hong (2012)'s study to examine the influence of international public relations on a target country's news coverage and public perceptions toward other countries concluded that the public relations of other countries in the United States had a direct impact on how significantly and favourably the United States public perceived those countries. It also had impact on the increased prominence and positive coverage of the foreign country in the United States news media.

This study assesses all the stories selected from the 1st of June 2007 up to 16th of March 2009 as before the rebranding campaign and from 17th of March 2009 to December 2010 as after the rebranding campaign. This time was selected to reflect the pre and post-rebranding campaign era.

This allowed for an equal time frame before and after. The time frame after the rebranding campaign is the period immediately after the launch of the campaign, which may affect the results as the effects may not be immediate. This study also considers stories showing any reform or promise of change. This is in line with the rebranding campaign goals of starting an attitudinal change in the Nigerian public, if there are no crime and corruption stories on Nigeria then the positive developmental stories will get coverage.

The study uses the difference in the amount of reports to reflect on the prominence and compare the amount of positive developmental stories to the negative stories. The study also evaluates the correspondents reporting before and after the rebranding campaign to investigate the reasons for the changes in reporting. The study analyses the depth of stories before and after the rebranding campaign using the number of words in each story. The location of articles before and after the campaign is used to determine prominence. This result is significant because it might indicate whether newspaper editors are willing to give African stories prominence and that they believe readers may have a strong enough interest in African articles to influence their purchasing decision.

The day of the week the stories appeared is also important. According to Scott (2009), the concentration of African articles during the weekend could be viewed as both, positive because sales of weekend papers are higher and consumers have more time to read them, or negative, because these articles on the weekend may be overlooked by readers because of the overall increase in articles. This study considers stories on Nigeria during the weekdays to be more prominent as it means that there is no delay in the reporting of stories on Nigeria. The stories are being reported as they are happening and not waiting to be placed in the weekend issues where more articles are used.

4.2 Data Sources

Despite a general decline in circulation, newspapers are still considered by many researchers to have an important role to play in informing and or influencing citizens. Whenever newspaper influence is discussed in relation to voting behaviour (Norris, 1999), reinforcing existing political preferences (Newton and Brynin, 2003) or in setting the political agenda (Shoemaker and Reese, 1991), the content of UK newspapers is seen to matter. Hence the role of newspapers in influencing citizens' perceptions of the wider world is vital. The UK press plays a vital role in informing citizens about Africa, according to a public attitudes survey. Lader (2007) reported that 47 per cent of UK citizens use newspapers as a source of information about the lives of poor people in Africa.

According to Scott (2009, p.533), newspapers in the UK have several characteristic features which make them particularly influential sources of information. Newspapers have a much greater number of printed words than spoken words in a television news item. Hence 'newspapers are believed to be far more effective than television for conveying the detailed information necessary to understand complex and detailed issues' (Norris, 2003). Scott (2009) in his study on 'Coverage of Africa in the UK Press' used The Guardian, Daily Telegraph, Daily Mail, Daily Express, the Sun and Daily Mirror. The Guardian and Daily Telegraph had a high record of articles on Africa. This was also mirrored in the studies by Sarpong 2007 and Brookes 1995.

The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, The Sun UK, and The Daily Mirror newspapers were chosen to reflect on the British press due to their extensive readership and their focus on World news and Africa. The Guardian is described as one of the United Kingdom's leading newspapers with a positive international reputation. Owned by the Guardian Media Group, under UK-based charitable foundation, the Scott Trust, The Guardian had a certified average daily circulation of 371,754 copies in May 2007, according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations, UK. According to the Lexis Nexis website, the Guardian is "one of Britain's oldest newspapers with a well-respected national and international reputation"

(Lexis Nexis 2012). The Guardian was named Newspaper of the year and its staff won numerous national and international awards.

The broadsheet Daily Telegraph is a daily morning newspaper distributed throughout the United Kingdom and internationally. As at December 2010, *Telegraph.co.uk* was the third most visited Great Britain newspaper site with 1.7million browsers compared to the 2.3million and nearly 3million for *Guardian* and *Daily Mail's Mail Online* respectively. In July 2011, the *Daily Telegraph* had an average daily circulation of 634,113 copies (Halliday, 2010).

The Sun UK is part of News Corp, a global, diversified media, information and services company. It prides itself on creating and distributing authoritative and engaging content to consumers throughout the world. The Sun has the highest amount of readership in the UK with over 13.476 million readers.

The Daily Mirror was launched on 2 November 1903 by Alfred Harmsworth. It has a readership of over 7 million. These four newspapers are the UK's topmost circulated newspapers.

Since the focus of this research work is on all news stories about Nigeria between year 2007 and 2010 as published by The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, The Sun UK, and The Daily Mirror newspapers, the principal source of data (and information) and technique of data gathering for the study is the secondary source. The secondary data collection technique is the application of the internet assisted ***LexisNexis Professional Database tool***.

Lexis Nexis is a content analysis tool applauded for its ease of access and thoroughness (Tankard et al., 1994). Tankard and colleagues studied use of Lexis Nexis to access content and listed advantages of such databases. They include: the fact that researchers have an easier time getting larger and perhaps more representative samples than without databases. Databases process large amounts of data quickly, and database searchers are particularly good at locating rare types of content.

4.3 Sampling design

Sampling design is the design of any information gathering exercises where variation is present, whether under the full control of the researcher or not (Atkinson, Donev and Tobias, 2007; Bailey, 2008). In a research study, the researcher is interested in studying the nature of a phenomenon as exhibited by a group of subjects. However, the researcher needs to devise an approach which ensures an understanding of the phenomenon properly without incurring too much expenses and wasting much time; and this is done by studying a sample or samples drawn from the population (Asika, op. cit.).

According to Best and Kahn (1989), to study a whole population to arrive at generalization would be impracticable if not impossible as some populations are so large that their characteristics cannot be measured. They describe a sample as a small proportion of a population selected for observation and analysis, adding that by observing the characteristics of the sample, one can make inferences about the characteristics of the population from which it is drawn, provided there are similarities. Berelson (1952) further notes that: ‘A small, carefully chosen sample of relevant content will produce just as valid results as the analysis of a great deal more – and with the expenditure of much less time and effort.’

4.4 Sampling Frame

For the purpose of this research work, the sample frame is the number of news contents on Nigeria and Nigerians reported or covered by the Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, The Sun and The Daily Mirror newspapers between year 2007 and 2010. The stories were searched yearly and 25% was used as the sample, for stories with 3 or more major mentions of Nigeria which is 335 stories. All the stories with Nigeria in the headline are considered and every 4th story to make it to the 25%. 2007 has 280 stories with 3 or more major mentions of Nigeria so 25% will be 70 stories, 59 stories had Nigeria in the headline and the other 11 stories will be selected using the 4th story criteria. 2008 has 255 stories with 3 or more major mentions of Nigeria or Nigerians, 63 stories were considered, 52

with Nigeria or Nigerians in the headline and the 4th story criteria were used for the remaining 11 stories. 2009 has 291 stories, 72 were sampled 41 headline stories and the 4th story criteria were used for the rest of the sample. 2010 has a 525 stories hence 101 headline stories were used. An aggregate of 1,344 reported news contents and 335 stories were used as the sample. The lexical analysis was based on the subjects' categories created by the Lexis Nexis database, hence for each frame stories on that subject was analysed.

4.5 Definition of Major Terms

Conceptual Definitions: This study defines its major terms based on the definitions of terms given by Osunde (1996).

Amount of coverage: quantity by volume or by number of items of information transmitted about news events.

Media coverage: media reporting of events.

Image: public perception in terms of positive, negative, neutral and the portrayal of the headline.

Depth of coverage: amount of detail in or length of the story.

Position of story: location in newspaper, in terms of page number.

Crisis news: news focusing on a negative event such as war, famine, or natural disaster.

Development news: news focusing on or encouraging growth and progress.

Conclusion

This study employed content analysis, discourse analysis and frame analysis to assess the reporting of Nigeria in the British press before and after the rebranding campaign. The limitations of the methods employed were minimised by using mixed methods to enable triangulation of research findings because of the inherent weaknesses in the individual methods.

Other studies on the coverage of Africa in the British press have concentrated on periods of intense coverage, e.g. during time of extreme conflict or disaster. Scott (2009) in his study on British press coverage of Africa focused on a 2-week period coverage in each of the newspapers in the study. This has shown some difficulty in capturing a sample period that is typical of British press coverage as press coverage is a function of both the nature and frequency of events that occur and the news values of the newspaper at any given time. This study does not limit the sample to a particular period within the time frame but uses prominence of stories to select the stories analysed. This allows this study to have a wide coverage of articles from various periods within the time frame. Chapter 5 will assess the results for the stories analysed from 2007 to 2010.

CHAPTER FIVE

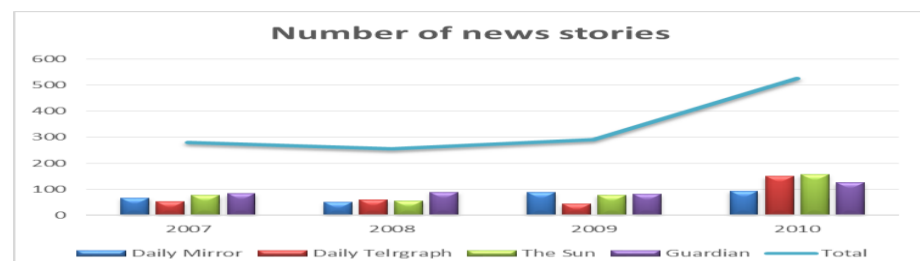
5.0 Results and Analysis

This chapter discusses the findings of the content analysis of Nigeria in four British newspapers between 2007 and 2010, using content, framing and discourse –collocation analysis. This was achieved by analysing the amount of coverage in terms of quantity of articles, the size of articles and the amount of headline stories on Nigeria. This was followed by the frame analysis of the frames used and the analysis of their examples. The result on types of coverage was analysed, and further analysis was carried out on the locations and types of journalists, their sources and the types of sources. The chapter concludes by analysing the tone of stories and headlines on Nigeria.

5.1 Amount of coverage: quantity of articles

Important news events happen throughout the world every day, but due to limited time and space, the news media has to sort through the international events and make the judgements on the stories that are covered. The amount of coverage in terms of the amount of news stories reported in the British newspapers is used to achieve the objective of this study in examining how Nigeria was reported in the British press between 2007 and 2010. The yearly variations between 2007 and 2010 are used to examine the changes in the number of stories reported. The graph below shows the number of stories each year per newspaper.

Figure 3: The number of stories per year per newspaper



The Lexis Nexis database had 1351 news stories recorded about Nigeria between January 2007 and December 2010 in the four newspapers used in this study: Guardian, Daily Mirror, the Sun and Daily Telegraph. 21% of the stories were recorded in 2007. 2008 had the least number of stories with 18 %. The number of stories increased in 2009 to 22%. 2010 had the most number of stories with 39% of all the news stories recorded. The changes in the amount of news coverage could have been contributed by the events in Nigeria such as the Nigerian elections in 2007 and the involvement of Nigeria in the Football World Cup in 2010. The results show an increase in the number of stories from 2007 with 280 stories to 2010 with 525 stories. This can be viewed as Nigeria gaining more prominence in the British press.

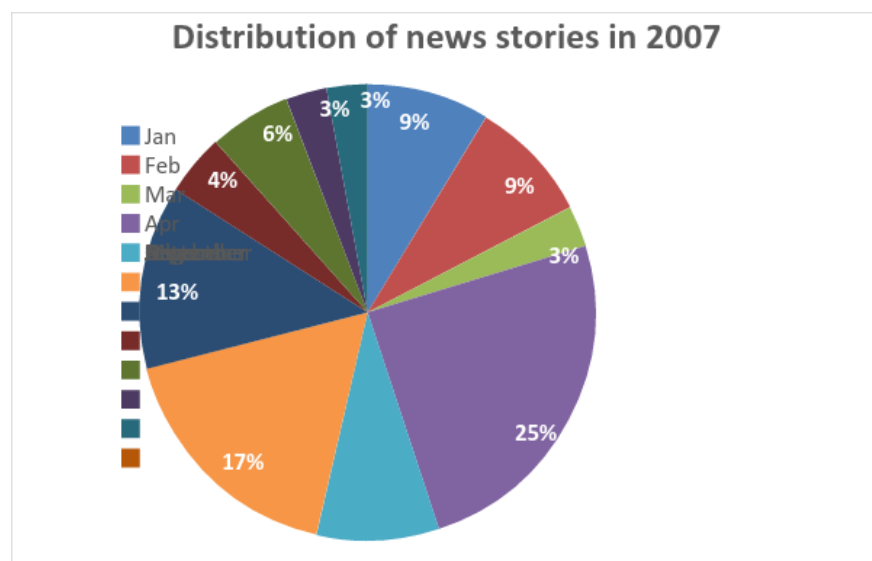
Amount of coverage before and after the rebranding campaign

The amount of coverage is important in analysing the changes from the rebranding campaign using the two key periods before and after the rebranding campaign. An increase in the coverage could reflect on more importance of the nation (Nigeria) in the target country (Britain). The results show that the amount of news after the rebranding campaign increased slightly in 2009 with 22% and 2010 with 40% of all the stories recorded. Before the rebranding campaign, a total of 535 stories on Nigeria were recorded which accounts for 40% of total coverage. After the rebranding campaign, there was a huge rise to a total of 816 stories being recorded over the same period of time. A 20% increase in coverage after the rebranding campaign shows that Nigeria was more prominent in the British press. The increase of coverage after the rebranding campaign was due to sports stories from the football world cup which Nigeria took part in.

5.2 Distribution of news stories

To buttress this point, analysis of the distribution of news stories in each year was used to further investigate the nature of the increase in news stories. If the stories are evenly distributed throughout the year, that would reflect on more prominence and uneven distribution would show less prominence as there is consistency in the reporting of the Nigerian stories. The pie chart below shows a monthly view of the distribution on news stories in 2007.

Figure 4: The distribution of stories in 2007

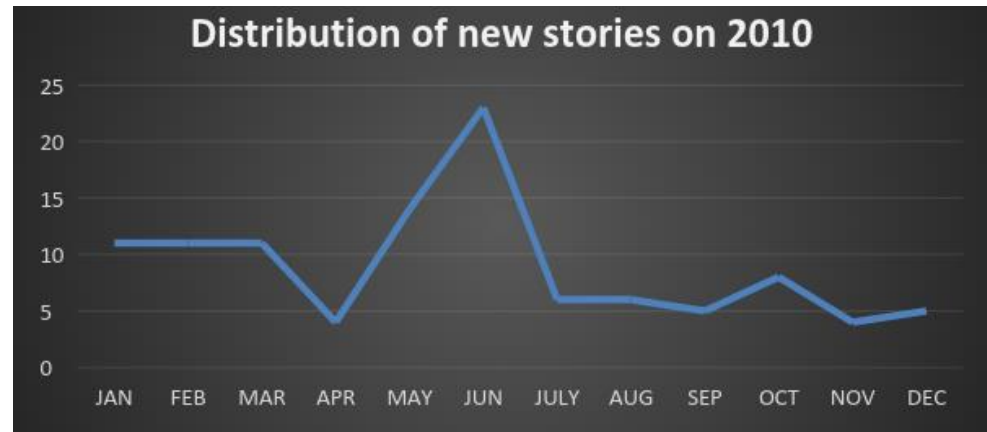


But on a closer analysis of 2007, the stories were not evenly distributed throughout the year. April and June 2007 had 24% and 17% of the coverage for the year. December 2007 had no story recorded. April 2007 had the highest number of stories due to the Nigerian elections that were held at the period and the violence that ensued.

In spite of the several news stories that emanate from the country every day, it is obvious that news about Nigeria dried up after the elections and violence, the main themes the British media in this study were interested in. News stories not reflecting violence or exceptional events are not of commercial value to the British media resulting in them not being selected as news. These results show that the distribution of the news stories was

sporadic and irregular in nature, with exceptional and aberrational news events. This is further supported by the distribution of news stories in 2010.

Figure 5: The distribution of news stories in 2010



In 2010, there were more stories in June due to the Football World Cup in which Nigeria was involved, making over 20% of the stories for the year. The rest of the year had an average of 7 stories per month with April and November recording less than 5 stories. These results buttress the point that coverage of African stories is sporadic. The stories were not evenly distributed hence they do not show increase in prominence but just reflect key events. Although the country's increased coverage might have resulted from events around the World Cup, the average number of stories per month also increased. In terms of the amount of coverage, there was an increase in the number of stories from 2007 to 2010.

The Guardian had the most stories on Nigeria followed by the Sun, Daily Telegraph and Daily Mirror consecutively. Each of the newspapers showed an increase in the number of news stories from 2007 to 2010. The Daily Mirror had 22% of their stories on Nigeria in 2007. This decreased in 2008 to 16%, 2009 and 2010 showed a sharp increase to 30% and 31% respectively. The Daily Telegraph showed a different trend with an increase from 17% to 20% between 2007 and 2008, followed by a steep decrease to 14% in 2009 which was followed by an increase to over half of all the stories in 2010 with 51%. The Sun newspaper showed an even

distribution between 2007 and 2009 with 22%, 23% and 21% respectively, 2010 showed an increase to 33%. The Guardian showed an almost similar trend with 2007, 2008 and 2009 having slightly over 20% of stories each and a huge increase to 43% in 2010. The total number of stories from the four newspapers showed a slight decrease to 19% in 2008 but an increase 22% and 39% consequently. 2010 saw the number of news stories almost double the yearly average between 2007 and 2009. These results show an overall yearly increase in the number of stories with the exception of 2008 which showed a decrease.

Table 1: The Newspaper distribution of stories

Year	2007	2008	2009	2010
Daily Mirror	67	50	88	93
Daily Telegraph	52	60	44	150
The Sun	77	56	78	156
Guardian	84	89	81	126
Total	280	255	291	525

This shows that there was an increased coverage of stories about Nigeria in the British press, and that the coverage of Nigeria increased from 2007 to 2010. This shows that Nigeria was considered important (salient) in the British media. According to Golan and Wanta 2001, media salience can be measured by attention hence it could be gauged by the volume of stories or space dedicated to news stories. Even a slight increase in reporting is essential in giving an impression about a country, nation or continent. The increase in coverage can also imply that more events that were considered news worthy by the British media occurred in 2010 as compared to 2007. This study further analysed the types of stories that were considered newsworthy by the British press. This was used to look at the image of Nigeria created by the increase in salience.

5.3 The amount of coverage: size of articles about Nigeria

The amount of coverage in terms of the size of news stories is important in analysing the depth of stories reported on Nigeria in the British press. Although journalism is about reporting facts which make the hard news, the literature review revealed some criticism on the lack of explanation and background of news events. Mody (2010) states that news from Africa is not aimed for public understanding but rather for astonishment. Mody (2010) describes this “explanatory impoverishment and lack of reporting that ‘illuminates’”. The depth of stories indicates if explanations which enable elaboration, discussion of causes, background and context of events are being given to give a true picture. This study used the length of news stories to explore the depth of news stories.

Figure 6: The length of news stories

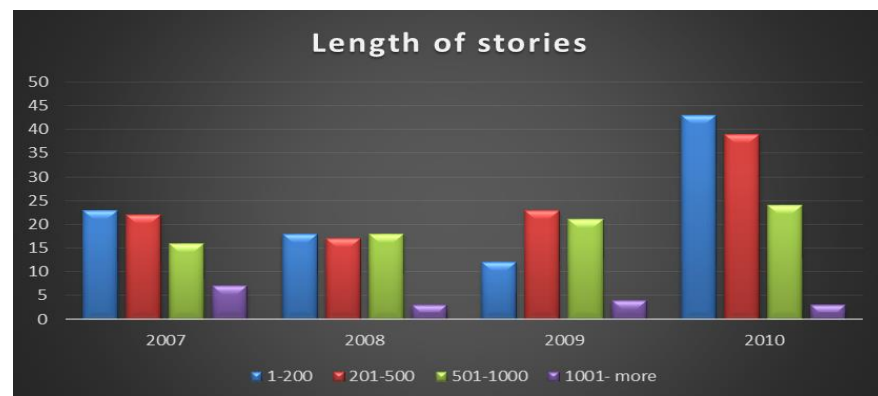


Table 2 shows that the majority of the articles on Nigeria (67%) were less than 500 words long. The graph also shows that there was a variety of size of news article in each year. 2010 showed an increase in the number of news articles with less than 200 words, although this is supported by 36% of the articles being between 201 and 500 words. 2007 had the highest number of longer stories over 500 words. 2008, 2009 and 2010 showed a decrease in longer stories. 2010 had the highest number of shorter stories. These results show that articles on Nigeria were mainly short, with 67% of all the stories being less than 500 words long.

Table 2: The length of news stories percentage per year

	1-200	201-500	501-1000	41001- more
2007	23(34%)	22(32%)	16(24%)	7(10%)
2008	18(32%)	17(30%)	18(32%)	3(5%)
2009	12(20%)	23(38%)	21(35%)	4(7%)
2010	43(39%)	39(36%)	24(22%)	3(3%)
Total	96(33%)	101(34%)	79(27%)	17(6%)

However, measures of length of news articles are limited because they give no indication of the quality of the content. Some of the stories recorded were well balanced and reflected all sides of the story despite being less than 200 words long. Longer articles give more details on stories and show for a lot of research hence can sometimes reflect the prominence given to the subject.

Size of articles about Nigeria before and after the rebranding campaign

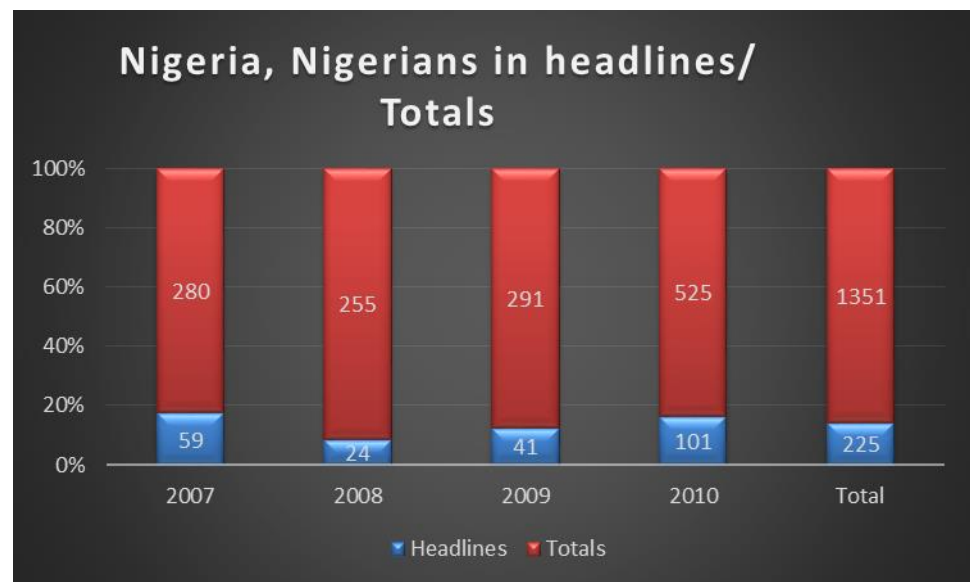
The analysis of the amount of coverage in terms of length of stories before and after the rebranding campaign can reflect on the amount of attention and level of prominence given to a country. Longer stories tend to show that more importance was given to the story and more research was done on the subject covered. Before the rebranding campaign Figure 6 shows that an average of 33% of all stories were short with less than 200 words as compared to an average of 30% after the rebranding campaign. The length of stories showed a decrease in length, with 75% of stories reported after the rebranding campaign being less than 500 words long as compared to 66% before the rebranding campaign so in terms of length of stories, there was a decline in length after the rebranding campaign. The number of stories increased but the length decreased.

5.4 Nigerian news in the headlines

Headlines are established to be most prominent and widely consumed in ideological construction of meaning in discourse analysis. According to Brookes (1995) headlines as part of the characteristic pattern of news

discourse are a focusing act. News texts are usually partly read, most readers do not read beyond the headline and the first few lines, hence headlines can be taken to “indicate not only the dominant meanings given to Africa, but also the dominant ideological representations of Africa that are likely to be stored in the minds of readers.” (Brookes 1995) The graph below shows the number of stories with Nigeria or Nigerians in the headlines.

Figure 7: The number of stories with Nigeria and Nigerians in the headlines



The bar graph above shows that less than 20% of stories on Nigeria or about Nigerians had the word Nigeria or Nigerian in the headline. This can reflect that 20% of the stories had more prominence and were more likely to shape the discourse on Nigeria in the British press. The years 2007 and 2010 had a higher percentage of headline stories as compared to 2008 and 2009. Nigeria was mainly in the headlines in 2007 as a result of the Nigerian Presidential elections which were marred by fraud and violence. In 2010, Nigeria had an increase in the headline stories, which could have resulted from Nigeria’s involvement in the football World Cup as well as the violence brought out by the Islamic sect Boko Haram.

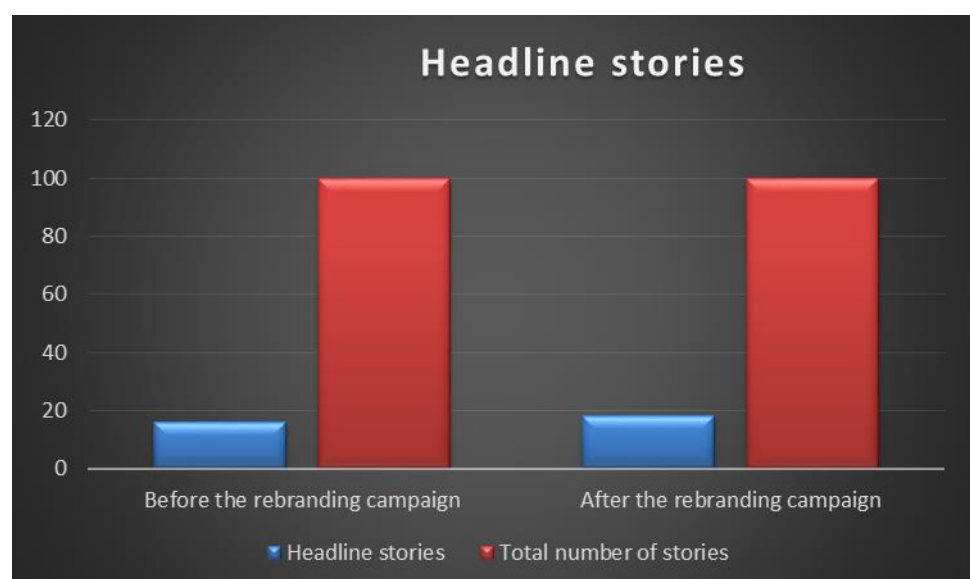
Stories with Nigeria or Nigerians can be seen to reflect more on the country and the people as compared to the ones that do not mention the

country in the headline. This study mainly focused on these prominent stories coupled with stories which had 3 or more major mentions. These results show that 20% of the stories on Nigeria were in the headlines hence reflecting on the perception of Nigeria and Nigerians in the British media. Further analysis of the headline stories in 2010 showed that they were based around crisis with more stories in the headlines on election violence, corruption in 2007, crime and terrorism in 2010. 54% of the headline stories in 2010 were negatively framed. 10% of the headlines on 'Nigerian' centred on the ill health of the then Nigerian President Yar'Adua which was mainly negative. Only 24% of the headline stories were positive stories in 2010. The stories were considered positive if they reflected positively on Nigeria and were not based on crisis events.

A comparative analysis of the total number of stories on Nigeria that made headline stories

There were 16% of stories before the rebranding campaign on Nigeria in the headlines and this increased slightly to 18% after the rebranding. This means an increase in discourse about Nigeria, it therefore crucial to assess the subjects covered in the headline stories.

Figure 8: The number of headline stories before and after the rebranding campaign



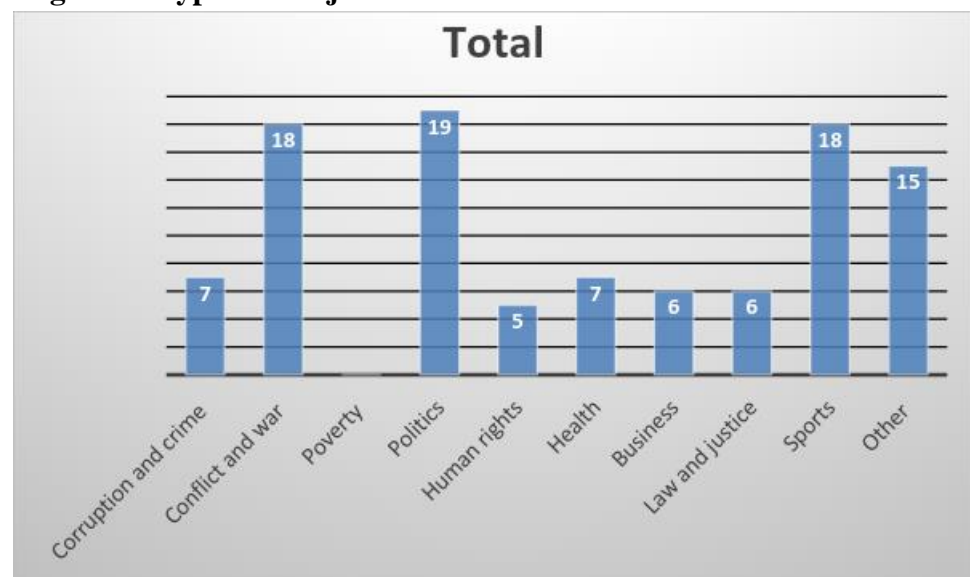
Headline stories have increased prominence and the literature review showed that they influence discourse. An increase in headline stories can therefore reflect on increased news worthiness and hence prominence. The number of stories about Nigeria in the headlines increased after the rebranding campaign which reflects on the importance given to the news stories.

5.5 Subjects of headline stories

Further analysis of all the headline stories in Figure 9 shows that the stories that made the headlines were 18% Conflict and war, 7% Corruption and crime and 19% were political stories. None of the stories in the headline was based on poverty hence this could be taken to mean that Nigeria was not portrayed as a poor country in the British press. Business stories only accounted for 6% and were mainly negative stories on the oil industry.

A quarter of the total number of stories considered for this study were headline stories. If headlines provide preferred meanings for news texts and frameworks within which readers may interpret them, then further analysis of the frames used to construct the headline stories on Nigeria and Nigerians can further reflect the image of this African nation in the eyes of the British people.

Figure 9: Types of subjects in headline stories



Based on these results, perception on Nigeria and Nigerians in the British media would be mainly based on conflict, war, corruption, crime and sports. Nigeria is portrayed as a sporting country with 18% of the headlines. This can positively reflect on Nigeria but it is essential to analyse the way in which the stories were constructed and the resulting discourse in the British press.

The subjects before and after the rebranding campaign

Further analysis could reflect on the nature of the discourse and hence the images this reflected in the British audience. The subjects covered in the headline stories were further analysed and they showed that 19% of headline stories were political stories, 18% were on Conflict and crime and 18% on Sports. This study analysed the variance of these subjects before and after the rebranding campaign.

5.6 Types of Stories: Subject

According to Fahmy (2010) in her report on foreign reporting, “Just as a great cook cannot work miracles with poor ingredients, foreign news cannot be any better than the quality of news stories upon which it is based.” The literature review revealed that the global media selects and presents African stories in ways that make them commercially viable. Some scholars including Ebo (1992) argued that a major implication of the selection criteria by the global media was that, “correspondents in Africa look for news stories that are easy and convenient to gather. As a result, these correspondents are readily attracted to exceptional and aberrational news stories.” Ebo also added that the global media is not interested in meaningful development because they are ordinary and commercially unattractive. This section looks at the subjects on Nigeria that drew coverage in the British press.

Sports stories drew the most coverage followed by Political stories which were 50% of the stories covered in 2010 and stories on Criminality and law accounted for 15% of all stories. Business stories accounted for 14% of stories, with literature and music having less than 5%. To further understand the stories covered, each story subject was further analysed.

Figure 10: The types of news stories

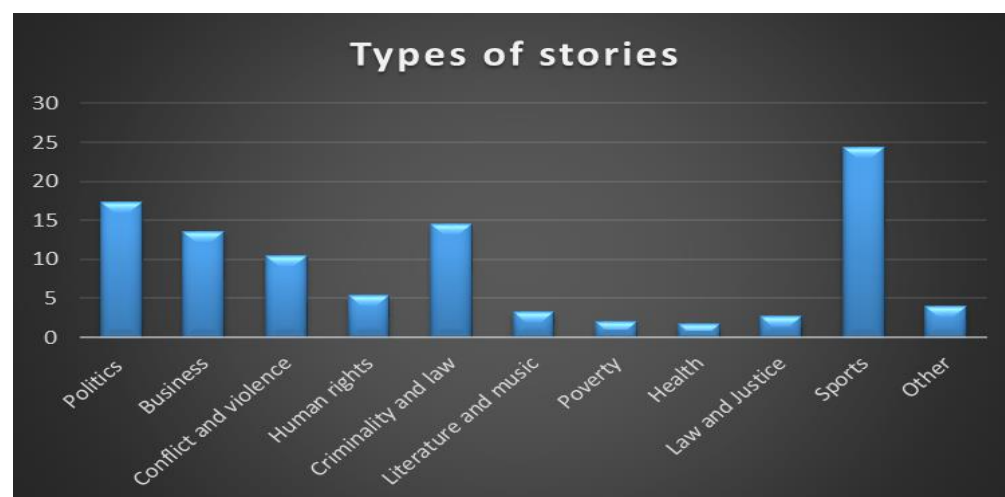


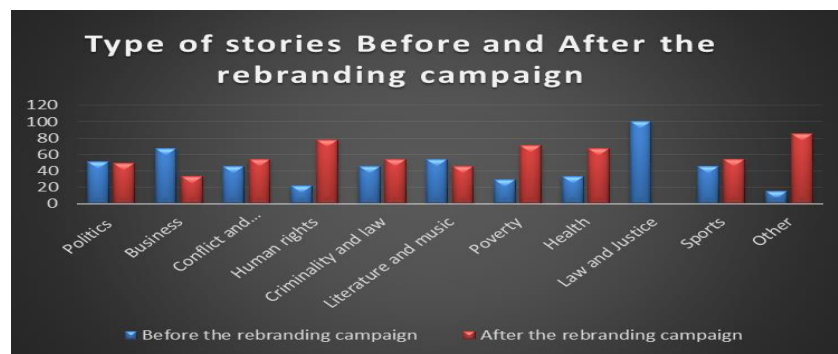
Table 3: Percentage of each subject per year

Subjects	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Politics	18/35%	5/10%	3\6%	26\50%	59/18%
Business	11/12%	19/27%	6\10%	9\8%	45/14%
Conflict and violence	9/10%	7/10%	13\22%	6\5%	35/11%
Human rights	1/1%	3/4%	6\10%	8\7%	18/5%
Criminality and law	14/16%	8/11%	16\27%	10\9%	48/15%
Literature and music	6/7%	0/0%	0\0%	5\4%	11/3%
Poverty	1/1%	1/1%	1\2%	4\4%	7/2%
Health	0/0%	2/3%	1\2%	3\3%	6/2%
Law and Justice	9/10%	0/0%	0\0%	0/0%	9/3%
Sports	21/23%	16/23%	7\12%	37\33%	81/24%
Other	0/0%	2/3%	7\12%	4\4%	13/4%
Total	90	70	60	112	332

5.7 Types of stories before and after the rebranding campaign

This study focused on the changes in the subjects that drew coverage before and after the rebranding campaign, the difference in the correspondents reporting on Nigeria, the tone of stories, the frames used in the stories, the collocations used, and the discourse created and the resulting image of Nigeria.

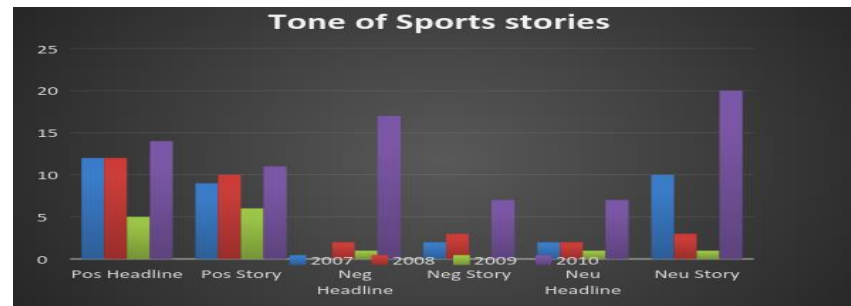
Figure 11: Number of stories before and after per subject



5.8 Sports stories

A variety of subjects were found in this study, Sports had the most stories with 24% of the sample. This is mainly because of the World Cup in 2010 which had 33% of the stories. The percentage is also made up from the stories on Nigerian footballers playing football in the UK premier and championship leagues. Sports stories are usually positive stories celebrating talent, it was therefore intriguing to assess the tone of Sports stories on Nigeria and Nigerians.

Figure 12: Tone of Sport stories



Headline and stories tone of Sports stories

Sports stories are mainly meant to be positive as they are about the talent and sportsmanship of Nigerians in football and sports generally, but this research shows that only 53% of the stories had positive headlines and only 44% of the stories were positive.

Table 4: Tone of headline Sport stories

	Pos Headline	Pos Story	Neg Headline	Neg Story	Neu Headline	Neu Story
2007	12	9	7	2	2	10
2008	12	10	2	3	2	3
2009	5	6	1	0	1	1
2010	14	11	17	7	7	20
Total	53%	44%	33%	15%	15%	37%

The positive headlines included, ‘Yak's out to be king of Nigeria’ and ‘Nigeria won the Under-17 World Cup final with a 3-0 win over Spain’.

The results also show that there were more negative headlines as compared to the negative stories. This gives credence to the assertion that

for African stories to be selected by editors they have to be negatively framed or written with negative undertones. Some positive stories carried negative reflecting headlines. An example is the story about the Nigerian footballer Mikel Obi. On the 22nd of June 2007, William Gray of the Daily Telegraph wrote a story with the headline '*Nigeria ban for Mikel*', the Sun also had the headline, '*Obi banned from Nigeria*'. The story was rather different, as it quoted the Nigerian Football Association to have said "Mikel is disinterested in playing for his country". They did not say anything about Mikel being banned or suspended from the Nigerian national side. It can be deducted then that bold statements made by the correspondents such as "Mikel John Obi has been suspended indefinitely by his Nigeria national side" were not based on the facts in the stories.

Sports stories before and after the rebranding campaign

46% of sports were covered before the rebranding campaign as compared to 54% after the campaign. Sports stories are usually considered to be development stories but this study showed that some of the sports stories were negatively framed. Further analysis of sports stories showed that more stories had negative headlines after the Rebranding campaign as compared to before the rebranding campaign. There were twice as many negative headlines as negative stories, which meant there was no improvement in the reporting of Sports stories after the Rebranding Campaign.

5.9 Politics stories

Politics accounted for 18% of all the stories. The political coverage was due to the elections in 2007, the illness, death and succession of the Nigerian president in 2010. 65% of the political stories in this study had negative headlines with 54% of the stories being negative. Some of the stories with negative headlines had neutral contents based on facts and representing the various views in the story. 27% of stories had a positive headline and 15% of the stories were also positive.

The results showed that Nigeria was viewed as lacking democracy. Headline stories such as *'Is African democracy worth the bloodshed?'*, *'He may call this a democracy, but my people have no work and are dying of disease in silence'* *Nigeria's presidential election should be a milestone for a country infamous for corruption*, *'but many fear the vote will change nothing'*, highlight how African democracy is viewed in the British press. The Nigerian elections were not considered democratic enough. It can be argued that violence was recorded in some of the polling stations but any successes were not included. The British press gave the impression that nothing positive was achieved in the Nigerian elections.

Headline stories on Nigerian politics such as, *'Rudderless Nigeria waits for news of a president not seen for 45 days: Yar'Adua 'in Saudi Arabia for heart treatment': Issues pile up amid claims of allies forging signature'*, *'Violence and claims of fraud mar Nigeria poll'* express the view that Nigerian government is full of crisis, untrustworthy leaders and unstable populations. And when Nigerians have elections, they do not meet the democratic standards of Britain and are characterized by vote rigging and violence.

In conclusion, the results from this study show that stories on Nigerian politics and democracy which support the existing portrayal of African politics had more coverage. The results also show that positive stories on politics were framed to suit the existing negative perceptions. The democratic failure tone was adapted by the British press way before the elections took place. The parachute reporting based on a lot of reporters flying to cover events meant that only the crisis and violence were reflected. The peaceful build up to the elections and the campaigns run by different political parties were not found to be newsworthy.

5.10 Business stories

Business stories accounted for 14% of all the stories on Nigeria in the British press from 2007 to 2010. In 2007, 12% of stories were business

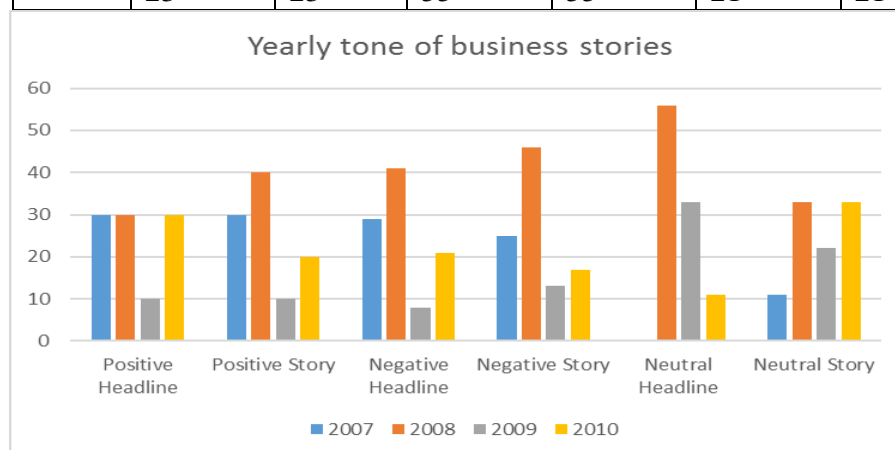
stories, this increased in 2008 with 27%, and 2009 had a sharp decline in business stories with 10% of stories. This also decreases further in 2010 with 8% of stories being business stories. The decline in 2009 resulted partly from some of the Business stories being grouped as conflict, crime and violence stories as they included kidnapping of oil workers and the conflict between the oil companies and neighbouring villagers.

Tone of Business stories

The tone of Business stories was mainly negative with 55% of stories having negative headlines and stories, although it can be noted that some positive stories had negative headlines. 23% of Business stories were positive with 2008 having over 40% of Business stories being positive.

Table 5: Tone of Business stories by year

Years	Positive Headline	Positive Story	Negative Headline	Negative Story	Neutral Headline	Neutral Story
2007	30	30	29	25	0	11
2008	30	40	41	46	56	33
2009	10	10	8	13	33	22
2010	30	20	21	17	11	33
	23	23	55	55	21	21



Some of the positive stories included the story titled “*Nigerian bank leads fixed-term saving field*” which was a story about the First Bank of Nigeria being determined to beat the scammers and successfully venturing into savings. This was a positive story but the Guardian choose a negative headline “*Nigeria Money: Flying in the face of fraud*” Negative stories

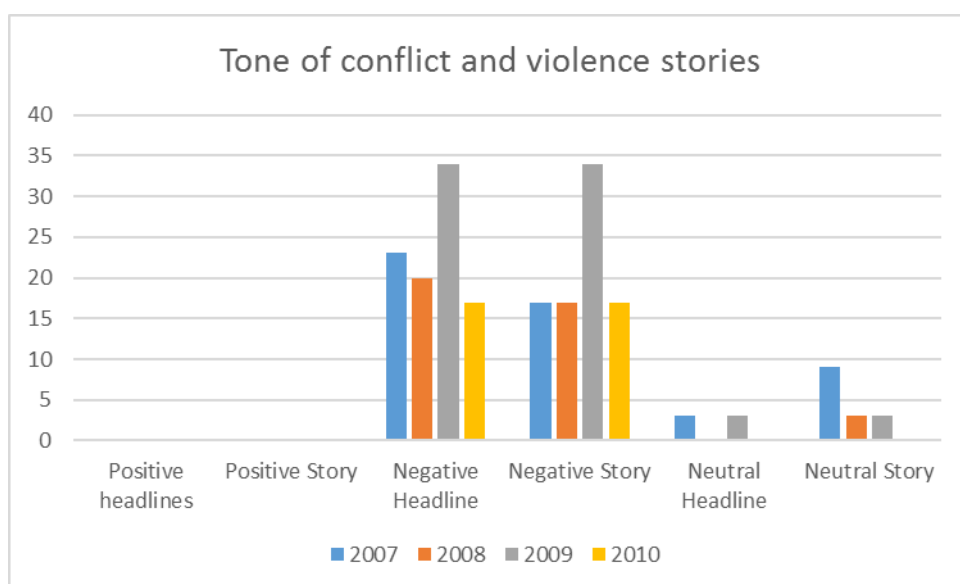
also included stories that blamed Nigeria and Nigerians for petrol price rises in the Britain, with headlines such as *“Petrol to hit £1 a litre within weeks as oil supply strains show. Nigerian strike and Iran worries add to pressure concern.”* It can be noted that on 19 March 2009, the day after the rebranding campaign, Ben Harrington of the Telegraph wrote a positive business story with the headline *“Afren rises on talk of positive Nigerian update”*. Afren plc is an international independent exploration and production company listed on the London Stock Exchange. A positive Nigerian update could result in more investment into the Nigerian oil industry.

5.11 Conflict and Violence

Conflict and violence accounted for 11% of all the stories on Nigeria in the British press. In 2007 and 2008, 10% of stories reported were on Conflict and Crime, 2009 had an increase in Conflict and Crime stories with the rise of the terrorist Islamist group Boko Haram. 2010 showed a sharp decline in Conflict and Crime stories with only 5%.

Table 6: Tone of Conflict and Violence stories

	Positive headlines	Positive Story	Negative Headline	Negative Story	Neutral Headline	Neutral Story
2007	0	0	23	17	3	9
2008	0	0	20	17	0	3
2009	0	0	34	34	3	3
2010	0	0	17	17	0	0



The Conflict and Violence stories showed a higher percentage of negative headlines to negative stories, with some neutral and positive stories having negative headlines. The story in the Daily Mirror on the 9th of August 2007 with the headline “*Scots oil worker released in Nigeria*” reflected negatively on Nigeria, but the story had a positive content in which the Foreign and Commonwealth Office spokesman was quoted to have said “we would like to thank the Nigerian authorities for their help in bringing about the peaceful resolution of this kidnapping.” The headline did not reflect on the positive note reflected by the story. This shows the tendency in the British press to recycle negative headlines hence portraying Nigeria negatively in the British press. Conflict and violence stories are always negative stories, but stories which assess the details and facts leading to the violence and give information from all angles can give the audience a balanced view of the conflict and the resulting violence.

Conflict and violence stories before and after the rebranding campaign

Conflict and violence stories increased from 46% before the rebranding campaign to 54% after the rebranding campaign. This did not reflect on the Rebranding campaign slogan “Good people, great nation” as the stories portrayed Nigeria as a country with a lot of conflict and violence. The stories reflected the Nigerian Boko Haram group as being equivalent to the ‘Taliban’. The tone of Conflict and Violence stories did not change after the rebranding campaign. The stories were still mainly negative with negatively framed headlines.

5.12 Human rights

Human rights stories accounted for 5% of all the stories reported on Nigeria in the British press, only 1% of the stories reported on Nigeria in 2007 were on human rights. This increased in 2009 to 10% of stories and 7% in 2010.

Figure 13: Number of human rights stories



Tone of Human rights stories

The tone of the headline stories showed that there were more negative headlines as compared to negative stories. It can also be noted that positive human rights stories were recorded in 2009 and 2010 with less than a quarter of the stories being negative.

Table 7: The tone of human rights stories

	Positive Headline	Positive Story	Negative Headline	Negative Story	Neutral Headline	Neutral Story
2007	0	0	100	0	0	100
2008	0	0	33	50	17	0
2009	17	17	17	25	17	8
2010	6	0	43	25	0	25
Total	17	11	67	56	17	33

Positive human rights stories included a story by Ed Pilkington in the Guardian on the 9th of June 2009 with the headline “*13 years after Ken Saro-Wiwa execution, oil giant Shell to pay dollars 15.5m to the Ogoni nine: Nigerian activists alleged company damaged delta: Settlement agreed despite company's innocent plea*”. This was a success about settlement for Nigerian activists. Negative headlines included a headline by The Sun on the 12th of March 2010 “*Nigerians deported*”, which could be taken to imply that all Nigerians were being deported. The story was about twenty Nigerian asylum seekers who were being sent home to Nigeria by the Department of Justice. The headline story “*Punishing child with a belt ‘normal in Nigeria’*”, reflected Nigerians as being abusive towards children. 44% of stories on Nigeria were positive or neutral. This means that there was almost a 50% chance that British readers would get the image of Nigeria as a country that upholds human rights as opposed to general view that third world countries do not uphold human rights.

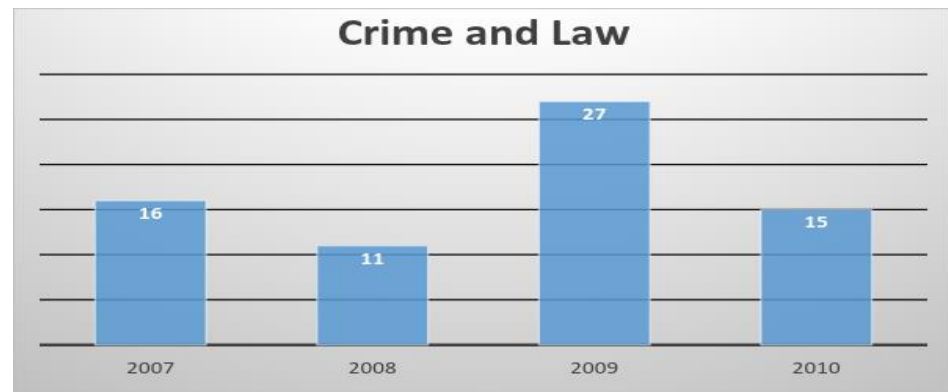
The stories on Human rights only accounted for 5% of all stories. There was an increase in these stories after the rebranding campaign. Although most of these stories were negative with negative headlines, it can be noted

that there were more positive and neutral headlines and stories on Human rights after the Rebranding campaign.

5.13 Crime and Law

Crime and law accounted for 15% of the stories about Nigeria in the British press from 2007 to 2010. 2009 had the most Crime stories with 27% of all stories. 2010 saw a decrease in Crime stories. The increase in Crime stories in 2009 was due to stories on bribery, scams, con tricks, Nigerian criminals and fraudsters.

Figure 14: Number of Crime and law stories

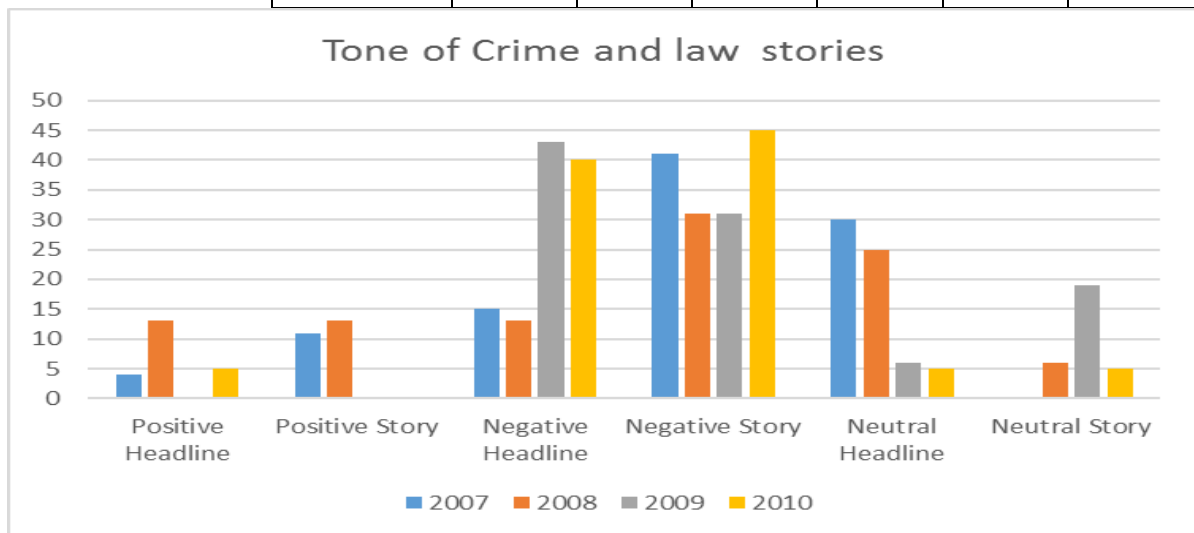


Tone of crime and law stories

Crime stories had a high percentage of negative stories. Table 8 shows that there were more negative stories than headlines. This means that some of the negative stories had neutral headlines. There were more neutral stories in 2009 and 2010 compared to 2007 and 2008. 13% of the Crime and Law stories and headlines were positive.

Table 8: Tone of Crime and law stories

	Positive Headline	Positive Story	Negative Headline	Negative Story	Neutral Headline	Neutral Story
2007	4	11	15	41	30	0
2008	13	13	13	31	25	6
2009	0	0	43	31	6	19
2010	5	0	40	45	5	5
Total	9	11	60	75	32	15



Positive stories included stories on Nigeria’s war on illegal drugs such as the stories with the headline “*Nigeria sues Pfizer for £3.5bn over 'illegal' child drug trials: Unproven meningitis therapy 'killed 11 children': Company says it followed country's rules*”. Other positive stories showed the Nigerian police fighting crime and catching criminals but only as a result of Western intervention as shown in the headline “*Police smash £1bn internet fraud gang: Arrests follow raids in UK, US, Canada and Nigeria: Huge haul of fake cheques and money orders seized*”

Crime and law accounted for 54% after the rebranding campaign as compared to 46% before the campaign. Hence there was no improvement noted due to the campaign. Similar frames and stories were still being covered after the campaign. Before the rebranding campaign, there were

more negative stories as compared to negative headlines which meant that some of the negative stories had neutral headlines. After the rebranding campaign, the size of the stories decreased and more stories had negative headlines. This meant some neutral stories also had negative headlines. There was no improvement in the tone of story headlines and stories after the rebranding campaign.

5.14 Poverty and health

Only 7 stories on Nigeria were on Poverty and health accounting for only 2% of all stories reported on Nigeria in the British press from 2007 to 2010. This shows that Nigeria was not considered to be a poor country. There were some positive headlines and stories on Poverty and Health about Nigeria.

Table 9: Tone of Poverty and health stories

	Positive Headline	Positive Story	Negative Headline	Negative Story	Neutral Headline	Neutral Story
2007	0	0	1	1	0	0
2008	1	1	1	1	0	0
2009	1	0	0	1	0	0
2010	1	1	3	3	0	0
Number of stories	3	2	5	6	0	0

Some stories that were not about the Nigerian health system reflected the shared view of the author of a story on the Nigerian health system with a sarcastic headline “*A hearing test for your child? You would be better off in Nigeria*”. Clare Stronge wrote a story in The Sun newspaper on the 10th of April with the headline “*Why has this man set up home in a Nigerian rubbish dump*”. The negative story was based on a BBC documentary on Nigeria. When the Nigerian authorities complained about this portrayal, The Sun did not cover that story. The Guardian’s Ben Dowell on the 29th of April 2010 covered the story with the headline “Nobel laureate condemns BBC portrayal of Nigerian city as a pit of degradation.” The headline was still negative highlighting the negative portrayal ‘as a pit of

degradation’ although this was a positive story defending the portrayal of Lagos in the British media. This shows the characteristic of the British press of neglect and distortion, in which a negative story is selected and the positive follow up story is omitted. Poverty stories also included a story by Shyamantha Asokan for The Guardian on the 9th of September 2010 titled “*Africa’s struggle to raise a new generation - Five years on: Nigeria Confidant Martins*”. This story shows the tendency of the international media to consider Africa as one country and paint the struggles of one country as that of the entire continent.

Poverty and health only accounted for 2% of stories, which meant Nigeria was not reflected as a poor country in the British press. There was a slight increase in stories on poverty which were mainly negative after the rebranding campaign.

5.15 Literature and music

Literature and music accounted for 3% of all the stories reported on Nigeria in the British press from 2007 to 2010 in the newspapers used in this study. No stories on literature and music were recorded in 2008 and 2009. In 2007, 67% of stories were positive although only 33% of them had positive headlines.

Table 10: Tone of literature and music stories

	Positive Headline	Positive Story	Negative Headline	Negative Story	Neutral Headline	Neutral Story
2007	33	67	33	0	33	33
2008	0	0	0	0	0	0
2009	0	0	0	0	0	0
2010	20	0	80	80	0	20
Number of stories	27	36	55	36	18	36

The literature review showed that literature and music stories are usually positive, celebrating the talents and skills of citizens. This study showed a

low percentage of negative stories but half of the stories had negative headlines. Although some stories celebrated novelists and literary writers, there was a strong emphasis on crisis. One of the stories highlighted that the novelist Chinua Achebe's fiction has "*bitterly satirised the corruption and coups in Nigeria.*"

Literature and Music stories on Nigeria were mainly negative, there was a decrease in stories after the rebranding campaign and an increase in Negative headlines and stories.

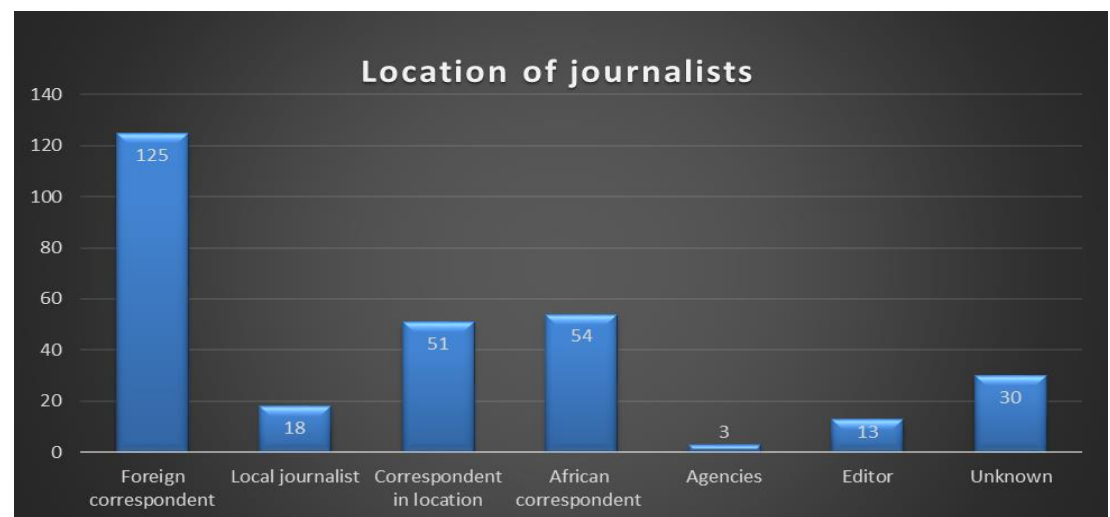
In conclusion, the types of stories mainly covered in the British press were Corruption, Crime and Violence which collectively accounted for 26% of all stories on Nigeria in the British press. Nigeria did not have stories on poverty mainly although some of them had satirised poverty reference. Sports stories accounted 24% of Nigerian stories, and some of the headlines covered were negative as compared to stories. It showed the British media's tendency to craft positive stories with negatively toned headlines, giving credence to the assertion that African stories are negatively framed and written with negative undertones. Political stories reflected on the undermining of Nigerian politics. Business stories were mainly negative. 11% of Human rights stories were positive with 33% of neutral stories which meant that Nigeria had a 50% chance of readers viewing it as a country that upholds Human rights which is contrary to the portrayal of Africa as a continent without respect for human rights. Literature and music stories were mainly positive and neutral although 55% of the stories had negative headlines.

To build on this argument, this thesis analysed the location of news reporters to answer the question "who reports on Nigeria in the British press? The type of subjects they report and the tone of their reports. This analysis sheds more light on whether the type of reporter has any impact on the portrayal of a country in the British media.

5.16 Location of Journalists

The location of news reporters and its impact on the overall reportage on a country is a very important subject in analysing who reports on the country and hence the image portrayed in the international media. As reflected in the literature review, news outlets such as those covered in this study (Guardian, the Sun, Daily Mirror and Telegraph) do not have news bureaux in all the African countries they report on. This was attributed to limited budgets, hence news editors decide which countries will have reporters permanently and which countries will have reporters parachuted to, as and when stories break. For the stories in this study, the reporters, their location, the sources of their stories, the tone of their stories, the frames they used, the length of their stories and the number of sources used in their stories were recorded. These results are used to investigate who reports on Nigeria in the British press.

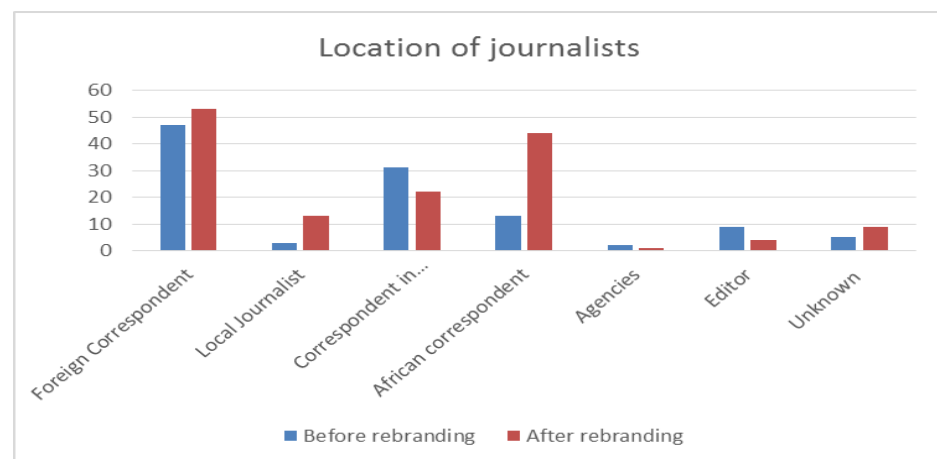
Figure 15: Location of journalists



5.17 Location of Journalists before and after the rebranding campaign

The results showed that after the rebranding campaign more stories were reported by foreign correspondents with 2010 showing the highest percentage with 32%. In agreement with the campaign claims, 50% of the headlines framed by foreign correspondents were negatively toned.

Figure 16: Location of journalists before and after rebranding



The location of the journalists was a major issue raised by the Nigerian information minister as she claimed that Nigerians had allowed other people to report their story.

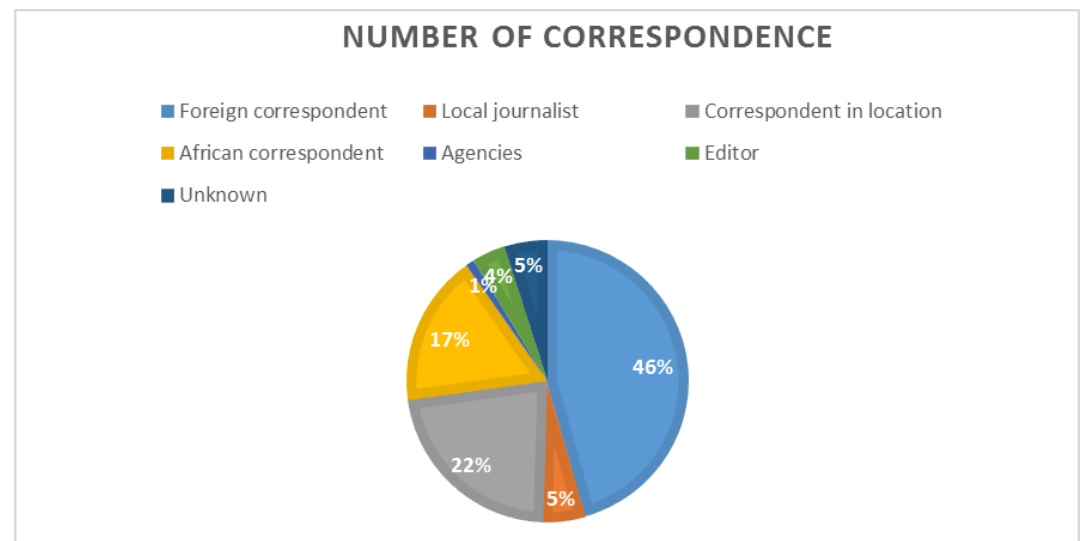
African correspondents and agencies accounted for more coverage after the rebranding campaign, from 24% before the rebranding campaign to 76% after the rebranding. This can be taken as a positive as more African correspondents were reporting the Nigerian story. Further analysis of the tone of stories and types of stories reported by African correspondents was conducted. The results showed that African correspondents reported more negative stories as compared to positive stories. The results also showed that they framed neutral and some positive stories negatively. They also used the collocations which led to the same discourses and images to the British audience.

Types of Correspondents

The foreign correspondents, which included sports correspondents, business correspondents, investigative journalists and journalists in the UK wrote 46% of the stories on Nigeria in the British press. Together with editors also based in the UK, the total comes up to 51%.

Table 11: The percentage of correspondents per year

	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Foreign correspondent	41	62	49	40	47
Local journalist	1	4	10	7	5
Correspondent in location	30	18	15	12	23
African correspondent	10	11	22	29	18
Agencies	1	2	0	1	1
Editor	9	5	0	4	4
Unknown	1	0	3	7	5
Total	70	57	59	106	292



These results are in agreement with the view by the Nigerian Minister of Information that, “Nigerians allowed others to tell our story” as they show that most of the stories about Nigeria were reported by foreigners, hence the image of Nigeria in the British press is as a result of their portrayal by the foreign reporters.

The local journalist accounted for 5% of the overall number of stories, and there was a yearly increase in number of stories reported by foreign correspondents 6% in 2007, 13% in 2008 and a huge jump to 38% in 2009 and 44% in 2010. This result shows that local Nigerian reporters did not contribute much to the portrayal of Nigeria in the British press.

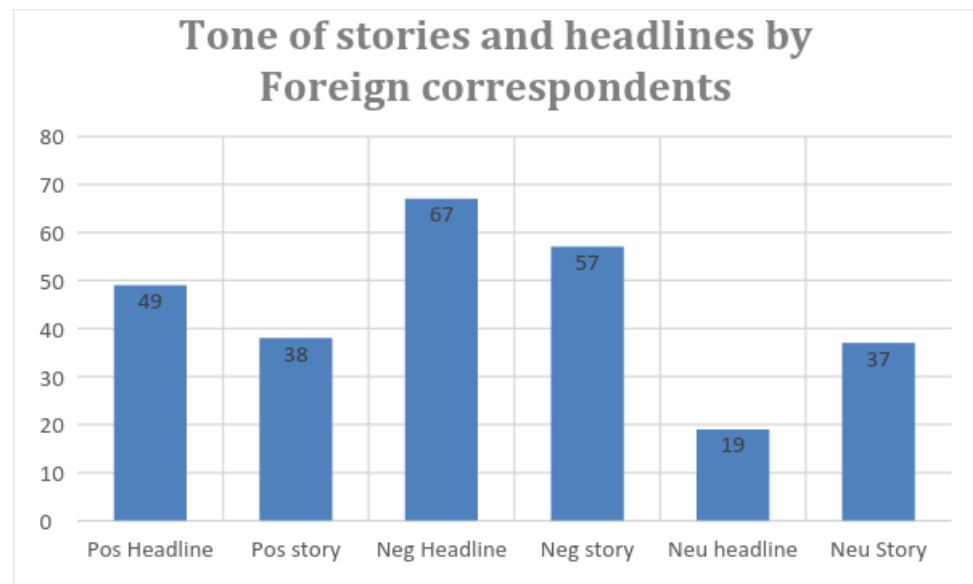
Reporters in location (parachute journalists) account for nearly a quarter of the stories on Nigeria. They accounted for 23% of coverage. 2007 had the highest number of stories by parachute journalists with 37% which was a result of the Nigerian elections which attracted a lot of British coverage. 2010 had 23% due to the World Cup in South Africa. This can be seen during the Nigerian elections in April 2007, January to March 2007 had a total of 15 stories in comparison to April alone which received 15 stories. This was followed by 6 stories in May 2007 showing that the limelight was off Nigeria.

Most stories reported by correspondents in location covered various crisis situations. The reports had a high percentage of negative stories with stereotypical tones. This brings the total percentage number of stories on Nigeria written by foreign reporters to 75%. This shows that Nigeria's image is portrayed mainly by foreign reporters to the British press. It is therefore important to do further analysis of the stories written by the foreign correspondents, to find out the tone of their stories, the number of sources used in their stories, the type of sources and the length of their stories.

The tone of stories and headlines by foreign correspondents

Over 50% of the headlines by foreign correspondents were negatively toned with 14% being neutral. They also wrote more negative stories with 42% and 27% being neutral. The difference between the negative headlines and negative stories reflect that some positive stories had a negative headline.

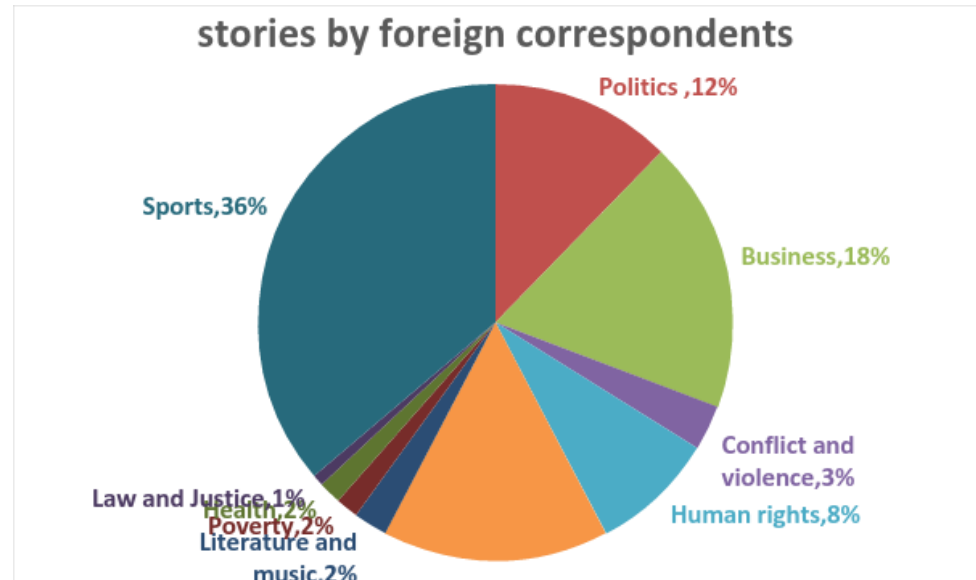
Figure 17: Tone of stories/headlines by foreign correspondents



As explained in the literature review, the headline is important in influencing the audience while trying to process or understand a story. The use of negative and often stereotypical headlines by foreign correspondents gave Nigeria a negative portrayal.

The foreign correspondents covered mainly sports stories with 36% of stories, followed by business stories with 18% and criminality with 15%.

Figure 18: Stories by foreign correspondents



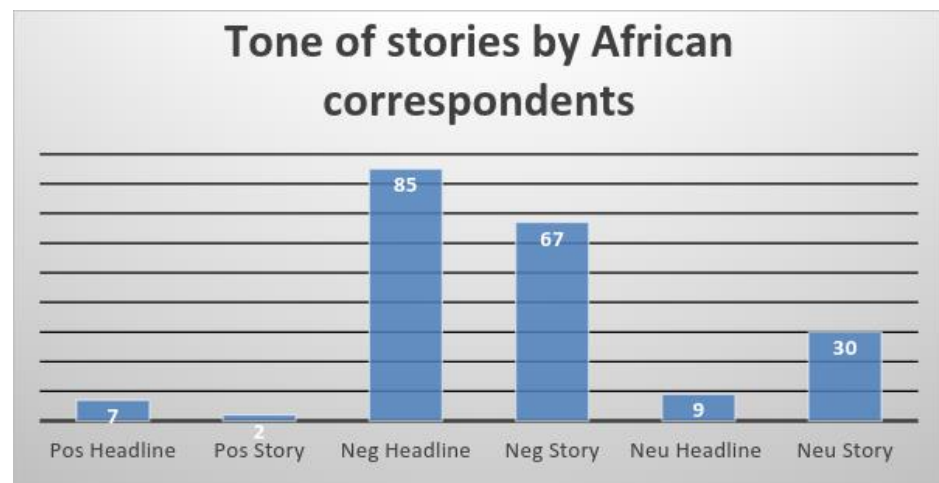
This also shows a high percentage of negative sports stories due to the large volume of sports stories. This reflects some distortion in reportage as sports stories are usually stories to celebrate talent and skills of Nigerian sports men.

5.18 Stories by African Correspondents

The African correspondents and Africa based news agents accounted for 19% of the stories. This means that less than a fifth of stories on Nigeria in the British press were written by reporters based in Africa. The literature review suggested that Africa based correspondents were better at understanding the culture, therefore these results show that they only reported a small percentage of Nigerian stories. It is therefore important to further analyse the stories written by the African reporters in order to note if there were any differences when compared to the stories by the foreign correspondents and journalists in location. The stories by Africa correspondents were analysed to find out the tone of stories, length of stories and the types of stories on Nigeria in the British press.

The results in Figure 19 show a yearly decline in African correspondents. Although only 19% of the stories on Nigeria were reported by African reporters, 85% of the stories had negatively framed headlines as compared to 67% negative stories. The African correspondents had a higher percentage of negative headlines and stories but this was less when compared to the number of stories for each. Only 7% of headlines were positively framed as compared to 2% of stories. This shows a positive variance as compared to the foreign reporters who had less positive headlines as compared to positive stories.

Figure 19: Tone of stories by African correspondents



The African correspondents found in this study included Mike Pflanz, Mark Tran and Shyamantha Asokan for the Guardian, Xan Rice, Kaye Whiteman and David Smith for the Telegraph. The main African correspondents were David Smith and agencies for the Telegraph, and Mike Pflanz and Xan Rice for the Guardian. Most of the stories by African correspondent David Smith, one of the prominent writers on Nigeria, were relatively long and had a lot of depth. The stories were mainly neutral but their framing fit a crisis tone and painted a negative picture of Nigeria. The story with the headline “Nigeria rejects move to honour anniversary of activist’s death” refers to Nigeria as a country and not the senators that had rejected to honour the anniversary. The story was one sided and mainly based on a report in a local newspaper Next. The story featured the

views of the senator who was proposing the honour. The reason for the rejection was quite valid but this is not reflected in the framing of the headline making it fit the crisis mode, that Nigeria as a country does not respect human rights activists. David Smith and agencies mainly reported on crisis news and they are based in South Africa hence most of their information is not first hand. On the 18th of March 2010, the Guardian published a story with the headline “Nigeria’s acting president asserts power by sacking cabinet.” It paints a political crisis in Nigeria but the story is neutral and does not reflect on political crisis in the headline. This supports the view that for a story to be considered newsworthy, it has to fit a certain framework.

Another story by David Smith with the headline, *‘150 dead in Nigeria after anti-education ‘Taliban’ offensive to impose sharia law’* equates the Nigerian Boko Haram to the Taliban. Using the word Taliban in the headline makes it easier for the British public to understand as they are familiar with the activities of the ‘Taliban’. The story is also crisis themed and hence more newsworthy to the British press. The story is very detailed and attempts to explain what Boko Haram is and uses views from eye witnesses, BBC and Reuters reports and information from the Boko Haram leader. This shows that some of the stories by the African correspondents are balanced and detailed, hence they are not to blame for the negative portrayal, and the responsibility lies in the choice of the stories picked by the editors. The African correspondents recorded in this study were mainly in Nairobi and they were only in Nigeria during crisis events such as the elections and foreign kidnapping incidents. This supports the view that there has been a decline in the number of correspondents. A closer analysis of the African correspondents shows that they are mainly freelance journalists. This reflects that British media representation in Nigeria is very limited and mainly based on foreign reporters accounting to 75% of all stories.

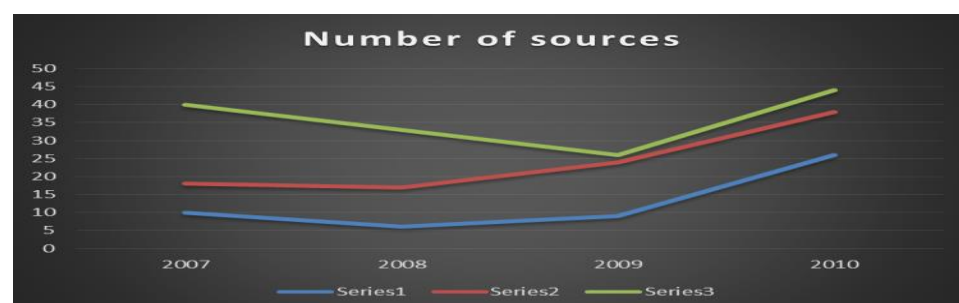
Further analysis is required to analyse the voices speaking in the British media. According to Sigal (1973) “what the news is depends very much on who the sources are. If each day’s front page were like a single frame in a movie, the composite series of still frames would necessarily contain

some distortion - “While the camera might belong to newsmen, the lights are in the hands of their sources.” The sources of news stories are the primary definers of the news agenda. It is therefore important to look at how many sources were used in the writing of stories about Nigeria in the British press.

5.19 Number of Sources

The results show that almost 49% of the stories on Nigeria were based on three or more sources, 33% had two sources and only 18% of the stories only had one source. Although the stories were mainly negative they had more than one source, hence one could deduct that the most stories were balanced but mostly based on the crisis events and negative stories. 18% of the stories on Nigeria were based on the reporter’s first-hand information. Although stories on Nigeria were mainly negative, 49% of them had a balanced view of events from 3 or more sources.

Figure 20: Number of sources



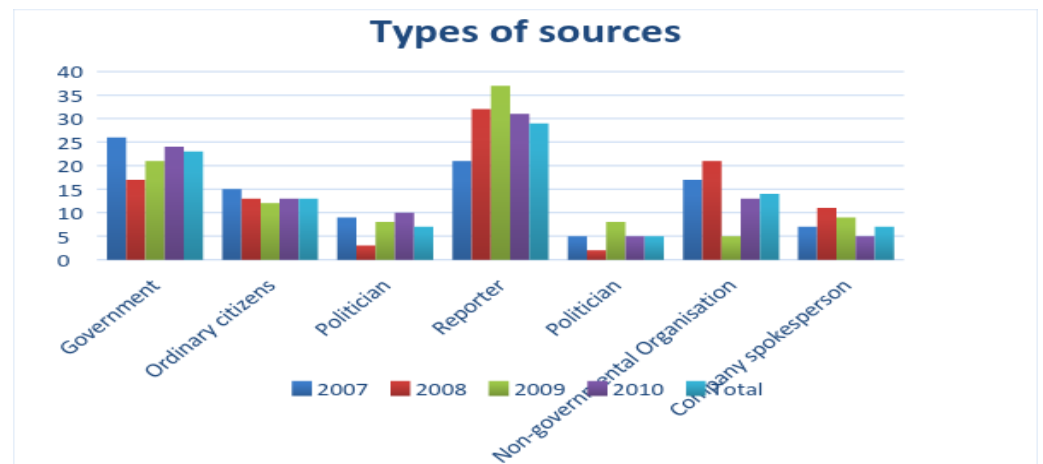
**Table 12:
Number of
sources**

Number of sources	One	Two	Three or more
2007	10/15%	18/26%	40/59%
2008	6/11%	17/30%	33/59%
2009	9/15%	24/41%	26/44%
2010	26/24%	38/35%	44/41%

5.20 Types of Sources

The type of sources plays a vital role in the nature and way a news story is reported. As described in the literature review, news is based on the sources and reporters. It is therefore essential that the sources selected for stories are credible and have authority. All the stories in this study were analysed and the number of sources mentioned in each story were recorded.

Figure 21: Types of sources



The analysis of the types of sources showed that the government accounted for 23% of the sources, politicians 7%, the police 5% and company spokespersons accounted for 7%. These credible and authoritative sources accounted for 42% of the sources. The sources of Nigerian news were not mainly dependent on Nigerian government officials which are the more credible sources.

Table 13: Types of Sources

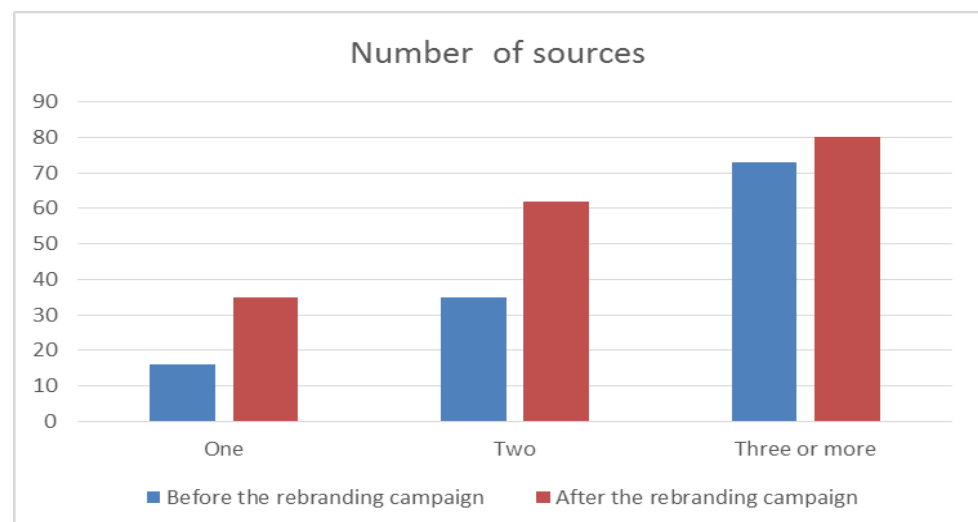
Types of Sources	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Government	43/26%	20/17%	24/21%	50/24%	137/23%
Ordinary citizens	24/15%	15/13%	13/12%	27/13%	79/13%
Politician	14/9%	4/3%	9/8%	21/10%	48/7%
Reporter	34/21%	38/32%	41/37%	65/31%	178/30%
Police	9/5%	2/2%	9/8%	10/5%	30/5%
Non-governmental Organisation	28/17%	25/21%	6/5%	28/13%	87/14%
Company spokesperson	12/7%	13/11%	10/9%	10/5%	45/7%
Total	164	117	112	211	604

The correspondents and reporters accounted for 30% of the sources of the stories. 51% of correspondents, editors and reporters were based in the UK, and African correspondents who are not based in Nigeria. It means the stories about Nigeria are mainly second-hand information. Most stories had correspondents based in the UK as their only source and a lot of ‘historic baggage’ research to support the perceived information.

5.21 Number and Types of Sources before and after the rebranding campaign

The number of stories with three or more sources decreased after the rebranding campaign, 2007 and 2008 had 59% as compared to 44% in 2009 and 41% in 2010. After the rebranding campaign more stories only had one source, based on unconfirmed facts and mostly with the writer as the only named source of the story. Stories with two sources also showed an increase after the rebranding campaign.

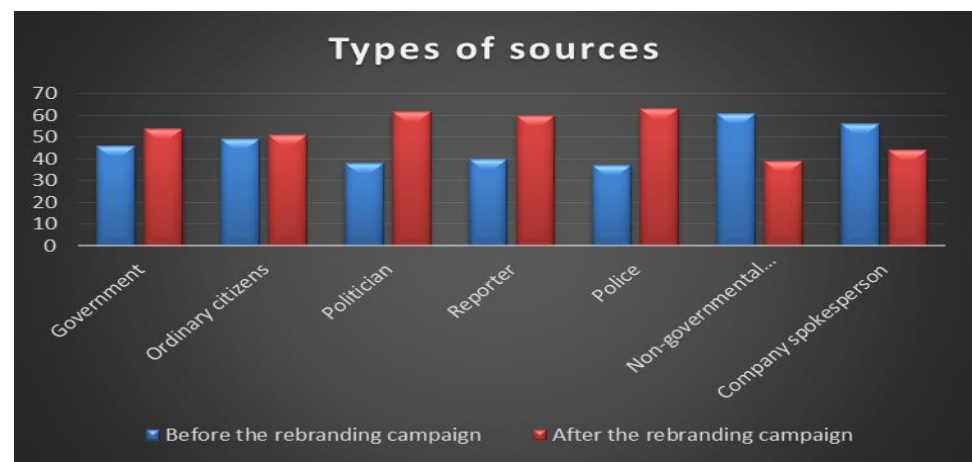
Figure 22: Number and Types of sources before and after rebranding



Types of news sources

The type of sources did not show much variance before and after the rebranding campaign. The government sources accounted for 26 % of all the sources in 2007 and 24% in 2010, hence only a slight change. The decrease in number of government sources after the rebranding campaign shows that the campaign did not have any impact on the type of sources. Reliance on government sources indicate that credible and authoritative sources were used.

Figure 23: Types of sources



After the rebranding campaign, there was a slight increase in the number of ordinary citizens as news sources, as well as an increase in the reporters themselves being the only mentioned source of the story. Politicians and police as sources also increased marginally after the rebranding campaign which can be viewed as a positive change. The non-governmental sources such as the company spokesperson decreased after the rebranding campaign. This could be due to the type of stories reported after the rebranding campaign.

5.22 Tone of Stories and Headlines

Analysis of the tone of news stories showed that between 2007 and 2010, 45% of the stories were negative, with 51% of headlines being negative.

Figure 24: Tone of stories and headlines

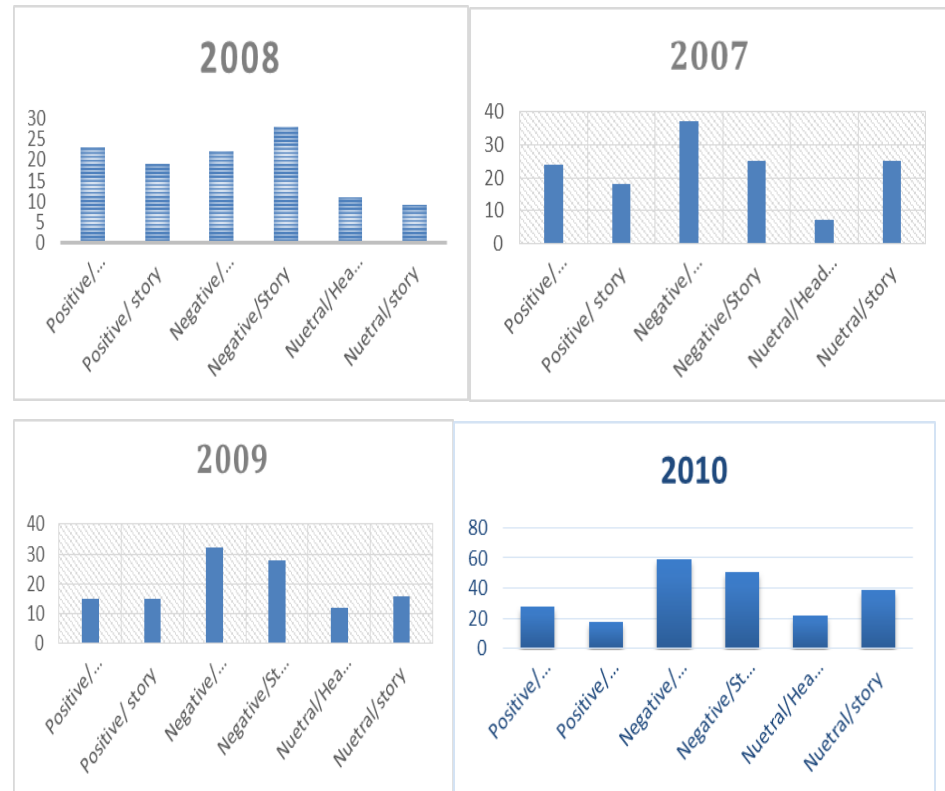


Table 14: Tone of stories and headlines

	Positive/ headline	Positive/ story	Negative/ Headline	Negative/Story	Neutral/Headline	Neutral/story
2007	24/35%	18/26%	37/54%	25/36%	7/10%	25/36%
2008	23/40%	19/33%	22/39%	28/49%	11/19%	9/16%
2009	15/25%	15/25%	32/53%	28/47%	12/20%	16/27%
2010	28/26%	18/17%	59/54%	51/46%	22/20%	39/36%

In 2007, 35% of the stories had a positive headline which was mainly due to stories on football with headlines such as “*Football: Martins shaken by*

rumors of Chelsea move: Newcastle say speculation over player 'agent driven': Nigerian striker would fill gap in Blues' front line', 'Yak's out to be king of Nigeria.' They are stories about Nigerian football stars. *'FOOTBALL: NIGERIA IN FOR VOGTS'* is from a news story on the bid to get a new football coach.

2008 had the highest amount of negative with 49% of the stories being negative, 33% of stories were positive and 16% were neutral. The negative stories were mainly about the rise in fuel prices due to militants attacking pipelines in Nigeria. Stories with headlines such as, *'Terror fear fuels surge in oil price', 'Shell shuts Nigerian oilfield after rebel attack' and 'Oil price passes \$122 to hit fresh record: Production problems in Nigeria and Iraq fuel fears: British drivers paying an average of 110.6p a litre'* seemed to brew hatred from the British drivers who are having to pay more for fuel due to Nigerian oil problems.

2009 and 2010 showed a decline in positive stories and headlines with 25% and 26% respectively. The number of negative stories increased to 53% and 54% respectively. The increase in negative stories in 2009 was due to a lot of crime stories which involved people in the UK. The headline stories included *'DOC LOSES £350k IN NET SCAM: She falls for Nigerian con trick', 'LATEST scam out of Nigeria' and 'GOD, WHAT FOOLS! WE'D SENT THE MONEY FOR OUR HOLIDAY VILLA TO A CHUCKLING NIGERIAN FRAUDSTER CALLED JASON.'* It can also be argued that the visibility of these stories was due to the British nationals involved.

2009 also saw the rise of Islamic anti-education group Boko Haram which most foreign correspondents were equating to Afghanistan's 'Taliban'. The headlines for stories included *'150 dead in Nigeria after anti-education 'Taliban' offensive to impose sharia law' and 'Army lays siege to Nigerian 'Taliban' in bid to crush rebels' and 'Chief of Nigeria's 'Taliban' dead'.* The militants affecting the oil industry also contributed to the increase in negative stories.

Positive stories accounted for 24% of stories with 31% of headlines. This dearth of positive stories in the reporting of Nigeria could be as a result of what African columnist Stella Orakwue defined as ‘the comfort zone’. She states that “Africa became the ‘comfort zone’ used by the West to calm down their restless masses. The trick is simple: portray Africa in the most negative light, show African refugee children with flies flying around their mouths, their stomach distended, their parents living in huts and Western NGO workers at the rescue- the more these images are shown, the more it works on the masses in the West, however poor they are, they are left with one response: ‘Oh, I am better than these wretched Africans. Thank God.’” (Ankomah 2008)

The headlines function as initial summaries of news articles and foreground what the writer regards as most relevant and of maximum interest or appeal to readers. Hence headlines provide preferred meaning of news texts and frameworks within which readers may interpret them. A random selection of ten headlines in 2007 below shows the metaphors used to portray Nigeria and Nigerians. The first headline gives the image of Nigerians as star football players filling the gap in English clubs. The use of the words ‘rumours’, ‘speculation’, and ‘agent driven’ in the headline changes the image from a positive view to that of a Nigerian striker and agents trying to make money. The words rumours and speculation feed into the stereotype of Nigerians being corrupt. The second headline refers to Nigerian ‘rebels’, the choice of the word rebels to refer to the protesters in the Nigerian oil fields portrays a war and conflict view to Nigeria. And the use of the phrase ‘Oil prices could soar again’ lays the blame of the increase in petrol and diesel price on the conflict in the Nigerian oil fields.

1. *Football: Martins shaken by rumours of Chelsea move: Newcastle say speculation over player 'agent driven': Nigerian striker would fill gap in Blues' front line (The Guardian: 09-01-07)*
2. *Nigerian rebels threaten new wave of kidnaps Oil prices could soar again as foreign workers face more danger, reports Mike Pflanz in Port Harcourt (The Daily Telegraph: 07-02-07)*
3. *Lagos turns on kickbacks: There is hope for Africa in Nigeria's current crisis over corruption and political succession (The Guardian: 26-03-07)*
4. *Crime: British oil worker kidnapped in Nigeria (The Guardian: 02-04-07)*
5. *Violence and claims of fraud mar Nigeria poll (The Guardian: 16-04-07)*
6. *25 die in battle over Nigerian elections (The Daily Telegraph: 19-04-07)*
7. *Nigerian election condemned as a farce (The Daily Telegraph: 23-04-07),*
8. *Nigeria: Christians live in dread as new, local Taliban rises in the north: In areas such as Kano it is corruption, not religion, fuelling Muslim extremism (The Guardian: 03-05-07),*
9. *Rebels in Nigeria take four Britons (The Daily Telegraph: 26-05-07)*
10. *Nigeria won the Under-17 World Cup final with a 3-0 win over Spain (The Sun: 10-09-07)*

The headline stories on Nigeria were mainly negative and reflected Nigeria as a country which is corrupt and the origin of scams, as a war zone with rebels kidnapping Britons, where elections are fraudulent, a country with religious Islamic extremism and a sporting nation. The concordance analysis examines the words (collocates) that surround the key words Nigeria and Nigerians, hence highlight the meaning and discourse around it. The collocates around Nigeria and Nigerians show multiple use of the words wasteful, self-destruct, suspended, raids, accused, debt, impoverished, helped, against, banned, bankrupted, raids, cursing, kidnapper, crisis, bribes to describe Nigeria. Nigerians were described as wasteful people who are self-destructing. The results reflected Nigeria as a corrupt country with a corrupt government and politicians. The Business stories showed that the main industry in Nigeria is the oil industry which is characterized by bribery, kidnapping of British citizens and violence caused by militants.

The phrases used to describe Nigeria were mainly negative and influenced by stereotypes. The concordance found phrases such as 'Nigeria attempted another civilian rule' the use of the word 'attempt' shows that the British press viewed the Nigerian civilian rule as failure. The phrase 'NIGERIA: It needs Goodluck' was a play on words but reflected on Nigeria as unstable needing to have good luck.

In conclusion, the key findings of this chapter were that the amount of coverage in terms of the quantity of articles increased from 21% of stories in 2007 to 39% in 2010. 2008 showed a decline in number of stories with 18%. This could be seen as increased prominence of Nigeria in the British press but further analysis showed that the distribution of the stories was irregular and centred on crisis events and key events such as the World Cup and the elections. The size of stories about Nigeria was mainly short with 67% of stories being less than 500 words. 2010 showed an increase in shorter stories hence one can conclude that the Nigerian stories were less prominent and not much depth was given to the stories.

Stories with Nigeria in the headline had a high percentage of Political stories with 19%, this was followed by Sports and Conflict stories with 18% each. Nigeria was not reflected as a poor country in the British press. The frames used mainly included the Sporting frame with 25%, Nigeria was viewed as a sporting nation. The political stability frame mainly undermined Nigerian democracy and reflected the government as a failure. It also made a lot of links between Nigerian politics and the past military rule. Crime frame accounted for 15% and Nigeria and Nigerians were associated with 'bribes', 'accusations' and 'kidnappers'. The results showed that sports had the highest number of stories on Nigeria with 24%. This was followed by Politics with 18%, conflict and violence, Criminality and law and Business had 11%, 15% and 14% respectively.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Framing of stories on Nigeria

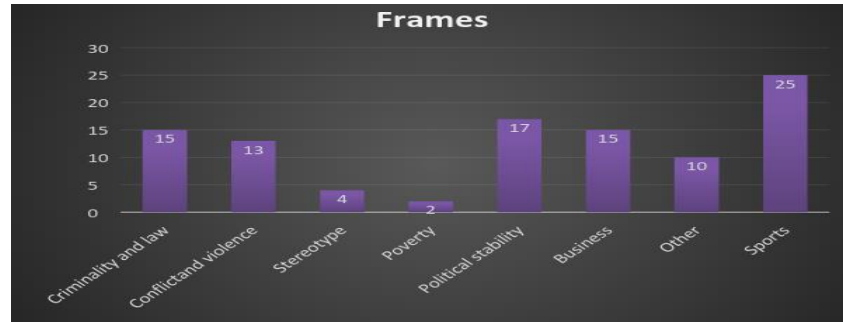
The second objective of this study is to assess the image of Nigeria presented by the British press. To assess the agenda set by the British press, this study used frame analysis. According to researchers Brookes (1995) and Black (1995), frames in news media influence public perceptions and hence set the global agenda. As mentioned in the literature review, frames provide a way in which the public interprets and understands a news story.

Frames are the principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters. Framing is considered as a central organizing idea to make sense of an event or issue (Gamson, 1989). Gamson (1989) defines media news frames as the organisers of everyday reality and as part of everyday reality. This definition is supported by Entman 1993's definition that "framing is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993). Hence it can be concluded that frames used in news stories have the ability to give the readers a supposed reality, an interpretation of the text.

This study analysed all the stories in the sample from 2007 to 2010 using the inductive approach to identify frames. This meant that stories were analysed with an open view to identify frames used. The frames identified were narrowed to Criminality and law, conflict and violence, stereotype, poverty, political stability, business, sports and others. Figure 25 shows the percentage of stories with the identified frames.

6.1 Types of frames

Figure 25: Types of frames

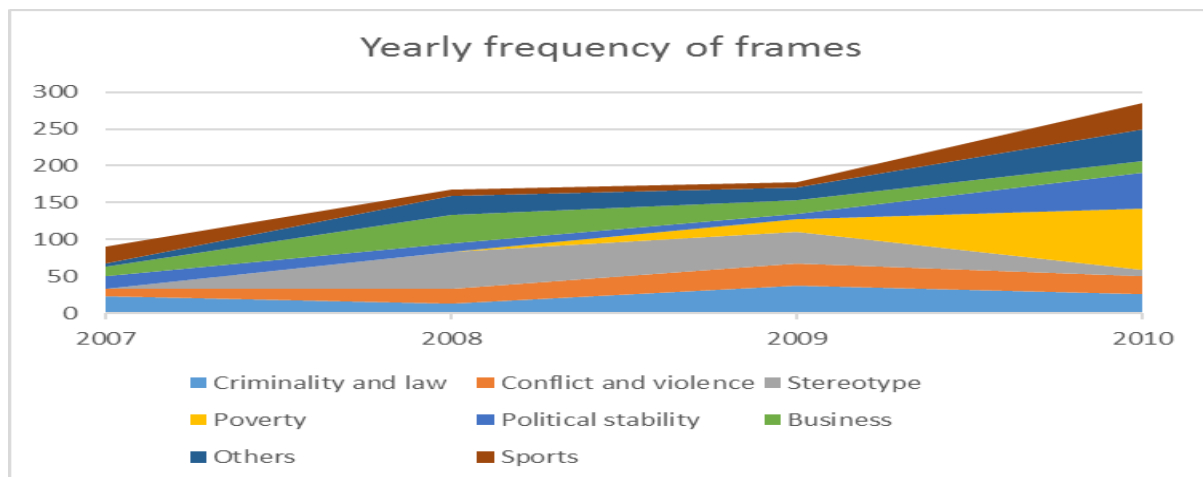


It shows that a variety of frames were used in writing about Nigeria in the British press. The sporting frame was the most common frame with a quarter of all the stories between 2007 and 2010. This was followed by the political frame which has 17% of the coverage. Criminality and law, conflict and violence together accounted for 28% of the frames used. Business frame accounted for 15% and 4% were stereotypes. The Political frame mainly reflected on Nigeria as politically unstable with some stories referring to Nigeria as the “rudderless nation”.

These results show that Nigeria was portrayed and perceived as a sporting country involved in business. It was mainly associated with criminality, conflicts and violence, and political problems. Only 2% of the stories reflected Nigeria as a poor country. No frames presenting Nigerians as animals were found but the chaotic, brutal and wild frames were found in this study. To further analyse the frequency of frames, a yearly analysis was done in Table 15.

Table 15: Yearly frequency of news frames

	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Criminality and law	11(23%)	6(13%)	18(38%)	12(26%)	47(15%)
Conflict and violence	10(25%)	8(20%)	12(30%)	10(25%)	40(13%)
Stereotype	0(0%)	6(50%)	5(42%)	1(8%)	12(4%)
Poverty	0	0	1(17%)	5(83%)	6(2%)
Political stability	17(33%)	6(12%)	4(8%)	25(48%)	52(17%)
Business	13(27%)	18(38%)	9(19%)	8(17%)	48(15%)
Others	5(16%)	8(26%)	5(16%)	13(42%)	31(10%)
Sports	22(28%)	15(9%)	6(8%)	36(46%)	79(25%)



6.2 Yearly News frames

The results in Table 15 showed a yearly increase in criminality frame from 23% in 2007 to 26% in 2010. 2009 had the highest percentage of Criminality and law frame, accounting for 38%. The Conflict and violence frame with a perceived view that Nigeria and Nigerians were mainly involved in conflict and violence had an average of over 20% each year. 2009 had the highest number of the Conflict and violence frame stories with 30% of all stories. The stereotype frame only accounted for an overall percentage of 4. 2008 made up half of that percentage, with 2009 accounting for 42%.

The Poverty frame was not used in 2007 and 2008. The 2% total was made up of 83% from the year 2010. The result gives a conclusion that the British press did not perceive Nigeria to be a poor nation. The political frame which mainly shed light on Nigerian politics and politicians reflected them as unstable and corrupt. It had 33% of the stories in 2007 which could have been as the result of the Nigerian elections. 2010 showed an increase in political stability frame accounting for 48%, 2008 and 2009 only accounted for 12% and 8% respectively. The Business frame accounted for an overall of 15% with 2008 accounting for 38%, 2010 showed a decrease in Business stories with 17%.

To analyse each frame in details, a sample of headline stories was selected in proportion to the percentage of that particular frame in Table 16. Criminality and law frame accounts for 15% of the total number of frames so 8 stories were sequentially chosen and Stereotypical frame accounted for 4% with 2 stories chosen.

Table 16: Examples of frames

Criminality and law	
1.	Crime: British oil worker kidnapped in Nigeria
2.	Nigeria sues Pfizer for £3.5bn over 'illegal' child drug trials: Unproven meningitis therapy 'killed 11 children': Company says it followed country's rules
3.	Nigerian police routinely kill, rape and torture, claims report
	Police smash £1bn internet fraud gang: Arrests follow raids in UK, US, Canada and Nigeria: Huge haul of fake cheques and money orders seized
4.	Financial: The Friday interview: Dora Akunyili: Indomitable woman in the front line of the other war on drugs: Phony insulin killed her sister. Now Nigerias head of medicine control risks all to defeat counterfeiters
5.	Nigerian posed as star in credit card internet fraud
6.	African extradited for voodoo sex trafficking
7.	Another court setback for Nigerian... but once again she gets temporary reprieve
Conflict and violence	
1.	Nigerian rebels threaten new wave of kidnaps Oil prices could soar again as foreign workers face more danger, reports Mike Pflanz in Port Harcourt
2.	Nigerian rebels blamed for dawn assault on Equatorial Guinea's capital
3.	NIGERIA CHAOS Army lays siege to Nigerian 'Taliban' in bid to crush rebels
4.	Foiled: the bomber on board Flight 253 millionaire, He's my son, says wealthy Nigerian banker
5.	Terror plot: Nigerian connection
Stereotype	
1.	DOC LOSES £350k IN NET SCAM: She falls for Nigerian con trick
2.	The problem with Nigeria and South Africa
Poverty	
1.	Pictures of the decade: 2006-07: The price of oil for the poor of Nigeria
2.	Why has this man set up home in a Nigerian rubbish dump?
3.	Nobel laureate condemns BBC portrayal of Nigerian city as a pit of degradation
Political stability	
1.	Nigerian election: 'It doesn't matter who runs this country. They get rich, we suffer': Landmark presidential vote marred by corruption and ongoing power cuts
2.	Lagos turns on kickbacks: There is hope for Africa in Nigeria's current crisis over corruption and political succession
3.	Violence and claims of fraud mar Nigeria poll
4.	Is African democracy worth the bloodshed?
5.	Rudderless Nigeria waits for news of a president not seen for 45 days: Yar'Adua 'in Saudi Arabia for heart treatment': Issues pile up amid claims of allies forging signature
6.	'I will return': absent Nigerian president breaks long silence: Protest in capital prompts Yar'Adua radio address: Leader thanks well-wishers amid power vacuum
7.	Nigeria: Former military leader to run for president
8.	Associate of late Nigerian dictator jailed in Jersey
Business	
1.	Pictures of the decade: 2006-07: The price of oil for the poor of Nigeria
2.	ENERGY: Shell eyes Iraq as Nigeria raids continue
3.	Nigerian bank leads fixed-term savings field
4.	Crude injustice: A study of the west's role in exploiting Nigeria's oil wealth impresses John Vidal: A Swamp Full of Dollars
5.	Rebels in Nigeria take four Britons

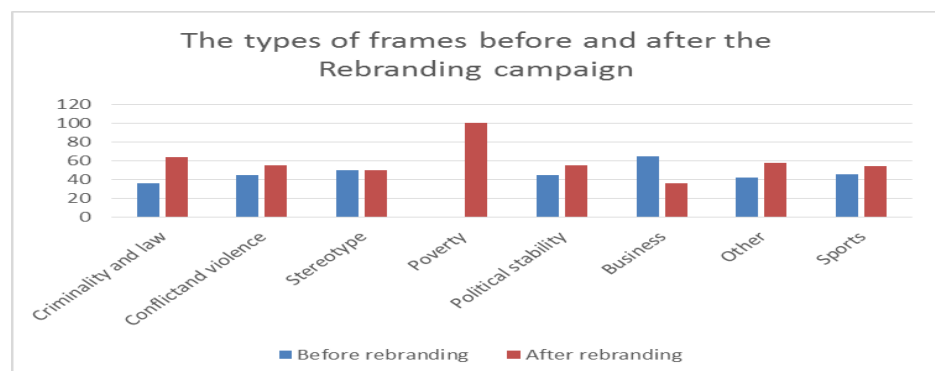
6. Petrol to hit £1 a litre within weeks as oil supply strains show: Nigerian strike and Iran worries add to pressure Concern over US stocks as demand nears peak

Sporting

1. Nigeria add to African misery,
2. Football: Martins shaken by rumours of Chelsea move: Newcastle say speculation over player 'agent driven': Nigerian striker would fill gap in Blues' front line
3. Football : Nigeria for Vogts,
4. Ghana finally get better of Nigeria,
5. Nigeria report Newcastle over awol Martins,
6. Nigeria coach slams Chelsea over Mikel as Ghana gain momentum,
7. Martins strikes to put Nigeria through,
8. Newcastle hero rules out return with Keegan, Nigerians favoured to buy club, says new manager

The table above shows 48 examples of the frames found in this study. These examples are further analysed using collocation analysis. This include analysis of the frames before and after the rebranding campaign as shown in the figures below.

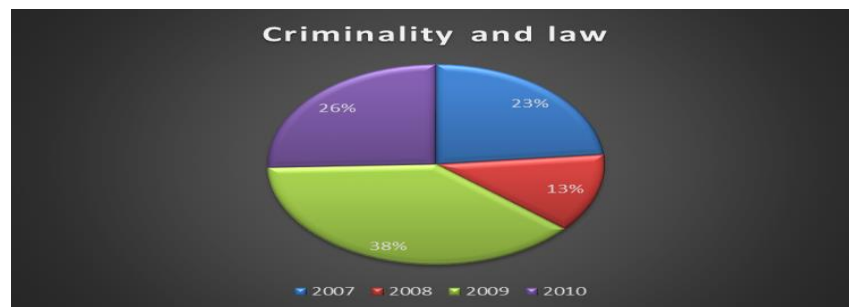
Figure 26: Framing of Stories on Nigeria before and after the rebranding campaign



6.3 Criminality and Law frame

Stories with the criminality and law frame accounted for 15% of the stories reported on Nigeria in the British press over the 4 years. The pie chart below shows that most stories with this frame were mainly in 2009 which had 38% of the stories, followed by 2010 with 26%. The increase in the number of stories on criminality and law in 2009 was due to the kidnapping and conflict in the oil-rich Niger delta which involved British nationals.

Figure 27: Criminality and law frame



Further analysis using the Wordsmith concordance below reveals that most stories with the crime frame frequently used clusters of word in the reporting of crime on Nigeria. Some of the frequently used clusters of words to describe Nigeria include “bribes”, “accused”, “kidnap”, “officials” and “government”. This over-expression of words in news articles on Nigeria can give the country a negative image. This portrayal of Nigeria and Nigerians as criminals and law breakers gives the perceived expression that Nigeria is viewed as a land of crooks, criminals, armed robbers, assassins, hostage takers and fraudsters.

Further analysis of the examples of stories in the Criminality and law frame shows that the stories on kidnap were mainly on the mining of oil by the British in Nigeria. The newspapers referred to the Niger Delta residents as ‘militants’. These stories portray Nigerians in the Niger Delta as hostage takers, criminals and militants. The second story also follows a similar trend of a Western country’s interest or involvement. Pfizer is a western pharmaceutical company which was being accused of illegal drug trials. The third story reflects the Nigerian police’s effort to stop fraud,

with the headline attributing the raids to Western countries (UK, US and Canada). The story also included a claim that the Nigerian police routinely kill, rape and torture people. This story shows that Nigeria's efforts to fight crime is only seen as a shadow of the Western effort and is then buttressed by the negative claim against the Nigerian police.

Analysis of the patterns found in the reporting on Nigeria in the British press also revealed the patterns that writers on Nigeria used in writing on crime. The words used to describe Nigeria to the left and right were analysed. The table below shows words associated with Nigerian in the headlines.

Table 17: Collocates of 'Nigerian' in Crime stories

N	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1.00	AF1	DBCH	AF31505	LOCH	F1	NIGERIAN	RTLCH	FCS1	AB	AF1	AFS28
2.00	LOCH	F1	F1	F1	THE		OFFICIALS	TO	THE	TO	THE
3.00	F1	LOCH	LOCH	OF	A		GOVERNMENT	THE	HICH	HICH	AND
4.00	AF31505	AF31505	IN	IN	TO		POLICE	PAR	IN	A	IN
5.00	DBCH	THE	OF	TO	BY		BRIBES	AFTER	A	THE	HICH
6.00	OF	AND	CHENEY	AND	AND		AUTHORITIES	SCANDAL	TO	6BN	DBCH
7.00	THE	THAT	AND	BY	AFTER		BORN	HICH	OF	AND	AF1
8.00	TO	BRITISH	FREE	A	OVER		OILFIELD	INTO	AF1	DBCH	LONDON
9.00	MEXCAN	HAVE	KIWI	BRIBES	IN		COAST	WAS	GUARDIAN	TELEGRAPH	OF
10.00	IS	1994	THE	THAT	WEALTHY		ARMY	AND	PAR	LONDON	AF31505
11.00	BETWEEN	BUT	DIETSMANN	ACCUSED	SHUTS		BANKER	IS	THAT	PAR	FINAL
12.00	FOR	TO	FIELD	FOR	ITS		BEACH	OF	GUILTY	IN	BEEN
13.00	SHELLS	A	FRONT	THE	FOR		PRESS	FOR	AND	OF	TELEGRAPH
14.00	IN	MILITANTS	FINED	SHELL	NEW		HUMANIST	IN	REBEL	DAILY	POUNDS
15.00	115	IN	EVERBERATES	ON	DUTCH		KIDNAPPERS	MOVEMENT	DAILY	HAD	RISK
16.00	A	NETCO	TO	FROM	KILLED		SECURITY	SAID	3	BAR	ATTACK
17.00	FOUND	BONGA	WINNER	2004	LATE		WALK	AS	WITH	AN	HER
18.00	ENCOUNTER	GUILTY	MARGARET	700	SAYS		OIL	WHO	STAND	FIRST	CREDIT
19.00	PARTY	GIRL	HELD	BUT	WITH		WAS	THEY	FREES	ATTACK	FAILED
20.00	TOLD	PRISONERS	HOW	ACCORDING	O'CONMAN		JAIL	STAGED	YEAR	HER	ON
21.00	LESS	SHELL	KIDNAPPED	OFF	PLOT		AND	LAUREATE	STAR	HE	WORLD
22.00	ITS	MILLION	AFTER	FREED	BLACK		ELECTION	JAILED	KILL	ONLY	RAISE

The words include 'bribes', 'militants', 'kidnappers', 'scandal' and 'killed'. This lexicalisation of Crime stories about Nigeria constructs particular ideological representations of Nigeria and Nigerians. All these stories are mainly negative, although it can be argued that stories on crime are hardly positive.

The over-lexicalisation of the word 'bribe' expresses views and attitudes hence it has an evaluative function. Some of the stories with the headline "Cheney accused over Nigerian bribes scandal" on the 3rd of December 2010 and "Shell fined \$145m for Nigerian bribes" on the 5th of November 2010 by the Daily Telegraph tend to show editorial stereotype. 'Cheney' referred to in the headline is Dick Cheney the former United States Vice president but the headline does not highlight his nationality as an American. The Guardian covered the same story with the headline "Cheney to be charged by Nigerian police in bribery case." Although the newspaper did not reveal Cheney's nationality in the headline, it did not link the Nigerian people to the bribe. This shows headlines of the same story, each giving a different view or attitude to Nigerians due to the lexicalisation. The use of similar frames 'Nigerian bribes' by the Guardian newspaper shows that existing images are used in the construction of frames hence the partiality of news frames tend to be recycled and reproduced.

The Criminality and Law frame mainly contained stories on crimes of Nigerian nationals which were either bizarre 'African extradited for voodoo sex trafficking' or involved British or other Western interests. The Nigerian police were stereotyped as either incompetent or criminals and only successful if they were following the lead from the Western countries. Although some stories did reflect the fight against criminality in Nigeria, most stories had Nigeria and Nigerians as the culprits and not as victims. The impact and damage caused to the environment by British oil companies is not reported, but the kidnappings and attacks by local villagers are reported. Hence the British press can be considered to show bias towards the British workers, British companies and other Western citizens. The similarities in the Guardian story frames showed the frame was recycled. The results showed that the British press used the negative frames from previous reports to determine the questions they ask and the images they seek in future stories. Hence, the partiality of the news frame was recycled and reproduced. This also means that when any Nigerian news story is being covered in the British press, reference is made to

previously used frames resulting in some positive stories having negative frames.

After the rebranding campaign there were more stories on Nigerians as criminals, with headlines predominantly using words such as ‘Nigeria bribes’, ‘Nigeria scam’, ‘accused’ and ‘government’. The use of the word government in crime stories could reflect the Nigerian government officials as criminals, which is a negative stereotype.

The framing of Nigerian stories reflected more stories on criminality and law after the rebranding campaign with 64% of the stories. This reflects badly on the rebranding campaign.

6.4 Conflict and Violence frame

Conflict and violence accounts for 11% of the stories reported on Nigeria. The conflict and violence frame accounted for 13% of the frames found in this study. 2009 had the most stories on conflict and violence at 30%. This can be put down to the rise of the anti-education Islamist militant group, Boko Haram, which wants to impose sharia law on Nigerians. 2007 accounted for 25%, 2008 had 25% and reduction can be noted in 2010 with 20% of stories on conflict and violence. The central texts that were associated with Nigeria were Government, oilfield, rebels, Taliban, military and militants.

Figure 28: Conflict and violence frame

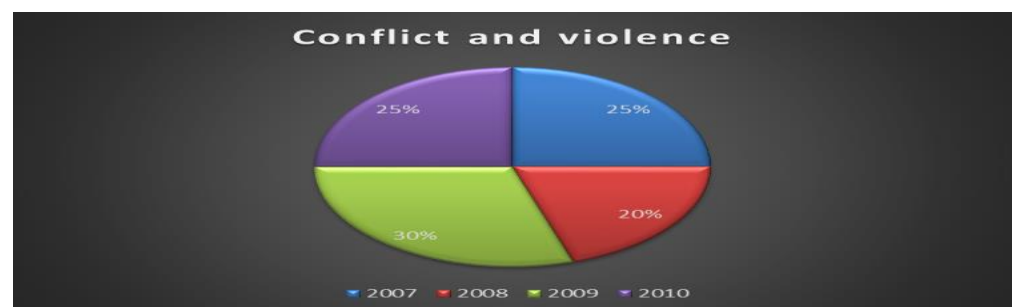


Table 18 shows the patterns writers on Nigeria used in writing on conflict and violence.

Table 18: Collocates of ‘Nigerian’ in Conflict and violence stories

1.00	AF1	DBCH	AF31505	LOCH	F1	NIGERIAN	RTLCH	FCS1	AB	AF1	AFS28
2.00	OF	AND	LOCH	F1	THE		GOVERNMENT	THE	THE	THE	THE
3.00	IN	F1	F1	OF	IN		OILFIELD	PAR	A	TO	LONDON
4.00	LOCH	AF31505	OF	TO	A		REBELS	IN	REBEL	LTRPAR	OF
5.00	TO	A	KILLED	THE	SUCCESSIVE		PRESIDENT	WAS	STAND	HER	AND
6.00	F1	LOCH	SCOURGE	BY	WITH		POLITICS	IS	WITH	SAID	POUNDS
7.00	DBCH	THE	WARNED	ON	WEALTHY		SECTARIAN	AND	PARD	WAS	RISK
8.00	AF31505	MEND	TO	SHELL	SHUTS		SOLDIERS	THEY	DBCH	TELEGRAPH	QL
9.00	THE	THREE	THE	WITH	AVOID		TALIBAN	AFTER	3	AF31505	DBCH
10.00	A	PRISONERS	FIELD	AND	AFTER		WATERS	AF1	IN	A	ATTACK
11.00	TANKERS	OF	BIGGEST	HAS	OF		BANKER	TO	HICH	6BN	LOCH
12.00	DELTA	BONGA	A	A	KILLED		COAST	STAGED		AN	HICH
13.00	SHELL'S	ARE	HELD	OILFIELDS			ARMY	AS		HE	
14.00		AFRICA'S	IN	OFF			AUTHORITIES	HAS		FIRST	
15.00		HAVE	HUNDREDS				DESPOTS	HE		ATTACK	
16.00		FACE	HICH				MILITARY	LAST			
17.00		BY					OIL				
18.00							HICH				
19.00							MILITANTS				

The use of words like “Taliban” in describing the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria would give the British public a negative image of Nigeria. An example is a headline titled “Army lays siege to Nigerian 'Taliban' in bid to crush rebels” According to BBC News, the Taliban are known as a hard-line Islamic movement who are a formidable fighting force in Afghanistan and a major threat to the government. The Taliban have been blamed for a wave of suicide bombing and other attacks. This is also notwithstanding the fact that the actions of the Boko Haram are negative and hence reflect a negative image on the country.

A story that was covered by different newspapers in the violence frame was about a failed plane bomb attack by a Nigerian student Umar AbdulMuttallab. An African correspondent Chris McGreal wrote a story titled “Terror plot: Nigerian connection” on the 29th of December 2009 for

the Guardian. In his story, McGreal put the spotlight on northern Nigeria. He claimed that the Muslim region was increasingly radicalised. He described AbdulMuttallab's father as a minister in what he called "the corrupt, discredited western backed governments of the past." He went on to link the Muttallabs' home state of Katsina as being at the centre of outcries over fundamentalism.

As the story developed, the Mirror's reporters Chris Hughes and Andrew Gregory painted a different picture the following day. The story still carried a negative headline 'Beware the Nigerian from Yemen' but appeared to claim that the US security services had been told 5 months prior to the incident and a tip had come from AbdulMuttallab's father. Other stories appeared to reveal that AbdulMuttallab had been radicalised while studying in the UK which is contrary to McGreal's account linking his radicalisation to Nigeria. This is not to say that the information he gave was not true but it was not relevant in this instance and just served to put a negative spotlight on Nigeria. This type of reporting shows that the British press uses prevailing knowledge from the 19th century to report on current issues. In this context, the historical view of Nigeria was used as a link in the radicalisation of Umar AbdulMuttallab.

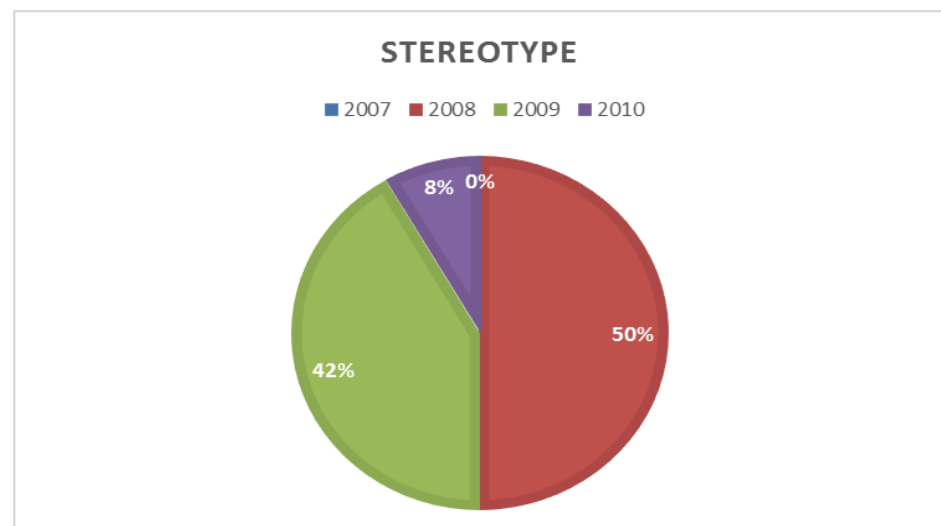
According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), the conflict frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions. This frame occurs in news items that highlight tension, disagreement or clashes between individuals, parties, groups, countries and regions. This is reflected in the conflict stories on Nigeria which focused on the clashes between the 'militants', the Nigerian government, the British oil workers, and Boko Haram. Although the results showed that some of the stories were neutral as they gave the background information on the causes of the conflict, most stories were short and only highlighted the events that affected British and Western citizens which could be perceived as biased. The conflict frame presented Nigeria and Nigerians as rebels, militants and kidnappers. It can be argued that these conflicts did take place.

Conflict and violence also showed an increase to 55% after the rebranding campaign, with 2009 accounting for the highest amount of conflict and violence frame. It can also be noted that this frame mainly consisted of stories on conflicts and violence hence is not as a result of negative framing. The increase in the stories on conflict and violence reflects on the stories that were selected by the British press which fits into the crisis and event based type of reporting. The key terms used to describe Nigeria included ‘Taliban’, ‘militants’, ‘rebels’, ‘sectarian’, ‘soldiers’ and ‘killed’. These words were used to set discourse on Nigeria and Nigerians. Although it can be argued that these events did take place but event based reporting meant the full story was not being told. The stories were mainly reported because they affected the British interests in Nigeria or British citizens working in the Oil industry.

6.5 Stereotype frame

This study found the stereotypical frame in stories reported on Nigeria. Only 4% of all stories had this frame, this is contrary to other studies such as the comparative analysis of two British papers by Brookes (1995) which found out that Africa was largely portrayed in a stereotypical frame. In 2007 no stereotypical stories were found, 50% in 2008, 42% in 2009 and 8% in 2010.

Figure 29: Stereotype frame



Aileen O'Meara, a reporter for the Daily Mirror, wrote a story on the 12th of February 2008 titled, “A hearing test for your child? You’d be better off in Nigeria”. The story was not about Nigeria but it implied that the Nigerian health system was bad.

The other stories included gags by foreign correspondents. The story in the Guardian on the 4th of December 2010 by Tolu Ogunlesi compared different hell experiences in America, Germany, Russia and Nigeria. The story then said the Nigerian hell had more people because of “the power cuts, the electric chair does not work. The nails were paid for but never supplied, so the bed is comfortable. And the Nigerian devil used to be a civil servant, so he comes in, signs his time sheet and goes back home for private business.” Although the story is said to be a joke, it still stereotypes Nigeria giving it a negative image.

6.6 Poverty frame

This study showed that only 2% of all the stories reported on Nigeria had the poverty frame. 2007 and 2008 had none, a few were found in 2009 with 17% and 83% in 2010.

Figure 30: Poverty frame



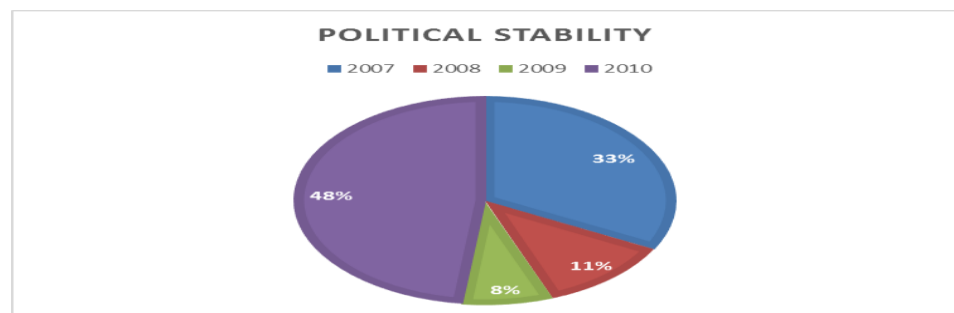
“Why has this man set up home in a Nigerian rubbish dump?” is the headline in the Sun on the 10th of April 2010 advertising a documentary

by the BBC “Welcome to Nigeria”. The story shows people in Lagos living and working on a filthy rubbish dump. It claims that about 1000 people live in a tip that has been transformed into a bustling mini-city that boasts restaurants, bars, shops, a mosque and cinema. It could be argued that the documentary wanted to show people making the best of their situation, but this would have given the impression that is how people live in Lagos, one of the biggest and popular cities in Nigeria. The Sun reporter did not follow up the story after criticism, but The Guardian Ben Dowell wrote an article titled “Nobel laureate condemns BBC portrayal of Nigerian city as a pit of degradation: Wole Soyinka derides series shot in teeming slums as colonialist and patronising.” This shows that although the poverty frame is not commonly used in news reports, Nigeria is still reviewed as a poor country.

6.7 Politics frame

17% of stories had a political frame. 2010 had the most stories with 48% followed by 33% in 2007. The increase of political stories in 2010 was due to the illness of the Nigerian president leading to his death. This also led to the appointment of Goodluck Jonathan as acting and then president of Nigeria.

Figure 31: Politics frame



The stories were mainly negative with headlines such as *“Rudderless Nigeria waits for news of a president not seen for 45 days: Yar'Adua in Saudi Arabia for heart treatment: Issues pile up amid claims of allies forging signature”* featuring in the Guardian newspaper in January 2010.

When the vice president Goodluck Jonathan took over authority of the country, the Guardian reporter David Smith still wrote a negatively framed story claiming that the president “Jonathan dissolved the cabinet without explanation in his first major act since assuming executive powers.” The Guardian editors chose to play with words in the headline “*Nigeria: It needs Goodluck*”.

This agrees with the assertion by Clare (1988) who compared the image portrayed of leaders in developing and developed countries. She concluded that “elite nations are projected to have strong leaders constantly flying around the globe trying to broker peace deals and further the cause of international brotherhood. Their citizens, meanwhile appear to be able to choose from a number of cultural pursuits, supported by stable business and innovative technology, while being allowed to make peaceful protests about important matters. Non-elite nations (Nigeria), in contrast appear to be constantly embroiled in, or on the point, violent conflict, either within or across their borders, while at risk from natural disasters. They have crisis-hit governments, untrustworthy leaders, and volatile populations and when they do have elections, they do not meet the democratic standards of the west and are characterized by vote-rigging and violence”

2007 had 33% of the stories on politics, this was mainly due to the elections that were reported to be marred by violence. In March, some positive stories were written in the Guardian about Nigerian politics such as the story by Ambrose Evans-Pritchard titled “Foreign debt: Nigeria vows to pay up” which highlighted the progress made by the Nigerian government in paying part of its foreign debt. In March 2007, Peter Preston wrote an article titled “*Lagos turns on kickbacks: There is hope for Africa in Nigeria's current crisis over corruption and political succession*” which gave a view into upcoming elections.

By April 2007, the crisis reporting of the elections reflected badly on Nigerian politics. Headlines during the elections included *“Nigeria: Presidential election plans in disarray”*, *“He may call this a democracy, but my people have no work and are dying of disease in silence’ Nigeria’s presidential election should be a milestone for a country infamous for corruption, but many fear the vote will change nothing”*, *“Mobs roam streets after Nigerian poll”*, *“Violence and claims of fraud mar Nigeria poll, 25 die in battle over Nigerian elections”*, *“Nigerian election: ‘It doesn’t matter who runs this country. They get rich, we suffer’: Landmark presidential vote marred by corruption and ongoing power cuts and “Calls for rerun of ‘sham’ elections dismissed by Nigerian government as coup attempt.”*

The listed headlines show the crisis tone used in the reporting of Nigerian elections. Although the reporters were in Nigeria, it can be argued that the reports were only focused on a few states out of the 36 states which participated in the elections. These headlines were all negative. The headline story “he may call this a democracy” condemned the elections before they had taken place. The story condemned the ‘democracy’ in Nigeria and referred to the country’s historic military rule. The stories did not reflect on any positive efforts in the elections. It can be argued that even though the elections were characterized with violence in the major cities, there were some states which did not experience violence. The newspapers did not seem to cover the political reform but used the crisis frame to cover the elections.

Table 19: Collocates of Nigeria in Political stories

The constant use of the word ‘military’ in reporting Nigerian politics reflects the ‘historic baggage’ referred to by George Alagiah, which the reporters used. Nigerian politics is constantly linked back to the former military rule. The argument is not that these problems do not exist in Nigeria but the fact that developing stories about the success in governance are not considered newsworthy and when covered the development stories are crisis framed.

183

‘independence’. These words show that the democracy of Nigeria is viewed as not ‘legitimate’, and characterised by dictatorship, military regimes and unelected politicians. The words show questions raised about the independence of Nigeria. The government and politicians are described as failing and disarrayed.

The Nigerian government and politicians are also described as corrupt, shown in the use of words such as ‘fraudulent’, ‘scams’, ‘looted’, ‘corrupt’, ‘exploiters’, ‘power’ and ‘corruption’. Nigerian politicians are then perceived as fraudsters, scammers, looters and corrupt people. The news stories do not reflect anything positive about Nigerian politics. They tend to use strong descriptions such as exploiters.

The patterns found in the political stories included the over-use of the word ‘violence’ in describing Nigerian politics and government which reflects badly on Nigeria. Other words used that indicate the violence associated with Nigerian politics include ‘killed’, ‘mutilation’ and ‘machete’. The reflected view in the British press shows the Nigerian government and politicians as killers that use machete.

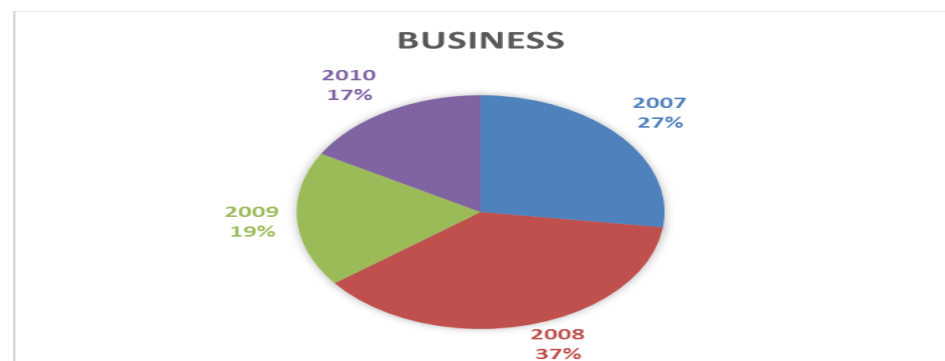
Political frame before and after the rebranding campaign

After the rebranding campaign, figure 31 shows that the political stability frame stories increased in 2010 with 48% of the stories. The stories headlines after the rebranding campaign were mainly negative even though most of the stories were either positive or neutral. The phrases such as ‘Nigeria: it needs Goodluck’ reflects badly on the political image of the Nigeria. The collocation analysis Table 19 also indicated that the word ‘corruption’ was the key term used to guide discourse on Nigerian politics. Other words used in headlines included exploited, accursed, fraud and bankrupted. Hence the rebranding campaign did not have any impact or influence a change in Nigerian politics or the political instability frame was being recycled from previous years

6.8 Business frame

15% of the stories had a business frame, 2007 had 27%, 2008 had the most stories with 37%, 2009 and 2010 had 19% and 17% respectively. Most of the business stories were about oil production and problems encountered in the process. The stories include abductions and rebel disturbances in the oil producing regions in Nigeria. According to the Nigerian High Commission website, Nigeria has a dual economy with a modern segment dependent on oil earnings overlaid by agriculture and trading. The oil sector is important to Nigeria, providing “20% of GDP, 95% of foreign exchange earnings.” (Nigeria High Commission 2013)

Figure 32: Business frame



The business frame is one of the important frames which can affect a country. “In today’s globalised world, where everybody is fighting for a place in the economic sun, a positive portrayal of Africa in the Western media means that Africa, on whose natural resources Western economies depend, may get more investments and may even dare to use its resources for itself.” (Ankomah 2008) The framing of stories on Nigerian business in the British press can have an influence on its economic growth.

According to Ankomah (2008) “if you are an investor, with a pot of gold, looking for somewhere to invest this money, and suddenly this week’s Economist magazine falls on your table, with the front cover headline:

'The Hopeless Continent', would you ever consider Africa as a place to invest your money or even take a holiday?" (Ankomah 2008) This study focused on the framing of headlines on Nigerian business with the view of discovering the image it gave the country and its people.

This study found that most of the stories with the business frame were negative and mainly crisis-based. An editorial story and picture picked to summarise the decade by a Guardian editor was titled "The price of oil for the poor of Nigeria". This was followed by a story from the 26th of December 2006 which showed a survivor washing off soot from his face at the scene of an oil pipeline explosion in Nigeria's commercial capital, Lagos that killed more than 200 people and severely burned many others. The blast happened after the underground pipeline was punctured by thieves who siphoned stolen fuel into a tanker. Residents of the Abule Egba district later went to scoop fuel into cans, buckets and plastic bags. It was one of a series of similar oil pipeline tragedies in Nigeria over the decade that claimed many lives. The story is true and based on facts but to use it to summarise all the things that happened in Nigeria in a decade would be rather unfair. It could be said that the business frame was mainly characterized by hostage taking and oil raids. Examples of headlines include, "*Three Britons kidnapped in Nigeria oil delta*", "*Tullow set to win Nigeria oil battle*", "*Gunmen attack oil rig off Nigeria*" and "*Rebels in Nigeria take four Britons*".

Further analysis of the stories with the business frame also agreed with the theme found in stories. The patterns found showed the use of words such as kidnapped, hostage, power, seized, released, fraud, crisis, bribes and military. All these words reflect negatively on the Nigerian business industry. It should also be noted that some stories such as the book review by John Vidal on the 12th of September 2009 in the Guardian titled "*Crude injustice: A study of the west's role in exploiting Nigeria's oil wealth impresses John Vidal: A Swamp Full of Dollars: Pipelines and Paramilitaries at Nigeria's Oil Frontier by Michael Peel*" tried to correct some of the negative reporting on Nigeria. Although it could be argued

that it is Peel’s opinion, he claims that not much news comes to Britain from Nigeria and that the reports that come through carry a lot of bias. Peel went on to still refer to Nigeria as “a swamp” in the title of his book.

The Business frame showed a decrease after the rebranding campaign which could be as a result of some of the business stories being mainly about crime (bribery) and conflict. Further analysis of the frames shows words that were used to create discourse before and after the rebranding campaign which didn’t show any changes. Most the business stories reported in the British press were stories that impacted mainly negatively on British business interests and citizens.

The collocation analysis in the table below shows that the words used to create discourse on Nigerian business stories were mainly negative: ‘kidnapped’, ‘hostage’, ‘seized’, ‘released’, ‘accused’, ‘attack’, ‘machetes’, ‘militants’ ‘bribes’ and ‘abuse’.

Table 20: Collocates of Nigeria in Business stories

1.00	THE	THE	THE	IN	IN	NIGERIA	IN	THE	TO	THE	THE
2.00	A	IN	OF	BANK	OF		IS	A	THE	OF	OF
3.00	IN	TO	FIRST	KIDNAPPED	TO		THE	WAS	A	LONDON	TO
4.00	SCOTS	OF	THAT	AND	SOUTHERN		AND	IN	PG	A	IN
5.00	OF	AND	IN	PRESIDENT	THE		IT	DAILY	WAS	IN	LENGTH
6.00	PAGE	THAT	WORKER	HOSTAGE	FROM		HAS	WILL	BE	AND	A
7.00	PG	OIL	ON	POWER	VIRGIN		FOR	HIS	HIM	ON	HIS
8.00	TO	PAGE	LENGTH	SOUTH	WORDS		SECTION	DEPENDENCE	IN	FREED	FOR
9.00	LEARNING	2010	OBAFEMI	MARTINS	SHELL		TO	TO	TELEGRAPH	HE	OFF
10.00	AND	WHO	WAS	OF	FLED		WITH	ONCE	AGAIN	SIDELINED	TIME
11.00	WAS	BRITISH	TO	AT	SINCE		AS	FEATURES	PAY	29	GUARDIAN
12.00	YEAR	PALL	PAGE	RETURN	WAY		STRIKER	PLANS	DAILY	SENSE	WERE
13.00	OILHAREHOLDERS	A	SEIZED	WEST			WAS	CONTINUE	OF	SECTION	POLICE
14.00	SCHOOL	SHELL	BE	RELEASED	THAT		WHICH	DEAL	PAST	REFORM	THEY
15.00	SEVEN	A	BY	BURIED	BURNED		ON	NEWS	POPULOUS	SAY	TELEGRAPH
16.00	REPUBLIC	WITH	HIS	POLITICIAN	DEBT		RAIDS	NORTH	AND	SHELL	OLD
17.00	PART	WORDS	SHE	ACCUSED	AS		SAID	BULLETIN	43	UP	GROUP
18.00	TREATED	YEARS	BEEN	VISIT	BETWEEN		WHOSE	AMONG	BYLINE	YEAR	BY
19.00	OBITUARY	TRANSFER	ATTACK	WENT	IMPOVERISHED		WORLD	UNDER	THAT	AS	AND
20.00	ENERGY	UMARU	WRITING	YEARS	ACHEBE		WHERE	THREE	HAS	TO	HAD
21.00	FRAUD	WERE	YARADUA	SPEAKING	PREPARATIONS		A	BURY	HEALTH	PRESSURE	MAY
22.00	GRANDFATHER	FRIDAY	AT	TO	ARTICLE		VOWS	NEEDS	GOODLUCK	GAME	LONDON
23.00	CASTS	HAD	WORKING	TRAVEL	INTERNATIONAL		HAD	HAVE	FREE	HAD	HALTED
24.00	1	HIS	SCOT	PARADES			HE	FATHER	FROM	FROM	
25.00	3	AT	NEEDY	DIES			HIS	GOOD	INTERNATIONAL	DAILY	
26.00	AT	BEEN	FUME	COLLEGE			CRISIS	FOR	KOREA	COUNTRY	
27.00	IT	DIED	INDEPENDENT	IRAQ			BIBES	FREED	DAYS	BEGAN	
28.00	LIFE	AN	MACHETES	EXECUTIVE			BRITONS	KOREA	FOR	BEAT	
29.00	MILITARY	ABUSE	EYES	FOREIGN			CAME	MOST	HOSTAGES	BIG	
30.00	I	OLD	CHILD	GOVERNMENT			NORTH	ITS		BUY	
31.00	HACKED	ON	PAIR	CHINUA			OIL	FAMILY		BRITAIN	
32.00	HAD	IS	OIL	BY			LAST	DETERMINED			
33.00	HE	MILITANTS	OILMEN	OUT							
34.00		NATIONAL		PAGE			I				
35.00				LEADING			AFRICA'S				
36.00				CAREER			ACHIEVED				
37.00				NATIONS							

After the rebranding campaign there was no change in the words used to describe Nigeria in the story headlines. Most of the Nigerian business stories in the British press were stories about hostages and kidnapping of British citizens and their children in Nigeria. The stories mainly blamed

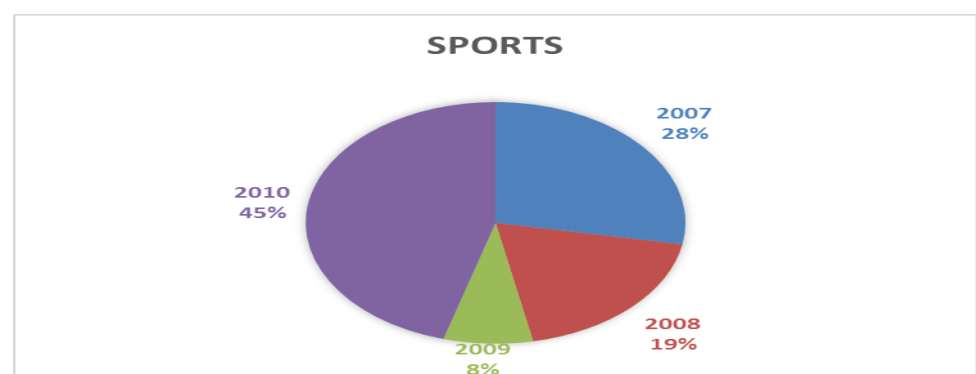
the Nigerian citizens for the crimes but not much details were given on the causes of the conflict.

Nigerian tourism and other industries were not reflected in the words used for the business stories. The 'oil' industry featured in a lot of the business stories. This indicates that the British business interest in Nigeria was the oil industry. The words reflected on Nigerian business as based on bribes, abuse, crises and war. Positive descriptions in the business stories were found based on Nigerian citizens' 'achievements' and 'career'.

6.9 Sports frame

25% of stories on Nigeria had the sporting frame, they were mainly football stories. 2007 had 28%, 2008 had 19%, 2009 had 8% and 2010 had the most stories accounting for 45%. The increase in stories with the sporting frame was due to the football World Cup in 2010. The headlines of the sports stories had some stereotypical words used to describe Nigeria and Nigerians. Analysis of the stories below found words such as threat, axe, banned, wasteful, threatening, suspend, banned, misery, destruct and cursing were frequently used.

Figure 33: Sports frame



On the 23rd of June 2010, during the World Cup, Des Kelly wrote an article titled "Nigeria adds to African misery". The story was about the exit of Nigeria from the World Cup after defeat by North Korea. The reporter

went on to add that the story of Nigeria is usually one of underachievement. The reporter might have been sharing his views about the football game but the framing and tone of the story is stereotypical and paints a negative image of the country and its people.

Another story during the World Cup included an article by Daniel Taylor titled “Yakubu howler leaves wasteful Nigeria cursing”. The headline was stereotypical describing Nigeria as a wasteful country. The headline might have been true in the way the Nigerian football team had played in the tournament but generalising that to the entire country is stereotypical.

Collocation analysis of sports stories in Table 21 reveals that negative words such as threat, worries, wasteful, quits, banned, cursing and destruct were used. Nigerians were portrayed as accursing people who are wasteful and destructive.

Table 21: Collocates of Nigeria in Sports stories

1.00	PAGE	THE	THE	TO	FOR	NIGERIA	THE	THE	THE	THE	THE
2.00	CUP	2010	LENGTH	PAGE	IN		TO	1	TO	ON	LONDON
3.00	PG	A	TO	GREECE	V		AND	A	KOREA	TO	FOR
4.00	THE	IN	1	GHANA	TO		1	BYLINE	OF	BY	THEIR
5.00	IN	PAGE	FROM	ARGENTINA	PAGE		HAVE	FOR	ON	IN	SECTION
6.00	OF	ARE		PLAY	OF		COACH	CUP	AND	SECTION	AND
7.00	2010	OF	B	VOGTS	WORDS		HAD	IN	KAITA	GROUP	CUP
8.00	FFA	CUP	THURSDAY	FROM	THE		WORLD	2	ENGLAND	CUP	A
9.00	WORLD	EDITION	2010	KICK	AS		IN	MIRROR	WORLD	GAME	FIFA
10.00	ARE	HOODLE'S	HAS	KICK	AS		ARE	THEIR	LAGERBACK	ENYEAMA	TO
11.00	DIGGER	GRP	CLAIM	LEADS	EDITION		ARE	THEIR	LAGERBACK	ENYEAMA	TO
12.00	FOR	THREAT	FOOTBALL	THE	AGAINST		FOOTBALL	SOUTH	BYLINE	THEIR	MORE
13.00	TO	2007	IN	GROUP	FOOTBALL		POLICE	TO	BANNED	ENGLAND	2010
14.00	IS	1	WORLD	BUSINESS	THAT		MIDFIELDER	LARS	VOGTS	HAS	PAY
15.00	1	SO	ARGENTINA	IN	OUT		AT	LULU	INTERNATIONAL	TOP	KANU
16.00	6	ON	AS	PLAYED	1		STARS	BEEN	A	HAD	NIGHT
17.00	21	WILL	PAGE	AND	GHANA		WAS	SANI	GOT	GREECE	I
18.00	2007	JUNE	NATIONS	B	FROM		BYLINE	FROM	MARTINS	OF	GROUP
19.00	STAR	MARTINS	WILL	WORLD	CUP		WILL	OF	WONT	CHANGE	LENGTH
20.00	BY	TO	ON	DIRECTED	BETWEEN		V	ONE	SUN	PRaising	IF
21.00	THAT	AND	GROUP	COACH	4		FOR	IVORY	COAST	PORTSMOUTH	SO
22.00	LENGTH	YAKUBU	HE	COAST	PUT		SECTION	NIGHT	JUNE	SAID	2
23.00	PAL	MINUTES	FOR	1	PORTSMOUTH		OR	FEDERATION	EQUAJOEN	A	4
24.00	NEXT	YOUNGSTERS	IVORY	SAMARAS	PREPARATIONS		LAST	THEY	DRAW	SPORT	B
25.00	NOT	MONDAY	WAS	RULER	WITH		JOB	CAMEROON	2	PLAY	BY
26.00	ON	MOSES	WORDS	SCORED	WEDNESDAY		KEEPER	BE	REGARD	MORE	WITH
27.00	YAK	OBI	CUP	UP	WORRES		BOSS	VINCENT	PARK	MISERY	JUNE
28.00	OBINNA	WARNS	IT	V	WITHIN		BECAUSE	UTH	OVER	NIGHT	MARTINS
29.00	REAL	WAS	MONDAY	ALEXANDROS	WASTEFUL		FINISHED	SAD	PG	ALL	YAKUBU
30.00	WAS	TWO	NATIONAL	OGBUKE	SAMARAS		SOU	PARK	RECORD	ARGENTINA	WITHDRAWALS
31.00	TEVEZ	VAS	MORE	NEW	QUITS		THEN	YAKUBU	POLITICAL	SUNDAY	WORLD
32.00	UCHE	US	THROUGH	2007	TAKE		ADD	YOUTH	SECTION	VC	SCOTT
33.00	THURSDAY	WATCH	THREATENING	THIS	SUSPEND		STRIKER	WIN	WAS	TOUR	OVER
34.00	THOSE	PALL	TUESDAY	WE	OBASI		SARAKI	REORGANISE	VINCENT	W4	PG
35.00	SUNDAY	WEDNESDAY	YEARS	100	B		REPORT	WITHDRAW	YR	000	OF
36.00	SO	RECORD	WEDNESDAY	TIME	AT		BUT	SUNSPORT	YOBO	WITH	TREAT
37.00	SAID	STAR	SATURDAY	TEARS	BANNED		SHOW	SUN	UP	12	NATIONAL
38.00	WE	SATURDAY	RED	STAR	BUT		SELF	TALKS	THEYVE	7	THAN
39.00	STEPPED	B	STRIKES	YOU'RE	BOYS		BANS	SUPER	60	SUPER	BACKED
40.00	WAY	AT	THIS	STEVE	AFTER		WERE	TAKEN	TODAY	3PM	AFRICAN
41.00	NEAR	7	THEN	TZOLUS	2010		WIN	US	2010	TOMORROW	8
42.00	CASTS	DOWN	MILLION	NATIONAL	ALUKO'S		10	SECTION	AFRICAN	25	BRANDED
43.00	BEEN	CHEERS	BLAST	BETTING	ARGENTINA		WITHDRAWS	THEYVE	FREE	BYLINE	BEHIND
44.00	AT	BOOKED	BEEN	FOR	AND		THROUGH	SPY	EXTRA	FROM	BBC1
45.00	EIGHT	19	CARRYING	GLOSS	LEAVES		THIS	SPORT	FROM	GOT	20
46.00	EDITION	14	CONTRACT	HAS	HOLDS		7	COTTAGE	HIT	BEING	16
47.00	CHELSEA	12	CHINEDU	BASH	MAN		BITE	CALLED	GUY	BLOW	1
48.00	AMAZING	2009	BE	FLIES	NIGERIA		TODAY	BUNCH	CONFIDENTIAL	FOOTBALL	3
49.00		3	2008	3PM	DEFEAT	MANAGE	QUALIFIED	FAILED	CAME	DAILY	22
50.00	27	1M	3	CARD	CO		DRE AM	DESTRUCT	CUP	COMPETITION	2009
51.00	19	END	ADDS	EAGLE	BY		ENYEAMA	DASH	ENYEAMA	CAMEROON	IN
52.00	ALL	ILL	BAD	FANS	ENABLE		DID	BOTTOM	BEHIND	FEBRUARY	HIS
53.00	A	HIS	AGAINST	EDITION	HELPED		CURSING	ARE	HOW	EVERTON	HALTED
54.00	4	GREEKS	DANNY	MARTINS	FLOORS		DEPLETED	AFTER	MIKEL	GUARDIAN	JOHN
55.00	LANGUAGE	MESS	HOWLER	MANAGER			GHANA	3PM	LONDON	LAST	JOB
56.00	JON	JOY	HIS	MATCH			FACE	BEING	MIRROR	JUNE	INTERNATIONAL
57.00	JOB	JONATHAN	INTERNATIONAL	NATIONS			GOALKEEPER	B	AN	LONDON	D1
58.00	MORE	FLYING	MIKEL	MOVE			GROUP	AUGUSTIN	MUST	MATT	CONFIDENTIAL
59.00	MONDAY	FA	LIKE	LETTER			GRIFFIN	LOST	ITS	LOSERS	BYLINE
60.00	LONDON	ENGLISH	GRAPHIC	HE			KEEPERS	KOREA	IN	INVESTIGATION	GREECE
61.00	INTERNATIONAL	GEM	EDITION	HAVE			NORTH	KNOW	BBC1	BAN	FEATURES
62.00	GOODLUCK	FRONT	DO	IRELAND			NIGERIA	OBAFEMI	LAND	BE	DAY
63.00	FOOTBALL	FOR	EXECUTIVES	LEAVES			BAN	NORTH	ARE	I	
64.00	EVER		GLENN	KNOCKS			POST	NEWCASTLE		INTERFERENCE	
65.00	IM		FASH				CASH	I		AMOL	
66.00	HIS						CRAYEN	GRIFFIN			
67.00	GROUP						KNOW	FOOTBALL			
68.00							MANAGER	FALL			
69.00							COULD	HOSTS			
70.00							MEANS	HIGH			
71.00								HAVE			

After the rebranding campaign, the words used to evoke discourse were still negative and the framing of headlines was still negative even when the stories were positive. The headlines of Sports stories were being framed using stereotypes of Nigeria in the British press. This also showed that the frames used were being recycled with no reflection on the current state of things.

The sporting frame before and after the rebranding campaign

The sporting frame also increased after the rebranding campaign mainly due to the World Cup with 45% of stories in 2010. Some of the sporting stories had negative frames such as the headline “Nigeria adds to African misery”, which describes Nigeria’s match loss as adding to Africa’s misery. The story frames Africa as a miserable continent. The framing analysis also found the use of words such as threat, banned, misery, wasteful, suspend and destruct used to set discourse on Nigeria. These words used to reflect on Nigerian sports were still negative after the Rebranding campaign, describing Nigerians as wasteful and destructive.

6.10 The rebranding campaign coverage

Before the rebranding campaign there were more stories with positive headlines and positive stories, 2007 had 35% which increased to 40% in 2008 but this decreased to 25% and 26% consecutively. This also meant that there were less negative stories before the rebranding campaign, although further analysis (Table 14 / Figure 24) showed that more headlines were negatively framed as compared to negative stories. This meant some positive or neutral stories had negatively framed headlines. After the rebranding campaign, there were more negative headlines and stories. The main difference was that negative stories had negative headlines varied slightly. This meant that stories were being correctly framed. More stories were neutral after the rebranding campaign, the neutral headlines also increased.

The Nigeria rebranding campaign launch was not covered by the four newspapers in this study. This supports the notion that development stories in Africa are not covered by the British press. The BBC news website covered the launch with the headline “*Theft mars Nigeria re-branding*”, which was about how thieves stole a mobile phone belonging to a member of the rebranding campaign team. The story had a crisis tone and a lot of stereotypes, with the reporter describing Nigeria as a country seen abroad as “a violent and chaotic place, full of people who use email scams to cheat money out of their unwitting victims.” The reporter went

on to highlight under the subheading ‘most dangerous’ that “Lagos recently topped a poll of the world’s most dangerous places to work.”

The Economist also wrote about the campaign with the headline “*Good people, impossible mission.*” The story mainly focused on the criticism of the campaign, and claimed that fraud and corruption still scare businesses away from Nigeria. Like the BBC, it also cited a report by ORC Worldwide, a consultancy which labelled Lagos “with its violent crime, bad roads and wretched sanitation as the world’s worst place for expatriates to live in.” The Nigerian rebranding campaign was covered as a negative crisis story hence going against the objectives of the campaign. According to Uyi in his paper ‘Rebranding as an Administrative Strategy in Nigeria’ published by the African Research Review in 2011, Professor Dora Akunyili stated that “rebranding entails the renewing of values and identity of Nigeria, a nation which has had a battered image over the years.” (African Journal Online Vol.5 Serial No.18) Uyi 2011 buttressed this aim of the campaign by tagging it “a people-oriented national campaign to correct the wrong perceptions. This would provide a change in character and the way Nigerians themselves talk about their country.”

The results for the stories with Nigeria in the headline and with 3 or more major mentions did not show any stories about the campaign. According to the literature review, some changes in reporting of a country occurred immediately after the launch of the PR marketing campaign. Researchers such as Albritton and Manheim 1983, 1984 and 1985, Kioussis and Wu 2008 and Lee 2007 found empirical evidence of the influence of country-level international public relations on media coverage and public opinion of a target country. According to Albritton and Manheim 1983 in their paper ‘News of Rhodesia’, negative coverage of Zimbabwe decreased after an international public relations campaign by the Rhodesian government. Some of the changes noted included the Rhodesian government engagement in a range of image-related activities. It was also noted that decreasing the frequency of coverage for some countries was indicative of success because the prior coverage was predominantly

negative. In this vein, this study analysed the activities that accompanied the rebranding campaign to note any changes in reporting that these activities brought in the British press.

An analysis of the month in which the rebranding campaign was launched was carried out to capture rebranding activities by the Nigerian government. The search looked for all stories with Nigeria or Nigerians anywhere in the text. 19 stories were found. Table 22 shows the headline titles and subjects for the 19 stories.

Table 22: Headline titles and subjects

	Title	Subject
1	Now we're all linked we must keep to ourselves (01/03/2009) T	Corruption
2	Media: Dispatches: Nigeria: The Next big thing (02/3/2009) G	Corruption
3	International: Retaliation theory as president of Guinea-Bissau is assassinated (03/03/2009) G	Other
4	National: Solicitor held on US charge of involvement in Nigeria bribery (06/3/2009) G	Corruption
5	Pair accused of Nigeria bribes (06/3/2009) G	Corruption
6	Obituaries: JDF Jones: He revolutionised the Financial Times' foreign coverage (12/03/2009)	Obituary
7	CANNABIS KNIFE KILLER 'FELT GOOD' ABOUT PC'S DEATH (12/03/2009) DM	Crime
8	Nigerian pop musicians have been ridiculed as poor imitators of American hip-hop. But a fresh mix of US studio polish and African roots is changing all that. By Lola Adesioye (Music
9	Work: Sole survivor: A working life The shoemaker: Clients ranging from Saudi princes to NHS patients have trodden a path to Peter Schweiger's door. But feet are nothing if not great levellers, he tells Chris Arnot (14/03/2009) G	Business
10	Financial: Regulation: Tax Gap:m Jersey fears for a future without tax schemes: Island on the defensive denies secrecy claims: Anxiety over reforms that could cripple the economy (16/03/2009) G	Corruption
11	NIGERIAN OIL PROBE TRAPS SHELL IN NET (18/03/2009) DM	Corruption
12	Afren rises on talk of positive Nigerian update (19/03/2009) T	Business
13	pop CD of the week; Ayo; Gravity at Last; Wrasse, pounds 11.74 (21/03/2009 DT)	Music
14	Education: 'For a lot of my friends, it's still quite a weird thing': A tiny proportion of Oxbridge students are black. Can their first black union presidents change that?(21/03/2009) G	Other
15	DRUG-FUELLED MANIAC FREE TO STAB POLICEMAN TO DEATH (25/03/2009) DM	Crime
16	Adam's wait for chance(26/03/2009) S	Sport
17	Obituary: Suzanne Wenger: Austrian-born artist and priestess of the Yoruba religion (26/03/2009) G	Other
18	G2: Out of Africa: Chris McGreal began reporting from Africa at a time of profound change. He witnessed both the unbridled optimism of Nelson Mandela's release and the horrors of the Rwandan genocide. Two decades later, in his final dispatch, he relives the moments that affected him most deeply, and asks what the future holds for this great continent (27/03/2009) G	Other
19	Deportation mum denies telling lies; PAM: 'MY GIRL DID DIE' (30/03/2009) S	Other

In March 2009, 32% of the stories that were found newsworthy by the British press were on corruption, 11% crime, 11% music and 32% other stories. The first story titled 'Now we're all linked we must keep to ourselves' by Nigel Farndale was about the British foreign secretary Jack Straw being a victim of crime. The writer noted that "it was the scam he was involved in that seemed nostalgic, because it involved Nigerians." All the other corruption stories involved bribery, the story titled "Media: Dispatches: Nigeria: The Next big thing" which was an extract from a Nigeria newspaper. The story carried a lot of stereotypes about Nigerians citing that "the path to instant wealth in Nigeria is not by inventing a popular gadget or building a successful business. All you need is to be a minister in Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's government." This story was extracted from a new newspaper owned by a Nigerian Journalist Dele Olojede with the aim of "stirring up trouble with the country's political elite". The third story on the assassination of the president of Guinea-Bissau accused Nigerian military of being heavily involved in shipping heroin via Liberia. The next two stories on 6th of March 2009 were about two British citizens who faced charges of allegedly bribing Nigerian officials to build liquefied natural gas facilities in Nigeria. All the stories reported before the 17th of March were all negative, including a crime story on tax evasion in which the former Nigerian leader Sani Abacha was cited as being corrupt. The launch of the rebranding campaign was on the 17th of March 2009, which was not covered by the four newspapers in this study. On the 18th of March 2009, the Daily Mirror had a story on a bribery investigation into Nigeria's oil which implicated Shell. Two days after the rebranding campaign, the Daily Telegraph had a story "Afren rises on talk of positive Nigerian update". This could be taken as a positive effect of the campaign although it was not specified. The report concludes that "some well-placed traders attributed the company's (Afren) gains to speculation Afren could soon provide an update about the status of its Nigerian operations." (Harrington B 19/03/2009 Daily Telegraph) Another positive story after the rebranding campaign was in the Guardian which featured a Nigerian student who had been elected as the first black

president of Oxford University's student union. The story cannot be linked to the rebranding campaign.

The other events that were proposed by the Rebranding campaign such as the 3-Day Photo Exhibition on Nigeria's Democratic Development were not visible in the four newspapers in this study. A full search on all stories on Nigeria and Nigerians was carried out, in which none of the activities was recorded. Hence it can be concluded that they were either not considered newsworthy by the British press or that the campaign organizers did not invite the journalists to the events. Lexis nexus database did not have any record of the stories on the rebranding campaign events. The stories with Nigeria and Nigerians were searched and none of the stories came up. Local newspaper The Punch carried stories which mainly critiqued the campaign. According to The Punch newspaper and local journalists, the campaign timing was questionable and faced speculations as previous efforts had failed and were linked to corruption. At the time of launch, about 90 million Nigerians were without adequate food. Nigeria had lost over 1,000 lives and \$23.7b to the Niger Delta Crisis in 2008 with the loss continuing in 2009. (The Punch Newspaper, 10/04/2009 and 15/04/2009) This study didn't find any stories linked to the rebranding campaign in April 2009, but the objective of this study was to look at any impact the campaign could have had on the way journalists covered news stories before and after the rebranding campaign.

For a nation to change or develop a better national and international image and reputation, it is crucial to reach the target audience to develop the brand awareness. This rebranding campaign was not visible to the British audience which it aimed to reach as it didn't have influence over the news selection of the British newspapers. The literature review revealed public relations campaigns which involved getting access to American journalists, writing press releases and doing direct mailing. This ensured positive coverage in the newspapers which those journalists worked for. (Manheim and Albritton 1984) The development in information technology and the increase in the number of newspapers and journalists

meant that it is difficult to target all the writers, even locally. Nation branding requires the participation of the publics to live the messages and spread it to the rest of the international community. For the success of the rebranding campaign, the participation of the entire nation should be put into consideration. The effect of the rebranding campaign might not be felt immediately hence this study looked at the reporting of Nigeria for 21 months after the rebranding campaign. 2007 and 2008 were used to reflect on the period before the rebranding campaign and 2009 and 2010 for after the rebranding campaign.

Nation branding can be defined as the “strategic self-presentation of a country with the aim of creating reputational capital through economic, political and social interest promotion at home and abroad.” (Szondi 2008) According to Anholt (2003), it can be judged to be successful when “publics speak to publics, when a substantial proportion of the population of the country get behind the strategy and live it out in their everyday dealings with the outside world.” This study analysed the reporting of Nigeria and Nigerians before and after the campaign by comparing the reports from (2007-2008) and (2009- 2010).

The findings in this chapter indicate that there was a 20% increase in coverage after the rebranding campaign which could be taken as increased prominence. Further analysis indicated that there was no change in the sporadic nature of the distribution of news stories. The length of stories showed a huge decline after the rebranding campaign with over three quarters of stories being shorter than 500 words. It can be argued that a 500 worded story can be a balanced unbiased story. More research and space coverage still preside as an indicator of prominence given to a story in the newspapers.

The amount of headline stories increased by 2% after the rebranding campaign. This is a positive indicator of increased discourse. Further analysis showed that the headline stories were mainly negative and covered 19% political stories and 18% Conflict and Crime. These headline

stories were mainly negative subjects hence would have influenced negative discourse.

The types of subjects that drew coverage showed an increase in negative Political stories after the rebranding campaign with 55%, an increase of 10%. The amount of Business stories decreased from 67% to 33% after the rebranding campaign which is also a negative indicator. The Crime and conflict stories increased to 67% after the rebranding campaign.

The types of frames also didn't show any improvement after the rebranding campaign. Criminality and law increased by over 20% after the rebranding campaign. This meant that Nigeria and Nigerians were referred 20% more as Criminals and law breakers after the rebranding campaign. Conflict and violence frame also increased to 55% after the rebranding campaign. The Sporting frame also increased after the rebranding campaign but further analysis showed some of the sports stories were negatively framed.

After the rebranding campaign, the results showed a rise in stories written by African correspondents and local journalists which meant that there were more African voices and Africa-based journalists writing stories on Nigeria. There was a decrease in correspondents in location which can be viewed as a positive outcome and less reliance on 'parachute journalism'.

The number of stories with two or more sources increased after the rebranding campaign which is a positive pointer that stories were more balanced and reflected more than one view. The only disadvantage was that stories with only one source also increased after the rebranding campaign. Another positive change was the use of more authentic sources after the rebranding campaign. The results showed an increase in government sources, politicians and the Nigerian police, with the only disadvantage being the increase in reporters who double as the sole source of their stories on Nigeria.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 Discussion

This research was carried out in order to analyze the image of Africa in the British press, using Nigeria as a case study. This chapter discusses the key objectives by examining how Nigeria was reported in the British press between 2007 and 2010. Based on the type of news stories and the subjects mainly covered on Nigeria, this chapter looks at the image or perception of Nigeria. This is founded on previous studies such as Kavoori and Malek 2000 who stated that “when Africa is cited in international news, readers and viewers are likely to be left with an image which consists of an unaccountable series of disasters, refugees, famine, economic instability, epidemics and war.” Previous studies have credited news media to have immense influence over public discourse (Cohen 1994, Galtung and Ruge 1965) Mass media reporting of other countries often governs the kind of image a country is perceived to have.

This study used content analysis to assess the stories reported on Nigeria from 2007 to 2010 as it allows for large amounts of news stories hence giving a broader view of the stories on Nigeria in the British press. Framing analysis was used to investigate how the British media portrayed Nigeria in news stories. Framing theory empowered this study to drive an understanding on how media can influence public perceptions, set the agenda and how audiences interpret those messages. This study also used discourse analysis to analyse the language used to construct meaning in news articles about Nigeria hence giving more insightful observations.

This study is anchored on studies by scholars such as Nwora who declared that “there is a war out there, a raging media war against Nigeria ...” Nwora 2009. This study examined how Nigeria as a country and Nigerians were reported by the British press from 2007 to 2010 in four prominent daily newspapers. This chapter discusses the findings from this study and outlines the key findings. The literature review revealed that one of the major roles of mass media is for national building and social integration. Studies by Albritton and Maheim 1985 showed the effect of

public relations campaigns in changing a nation's image. Other successful country brands created through branding include United Kingdom with brands such as "Cool Britannia" and "Ok.UK". This chapter discusses and appraises the Nigerian rebranding campaign "Good People, Great Nation" in terms of changes in reporting and types of stories covered in the British press after the rebranding campaign.

7.1 Assessing the image of Nigeria

What was the amount of coverage, frequency and depth of Nigerian stories in the British press?

The coverage of Nigeria between 2007 and 2010 was not as marginalized as it is often accused of being. In the four newspapers analysed in this study, there was an average of 0.9 stories, which is almost one story per day. This concludes that Nigeria was salient in the British press with a yearly increase in stories, but a closer analysis shows that the coverage is not evenly distributed throughout the year with some months not receiving any coverage. The reporting was crisis or event oriented with stories in clusters around events, the presidential elections, football World Cup, the Boko Haram activities and the oil rigging conflicts. Uneven distribution showed that Nigerian news stories were not always considered newsworthy in the British press except during crisis events which were mainly negative or negatively framed.

The newspaper distribution of stories also supported the sporadic nature of reporting on Nigeria. All the four newspapers showed an increase in the amount of stories from 2007 to 2010 with the exception of 2008. Major crisis events occurred in 2007 with the kidnapping of British oil workers in Nigeria, 2009 had the Nigerian elections and the rise of Boko Haram Islamic militants, and in 2010 the football World Cup was hosted on the African continent for the first time. 2008 did not have any major crisis events hence all the newspapers had a decline in the amount of news stories. This buttresses the point that Nigeria is only considered newsworthy when it is in crisis and positive development stories are not considered newsworthy in the British press.

The depth of stories based on the length of stories showed that only 33% of stories were over 500 words long. This meant that most of the stories on Nigeria were short stories with less than 500 words, hence one can conclude that not much importance, attention and space were given to Nigerian stories in the British newspapers. The longer stories with over 500 words accounted for most of the neutral stories on Nigeria as they went beyond the event, giving the background to the story and presenting a balanced view of events with views of all the parties involved. Although some of the background was based on what George Alagiah called 'historical baggage' (the 20th century view of the continent infected with the prevailing wisdom of the 19th century). The length of stories showed that Nigeria was less prominent in the British press, with almost three quarters of stories being short and not giving the readers much depth on the stories covered, although it can also be argued that some of the stories with 200 words were well balanced.

The headline stories with the word Nigeria or Nigerians in the headline are more prominent and research has shown that they are widely consumed and used in constructing meaning in discourse analysis. This study found that a fifth of all the stories on Nigeria between 2007 and 2010 were headline stories which meant that these stories were more likely to be the ones that construct discourse on Nigeria in the British press. Further analysis of these prominent stories revealed that headline stories on Nigeria were mainly negative and crisis oriented. An analysis on the subjects in the headlines revealed that corruption, crime, conflict, war and politics accounted for almost half of the stories. Hence, the discourse on Nigeria in the British public is mainly shaped on negative stories on corruption in Nigeria, crimes committed by Nigerians or in Nigeria and conflict. Nigeria and Nigerians are therefore understood to be corrupt criminals, who are in conflict and at war with each other and their politics does not measure up to the Western politics. Headline stories with heading "*Nigeria it needs Goodluck*" also reflects this view on Nigerian politics.

What was the direction and tone of stories reported by the British press?

The tone of stories about Nigeria was mainly negative with 55% of the stories being negative, 23% of stories were neutral and 23% positive. 63% the stories were crisis or event-centred. This meant that the British public were more likely to get a negative view of Nigeria from the stories in the British press. With the view that headlines construct the frame in which the story will be viewed and statistics showing that most people only read the headlines and the first few lines, the tone of headlines was key in assessing the stories. With the exception of 2008, each year had over half of the stories with a negatively toned headline. The amount of negative headlines was higher than the negative stories. This meant that some neutral and positive stories had negative headlines. When stories on Nigeria were written in the British press, the headlines were negatively framed even when the stories were positive. The use of collocates such as kidnappers, bribes, bribery, Islamists, hostages, violence and activists next to Nigerian in news story headlines reflected badly and negatively to the Nigerian citizens. Concordance of Nigerian stories found that Nigeria as a country was mainly associated with words *'wasteful'*, *'suspended'*, *'accused'*, *'bribes'* and *'crisis'*. This association leaves the reader with the view that Nigeria and Nigerians are wasteful nation/people who are often suspended and accused of crime and corruption.

Many aspects of the tone and direction of the British press identified show that coverage of Nigeria was negative but it can be argued that to exclude these stories would be distortion and Martins (1994) points out that parts of Africa are places of famine and disease and not to report on such topics would be in itself distortion. The negative stories reported on Nigeria were not non-existent but incidents that occurred. Less than a quarter of all the stories on Nigeria were positive, which meant it was less likely for the British public to get a positive view of Nigeria after reading the stories. Analysis of sports stories which are mainly meant to be positive stories and a celebration of Nigerian talent also revealed a similar trend with twice as many negative headlines to negative stories. Positive stories accounted for less than half of all the sports stories. Irrespective of the subject, Nigeria is shown in a negative light in the British press.

7.2 What story subjects drew coverage?

Sports stories drew the most coverage of Nigeria in the British press between 2007 and 2010 with 24%, this was mainly due to the World Cup in 2010 and Nigerian footballers playing in the UK. The reporting of Sports was found to be 37% negative and tainted by stereotypes. Stories with headlines such as, *“A letter from Nigeria in a land of so little, it is the Super Eagles that allow hopes to soar”* written by a local correspondent Shyamantha Asokan in Lagos, implies that Nigeria is a poor country. The story was positive showing how Nigerians were supporting their national football team, the Super Eagles but referring to Nigeria as “a land of so little” could be viewed as distortion. Sporting stories were often positive with negative headlines and negative undertones. This is shown in stories that had negative headlines which were contradictory to the facts in the stories. Collocation analysis of sports stories revealed the use of negative words such as threat, worries, wasteful, quits, banned, cursing and destruct. Nigerians were portrayed as accursed, wasteful, destructive, quitting people and are often banned from things. The positive successful Nigerian stories are shown in a negative light.

Politics accounted for 18%, criminality and law 15%, and business stories 14%. In contrast to Ebo’s view, only 2% of stories were on poverty with human rights accounting for only 2%. The higher percentage of political stories is in line with Franks’ (2007) view that “there is little engagement with the ongoing politics, hence the frequent reference to the category of tribe rather than explanations about political power structures.” The political stories were mainly based on events: the Presidential elections, the illness and death of the president and his succession. There was no coverage on Nigeria politics except for the period leading to elections and violence during the elections. It is true that violence occurred during the elections but reports only focused on the negative and any successes in other parts of the country were not reflected in the British press.

This reinforces the view that Africa is considered as not having any political incentive to the global media hence, it is only when the politics in Africa threatens to affect the Western countries' interests that it becomes newsworthy. This study only found a few development stories, two stories on administrative reform out of the fifty-nine political stories, one was before the Presidential elections and the other after the succession of the President. This also reinforces Hawk (1992)'s assertion that the media portrays Africa as "a confusing place with instability in government." The increase in coverage during the elections in 2007 is in line with Ebo's view that Africa mainly gets attention from the media during major political events. According to African correspondent Anthony Smith, "there is an acknowledged tendency among Western media to devote the greatest attention to the Third World in times of disaster, crisis and confrontations." He also adds that as soon as the temporary political significance of the crisis dies down, the country loses its limelight in the news. The Political stories revealed that the British press consider African democracy as different or lesser in comparison to the Western democracy with headlines such as 'Is African democracy worth the bloodshed?' and 'He may call this a democracy' buttressing the point.

The business stories found in this study were not development stories but mainly crisis stories in the oil industry which affected British interests and the kidnapping of British citizens. The presence of Shell doing business in the Nigerian oilfields contributed to the high percentage of business stories. Some of the stories were framed to blame the increase in oil prices for British consumers on the crisis in the Niger delta. Other business industries in Nigeria such as agriculture and mining were not visible in this study despite Dowden's view that "for the past ten years many African countries have been growing at rates we in the West can only dream about-- thanks largely to an emerging middle class, mobile phones and China's demand for its raw materials." (Dowden 2012) Based on the results in this study "if you are an investor with a pot of gold looking for somewhere to

invest this money, Nigeria would not be a place one would consider.” (Dowden 2012)

The criminality and law subject which includes stories on terrorism and abduction accounted for 15% of all stories. A few crime stories were positive looking at how the Nigerian police were fighting crime although the credit was given to the Western agencies. The Crime stories contained inaccuracies and distortion of information. The stories on Abdul Muttallab on the 29th of December 2009 can be characterized as distortion by preconditioning of events and specific facts being presented in such a way that unfounded, exaggerated fears and misgivings are created in order to condition actions by individuals or groups. The journalist traced the history of the terrorist bomber back to his Nigerian community in order to show the roots of his radicalization to be in Nigeria. It was later identified his radicalization took place in the UK where he was studying. This example buttresses the point that some of the Crime stories had inaccuracies and distorted information.

Merrill (1980) highlighted that it may be true that much of the news emanating from the Third World has a negative character but this can also be said of the news flowing within the Western countries themselves. He states that “it should be noted also that this atypical, unusual, and often sensational nature of news is a very basic part of the West’s definition of news. It could also be argued as Dowden (2012) points out that Africa is complex and hence difficult for news editors to comprehend. He states that Africa “can be both poor and disease-ridden and rich and dynamic at the same time, sometimes in the same village.”(Dowden 2012) This view is supported by the results in this study with a lot of neutral stories, 37% of all the headline stories were neutral stories not fitting into one view, which raises Dowden’s argument that both good and bad things happen, so to have only the bad reported and the positive neglected can only lead to marginalization. It can be concluded that only having less than a quarter of positive stories on Nigeria in the British press can lead to the ostracism of Nigeria and Nigerians in Britain.

George Alagiah referred to this reporting of mainly crisis, stereotypical and negative news and omission of positive stories as “showing the continent at its worst and too rarely showing it in full flower.” (Ankomah 2008) This also supports Hawk’s (1992) view that, “by reporting those aspects of African life deemed to be important to the Western readers, the media select stories according to Western values. As a result, African successes measured according to African values are never reported.”

This study used frame analysis to further analyze how the British media structured stories on Nigeria and the people’s perceptions of the stories. The next session discusses the findings from this study.

What mental images did journalists’ or newspapers’ choice of words or phraseology portend to the British reader?

7.3 News frames employed in the headlines of news stories in the British media?

The choice of frames used by the British press to construct Nigerian events is a key area that can mask “ideology, values, implications, orientations, views and aims conveyed in media artifacts” (Alozie 2007) Frames are crucial in “structuring our beliefs, thoughts and actions” (Brookes 1995) Media frames provide structure for the working routines of journalists and news organization in their efforts to organize, interpret, and present information efficiently to their audiences (Entman, 1993) A frame can be defined as “ a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events” (Golan 1993) A variety of frames were found in this study, the sporting frame had 25% of the stories, with 45% of the stories in 2010 due to the football World Cup. In spite of the sporting frame being a celebration of the Nigerian sporting talent, it was characterized by stereotypes and use of metaphors such as wasteful, self-destructing, misery, banned and cursing. The sporting frame portrayed

Nigeria and Nigerians as a sporting nation which self-destructs, is wasteful, and curses.

Criminality and law frame accounted for 15% with conflict and violence accounting for 13%. This means that over a quarter of stories on Nigeria reflected criminality, violence and conflict. The negative portrayal of Nigeria resulted from the series of terrorist activities from Boko Haram which threaten the business environment and the involvement of Nigerian youths in internet scam. The framing of these crisis stories used metaphors to brand all Nigerians on the acts of a few Nigerian citizens. The use of headlines such as 'Pair accused of Nigeria bribes', 'Solicitor held on US charge of involvement in Nigeria bribery', 'LATEST scam out of Nigeria', and 'DOC LOSES £350k IN NET SCAM: She falls for Nigerian con trick', made it look like Nigeria, as a nation, was involved in the crimes rather than the few Nigerian criminals. Hence, this frame portrayed Nigeria as a corrupt nation and the originator of scams. Other studies such as Agunbiade and Ayotunde (2011) stated that the internet scam by some Nigerian youths popularly known as the yahoo boys, ethno-religious and inter-ethnic violence also attracted negative publicity. The high percentage of stories with this frame in this study shows that there is a one in four chance that a British reader gets a negative view about Nigeria.

The politics frame also accounted for 17% of the stories, with Nigeria portrayed as a country with an unstable government, with politicians accused of bribe and corruption. The percentage reflects that there is a one in five chance that a British reader gets this view about Nigeria. The election process was accompanied by violence and vote rigging. This supports Clare (1988)'s conclusion that non-elite nations appear to have crisis-hit governments, untrustworthy leaders, volatile populations and when they do have elections, they do not meet the democratic standards of the West and are characterized by vote-rigging and violence. Although some of the stories in this study fit into this portrayal, there were some stories that were made to fit into this frame. During the time the then

president of Nigeria was ill, news stories appeared with a crisis frame, e.g. ‘rudderless Nigeria’. The headlines were cast to suit the frame of a crisis-hit government and yet the stories were positive showing a democratic process in which the vice president took over control of the country in the absence of the president. A few stories in the politics frame showed Nigeria as a reforming country but the main portrayal was negative. The news stories on Nigerian politics were at times distorted with misrepresentations by implication, characterized by the presentation of facts in such a way that fits into the crisis frame. The metaphors used to describe Nigerian politics include corruption, violence, fraud, accused, exploited, unelected and military. The dominant conceptual representation of Nigerian politics was that it was not democratic.

The poverty frame was a key frame to this study as many scholars had noted the image of Africa as a poor continent. The literature review revealed that “Africa is viewed as a threat to the West in terms of being a drain on Western resources.” (Brookes 1995), “Africa as a faraway place where good people go hungry” (Alagiah 1999). This study only found this frame in less than 2% of stories which is way less than highlighted in the above studies. Some of the stories found in this study with this frame in the headline were criticisms on the poverty image portrayal of a Nigerian city as a “pit of degradation” by a BBC documentary. This study did not find any stories framing Nigeria as a burden of the West or as a poor people and nation. The dominant ideological representation of Nigeria that are likely to be stored in the minds of readers would not include poverty.

The other frame that was not found in this study is the representation of Nigeria as a dark country. Badejo-Okusanya 2007 concludes that Africa is described as a dark continent. The headlines of the Guardian in 1999 “New light on the Dark Continent” reflected on Africa as being a dark place. Nigeria was not represented as a dark country in the British press. The stereotypical frame was not a dominant frame in the reporting of Nigeria in the British press in contrast to other studies which cited a high level of stereotypes in the reporting on Africa in the press.

The business frame examined how business stories on Nigeria were framed in the British press. 15% of stories had the business frame which is higher than other studies which found a smaller percentage. The dominant ideology in the business frame was of crisis, instability, corruption and conflict. The stories did not represent Nigerian business in successful times but only in crisis. These stories mainly included the oil industry in which British companies are involved in. They include kidnappings and abductions of British citizens, as well as militants' disturbances to oil production. The Nigerian business industry is framed as unstable, a battle ground and characterized by conflict and war. Corruption is also shown as being one of the characteristics of the business industry with all the blame heaped on Nigeria and Nigerians. The words that were mainly associated with business stories included *kidnapped*, *hostage*, *power*, *seized and released*, *fraud*, *crises*, *bribes* and *military*. The framing of the business stories would not attract foreign investors to Nigeria as it is presented as a risky environment.

The sports frame accounted for one in four stories that were in the British press. The sports frame was mainly negative and was characterized by negative words such as threat, axe, banned, wasteful, threatening, and suspended, misery, destruct, cursing and banned. The metaphorical construction of Nigeria and Nigerians as miserable, cursing and self-destructing amounts to a negative and stereotypical presentation of Nigerian sports. The successes of the Nigerian sports men and women were not highlighted as an ideological representation of Nigeria.

The framing of Nigerian stories was mainly negative with positive stories presented negatively. As described by BBC journalist George Alagiah, his "job is to give a fuller picture. [But] I have a gnawing regret that, as a foreign correspondent, I have done Africa a disservice, too often showing the continent at its worst and too rarely showing it in full flower. There is an awful lot of historical baggage to cut through when reporting Africa." (Alagiah, 1999) Positive frames such as sports showed some stereotypical

and negative metaphorical construction with Nigeria described as adding to “Africa misery” when Nigeria’s football team lost a match during the 2010 World cup. This story had a magisterial tone described by Lugo-Ocando and Malaolu (2014, p.85) as “derisive, dismissive or at least, adopting the conspiratorial tone of ‘After all it is Africa: what do you expect?’” The dominant ideological representation of Nigeria was negative and would leave the British readers with a bad image of Nigeria and Nigerians.

7.4 Sources and gatekeepers in the reporting of Nigeria in the British media

According to Wanta and Hu (1993) “if citizens’ desires are a simple result of news coverage, then the driver of a democratic system would be those agents which determine mediated messages and not the citizenry.” Gatekeeping is the process of selecting news items to be presented to audiences and plays an important role in the reporting of Nigeria in the British press. This study analyzed the sources and gatekeepers for Nigeria between 2007 and 2010 in the British press.

The foreign correspondents who were based in the UK accounted for 47% of the stories with editorials accounting for 4% of stories. This means 51% of stories about Nigeria were written by people the Nigerian information minister referred to as ‘others’ in her assertion that “the negative perception about Nigeria was largely because Nigerians allowed others to tell our story and it stuck.” The journalists on location accounted for 23%, which is in line with the view that the reporting of African stories is sporadic and based on crisis events. This meant that almost 75% of stories on Nigeria were written by foreign correspondents who according to Ebo’s (1992) “are generally not sensitive to cultural nuances in African countries because they do not have the necessary training or background to explain the historical and cultural significance of Africa.”(Ebo 1992)

This tends to corroborate the view that the British media devote more attention and resources in times of disaster, crisis, violence and confrontations and that this limelight dies down soon after the event. This

means the increased number of stories did not necessarily mean that the country was more visible but that a lot of stories appeared during crisis events hence the high percentage of negative crisis news. Journalists on location can sometimes be misleading in their reports as BBC African correspondent George Alagiah admitted that for the whole week when he first reached Zaire he was in effect misleading the audience and he had 'lost the plot' (Alagiah, 2001) This also supports Rosenblum's view that "unfamiliarity with baffling local customs and thought processes can be dangerously misleading. Under such circumstances, even the best have difficulty." (Richstad and Anderson 1981) This type of misleading reporting could be seen in the equating of the Nigerian Islamist group Boko Haram to Taliban, with some reporters referring to them as the "Nigerian Taliban".

African correspondents accounted for 18% and the African news agencies had 1% of stories, which meant only 19% of the stories were written by journalists based in Africa. The stories by African correspondents were mainly neutral with 67% but with 85% of the headline being negative. The stories had negatively framed headlines based on stereotypes about Nigeria. The reason for the high percentage of negative stories can be explained by the owner of an African news agency Camerapix who claimed that African journalists write positive stories "but they are mainly for an African audience now, because we cannot move them internationally." (Salim as cited in Franks 2008) The results also showed that there were more negatively toned headlines as compared to stories written by African journalists. This trend supports the views by Ankomah 2008 that "if a correspondent returns from Africa with a story, or sends a story from Africa, and it does not fit the box, one of two things happens: One, it is edited to fit the box; or two, it is thrown into the dustbin." This forces the correspondents to conform to pre-set ideas hence some neutral and positive stories are given negative headlines.

The results in this study showed the decline in Africa based correspondents, which is in line with Franks (2007)'s view that there is a

decline in Africa based correspondents. She notes that “middle market papers like The Daily Express and The Daily Mail had Africa specialists”, which is in contrast to this study’s finding as the Sun and Daily Mirror did not have African correspondents and relied on the foreign correspondents based in the UK.

The accuracy or inaccuracy of news is governed by several factors, one of which is access to information sources. The journalists themselves were the main sources of their stories accounting for 30% of the sources. This refers to stories that did quote a source but was reported from the journalist perspective. The government sources also accounted for 23%, with politicians accounting for 7%. The police only accounted for 5% of the stories as most of the crisis events stories were based on eyewitness accounts, journalists’ contacts and rumors. 23% of stories from government sources is low considering that 77% of sources were less credible. The study by O’Sullivan 1988, revealed that the main sources for the international news flowing from the developed countries including Britain were officials from governments, major corporations and established institutions. This was also supported by an older study by Leon Sigal in 1973 cited by Ginneken 2005 which found out that half of sources for national and foreign news on America were officials of the United States government.

This is a sharp contrast to the reporting of Nigeria in the British press in which credible and authoritative sources account for less than a quarter of the stories. This result shows a deviation from the heavy reliance on official, accredited sources which can be blamed for inaccuracy and distortion of information. Lack of credible sources results in news being made by putting isolated facts together and presenting them as a whole, or presenting a sum of partial truths in a way that it appears to amount to an overall truth. The inclusion or exclusion of a single fact can change the entire context of a reported incident and lead the reader to draw vastly different conclusions. The same facts, presented in a different order or described using different words, can convey vastly different messages.

(Blood, 2004) This study found that most stories excluded some facts hence other views were not considered giving the story a more negative effect. Some stories also included irrelevant information making even a positive story such as the appointment of a new democratically elected president negative, with the headlines such as “Nigeria it needs Goodluck”.

7.5 What was the tone of the stories on Nigeria?

The tone of stories and headlines is an important indicator of how the story is to be perceived by the audience. A critic of the British press, Ankomah (2008) suggests that, “the negative portrayal aims at making Africans feel self-pity and self-hate, to loathe themselves and their heritage. These feelings are dangerous, because it makes you wonder, sometimes, why God created you, this wretched African.”

The stories on Nigeria were mainly negative. The headlines were more negative as compared to the number of negative stories. This supports Harcup and O’Neill 2001’s view that “journalists do not report news, they produce news. They construct it, they construct facts, they construct statements and they construct the context in which these facts make sense. They reconstruct a reality.” These results show that the British media construct a negative reality even when the stories are positive. The results from Chapter 5 show that with the exception of 2008, 2007 had 54% negative headlines as compared to 36% negative stories, 2009 had 53% negative headlines as compared to 47% negative stories, this trend was also visible in 2010.

The stories were mainly negative and based on crisis events. The coverage of Nigeria in the British press can be described as unbalanced as positive developmental stories were not considered newsworthy and not reported in the British press. This is in contrast to Nicholson (1986)’s robust defense of the British media when he asserts that “it is difficult to argue that bad news drives out good, that the coverage lacks balance, that it concentrates on the bizarre and the irrelevant”. He actually throws a

challenge “if one still insists that we need a more positive approach from the media, tell us where to go.” The results of this study do indicate that the British media concentrates on the bizarre and lacks balance. Positive events such as the rebranding campaign were not visible in the British media. This is also supported with the negativity in the framing of the headlines of stories on Nigeria which is higher than the negative stories. This meant even positive stories such as the story on the successful transition of presidency in the Nigerian government carried a headline “Nigeria: It needs Goodluck”. It can be argued that the headline used a play of words but it does reflect negatively on Nigeria as an unstable country that relies on luck.

This study analysed the subjects of stories covered by the British press over the four years. Politics accounted for 18% of all the stories with 45% reported before the rebranding campaign and an increase of 10% after the rebranding campaign.

The rebranding campaign did not increase the amount of business stories although some of the business stories fell into the crime and conflict category. 67% of business stories were reported before the rebranding campaign and only 33% surfaced after the rebranding campaign. Further analysis of business stories showed an increase in neutral stories after the rebranding campaign which meant that business stories were more detailed and more balanced.

7.6 Systematic changes in the reporting of Nigeria after the rebranding campaign

The Nigerian rebranding campaign was aimed at changing the image of Nigeria in the global media. It was launched on the 17th of March 2009 at the International Conference Centre in Abuja with several prominent Nigerians and members of the civil society, organized labor, private sector and students. The results showed an increase in the coverage of Nigeria after the rebranding campaign with 2009 and 2010 receiving 55% of

coverage. It can also be noted that the increase in the number of stories could not be linked to the rebranding campaign as they resulted from the World Cup and the rise of extremist Islamic group Boko Haram. The positive story of the rebranding campaign was omitted by the newspapers in this study and only covered as a negative story on the BBC news website.

The length of the stories did not show much change between 2007-2008 and 2009-2010. The results showed that more 'shorter' stories were written between 2009 and 2010 as compared to between 2007 and 2008. This did not show any change to the way stories were reported except that as more stories were written, they were shorter in length which did not have much depth although some of the stories with 200 words were more balanced and neutral.

The stories with the name of the country or the people in the headline draw more attention to the country and its people and at times reflect on the prominence of the story. This study found the years 2007 and 2010 received more stories with the word Nigeria or Nigerian in the headlines. Instead of showing the prominence of Nigeria in the British press, the framing of the headlines tarnished the image of Nigeria and its people. The stories were mainly negative, stereotypical and crisis themed hence not showing any influence from the rebranding campaign. The silence about the rebranding campaign in the newspapers in this study could also be considered as distortion. The newspapers were silent on situations presumed to be of no interest to the British public. The rebranding campaign and the activities surrounding it were developmental stories that would have shone Nigeria as a nation trying to improve. These stories were covered by the local press but were not considered newsworthy by the British press. Crisis reporting was mainly used, in which emphasis is on producing the report of an event but not the experience of the event. More effort was put in describing the crisis events than prescribing or suggesting a solution or explaining the cause of the event.

The frames used in writing Nigerian stories did not change positively after the rebranding campaign. There was an increase in the coverage of stories with negative frames. The frames used before the rebranding campaign were being recycled and employed in giving meaning to stories on Nigeria. Key terms used to describe Nigeria in the headlines included the use of words and phrases such as 'Nigerian Taliban', 'Nigeria bribes' and 'Nigeria scam' which identified crime as synonymous to the country. This is in line with Hawk et al (1992)'s argument that "a choice is made to link the reportage of Africa to the use of metaphoric communication employed by the news consumer." Hawk et al. (1992) insist those metaphors do not derive from Africa. Similar stories on crime in the UK do not get similar headlines, the radicalization of British youth and involvement in terrorism does not earn them the headline 'British Taliban' nor does a bribery offence committed by a former US vice president get the headline 'American bribes'. According to Bernard Cohen's famous assertion, the way Nigeria and Nigerians were framed in the media may not be successful in telling people what to think, but it is successful in telling people what to think about.

The frame analysis reflected an increase in conflict and violence stories after the rebranding campaign. The Criminality and law frame increased after the rebranding campaign with 2010 having 38% of stories. The key terms such as bribes, scandal, accused, guilty and militants were used in headlines. This increase shows that the campaign objectives were not achieved. Conflict and violence stories also increased. 55% of stories with this theme were found after the rebranding campaign. This study observes that conflict and violence did take place in Nigeria at the period under review, but the stories were event and crisis based hence any efforts by the government to combat violence and crime were not considered news worthy.

The picture portrayed by the news stories was negative on the image of the country. The stereotype frame was used in most stories but a few stories were identified as most of them also reflected other frames. Nigeria

was reflected as having a bad health system, poor infrastructure, poor governance and corruption. The poverty frame was not mainly used in reporting on Nigeria, the only stories covered were after the rebranding campaign. The stories included a documentary which covered a story of a man who set up a house in a rubbish dump site, although it was meant to reflect the industriousness of Nigerians making a living off the rubbish dump. The politics frame had more stories in 2007 and 2010 which reflected on the event based nature of the British press. Most of the politically framed stories were negative as explained earlier, reflecting mainly on Nigeria's past military rule. Nigeria was reflected as a rudderless nation with a corrupt government.

The rebranding campaign's objectives aimed to see a change in the portrayal of Nigeria as a place where investors 'with a pot of gold' would want to invest in. The business framed stories decreased after the rebranding campaign with 2010 accounting for just 17% and 2009 with 19%. This study showed that the reason for the decrease in business stories was that most of the business stories in 2009 and 2010 were falling into other categories. Some business stories were crime stories involving bribes, conflict in the oil fields and violence including kidnappings. Nigeria was not reflected as a place where the British public could go for holiday or a place where investors might want to invest their money.

Sports stories on Nigeria were, according to the rebranding campaign, meant to showcase the talent and skills of the Nigerian people. This study showed an increase in sports stories to 45% in 2010 due to the World Cup. As shown in table 4, the sports stories had negative tones, with some positive stories having negatively toned headlines.

The type of stories that were considered newsworthy in the British press included Sports with 24%, showing an increase after the rebranding campaign. Politics had 18%, showing an increase after the rebranding campaign, Criminality and law with 15%, also showed an increase after the rebranding. The aim of the rebranding campaign to show Nigerians as

'good people' was defeated by the stories that found coverage in the British press. Further analysis of Sports stories showed that 33% of the sports stories had negatively framed headlines as compared to 15% negative stories.

The study investigates the claim by the Nigerian Information and Communication minister that "we allowed others to tell our story and it stuck" and the argument by Dowden (2012) that African stories were being reported with European eyes. Dowden argued that "European eyes however have always dictated the global image of Africa. Trying to get a news editor interested in the story behind Africa's famines and wars was always difficult. It is always easier to show an aid worker saving an African child overlaid by a tragic-voiced reporter. That was why most journalists were sent there." (Dowden 2012) This study found out that 47% of all stories were reported by the foreign correspondents, followed by the correspondents on location. The African correspondents accounted for 18% and agencies accounted for 1%. It can also be added that most of the African correspondents were not based in Nigeria but in Kenya and South Africa. The number of stories written by the African correspondents about Nigeria increased after the rebranding which could be considered as a positive attribute of the campaign although it can be argued that this could be as a result of better technology allowing reports and stories to be written with lesser logistic challenges.

Further analysis of stories by foreign correspondents showed that most of their stories had negative headlines, although it can be argued that the results also show that they had more positive headlines as compared to stories. The foreign correspondents mainly covered Sports stories with 36%, Criminality and law with 15% and Business stories with 18% and Politics with 12% (Figure 18). This study highlights that foreign correspondents were covering a range of subjects even though the stories were event based. Analysis of the stories by the African correspondents showed that 85% of their stories were negative as compared to 67% of total negative stories. Hence one can conclude that African correspondents

themselves wrote more negative and negatively toned stories of Africa. It can be argued that the image of Africa portrayed by African correspondents in their stories was also negative.

The number of sources used for stories can reflect on the neutrality of stories, balance and views reflected in them. Before the rebranding campaign, 59% of stories had more than three sources as compared to an average of 13% with one source. This reduced slightly to an average of 42% after the rebranding campaign, which meant that as the number of stories increased, more stories had less sources with 2010 showing an increase to 24% of stories having one source. The writers themselves were the sources of the stories. (Table 12)

The framing analysis showed that there were no significant changes in the frames used before and after the rebranding campaign. This is in line with Fahmy's (2010) analysis that the lack of differences between frames is due to pre-constructed news frames, which in turn conventionalize the way future foreign correspondents and editors perceive foreign stories. These pre-constructed frames influence the way correspondents look at foreign places and foreign news events in general. Future correspondents will use the same frames which scholars have argued produce distorted news. Eric Louw (2004) notes that "these existing images determine the questions they ask and the images they seek. Hence, the partiality of news frames tends to be recycled and reproduced, so that discourses about foreigners and foreign places are resistant to change." (Louw 2004 as cited in Golan 2010) The repetition of news frames in this study emphasizes the use of "historic baggage" in the writing of news stories with the use of the words such as 'military' constantly featuring in political stories when Nigeria has had a democratically elected government since 1999.

7.7 Key discussion points

In conclusion, this section is an overview of the main discussion points: Nigeria was more salient in the British press with the number of stories increasing each year except for 2008. The distribution of stories was sporadic, hence revealing the event-centred reporting which was mainly

crisis based. Nigeria had less prominence in the British press with news stories being mainly short and lacking depth.

The headline stories on Nigeria were mainly on corruption, crime, conflict and war, hence leading to negative discourse on Nigeria and Nigerians by the British readers. The direction and tone of Nigerian stories were mainly negative with negative metaphors such as ‘kidnappers’, ‘bribes’, ‘accused’ and ‘crisis’ used to describe Nigeria and Nigerians. Irrespective of subject covered, stories on Nigeria were negatively framed with Sports stories constructed in a negative light. Nigerian footballers were described as ‘wasteful’, ‘cursing’ and adding to ‘Africa’s misery.’

Sports stories accounted for most of the stories on Nigeria, with Politics and Criminality and Law also having a high percentage of stories. The regular occurrence of these subjects establishes them as legitimate areas on which to report in conjunction with Nigeria. Political stories revealed that African democracy is viewed as different or lesser in comparison to the Western democracy. Nigerian politicians are viewed as wanting power at all cost and corrupt.

The criminality and law stories had some inaccuracies and distorted information. The Nigerian police were presented as inadequate and only successful following British intelligence.

The stories on Nigeria were mainly negative, crisis based and stereotypical. The mental images created by the frames, metaphors and phraseology used on Nigerian stories in the British press revealed that Nigeria was framed as a sporting nation which self-destructs, wasteful and curses. Nigeria and Nigerians were reflected as corrupt and the originators of scams. The corruption stories on Nigeria are not wholly unfounded but the critique is the way the British press exempt the West from any liability. The story titled ‘Nigerian bribes’ in which the former American vice president was involved did not highlight his involvement

but put the spotlight on Nigeria. The Political frame reflected an unstable government with politicians who are corrupt and involved in bribes.

The poverty frame was not found in this study. Nigeria was not reflected as a poor country or poor people, a contrast to other studies. Some stereotypical representations were made ‘in the land of so little’ but no direct referral. The framing of Nigeria was mainly negative with positive stories having negatively framed headlines.

The gatekeepers in the Nigerian stories reported in the British press were mainly foreign correspondents, which meant that the Nigerian image in the British press was mainly portrayed by foreign reporters. African correspondents mainly wrote neutral stories although a high percentage of the headlines on stories by African correspondents were mainly negative. Journalists were the main sources of majority of their stories. This meant that facts were written with no reference to the sources.

Journalists relied mainly on less credible sources for Nigerian stories as compared to main sources for international news for developed countries. The tone of stories on Nigeria was mainly negative with negative metaphors used to describe Nigeria. Positive stories were also reflected negatively.

7.8 Appraisal of the rebranding campaign

There was an increase in coverage of Nigeria after the rebranding campaign, although the coverage was mainly negative and mainly based around negative events – the rise of Islamic group Boko Haram. The length of stories reduced after the rebranding campaign which meant the depth of stories reduced. Nigerian prominence in the British press increased but was negative. The headline stories which have the ability to shape discourse were mainly negative, stereotypical and crisis based, hence not showing any changes as a result of the rebranding campaign.

The frames used for the Nigerian stories did not change after the rebranding campaign. Negative metaphors were still used in describing Nigeria and Nigerians. There was an increase in coverage of stories with negative frames. Criminality and law as well as Conflict and violence frames increased after the rebranding campaign. The poverty frame was not used to describe Nigeria and Nigerian which is in contrast to other studies on frames used for reflecting on Africa and developing countries.

The Business frame was still negative hence not reflecting Nigeria as a place to invest but as an unstable place with corruption and instability. The Sports, Politics and Crime stories increased after the rebranding campaign. The stories were mainly negative. The number of sources used in Nigerian stories reduced after the rebranding campaign which meant that more stories had less views reflected in them. Hence the stories could be described as lacking balance and neutrality.

The framing analysis showed that there were no significant changes in frames used before and after the rebranding campaign. Similar frames were used, hence showing a repetition of news frames on Nigeria in the British press.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8.0 CONCLUSION

Background

This research was carried out in order to reflect on Africa in the face of a global media, national image and nation branding. This was achieved by using content analysis of the coverage of Nigeria by the British press from 2007 to 2010 supported by frame analysis and discourse analysis. Content analysis was used as it allowed the study to look at international media flows and image portrayal. It allowed this study to assess a large amount of news stories, and an evaluation of patterns over the 4 years.

The limitations in content analysis were catered for by the use of frame analysis. Frame analysis was used to explore the contextualisation of news stories on Nigeria in the British press. It was also used to view the agenda set by the central organising ideas and headlines that provided meaning to stories on Nigeria in the British press. This was strengthened by the use of discourse analysis to examine the language used frequently to construct meaning in news articles on Nigeria. Word Smith Concordance allowed this study to retain the rigorous and systematic features of content analysis while allowing a detailed and sensitive exploration.

Nigeria was chosen as the case study as it was considered as an African country which is constantly reported in the British press. Apart from being the most populous on the continent, it also has strong business links with the UK. Nigeria launched a rebranding campaign ‘Good people Great Nation’ to rebrand its image in 2009. This chapter uses the key findings to answer the objectives of this study and make conclusions based on this research findings and key supporting literature.

8.1 Study objectives, questions and key findings

The main objectives of this study were to examine how Nigeria as a country has been reported by the British press; assess the image of Nigeria presented by the British press; appraise Nigeria’s current rebranding campaign initiative and examine to see if rebranding can work for Africa.

In order to achieve these objectives, this research study answered the following research questions:

What was the amount of coverage, frequency and depth of Nigerian stories in the British press?

What was the direction and tone of stories reported by the British press?

What story subjects drew coverage?

What mental images did journalists' or newspapers' choice of words or phraseology portend to the British reader?

What were the news frames employed in the headlines of news stories in the British media?

Who were the sources and gatekeepers in the reporting of Nigeria in the British media? What were the changes in the reporting of Nigeria after the rebranding campaign?

Can a public relations branding effort significantly affect the image of a country?

Can rebranding work for Africa?

8.2 What was the amount of coverage, frequency and depth of Nigerian stories in the British press?

This study answered the question raised by many researchers on the reporting of the Third World in the British press in terms of the amount of coverage, frequency and depth of news stories flowing from a Third World country. The results showed a yearly sporadic increase in the amount of news stories on Nigeria in the British press with the exception of 2008 which showed decrease as no major crisis events took place. The increase in number of news stories was also accompanied by a decrease in depth of stories as more stories were shorter. News mainly flowed from Nigeria to Britain during crisis events and less prominence was given to the news stories as over two thirds of stories were shorter stories although it can be argued that some of the short stories had depth in terms of content. Headline stories with Nigeria or Nigerian in the headline are more likely to shape discourse on Nigeria as shown by the agenda setting theory. The most prominent stories on Nigeria in the British press were mainly negative.

8.3 What was the direction and tone of stories reported by the British press?

The direction and tone of stories covered on Nigeria were mainly negative, with negative headlines used for positive stories. Crisis centred stories accounted for 63% which meant that Nigeria was found most newsworthy during crises, and coverage dries up when there is no crisis with some months not receiving any coverage at all. Lexical analysis showed frequent usage of negative collocates in headlines and stories on Nigeria. This association and description of Nigeria and Nigerians using collocates such as *wasteful Nigeria*, *Nigeria suspended*, *Nigeria accused* and *Nigeria bribes* gave Nigeria a negative image in the British press and showed a negative direction and toning of stories. This included Sports stories from the football World Cup which had over 50% negatively toned stories.

8.4 What story subjects drew coverage?

Sports stories drew the most coverage on Nigeria, but also came with a high percentage of negative stories tainted by stereotypical headlines. Lexical analysis also showed use of negative collocates to describe Nigeria and Nigerian sports stories. This meant that even positive story subjects still showed Nigeria in negative light. Political stories accounted for nearly a fifth of all stories. They were mainly event based and reflected on Nigerian politics and democracy as lesser and different in comparison to the West. Crime stories also had a high percentage of stories, with some stories containing inaccuracies and distorted information.

Stories on Human rights accounted for 5% of all stories and reflected Nigerians as being abusive towards children. Almost half of these stories were positive or neutral. This meant that there was almost a 50% chance that British readers would get the image of Nigeria as a country that upholds human rights as opposed to the general view that third world countries do not uphold human rights. Poverty and health stories on Nigeria only accounted for 2% of all stories reported on Nigeria in the British press from 2007 to 2010, hence it can be concluded that Nigeria was not considered to be a poor country in the British press

8.5 What were the news frames employed in the headlines of news stories in the British media?

The results from this study indicated that Nigeria is mostly framed as a sporting nation and people although lexical analysis revealed the portrayal of Nigeria as a self-destructive nation that is wasteful and had curses. Over a quarter of the stories had the criminality, conflict and violence frame. Nigeria was framed as a criminal nation with headlines such as “*Nigeria bribes*’, corrupt nation and the originator of scams. Nigerian politics was framed as being corrupt, violent, fraudulent, exploitative and unelected. The frequent portrayal of Nigerian politics was that it was less democratic as compared to the West. Stereotypical references were made in reference to poverty, but this study only found 2% of stories with the poverty frame. So Nigeria was not framed as a poor country and people. The Business frame had high percentage of stories as compared to other studies. The dominant portrayal of Nigerian business was of crisis, corruption, instability, violence and conflict. Nigeria’s positive business relationships were not reflected in this frame instead it was mainly kidnappings and violent clashes that were highlighted. The framing of Nigeria and Nigerians in the British press was mainly negative leading to a negative representation of Nigeria.

8.6 What were the changes in the reporting of Nigeria after the rebranding campaign?

There was an increase in the number of stories reported on Nigeria after the rebranding campaign which could not be linked to the campaign. It was observed that stories were much shorter and lacking in depth after the rebranding campaign. The frames employed and the tone of stories on Nigeria showed an increase in the use of negative frames. The frames used before the rebranding campaign were recycled after the campaign. There was an increase in conflict and violence stories after the rebranding indicating that the objectives of the campaign were not met. Thus, the Nigerian image in the British press did not change after the rebranding campaign.

The Nigeria rebranding campaign did not show any changes or notable improvements in the image of Nigeria. Every positive indicator of change after the rebranding campaign was shadowed. The increase in coverage after the rebranding campaign was accompanied by shorter stories with less sources and more negative stories, hence it was not enough to affect a change in image. The reporting was still sporadic with an increase in negative discourse. Key frames such as Criminality and law showed an increase hence Nigeria and Nigerians were portrayed more as criminals after the rebranding campaign. The findings showed an increase in African correspondents and local journalists but this did not bring change as the stories selected were negative stories or neutral stories with negative headlines. A change to the use of more authentic sources after the rebranding campaign was shadowed by an increase in stories with only the reporter as the source.

Nigeria is itself of course not innocent in the construction of its negative image. One of the constructive things Nigeria could do to improve its global image is to embark on radical socio-economic and democratic reforms. Public Relations (PR) is not about defending the indefensible at all costs, the best PR strategy is a measured process of reform.

The Nigerian rebranding objectives were in line with many Third World leaders' worries about the media's influence in shaping or changing social and cultural values, particularly of the youths in their countries. The British people look at world events through their media's eyes and other researchers have also concluded that "in developing countries also, people come to see their own world through the eyes of the Western media." (Richstad 1981) The Nigerian rebranding campaign was not visible in the British press and there were no significant changes in the reporting of Nigeria after the rebranding campaign.

8.7 Can rebranding work for Africa?

The scholarship in this thesis and the findings have shown that Africa's representation in the Western media is mainly event based, biased, negative, sporadic and full of stereotypes. The reporting of Africa is against the background of the relationships that existed in Africa between European colonial administrations and African people, which has created an unequal partnership. The inaccurate reports about Africa and the biased perceptions of Africans, formed during colonial times, have created the basis for the way Africa is framed in media reports.

Critics chide the Nigeria rebranding project for failing to diagnose and address the cause of the country's negative image. The weaknesses in the leadership of the country and previous experiences of branding efforts meant the Nigerian public were sceptical and hence did not welcome participation in the campaign. Rebranding without changing attitudes and values, ensuring law and order, providing welfare and public infrastructure and a commitment to democracy and the rules of law does not yield results. Africa as a whole requires doing much more in order to rebrand successfully. The key to dealing with the stereotypes used to portray Nigeria and Nigerians lies not only in making statements to the press but also in developing and implementing good governance practices with obvious, visible and measurable results.

Nigeria's rebranding campaign strategy of developing national pride among its citizenry with the hope of this being reflected on its influence in international relations and hence a better image can be a success, but it takes a long time for it to be reflected. It can be argued that the scope of this study did not allow for enough time to see the changes in its international image. Anholt (2008) asserts that brand management would work when "it informs policy making and becomes implicit in the way the country is run, it can dramatically accelerate change."

As branding is mostly image-driven with the aim of creating positive country images, it is largely a one-way communication strategy where the

communicator has control over the message, in a simple and concise way leaving little or no room for dialogue, feedback or interactions. Nigeria's rebranding campaign did not have control over the message it wanted to deliver to the British press. Having positive developmental stories, celebrating success and exhibits did not guarantee story coverage in the British press. Hence the goal of branding which presumes that the foreign publics should perceive the image as it was intended by the senders was not achieved.

Business and tourism do not thrive on emotions and sentiments but on hard facts on ground. Investors want maximum returns on their investment and the tourist wants value for their money. In a globalised economy, it is the country that projects the most positive image and guarantees safety of lives and stability of investments that can maximize its potential as an investment and tourism destination of choice. The problem of the Nigeria rebranding campaign can be summed up by Gerald Long's view that "you cannot have repression at home and enlightenment abroad. And in so far as that is the aspiration, it is one that is doomed to fail." (Long as cited in Richstad 1981) The image of Nigeria was negative and not one that will aspire investment and tourism.

According to the recommendations from the MacBride report (1980), Africa as a continent must redouble its efforts to create its own communication networks, to encourage more private instruments of image making, and to utilise all forms of media to counter negative reporting. According to Asante (2013) this can be achieved by intensifying investment in media assertion thereby "creating opportunities for students to engage in the democratic process, funding communication networks, and organizing conferences and workshops on the image of Africa."

This study agrees with Beverly Hawk's view that "by reporting those aspects of African life deemed to be important to the Western readers, the media selects stories according to the Western values. As a result, African successes measured according to African values are never reported. Although a water pump in a rural area may transform a community and its

economy, it hardly makes good copy. Coups and wars make better copy and can be succinctly communicated to a reader. Press coverage of Africa in the context of the world events marginalises things uniquely African.” (Hawk 1992)

This study can conclude that the British press mainly reports aspects of African life that are relevant to Western readers. It can be argued that the colonial traits of reporting only the stories that affect Westerners is still existing. This is not taking into account changes in migration patterns and technology with the world becoming a global village. The population of people with African origin in the UK was about 2% in the last census. The internet availability in Africa also mean that the audience of the British press extends beyond the British public.

Conflict, violence and crime account for 26% of coverage on Nigeria closely followed by political instability stories. Nigeria’s image rebranding, which was a development story did not find coverage in the British press.

This study also shows that faith cannot be placed in the British or international media to make the necessary adjustments to bring about change in the way Nigeria or Africa in general is portrayed. Africa must find solutions for itself by reporting on events with contexts and depth. This study has shown that some of the crises in Africa stem from colonial structures that aimed to undermine Africans. The context is not always included in the stories hence negative representation. This study found stories which with context would have been positive stories. Africa’s over-reliance on its former colonial masters will not help it in forging a positive image in the global media.

Based on the McBride report, Africa can overcome the existing problem of misrepresentation, change its image and hence its position in the world, by acquiring a free and independent news media. Africa must use to its advantage the new information technologies, communication satellites, global televisions and the internet. Hachten (2004) asserts that “It is not good enough to say Western audiences aren’t interested in Africa. It is a

chicken and egg situation. If there was coverage, people would become more interested.” African governments and the private sector should make greater efforts to break the monopoly the Western media corporations have through ownership, production and distribution of media products.

This can be seen in the impact that Al Jazeera has had in the reporting of the Middle East/Arab world. Al Jazeera is a pan-Arab 24-hour satellite news and discussion channel based in Qatar. According to Zayani (2005), Al Jazeera has acquired a leading role in the Arab media scene and it is a “centre stage in the modernization of Arab-language broadcasting.” He noted that Al Jazeera has influenced the Arab public opinion as well as its politics. The Al Jazeera phenomenon was reinforced by Wadah Khanfar, the managing director of Al Jazeera, when he stated that “the Americans call for reform. They call for freedom of expression, democratisation, and liberalisation. We have been part of that process, helping create real and lasting change in society, giving people a voice. We are part of the match towards reform in the Middle East.”

Historically, the Arab nations had been misrepresented, similar to Africa, in the West and within itself. A BBC World Service journalist de Gouveia (1995) in his paper on the Mass Media and the African Renaissance argues that Africa should learn from the Al Jazeera experience to create a Pan-African broadcaster. He states that “the African continent would benefit from the establishment of a genuinely independent and indigenous Pan-African broadcaster,” which would “much alter and improve the continent’s political and economic landscape in the medium to long term” (de Gouveia, 1995)

Another crucial part of improving Africa’s global image is an increased inclusion of African voices in telling African stories. This could come with the establishment of a Pan-African media house with the expertise of African journalists who by virtue of their local upbringing, experiences and cultural values have a deeper insight into Africa’s convoluted issues. Getting the African story told truthfully through African eyes was reiterated by Indira Gandhi when she stressed the importance of

information self-reliance. Gandhi said “we want to hear Africans on events in Africa. You should similarly be able to get an Indian explanation of events in India.” She further expressed her bewilderment that “we know so little about leading poets, novelists, historians and editors of various Asian, African and Latin American countries while we are familiar with minor authors and columnists of Europe and America.” (Gandhi cited in Richstad, 1981)

Fergal Keane, a BBC special correspondent who reported on Africa for over two decades, argues that there is also need for a reporting paradigm shift from a foreign journalist who is sceptical and full of assumptions to one in which “Africans tell their stories and help viewers, listeners and readers ‘recognize the energy and vitality of this continent’”. This study showed that over 50% of stories about Africa were reported by foreign correspondents, but it also revealed that the African correspondents’ stories had more negative frames. This study shows that it might not be a matter of who reports on African stories but the stories that get settled for in the British press.

Africans should understand the role of journalism which goes beyond being an instrument for information, education and entertainment to “one that looks after and protects national interests.” (Ankomah, 2008) African journalists should be taught to protect their nation’s interests which Ankomah termed ‘Africanizing the journalism curriculum’. According to Mukasa and Becker (1992, p.31), journalism education in Africa is too dependent on Western systems of philosophy which dates back to the colonial era. They also note that colonial powers imposed their epistemology and philosophy on the colonized hence the teaching materials, trainers, curricula used were aimed at ensuring the dominance of their culture. The indigenous histories, epistemologies and ontologies were not considered important in teaching journalism, hence the reporting of the African journalists reflects the colonial reporting patterns on Africa. Mukasa and Becker (1992) highlighted this dependence when they stated

that out of a survey of 20 randomly selected papers read at the 1987 communications conference in Nigeria, 87% of citations were from Western sources showing the heavy dependence on the Western thought patterns in African journalism. (Mukasa and Becker, 1992). Ankomah (2008) quotes Ronald's (the then chief lead writer of The Sun newspaper) admission that "truth is sacred, but a newspaper that tells only part of the truth is a million times preferable to one that tells the truth to harm his country."

8.8 Who were the sources and gatekeepers in the reporting of Nigeria in the British media?

The editors and foreign correspondents in the UK are the main contributors of the news on Nigeria in the British press accounting for 81% hence, it is vital to look at their definition of news. Editors and foreign correspondents do not make their decisions on what is news in isolation. Their training, environment, value systems and the "historic baggage" all play a substantial role in the determination of what is news. It is necessary for journalists and editors to look at how news is identified, graded and defined to make the necessary changes to better serve the information needs of the British public and give a balanced portrayal of Africa in the British press. British journalists should report with greater empathy and understanding. Richstad (1981) explains that these journalists should remember "the time it took for social, economic, and political systems to evolve in their own countries. Although they may not be able to find exact parallels in what is happening in many parts of the Third World and what happened in the past in their own countries, they may be surprised to discover quite a few similarities." He also notes that the slow evolution of political democracy is similar to what happened in the Western countries in the past, hence it shouldn't be treated as catastrophic and incomprehensive.

8.9 What mental images did journalists' or newspapers' choice of words or phraseology portend to the British reader?

It is evident in this study that the image of Nigeria portrayed in the media between 2007 and 2010 was mainly negative due to the emphasis on location, event based and crisis news found in the British press. Non crisis news contained stereotypes and written with a crisis undertone. Other researchers conclude that this is due to what the British media considers to be commercial; with others stating that non crisis news from the Third World is of little interest to the general public. It can also be noted that this atypical, unusual and sensational way of reporting news stories is part of the British definition of news hence it would be natural for them to use the same definition when collecting and sending news from other countries. Hence further research needs to be conducted to see if there are differences in the reporting of local news in the British press.

It can be argued that a journalist selects what will be news and writes it according to his value system, but these journalistic decisions are subjective hence subject to bias. This study showed a high percentage of negative in contrast to positive development stories, but it is not possible to say how much good or bad news is enough. The omission of major positive events in the British press such as the Nigerian rebranding campaign can be questionable. As Gordon Brown pointed out in a speech to the BBC World Service Trust conference "If six thousand people in Europe died of malaria (as they do every day in Africa) the media would not just report the disaster: they would look for signs of negligence, for culpability, failures of science and technology and governmental corruption" (24 November 2004). (Franks, 2005). When disasters are reported in Africa, not much effort is put into the background leading to the disaster or efforts to combat it.

8.10 Limitations

This study has provided a further step towards understanding the image of Africa in the British press and evaluating an African country's rebranding campaign. A major limitation of this study is that it only examined the period immediately after the rebranding campaign. The effects of the

rebranding project that was anchored on attitudinal change, re-orientation, revival of Nigerian cultural values and instilling a renewed spirit of patriotism and hope in all Nigerians might take longer to be felt.

8.11 Areas for further research

This study recommends further examination of the extent to which the negative press influenced readers' opinions or perceptions of Nigeria, Nigerians, Africans and Africa. Research in this area is desirable.

It also recommends a further study to find the main distinction between the British definition of news in African stories and the British local stories. This study has argued that the African news stories are mainly negative, hence it is important to find out if this is different to the types and framing of other international stories from other continents and the local news within United Kingdom.

Studies of news flow that point out the quantity and types of news stories from Africa that are actually available for the British press to choose from should be carried out. To understand the nature of selection, it is important to know which stories were available from the news wires and correspondents at a given time. This can lead to a usage study that shows what news stories in the flow are selected and used by editors. This also sheds more light into the issue raised by Ankomah 2008, which asserts that the "British media report into a 'box' and the box contains pre-set ideas. So if a correspondent returns from Africa with a story, or sends a story from Africa, and it does not fit the box, one of two things happen: one, it is edited to fit the box; or two, it is thrown into the dustbin."

The issue of the amount and types of news stories available for newspapers to select from is also highlighted by Frank Tremain, the then senior vice-president of United Press International (UPI), when he stated that, "news agencies file much more positive or constructive material than many critics realise." (Richstad, 1981) His point was that critics do not see the full service of agencies, they only see the stories published in the papers they read. He stated that "a serious report on economic

development filed yesterday may be printed in only a few newspapers while a tragic story of today's catastrophe will be printed in hundreds." (Tremaine as cited in Richstad, 1981) This view was also highlighted by the owner of Camerapix, Salim Amin, "African agencies produce positive stories but they are mainly for an African audience now, because we cannot move them internationally" (BBC History Seminar, 24 November 2004). Carrying out a news flow study will shed more light on the stories reported on Africa, as this study found out that there wasn't much variance in the negativity of stories written by African journalists, foreign journalists and journalists on location. News flow study results can also be used by African rebranding campaigns to effectively target the audience in the British press.

Thirdly, I would recommend a survey to find out the image of Nigeria and Africa that British citizens and Africans in Britain get from reading newspapers. It would be important to also look at how the stories in the newspapers influence their views about Nigerians and Africans in the diaspora. The survey should look at the effects of Nigeria's image on Nigerian families in Britain, and the views of the children of Nigerians in Britain. This will help substantiate the view by African leaders that the Western media is so "distorted that it allegedly deceives audiences about their position in the world." (Richstad et al, 1981) This study has shown that in 2010 there was an increase in stories with less than 200 words, and as described by Tremaine "it is difficult to present a complete picture of a complicated subject in 300 words, yet many newspapers will use no more than that on any but the most important subjects of the day." (Richstad, 1981)

APPENDICES

Coding Sheet:

1. Newspaper

- 1. The Guardian (G) ☐
- 2. The Daily Telegraph(DT) ☐
- 3. The Sun(S) ☐
- 4. The Daily Mirror (DM) ☐

2. Date –Month-Year

3. Reporter

.....

- ☐ 1. Foreign correspondent
- ☐ 2. Local journalist
- ☐ 3. Correspondent in location
- ☐ 4. African correspondent
- ☐ 5. Agencies
- ☐ 6. Editor
- ☐ 7. Other

4.Headline.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

5. Type of news

- ☐ a. Crisis
 - ☐ b. None Crisis
6. Frame (Tick the frame found in each story)
- ☐1. Criminality and law
 - ☐2. Conflict and Violence

- ☐3. Stereotype
- ☐4. Poverty
- ☐5. Political stability
- ☐6. Business
- ☐7. Other
- ☐8. Sports

6. Lexical grouping in each frame(reinforced and repetitive words, interrelated terms to each frame)
- a. Criminality vs. law and order
 - b. Conflict and Violence vs. Peace
 - c. Poverty vs. riches
 - d. Political reform vs. political instability
 - e. Stereotype
 - f. Sports

7. Article length (number of words):

- 1. Less than 200 ☐
- 2. 200-500 ☐
- 3. 500-1000 ☐
- 4. 1000 and above ☐

8. Story main subject (main focus of each story)

- 1. Politics and governance ☐
- 2. Business ☐
- 3. Conflict and Violence – terrorism, fundamentalism, kidnap ☐
- 4. Human rights ☐
- 5. Criminality and law ☐
- 6. Literature and music ☐
- 7. Poverty and starvation ☐
- 8. Health ☐

9. ☐
10. Law and justice ☐
11. Sports ☐
12. Other

8a. Sources used (the names of sources and category)

1. Government ☐

2. Ordinary citizen(eye witness
☐ _____
3. Politician
☐ _____
4. Reporter/ Journalist
☐ _____
5. Police
☐ _____
6. Non-governmental organisation
☐ _____
7. Company spokesperson ☐ _____
8. Unknown
☐ _____

8b. Number of sources in the article

0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 or
more ☐

9. The story and headline reflect the image of Nigeria and Nigerians

a. **Headline:**

Positively: the headline paints a positive picture of Nigeria and Nigerians

Neutral: the headline paints a negative picture but the story justifies the headline

Negatively: the headline paints negative picture of Nigeria and Nigerians

1 ☐ Positively

2 ☐ Negatively

3 ☐ Neutral

a. **Story:**

Positively: the story paints a positive image of Nigeria or is a detailed account of events based on research and reflects views from all sides.

Neutral: the story paints a negative picture but is based on facts different views.

Negatively: the story has a negative tone based on stereotypes and not based on facts

1 ☐ Positively

2 ☐ Negatively

3 ☐ Neutral

10. The phrases used in the story

Business stories collocates

N	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1.00	THE	THE	THE	IN	IN	NIGERIA	IN	THE	TO	THE	THE
2.00	A	IN	OF	BANK	OF		IS	A	THE	OF	OF
3.00	IN	TO	FIRST	KIDNAPPED	TO		THE	WAS	A	LONDON	TO
4.00	SCOTS	OF	THAT	AND	SOUTHERN		AND	IN	PG	A	IN
5.00	OF	AND	IN	PRESIDENT	THE		IT	DAILY	WAS	IN	LENGTH
6.00	PAGE	THAT	WORKER	HOSTAGE	FROM		HAS	WILL	BE	AND	A
7.00	PG	OIL	ON	POWER	VIRGIN		FOR	HIS	HIM	ON	HIS
8.00	TO	PAGE	LENGTH	SOUTH	WORDS		SECTION	DEPENDENCE	IN	FREED	FOR
9.00	LEARNING	2010	OBAFEMI	MARTINS	SHELL		TO	TO	TELEGRAPH	HE	OFF
10.00	AND	WHO	WAS	OF	FLED		WITH	ONCE	AGAIN	SIDELINED	TIME
11.00	WAS	BRITISH	TO	AT	SINCE		AS	FEATURES	PAY	29	GUARDIAN
12.00	YEAR	PALL	PAGE	RETURN	WAY		STRIKER	PLANS	DAILY	SENSE	WERE
13.00	OILHAREHOLDERS		A	SEIZED	WEST		WAS	CONTINUE	OF	SECTION	POLICE
14.00	SCHOOL	SHELL	BE	RELEASED	THAT		WHICH	DEAL	PAST	REFORM	THEY
15.00	SEVEN	A	BY	BURIED	BURNED		ON	NEWS	POPULOUS	SAY	TELEGRAPH
16.00	REPUBLIC	WITH	HIS	POLITICIAN	DEBT		RAIDS	NORTH	AND	SHELL	OLD
17.00	PART	WORDS	SHE	ACCUSED	AS		SAID	BULLETIN	43	UP	GROUP
18.00	TREATED	YEARS	BEEN	VISIT	BETWEEN		WHOSE	AMONG	BYLINE	YEAR	BY
19.00	OBITUARY	TRANSFER	ATTACK	WENT	MPOVERISHED		WORLD	UNDER	THAT	AS	AND
20.00	ENERGY	UMARU	WRITING	YEARS	ACHEBE		WHERE	THREE	HAS	TO	HAD
21.00	FRAUD	WERE	YARADUA	SPEAKING	PREPARATIONS		A	BURY	HEALTH	PRESSURE	MAY
22.00	GRANDFATHER	FRIDAY	AT	TO	ARTICLE		VOWS	NEEDS	GOODLUCK	GAME	LONDON
23.00	CASTS	HAD	WORKING	TRAVEL	INTERNATIONAL		HAD	HAVE	FREE	HAD	HALTED
24.00	1	HIS	SCOT	PARADES			HE	FATHER	FROM	FROM	
25.00	3	AT	NEEDY	DIES			HIS	GOOD	INTERNATIONAL	DAILY	
26.00	AT	BEEN	FUME	COLLEGE			CRISIS	FOR	KOREA	COUNTRY	
27.00	IT	DIED	INDEPENDENT	IRAQ			BRIBES	FREED	DAYS	BEGAN	
28.00	LIFE	AN	MACHETES	EXECUTIVE			BRITONS	KOREA	FOR	BEAT	
29.00	MILITARY	ABUSE	EYES	FOREIGN			CAME	MOST	HOSTAGES	BIG	
30.00	I	OLD	CHILD	GOVERNMENT			NORTH	ITS		BUY	
31.00	HACKED	ON	PAIR	CHINUA			OF	FAMILY		BRITAIN	
32.00	HAD	IS	OIL	BY			OIL	DETERMINED			
33.00	HE	MILITANTS	OILMEN	OUT			LAST				
34.00		NATIONAL		PAGE			I				
35.00				LEADING			AFRICA'S				
36.00				CAREER			ACHIEVED				

Crime and Corruption collocates



N	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1.00	AF1	DBCH	AF31505	LOCH	F1	NIGERIAN	RTLCH	FCS1	AB	AF1	AFS28
2.00	LOCH	F1	F1	F1	THE		OFFICIALS	TO	THE	THE	
3.00	F1	LOCH	LOCH	OF	A		GOVERNMENT	THE	HIGH	HIGH	AND
4.00	AF31505	AF31505	IN	IN	TO		POLICE	PAR	IN	A	IN
5.00	DBCH	THE	OF	TO	BY		BRIBES	AFTER	A	THE	HICH
6.00	OF	AND	CHENEY	AND	AND		AUTHORITIES	SCANDAL	TO	6BN	DBCH
7.00	THE	THAT	AND	BY	AFTER		BORN	HICH	OF	AND	AF1
8.00	TO	BRITISH	FREE	A	OVER		OILFIELD	INTO	AF1	DBCH	LONDON
9.00	MEXICAN	HAVE	KIWI	BRIBES	IN		COAST	WAS	GUARDIAN	TELEGRAPH	OF
10.00	IS	1994	THE	THAT	WEALTHY		ARMY	AND	PAR	LONDON	AF31505
11.00	BETWEEN	BUT	DIETSMANN	ACCUSED	SHUTS		BANKER	IS	THAT	PAR	FINAL
12.00	FOR	TO	FIELD	FOR	ITS		BEACH	OF	GUILTY	IN	BEEN
13.00	SHELLS	A	FRONT	THE	FOR		PRESS	FOR	AND	OF	TELEGRAPH
14.00	IN	MILITANTS	FINED	SHELL	NEW		HUMANIST	IN	REBEL	DAILY	POUNDS
15.00	115	IN	EVERBERATES	ON	DUTCH		KIDNAPPERS	MOVEMENT	DAILY	HAD	RISK
16.00	A	NETCO	TO	FROM	KILLED		SECURITY	SAID	3	BAR	ATTACK
17.00	FOUND	BONGA	WINNER	2004	LATE		WALK	AS	WITH	AN	HER
18.00	ENCOUNTER	GUILTY	MARGARET	700	SAYS		OIL	WHO	STAND	FIRST	CREDIT
19.00	PARTY	GIRL	HELD	BUT	WITH		WAS	THEY	FREES	ATTACK	FAILED
20.00	TOLD	PRISONERS	HOW	ACCORDING	O'CONMAN		JAIL	STAGED	YEAR	HER	ON
21.00	LESS	SHELL	KIDNAPPED	OFF	PLOT		AND	LAUREATE	STAR	HE	WORLD
22.00	ITS	MILLION	AFTER	FREED	BLACK		ELECTION	JAILED	KILL	ONLY	RAISE
23.00	OVER	NAMED	BE	SAYS	DISPUTED		MILITANTS	NOT	SECURE	RAPE	OL
24.00	INTELLIGENCE	OF	ASSOCIATE	ISLAMISTS	E		WATERS	INCLUDING	MIDDLE	US	TO
25.00	PROVIDE	CESSPIT	BIGGEST	OILFIELDS	BRIBING		NOBEL	NINE	1	LTRPAR	CONVICTED
26.00	MAY	WERE	KNOWN	HAS	HIS		OWNED	HAS	OLUCHI	HIS	RESPONSIBLE
27.00	MILLIONAIRE	AFRICA'S	LAWYERS	BEING	CALLED		KIDNAP	HE	BY	JAIL	HARCOURT
28.00	LISTS	SON	ANGLE	48M	STRAW'S		PLEADS	GANG	WAS	JERSEY	LARGE
29.00	AHEAD	MY	ARRANGED	DES	AVOID		CLAIMS	ROUTINELY	BEEN	CASE	GROUP
30.00	TODAY	US	HUSBAND	WITH	YOUNG		BURNS	WIFE	BRIBERY	COMPANY	ITS
31.00	TANKERS	FROM	INVESTING	CHARGED	TOP		CONNECTION	ALSO	WIN	BRITONS	LOCH
32.00	FRAUD	AUTHORS	IT	TERROR	WERE		TALIBAN	ARE	PARD	2M	PGNRESTART
33.00	BRITISH	AFTER	INVOLVEMENT	SO	CONVICTED		STATE	EU	SECTD	ENGLAND	MAKE
34.00	CHENEY	OVERPRICED	MEMBERS	THAN	FIVE		SOLDIERS	POUNDS	SERVICES	BUSH	LINEX0
35.00	ERSTANDABLY	ALSO	URGE	MADE	FROM		PRESIDENT	SERVICES	ITS	ON	LEO
36.00	HOPE	ARE	TRUCKS	RELEASED	SEVERAL		DICTATOR	OFFI	JONATHAN	MURDERING	HE
37.00	HOPES	POUNDS	WARNED	AFTER	DEATH		RECEIVES	PRIOR	KNEW	LTRSECT	OUR
38.00	HE'S	MANY	YEMEN	EMERGED	OF		POSED	SECTD	LTRSECT	CAMPAIGNER	UNCOVERED
39.00	SUMMONED	WAS	10	ASSOCIATION	HER		OFFICIAL	SHE	RAPED	MEDIA	CANNOT
40.00	STATE	HIGH	THAT	AS	TWO		NORMS	UPPER	MORE	BHOJWANS	CONTRACTS
41.00	PLATFORMS	ELECTION	PAST	BECAUSE	REDUCED		WHO	NOBODY	PLACED	AF31505	TERM
42.00	YEAR	SAID	MUCH	DECADE	THEIR		RAPIST	RAPED	PUNISHMENT	STUDENT	WHEN
43.00	RIVERS	EXPLAINING	PLAYS	DOWN	TRAIN		PLIGHT	REPORTS	MAINTENANCE	WERE	OWN
44.00	SINCE	CONVINCING	SON	INTERNATIONAL	OLD		PARLIAMENT'S	SCAM	STAFF	2007	AFTER
45.00	PRISONERS	CONTRACTOR'S	SCHOOL	AMERICAN			PEOPLE	RAID	MEANS	SOME	WAS
46.00	TWO	FIRSTSAVE	CLAIMED	CONTACT			419	VENTURE	UP	PGNRESTART	APPEARS
47.00	OWNED	THREE	BEEN	THANKED			HAD	CITY	CIALS	PARENT	SECTD
48.00	BODY	JAMES	EXPECTATIONS	YEAR			HICH	BY	DBCH	PROCESS	KTRAORDINARY
49.00	EGBESU	SECT	ELECTIONS	UP			JOINT	BEEN	THERE	PORT	OFFICES
50.00	FOLLOW	SEEKING	DIPLOMATS	1995			JAILBREAK	EXPATRIATE	THIS	LIKELY	FOR
51.00	FILIPINO	WHAT	BAKER	ASSERTED			CAPITAL	COMPANY	AGENTS	CONSTRUCTION	SCHOOLING
52.00	COMPANY	URGENT	HICH	OVERTHROW			CIVIL	CLAIMS	ABACHA	INVOLVES	COULD
53.00	CARNEY	WORKING	STAR	GROUP			CONNECTIONS	ADDED	AGREED	GUARDIAN	CONVICTION
54.00	EARLY	SHOCKING	33	GUNFIGHT			ACCUSED	ABUJA	CARES	HAVE	CUT
55.00	BRIBERY	FOREIGN	WHO	ARRESTED			CUSTOMS	ABOUT	BULLETIN	DETAINED	DISTRESSED
56.00	GANG	GRABBED	SAID	HOSTAGES			NEWSPAPERS	BANK	HOUSE	ELICIT	ONE
57.00	BANKS	HE	A	STATIONS			MONITORS	WORLD	SUNDAY	TAKEN	SON
58.00	MEMBERS	DENYING	CLOSELY				29	AF1	TAKING	SONS	SMASHING
59.00	OFFICE	AM	CONTACT				NATIONAL	HOWEVER	INNOCENCE	SNATCHED	WITH
60.00	NATIONAL	ASSAULTED	SECRETARY				MEN	GOODLUCK	INTERRUPTED	SSS	THEY
61.00	LAGOS	BRITON	WAR				MAINTENANCE	HIS	HAS	HARCOURT	SECT
62.00	I	JANUARY	COURT				MAINTAINED	GUILTY	HER	STRONGHOLD	RACE
63.00	MEETING	OLD	WHICH				MANAGED	INVOLVED	HIS	GUNMEN	QUITE
64.00	BEEN	PAY	CONTROL				MAN	KBR	IT	WITCHCRAFT	REPORTED
65.00		PRESSURE	TWO				STUDENTS	WAR	YUSUF	FOREIGNERS	RECEIVED
66.00		MR	2006				YOUTH	FORMER	STRONGLY	WRITER	PAY
67.00		LONE	THEY				BUSINESSMAN	FORCES	TINA	WITH	CHILD
68.00		MEND	DAUGHTER				TROOPS	WHEN	THEIR	WAVE	BURNED
69.00		MORNING	TROOPS				CHILDREN	WERE	TRYING	THEY	BLOW
70.00			KILLED				HAMMER	THREATEN	SHOT	THEIR	EXPLOSIVES
71.00			APPLIED				FORCES	WE	SMUGGLE	WAS	DAILY
72.00			GRATEFUL				NAVY	FOUND	DONT	1988	CONTROL
73.00			AMONG				OFFIC	FATHER	DEMAND	SHARIA	ACTIVITIES
74.00			GIRL				COMPANY	KILLER	DAVID	ISLAMIST	ABOUT
75.00			HOOR				COLLEAGUES	HAVE	GUNMEN	MILBAND	ABDUCTING
76.00			HUMANIST				PRISON	CAPITAL	FREED	ONE	ATTEMPT
77.00			HILL				REBELS	AT	FACED	NEGLECT	ATTACKED
78.00			HANDS					DURING	ALREADY	ITS	AT
79.00			IS					DRAGGED	ALL	LOSING	FIFTH
80.00			ESCAPED					OVER	70	LAST	IMMEDIATE
81.00			OPERATED					ONE	CRUSHED	KIDNAPPED	HOSTAGE
82.00			ENCOUNTER					SECURITY	CEDE	CAME	HIS
83.00			RAID					PRODUCTION	ALSO	CRITICISED	MONTH
84.00			POLICE					MOTHER	PILED	ALLEGATIONS	LAW
85.00			ALERTED					MONEY	PERSON	DURING	IMPORTANT
86.00			LONDON					OBSESSED	NEW	SECURE	FORTHCOMING
87.00			BRIBES					NEARLY	RETREAT	RESCUE	FIVE
88.00			ONE						RADICALISED	PRISONERS	FIGHT
89.00			CARVE						PORT	DEAD	HELP
90.00									IMPOSE	HILL	HAVE
91.00									HOW	PRESSURE	HAND
92.00									HELPING	HELP	
93.00									LOSES		
94.00									KIDNAPPED		
95.00									ISLAMIST		

Politics collocates

N	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1.00	THE	DBCH	THE	LOCH	IN	NIGERIA	IS	THE	THE	THE	THE
2.00	AF1	OF	AF31505	GOVERNMENT	OF		THE	A	A	OF	OF
3.00	OF	THE	OF	AND	F1		IN	ITS	TO	AF1	TO
4.00	AS	AND	THAT	ELECTIONS	FROM		HAS	FOR	IN	AND	AND
5.00	AF31505	IN	F1	THE	TO		AND	HAS	FOR	A	IT
6.00	IT	HAS	TAKES	HAS	THAT		RTLCH	FCS1	AB	THAT	IN
7.00	IS	LOCH	A	DEMOCRACY	FOR		TODAY	HAVE	OF	TO	MANY
8.00	FOR	A	IS	POWER	SINCE		THIS	FROM	VIOLENCE	IN	POLL
9.00	IN	CHRISTIAN	TO	OIL	AND		FURTHER	IN	BY	LONDON	AFS28
10.00	AND	IS	POLITICAL	PAGE	PAGE		FORMER	US	SHE	SAID	MILITARY
11.00	F1	INTERNATIONAL	PAIR	HELM	ALL		FOR	PARTY	HIGH	BY	RUN
12.00	ON	2007	NEW	TO	FLED		BRACED	MILITARY	LEADER	AFTER	A
13.00	PAGE	NOT	MACHETES	PRESIDENT	SHELL		PEOPLE'S	CARING	WAS	OIL	SAID
14.00	MILITARY	PAGE	IT	SHELL	MAR		WHICH	DEPENDENCE	TELEGRAPH	HE	DBCH
15.00	BUT	TRANSFER	ISLAMIC	FRAUD	PROGRESS		ACHIEVED	FAMILY	OWN	STATE	HIGH
16.00	ONCE	TO	MOST	VIOLENCE	WHETHER		MEANS	BYLINE	OUR	RESULTS	ELECTION
17.00	NEVER	CLAIMS	MANY	WHO	TUESDAY		POLL	THAT	NO	PICKARD	PAR
18.00	MUSLIM	REGIMES	MADE	PARTS	PUT		HE	WERE	MORE	RANKED	RADICALISING
19.00	NONMILITARY	REFUSED	TUESDAY	IN	SWEPT		SAID	MAY	MONTHS	POPULATION	PARLIAMENTS
20.00	TEARS	REVELATION	TOWNS	RADICALISED	WEST		WITH	DAILY	MILITARY	POWER	OUTRIGHT
21.00	SUCH	RHETORICALLY	TOWN	PATRIMONIAL	RULED		WAS	AFTER	NEXT	PRESSURE	PRODUCER
22.00	TIME	SAYING	WHO	OPPOSITION	WAY		WILL	ONE	NEWS	RETURN	PIECE
23.00	WINNER	PIPELINES	WE	PROCESS	DISTANCING		HAD	OFF	NEVER	THEY	WHERE
24.00	UNELECTED	ARMY	WAY	POLITICIAN	ELECTIONS		YESTERDAY	NIGHT	PAST	TELEGRAPH	TIMBER
25.00	STAGE	POLITICS	SENT	REMAINS	GROUPS		AS	NO	TANGLED	US	THEY
26.00	SAID	RADICAL	SENIOR	START	COUNTRY		SHELL	NOW	STRENUOUSLY	YEAR	WHO
27.00	QUESTION	REDECESSORS	PRESIDENTIAL	SPEAKING	ACTION		SHOW	AHEAD	STOP	WESTERN	YEARS
28.00	SEVEN	WHILE	TOP	STEMATICALLY	BANKRUPTED		RUNS	SO	THAT	STRATEGIC	YEAR'S
29.00	SHELL	WEST	STATES	WIDESPREAD	BURNED		WHEN	UNDERMINING	WORLD'S	SET	WORLD'S
30.00	SHE	WITH	SOMETHING	US	LET		TOLD	UNDER	WHICH	ROUGHLY	THEN
31.00	CORRUPTION	YEARS	CHIEF	SOUTH	MADE		THAT	AFRICA'S	TOTAL	SHELL	SHADOW
32.00	CELESTINE	WORLD'S	CARRYING	RETURNED	NORTHERN		THROUGH	WHAT	REACHED	SMALL	SECTION
33.00	DID	UNITED	BLOCKED	REST	LED		TO	WEEKEND	PORK	SIXTH	SCAMS
34.00	EDITION	SUPPORTERS	COMMUNITY	ROADS	HISTORY		TELL	20	PLANS	ONE	SHELL
35.00	DUTCH	SCEPTICISM	COMMUNAL	SOCIAL	LABEL		SUGGESTED	STILL	RULE	CONTROLLED	SUCH
36.00	ASKS	2003	CIVILIANS	WOULDN'T	LEAVE		WE	THOUGH	SIZE	CALL	STRUGGLE
37.00	AGED	BETWEEN	BEEN	ELECTION			THAN	TWO	SIDES	COUNTRY	STRONG
38.00	BECAUSE	BUT	AHEAD	CORRUPTION			PRESIDENTIAL	TO	SECTARIAN	DICTATORSHIP	EQUAL
39.00	CASH	F1	AFRICA	CORRUPT			EMERGED	MAULER	LONGER	DENIED	END
40.00	BEHIND	EXPLOITED	ABOUT	GIVEN			EMONSTRATED	2011	CAPITAL	BEFORE	DISARRAY
41.00	INCIDENT	FEMALE	BECAME	FORWARD			FACES	FATHER	BUT	40	FROM
42.00	HOUSES	FRAUDULENT	AT	EXECUTIVE			GIVEN	FORGOTTEN	BRITISH	1960	FINAL
43.00	LOCH	FOR	AS	COMES			FIGHTING	CABLE	CASTING	ADVANTAGE	EVER
44.00	MADE	COURT	DUE	ARRIVES			CLAIMS	FRAUD	COUNTRY'S	BARREL	DECLINED
45.00	LONG	CONTROLLED	GON	ADVOCATE			BEING	DO	CONFIDENCE	ALL	AID
46.00	FREE	ARE	GET	ACCUSED			ARE	CLAIMS	COMMISSION	ENGLAND	AF1
47.00	FORMER	EMOTION	GENITAL	CHANNELS			BRISES	ELECTION	BLOCK	LINKS	ABOUT
48.00	HACKED	DOMINATED	INDEPENDENT	CABLES			CAME	ENDURED	ALWAYS	HICH	CITIZENSHIP
49.00	HERALD	APRIL	HIS	BACK			BUT	ELECTORAL	AF1	NAMES	BETWEEN
50.00	HE	MUCH	GREAT	LOOTED			LOOKS	GBOMO	43	ON	ALLY
51.00		2010	GENERAL	2007			LIVES	IS	AMNESTY	NEXT	MAY
52.00		COMPANY'S	FACT	LIMITED			MIGHT	ARE	BETTER	HAS	LONDON
53.00		ONDO	EXPRO	OF			PAR	2001	ANN	FOR	LARGEST
54.00		ON	ELECTORAL	NORMAL			ON	LATEST	AND	ERA	OLD
55.00		AKPOBARI	FRIDAY	MUTILATION			LINK	JOINED	DAILY	FORMER	OBSERVERS
56.00		IF	FEDERAL	LEAST			I	GO	INTERNATIONAL	GIVE	MERE
57.00		ABOUT	FAIR	HEAR			HIS	GLOBAL	INEFFICIENCY	GENERAL	HIS
58.00		LIKE		HAVE			INTO	HAPPENED	HOPE		GROUP
59.00		58		GROUPS			LAST	HOW	IS		GIDDY
60.00				KILLED			IT	2007	LIBERIA		GIANTS
61.00				ITS					LEADING		HER
62.00				HOMELAND					KEY		HAVE
63.00									GUARDIAN		HAD
64.00									EARLY		
65.00									DIPLOMATS		
66.00									DESCRIBED		
67.00									ECONOMISTS		
68.00									FAILED		
69.00									EVERYWHERE		
70.00									ENDEMIC		

Sports stories collocates

N	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1.00	PAGE	THE	THE	TO	FOR	NIGERIA	THE	THE	THE	THE	THE
2.00	CUP	2010	LENGTH	PAGE	IN		TO	1	TO	ON	LONDON
3.00	PG	A	TO	GREECE	V		AND	A	KOREA	TO	FOR
4.00	THE	IN	1	GHANA	TO		1	BYLINE	OF	BY	THEIR
5.00	IN	PAGE	FROM	ARGENTINA	PAGE		HAVE	FOR	ON	IN	SECTION
6.00	OF	ARE	A	PLAY	OF		COACH	CUP	AND	SECTION	AND
7.00	2010	OF	B	VOGTS	WORDS		HAD	IN	KAITA	GROUP	CUP
8.00	FIFA	CUP	THURSDAY	FROM	THE		WORLD	2	ENGLAND	CUP	A
9.00	WORLD	EDITION	2010	CUP	2		IN	MIRROR	WORLD	GAME	FIFA
10.00	ARE	HODDLE'S	HAS	KICK	AS		AXE	INQUIRY	ROW	WORLD	DAILY
11.00	DIGGER	GRP	CLAIM	LEADS	EDITION		ARE	THEIR	LAGERBACK	ENYEAMA	TO
12.00	FOR	THREAT	FOOTBALL	THE	AGAINST		FOOTBALL	SOUTH	BYLINE	THEIR	MORE
13.00	TO	2007	IN	GROUP	FOOTBALL		POLICE	TO	BANNED	ENGLAND	2010
14.00	IS	1	WORLD	BUSINESS	THAT		MIDFIELDER	LARS	VOGTS	HAS	PAY
15.00	1	SO	ARGENTINA	IN	OUT		AT	LULU	INTERNATIONAL	TOP	KANU
16.00	6	ON	AS	PLAYED	1		STARS	BEEN	A	HAD	NIGHT
17.00	21	WILL	PAGE	AND	GHANA		WAS	SANI	GOT	GREECE	1
18.00	2007	JUNE	NATIONS	B	FROM		BYLINE	FROM	MARTINS	OF	GROUP
19.00	STAR	MARTINS	WILL	WORLD	CUP		WILL	OF	WONT	CHANGE	LENGTH
20.00	BY	TO	ON	DIRECTED	BETWEEN		V	ONE	SUN	PRaising	IF
21.00	THAT	AND	GROUP	COACH	4		FOR	IVORY	COAST	PORTSMOUTH	SO
22.00	LENGTH	YAKUBU	HE	COAST	PUT		SECTION	NIGHT	JUNE	SAID	2
23.00	PAL	MINUTES	FOR	1	PORTSMOUTH		OR	FEDERATION	EGUAVOEN	A	4
24.00	NEXT	YOUNGSTERS	IVORY	SAMARAS	PREPARATIONS		LAST	THEY	DRAW	SPORT	B
25.00	NOT	MONDAY	WAS	RULER	WITH		JOB	CAMEROON	2	PLAY	BY
26.00	ON	MOSES	WORDS	SCORED	WEDNESDAY		KEEPER	BE	REGARD	MORE	WITH
27.00	YAK	OBI	CUP	UP	WORRIES		BOSS	VINCENT	PARK	MISERY	JUNE
28.00	OBINNA	WARNS	IT	V	WITHIN		BECAUSE	UTH	OVER	NIGHT	MARTINS
29.00	REAL	WAS	MONDAY	ALEXANDROS	WASTEFUL		FINISHED	SAID	PG	ALL	YAKUBU
30.00	WAS	TWO	NATIONAL	OGBUKE	SAMARAS		SOU	PARK	RECORD	ARGENTINA	WITHDRAWALS
31.00	TEVEZ	VAS	MORE	NEW	QUITS		THEN	YAKUBU	POLITICAL	SUNDAY	WORLD
32.00	UCHE	US	THROUGH	2007	TAKE		ADD	YOUTH	SECTION	VIC	SCOTT
33.00	THURSDAY	WATCH	THREATENING	THIS	SUSPEND		STRIKER	WIN	WAS	TOUR	OVER
34.00	THOSE	PALL	TUESDAY	WE	OBASI		SARAKI	REORGANISE	VINCENT	W4	PG
35.00	SUNDAY	WEDNESDAY	YEARS	100	B		REPORT	WITHDRAW	YR	000	OF
36.00	SO	RECORD	WEDNESDAY	TIME	AT		BUT	SUNSPORT	YOBO	WITH	TREAT
37.00	SAID	STAR	SATURDAY	TEARS	BANNED		SHOW	SUN	UP	12	NATIONAL
38.00	WE	SATURDAY	RED	STAR	BUT		SELF	TALKS	THEY'VE	7	THAN
39.00	STEPPED	B	STRIKES	YOU'RE	BOYS		BANS	SUPER	60	SUPER	BACKED
40.00	WAY	AT	THIS	STEVIE	AFTER		WERE	TAKEN	TODAY	3PM	AFRICAN
41.00	NEAR	7	THEN	TZOLIS	2010		WIN	US	2010	TOMORROW	8
42.00	CASTS	DOWN	MILLION	NATIONAL	ALUKO'S		10	SECTION	AFRICAN	25	BRANDED
43.00	BEEN	CHEERS	BLAST	BETTING	ARGENTINA		WITHDRAWS	THEY'VE	FREE	BYLINE	BEHIND
44.00	AT	BOOKED	BEEN	FOR	AND		THROUGH	SPY	EXTRA	FROM	BBC1
45.00	EIGHT	19	CARRYING	GLOSS	LEAVES		THIS	SPORT	FROM	GOT	20
46.00	EDITION	14	CONTRACT	HAS	HOLDS		7	COTTAGE	HIT	BEING	16
47.00	CHELSEA	12	CHINEDU	BASH	MAN		BITES	CALLED	GUY	BLOW	1
48.00	AMAZING	2009	BE	FLIES	NIGERIA		TODAY	BUNCH	CONFIDENTIAL	FOOTBALL	3
49.00	3	2008	3PM	DEFEAT	MANAGE		QUALIFIED	FAILED	CAME	DAILY	22
50.00	27	1M	3	CARD	CO		DREAM	DESTRUCT	CUP	COMPETITION	2009
51.00	19	END	ADDS	EAGLE	BY		ENYEAMA	DASH	ENYEAMA	CAMEROON	IN
52.00	ALL	ILL	BAD	FANS	ENABLE		DID	BOTTOM	BEHIND	FEBRUARY	HIS
53.00	A	HIS	AGAINST	EDITION	HELPED		CURSING	ARE	HOW	EVERTON	HALTED
54.00	4	GREEKS	DANNY	MARTINS	FLOORS		DEPLETED	AFTER	MIKEL	GUARDIAN	JOHN
55.00	LANGUAGE	MESS	HOWLER	MANAGER			GHANA	3PM	LONDON	LAST	JOB
56.00	JON	JOY	HIS	MATCH			FACE	BEING	MIRROR	JUNE	INTERNATIONAL
57.00	JOB	JONATHAN	INTERNATIONAL	NATIONS			GOALKEEPER	B	AN	LONDON	D1
58.00	MORE	FLYING	MIKEL	MOVE			GROUP	AUGUSTIN	MUST	MATT	CONFIDENTIAL
59.00	MONDAY	FA	LIKE	LETTER			GRIFFIN	LOST	ITS	LOSERS	BYLINE
60.00	LONDON	ENGLISH	GRAPHIC	HE			KEEPERS	KOREA	IN	INVESTIGATION	GREECE
61.00	INTERNATIONAL	GEM	EDITION	HAVE			NORTH	KNOW	BBC1	BAN	FEATURES
62.00	GOODLUCK	FRONT	DO	IRELAND			NIGERIA	OBAFEMI	LAND	BE	DAY
63.00	FOOTBALL	FOR	EXECUTIVES	LEAVES			BAN	NORTH	ARE	I	
64.00	EVER		GLENN	KNOCKS			POST	NEWCASTLE		INTERFERENCE	
65.00	IM		FASH				CASH	I		AWOL	
66.00	HIS						CRAVEN	GRIFFIN			
67.00	GROUP						KNOW	FOOTBALL			
68.00							MANAGER	FALL			
69.00							COULD	HOSTS			
70.00							MEANS	HIGH			
71.00								HAVE			

: February 21st, 2009 : Speeches

Honourable Minister of Information & Communications, Prof. Dora Akunyili's Address at The Launch of The Global Database of Nigerians In Diaspora

Let me start by thanking the board of trustees of the Nigerians in Diaspora Organization for inviting me to this occasion as a special guest. The singular honour and significance of this invitation and event are not lost on me at a time when our country Nigeria is suffering from a negative perception crisis and badly in need of ambassadors inside and abroad to change this perception.

Nigerians in Diaspora all over the world be it in Europe, North America, Canada, Asia and other parts form a critical beltway in the realization of many of Nigeria's goals and aspirations. By the sheer amount of funds remitted to family, friends, and businesses running nearly to a billion annually, they are an economic powerhouse. In addition, their skills and expertise in various fields and how in their own little way have helped retell Nigeria's story in a better light.

Thus, the launch of the Global Data Base of Nigerians in Diaspora is a significant event no doubt, providing a one-stop shop where information about the expertise that exist in the Nigeria Diaspora community can be obtained for use by the government, private sector and our development partners all over the world.

The development of the software with the capability to hold millions of data is a milestone and the data it provides will undoubtedly be useful resource for various aspects of President Yar'adua's 7-Point agenda and the country's 2020 goals.

The international community of investors will also derive vital information from this data base being launched today.

About two weeks ago in Abuja, I convened a People's Forum to flag off the National Re-branding project. Various stakeholders especially the Nigerian people and their leaders were present. At that forum, I outlined the rationale behind the need to take another bold step at addressing the negative perception of Nigeria and indeed Nigerians in general. We have decided to start the re-branding campaign internally

through interfacing with various stake holders and getting their buy in and support. We all are agreed to a very large extent that the perception about Nigeria is very bad especially abroad.

Let me put on record that Nigeria is where and what it is today largely because of the sacrifices of its people and at different times its leaders. Yet, there are certain aspects of our present narrative as a nation that are regrettable, demeaning, destructive and unacceptable. Pervasive corruption remains the bane of our development and self pride as a people.

Corruption today has become Nigeria's greatest liability. Every average Nigerian carries an unseen, yet very present burden of being perceived as corrupt. Corruption in the past four decades was allowed to permeate the Nigerian body polity without let or hindrance. This hydra headed monster that confronts us today was fed for a long time by successive governments who paid lip service to fighting corruption leading to the failure to provide Nigerians with a decent livelihood.

Nigeria today is branded as a corrupt nation and its people as potentially corrupt globally. This pervasive image that we are an almost irredeemably corrupt people has inflicted collateral damage on the country and its citizens. Annually, Nigeria loses billions to financial crimes and other forms of corruption. The use of green passport is almost a liability. The declaration that you are a Nigerian is met with rolling eye balls and sometimes opens hostility. Because of Nigeria's reputation as a corrupt nation, the Nigerian state has become a liability to itself and its citizens. This is anti-theatrical to what a true nation should be. A true nation must serve its citizens within and outside well.

This is perhaps why for Nigeria; the fierce urgency of now, like King Martin Luther king said is to prosecute a zero tolerance war against corruption and related societal ills. Happily, not all Nigerians are corrupt, which is why I am displeased by the recent quoted remarks of some of our political leaders who made public statements in the media about the fact that almost all Nigerians are corrupt and that no Nigerian or government can fight corruption.

Such sweeping statements, made in the moment of political expediency ridicules Nigeria. I wish to differ very strongly. There are many average and well to do Nigerians who are not corrupt and who make decent earnings. Do we as a people give up the fight against corruption and other ills in our society simply because we fear that we cannot win? No. The high corruption perception index of Nigeria is responsible for its poor image at home and abroad. This is why we must all start to give serious thought and support to the twin initiative of fighting corruption in all forms and re-branding Nigeria's image. The re-branding I talk about is one that starts from within. There is a need for Nigeria to soul search and take corrective steps that will bring about a change in attitudes, instill a new leadership orientation and clear the path for the emergence of a new Nigerian brand.

Right now, the perception of what we have as a brand is a corruption brand, a near collapse state brand, a dysfunctional people brand and a brand that is hard to sell.

We must start to make serious attempts at re-branding through concrete efforts. The starting point is that there must be self-belief in Nigeria for re-branding to work. We must start to believe in ourselves. By obeying the laws of our country, being honest in our business dealings, abstaining from taking or giving bribes, stopping the rigging of elections, staying clear of credit card scams and advance fee fraud (419) and holding public office holders accountable. Nigeria can serve notice that it is serious about correcting the negative perception that prevails.

We must each ask ourselves what we can do to project the Nigeria image. How we obey the traffic laws, how we stay in line for our turn, how we conduct ourselves in public places, how we behave at foreign embassies, the ethics of our business dealings and financial transactions and infact the whole gamut of our relationships must project a positive Nigeria.

Since I flagged off the re-branding project, the media have published several reactions including opinions, reports and interviews. There have been arguments about the terms branding and re-branding. Debate on whether Nigeria needs to re-brand its image or not. Concerns about the

possibility that this recent attempt will fail and worry about the huge sums that will be expended to execute this project. As constructive and informative as some of them were, a sizeable number bothered on sheer punditry and questionable logic. While the ongoing debate is healthy, we must not stop there.

Very sadly, wild and bogus budget figures have been thrown around even when no figure has been mentioned anywhere. To this group of critics, it never mattered that I was upfront about the fact that this will not be another money making jamboree.

Let me declare here once again that there will be very prudent use of funds for the re-branding project. Infact, I am committed to ensuring that details of the money spent at every stage will be recorded and published in the newspapers at least twice. On my watch, we will publish what we pay or spend under the re-branding project for all Nigerians to see.

For those who argue that we don't need re-branding because of the present challenges, I wonder if they prefer that we have no brand at all or keep our current objective brand.

Though there is much to be unhappy about, there is no justifiable reason to prefer that Nigeria stays the way it is rather than being part of the modest attempt to change its poor image. I hereby passionately appeal to all our brothers and sisters that have dissenting views to please give this project a chance.

I am mindful of the need for the leadership to lead by example. I understand and appreciate that Nigerians have a right to expect deliverables and a quality life. I am certain that we cannot explain away our past failures in the face of glaring evidence, but we can move on to make necessary adjustments as citizens, and acknowledge the efforts being made by the government to address critical issues. Seeing the cup as half empty rather than half full creates a defeatist attitude that sees nothing good in government or what it does. Just as I call on the people to make sacrifices, I equally demand of the leadership at all levels to govern responsibly.

Like I have said earlier, though government is initiating this project, I trust that the people will take it over and fly with it.

Conclusion:

The data base launched here today is a significant event. I salute all the brains behind it. I equally salute the love you all have for this country. This data will be used by government and I look forward to a partnership between my ministry and your group.

Thank you for listening. God bless you. And God bless Nigeria.

PROF. DORA AKUNYILI

Hon. Minister

: March 17th, 2009 : Speeches

**‘THE TIME IS NOW’ Speech Delivered By The Honourable
Minister of Information & Communications at The Launch of The
Re-Branding Nigeria Campaign & Unveiling of a New National
Slogan and Logo. Abuja.**

1. Today as a nation, we begin a new journey. We open a new chapter in our attempt as a people to take conscious steps at redefining our nation, re-examining our values and character and rededicating ourselves to the ideals of our founding fathers.
2. In this renewed effort to improve our image, we aim at birthing a new patriotic spirit and ensuring that our name and battered image as a people are restored. This is a journey we must undertake at this time as a nation and as a people. We are all gathered here to begin this journey today, powered by the desire to see this great nation shed its toga of an untrustworthy, unreliable and ungovernable people. This will no doubt be a journey like no other.
3. I know that others before me have travelled the same way and found the journey very tasking. I know that we have tried in the past to correct the faulty perception about our country and to heal the very ills that have contributed to the assault on the reputation of the ordinary Nigerian. But we cannot be afraid to try again, even when we fail. We must not be afraid to embrace change and work for change. We know that history will have no pity on us if we fail to act courageously when it is right.
4. When I assumed office as Minister and Chief Image maker for Nigeria, about three months ago, I busied my mind with thoughts on what can be done differently. Thereafter, I arrived at three considerations.
5. Firstly, I found that the negative perception about Nigerians was largely because Nigerians allowed others to tell our story and it stuck. But more importantly because a few Nigerians through their activities gave our country a bad name.
6. Secondly, I recognized that despite our struggles, and not too good reputation, we must seize every opportunity to make a change. Though Nigeria is a country with problems, it is also one with countless

opportunities. Nigeria has many brilliant minds and experts who can hold their own in virtually every field of endeavour.

7. Thirdly, from my experiences in government, I was convinced that something can be done to make Nigerians believe in ourselves and in our country. I therefore arrived at a conclusion that a more systematic way of addressing these pressing issues is through a people oriented national Re-branding campaign, backed by better information management and dissemination.
8. That is why I have decided to take this journey, and invite all Nigerians to join me. This is one journey we must make together as a people. If not now, then when? Because as long as this great country and her citizens continue to be put down and suffer discrimination and humiliation, the more difficult it becomes to rise up and challenge these stereotypes.
9. Gradually, as a people we are approaching a point where many feel that there can be no redemption. This is scary and unacceptable. I am not one of those that share that opinion. I believe that your presence today attests to the fact that most of you, just as I do, believe that Nigeria can be redeemed. I believe that this country is still worth fighting for. I know that as government works harder, things will get better.
10. There is no doubt that this country needs change. A change in character and general orientation. A change in the way we talk about our country, and above all a change in the ways in which we willfully destroy this country through our utterances and actions. Many have argued that Nigeria has no brand. I am shocked. Like it or not, Nigeria is a brand. The largest democracy in Africa! The most populous African country definitely is a brand. Unfortunately, a not so enviable brand. Yet, many still query, 'Why Now'? In the midst of the global economic meltdown, pervasive corruption, unprecedented unemployment statistics, epileptic power supply, bad roads and lack of some infrastructures.' Why Re-brand now in the midst of all these? Some have queried.
11. Nigeria cannot wait until it solves all her problems before it can stand to give serious thought to Re-branding its battered image. This is mainly because our development is tied to our image. This negative perception has had destructive effects on our people and stymied our growth and

national progress. Angola after 21 years of civil war and in the midst of its ruin and poverty is Re-branding. Angola-I believe! So, why shouldn't

Nigeria Re-brand Now? This Re-branding is as critical as any other infrastructural development (if not more important), because it addresses a fundamental issue of how Nigeria is perceived as a country, and how Nigerians are perceived as a people. Even with all the challenges we have, we do not have any other country we can call our own. We are not by all these arguments, justifying whatever may be our failures. We are mindful of them. However, reforming our behaviour and institutions is one of the surest ways of overcoming these enormous challenges.

12. This journey will be a slow and painful process, but is tied to our national development as a people. As we progress in this journey, if we endure and persevere, we will be a better people tomorrow. Our children will be able to inherit a Nigeria they can take to the bank. The government in this fight realises that our greatest weapon is the internal rejuvenation of our ideals, a re-orientation and a re-awakening of our cultural values. An uncompromising reform of our character and institutions, and ultimately respect for the rule of law.

13. Nigerians in and outside the country are quick to say bad things and condemn the country in uncomplimentary terms. When we run down our country in the eyes of others, we diminish ourselves and the individual Nigerian. In his call for a new orientation, President Yar'Adua once called on all of us "...to stop justifying every shortcoming with that unacceptable phrase, "the Nigerian factor," as if to be a Nigerian is to settle for less".



 Print  PDF

« Honourable Minister of Information & Communications, Prof. Dor

: May 27th, 2009 : Speeches

**Address By The Honourable Minister of Information &
Communications At A 3-Day Photo Exhibition on Nigeria's
Democratic Development**

**WELCOME ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR DORA AKUNYILI,
HONOURABLE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND
COMMUNICATIONS AT THE OPENING OF THE THREE DAY
PHOTO EXHIBITION ON NIGERIA'S DEMOCRATIC
DEVELOPMENT AT ABUJA, WEDNESDAY 27TH MAY, 2009.**

May 29 of every year is a watershed in the political history of Nigeria. The people and Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria are indeed happy to witness 10 years of uninterrupted Civil Rule. Ours is a political system that has spanned 50 years, out of which 30 was usurped by the military. Therefore, a decade of uninterrupted civil democracy is very significant.

As we celebrate democracy, Nigeria's place in the international community is secured. Government is not oblivious of the challenges that threaten our quest for nationhood and development. The good news is that Government is making conscious efforts to nip these problems in the bud! Aside this, Government is also determined to accelerate the development of critical areas of our economy through the 7 point Agenda of President Umar Yar'Adua.

The Government is building national reconciliation and has commenced political reform process. Rule of law and good governance have become the cornerstone of our democracy. Today, Nigeria is positioning herself to ensure that it is among the twenty greatest nations of the world by 2020. Since President Umar Musa Yar'Adua took office, the Nigeria press, a very important ingredient of democracy has been robust and free, more than ever before. This is so because Government believes democracy can only be sustained if the mass media is seen to be free! Concrete and deliberate measures are being made to ensure the provision of energy, infrastructure and a better image for our country through the national Re-branding Campaign. The campaign was launched by Government on March 17 to re-orient Nigerians with the view to

correcting the negative perception about Nigeria and its people and instil moral rebirth in the land. This initiative is home grown. It seeks to bring about attitudinal change, cultural renewal and a new sense of patriotism. Today, Nigeria has a brand new slogan and logo: Good people, Great Nation. It is believed all Nigerians will live this brand by being good citizens. Both the leadership and the led must be re-branded. It is by so doing that Nigeria can truly take its rightful place in the comity of nations.

Undoubtedly, we still have among us, citizens who believe that Nigeria is still in the woods, a country where nothing works! Let me make it clear that Nigeria is making progress.

Democracy has succeeded in repositioning our country; we are back on track and have continued our journey. That journey will only terminate with the achievement of our destined greatness.

Let me beseech Nigerians to support their democratic governments at all levels in order to ensure a hitch free journey. Let us remember the lines of our national anthem and ginger ourselves with its inspiring words.

Arise O compatriots

Nigeria's call obey

To serve our fatherland

With love and strength and faith.

In the same vein, let me once again invite our foreign friends to a better Nigeria, a country where they are sure to enjoy the fruits of a long lasting friendship.

The Federal Government of Nigeria is organizing this photo exhibition whose objective is to enable our citizens, especially our young ones appreciate our long and momentous journey to democratic development and to bring to the fore, the worthy contributions of our heroes past to our development. The pictures and the documents you will see in this Exhibition chronicle the history of our democracy. Some of them date back to 1914, the year of the Amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Protectorates. Some of the photos are pictures of Nigerians who had etched their names in gold. Some of them are dead while many are still living. Study them and ponder. And you will be convinced



more than ever before that Nigeria is a great nation!

The question that should agitate the minds of Nigerians is: How do I add value to the Nigerian project? I urge all Nigerians especially the young ones to contribute meaningfully to the development of our fatherland so that in future, your images may be displayed alongside the greatest names in Nigeria's history.

I wish all of us a good outing.

Thank you and God bless Nigeria.

MASQUERADES PARADE ABUJA STREETS

: November 25th, 2009 : Latest News

Masquerades paraded major areas in the Central Business District of Abuja freely on Monday, 23rd November, 2009 all in the spirit of the Abuja Carnival, 2009.

The masquerades started their street show from the International Peace Park at Area 11 ending it at the Eagle square.

In another development, a boat regatta was held at the Jabi dam with its command performance version held at the Congress Hall of the Transcorp Hotel, Abuja.

Flagging off the boat regatta, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Dimeji Bankole, represented by the Artistic Director of Abuja Carnival, Professor Bakare Ojo Rasaki noted that, the regatta is made up of both ceremonial and war celebrations which aimed at instilling perfect utilization of water resources in the riverine parts of the country.

In his opening remarks at the Command Performance of the regatta, the Minister of Culture, Tourism and National Orientation, Senator Bello Jibrin Gada expressed gratitude to the troupes from Ghana, Egypt, South Africa and the state troupes who graced the occasion, adding that, government seeks to improve on the good gesture provided by the culture industry in the institution of the Abuja carnival.

The Minister of Information and Communications, Professor Dora Akunyili reflected on the admiration of people caused by the events of the carnival, saying, Nigeria has great potentials in Culture which has sieved through from generations.

Professor Akunyili said the Nigerian President's decision to rebrand Nigeria has been based on the need for re-orientation of the nation's cultural values for proper management of the citizenry.

Dora Akunyili urged Nigerians to practice and take widely the tidings of good consciences to fight the criminality stigma brought about by a few corrupt; urging all to dwell on promoting and sustaining the country's positivism.

Akunyili recalled that, Nigeria was instrumental in the peace struggle in the Congo, South Africa and beyond and has been helpful in enhancing the development and growth of other African countries through its Technical Aids Corps Programme. She called on Nigerians to support the ongoing Rebranding Nigeria Campaign to make for variable impacts. Delivering the vote of thanks at the Command Performance, Professor Bakare Ojo Rasaki expressed appreciation to the Carnival sponsors, the Minister of Culture, Tourism and National Orientation, the diplomatic corps and dignitaries present.

Professor Bakare Ojo Rasaki thanked the national troupes from Egypt, Ghana, South Africa and Nigeria and the selected states' troupes comprising Cross River, Plateau and Nassarawa states for their outstanding performance.

Rasaki observed some similarity in the dance steps of the troupes of other African countries and that of the different tribes of Nigeria, indicating a bond of relationship and brotherhood existing in Africa.

RE-BRANDING PROJECT WILL CHANGE CHARACTER,
ATTITUDE – Akunyili

: August 16th, 2010 : Latest News

Nigeria's Minister of Information and Communications, Prof. Dora Akunyili, has said that the introduction of the Re-branding project in the country was aimed at changing the character and attitude of Nigerians.

Akunyili, who said this during the launch of re-branding Nigeria Project in Anambra on Friday, added that the project was aimed at returning Nigeria to its former glory.

The minister said the re-branding programme centred on Nigeria's cultural values and on the totality of the Nigerian citizen.

She frowned at the development where the international communities had associated Nigeria with negative reports, saying, "there is no country in the world without a number of criminals."

"Criminality is not peculiar with Nigeria; only few individuals are labeling Nigeria and giving the country a bad name," she said.

She insisted that Nigerians were hard working, industrious, intelligent and honest people.

"The UNESCO recently listed the Ogbunike cave, as a world class tourist resort centre, this is a good report recorded in Nigeria," the Minister pointed out.

Akunyili cautioned parents and guardians not to allow their children get involved in anti-social and criminal activity such as kidnapping in the wake of incidence in the South-East geo-political zone.

The minister also warned against using youths as thugs in the forthcoming general elections.

In his speech, Anambra Governor, Mr. Peter Obi, promised that his government together with the citizens would ensure the success of the project.

Obi particularly appealed to traditional rulers, town union president generals, the church and women to help spread the gospel to the various communities.

The highlight of the occasion was the decoration of Obi with Re-branding regalia by Akunyili, who was accompanied by the Minister, Women Affairs, Mrs. Josephine Anenih, the Director-General, National Lottery Commission, Mr. Peter Igho

The Guardian (London) - Final Edition

May 7, 2010 Friday

Leading article: **Nigeria:** It needs Goodluck

SECTION: GUARDIAN LEADER PAGES; Pg. 40

LENGTH: 442 words

There can be few better names for a head of state than the one Pa Ebele Jonathan, a canoe-maker from southern Nigeria, chose for his son, Goodluck. His final turn of good luck was to be sworn in yesterday as president of Africa's most populous state after the death of Umaru Yar'Adua. The main achievement of Yar'Adua's illness-plagued presidency was to engineer a ceasefire with the rebels in southern Delta and mass disarmament in return for an amnesty. But all those heady promises of reforming the electoral system, ending the culture of impunity and state-sponsored violence, went unfulfilled. His nickname, Baba Go-slow, referred not just to Nigeria's notorious traffic jams - it became a symbol of the reform movement itself.

Jonathan assumed executive powers three months ago and in that time he has left little to chance. Acting more aggressively than many thought possible, he sacked his cabinet, the national security adviser and attorney general. Two of Yar'Adua's most stringent reformist critics, Nuru Rubadu and Nasir El-Rufai, are being tempted back from exile amid reports they could be offered top posts. As a former executive chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, one of two anti-corruption instruments, Rubadu accused 31 sitting governors of corruption and arrested James Ibori, the former governor of Delta State. Ibori was cleared of the allegations, and Rubadu was dismissed and forced to flee the country. Now the tables have turned and Rubadu has been asked to return.

These are positive signs and, some say, evidence of Jonathan's intent to clean up Nigeria's corruption-ridden political class. On his return to Abuja, Nasir El-Rufai, himself the object of an EFCC investigation, quoted Plato. When honest and good men become disinterested in

government business, they will be ruled by worse men, which is what El-Rufai said happened in Nigeria. It would be nice to believe that honest and good men are now back in the business of government. Before we do, Jonathan faces many further tests - who he appoints as his vice-president, whether he decides to contest next year's presidential election, or whether he sticks to the ruling party's convention that the Muslim north deserves another term of the rotating presidency.

Jonathan made a good impression on Barack Obama during a recent visit to Washington, although the dismissals and appointments of the acting president can be read two ways: clearing out the dead wood, or using the fight against corruption as cover for installing his own loyalists and shoring up control of government. Let us hope it is not the latter. Nigeria deserves better luck this time.

The Daily Telegraph (London)

March 9, 2010 Tuesday

Edition 1; National Edition

500 die in machete attacks in **Nigeria**

BYLINE: Duncan Woodside

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 13

LENGTH: 221 words

RIOTERS armed with machetes have slaughtered 500 villagers in Nigeria, including a four-day-old child.

The violence in three mostly Christian villages in Plateau State appeared to be reprisals after unrest in Jos in January when most of the victims were Muslims, said Robin Waubo, a spokesman for the Red Cross.

The rioters attacked at 3am and also burned down houses and churches.

"I saw the charred bodies of women, babies and old men. Machetes and other metallic instruments were used," Ugar Ukandi Odey, a local journalist, said after visiting Dogon Nahowa, a village three miles south of Jos that bore the brunt of the attack.

Jos has been under curfew since January's violence. It was not clear how the attackers eluded the curfew early on Sunday. Nigerian officials said 95 arrests had been made.

Goodluck Jonathan, Nigeria's acting president, said security agencies would be stationed along Plateau state's borders to prevent fighters and more weapons from entering.

"While it is too early to state categorically what is responsible for this renewed wave of violence, we want to inform Nigerians that the security services are on top of the situation," he said in a statement. He later sacked Nigeria's national security adviser, Sarki Mukhtar, a powerful figure among the inner circle of Umaru Yar'Adua, the ailing president.

REFERENCES

- Adebola, O.; Talabi, F. & Lamidi, I. (2012).** *Rebranding Nigeria: The Role of Advertising and Public Relations at Correcting Nigeria Image*, pp. 424-28, May, 2012 Last viewed on 30/05/2012 from: <http://interesjournals.org/ER/pdf/2012/May/Adebola%20et%20al.pdf>
- African e-Journals Project (2004).** Website URL:[http://www.isp.msu.edu/African Studies/AEJP/February 1, 2012](http://www.isp.msu.edu/African%20Studies/AEJP/February%2012).
- Agha, S. S. (1997).** *Ethics and Copyright: A Developing Country Perspective*. IFLA Journal, 23(4).
- Agunbiade, O. M. & Ayotunde, T. (2011).** *Spirituality in Cybercrime (Yahoo Yahoo) Activities among Youths in South West Nigeria*. “Youth Culture and Net Culture”: Online Social Practices. IGI Global, pp. 357-80.
- Akinfeleye, R.; Amobi, I. & Oloruntola, S. (2011).** *Unending Imbalance in Global News Flow Direction and Intensity: Comparing Global Media Coverage of the 2008 USA and Ghana Presidential Elections*. KG: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Akinjide, R. (2009).** ‘*Re-Branding Nigeria, A Waste of Money*’ *Nigeria Tribute*, April 10, Ibadan: African Newspapers Nigeria PLC
- Akunyili, D. (2009).** ‘*Nigerians are Good People...*’ *Saturday Sun*, Aug 22, Lagos: The Sun Publishing Ltd.
- Akunyili, D. (2009).** ‘*The Time is Now*’ Speech Delivered as the Honorable Minister of information and communications at the Launch of the Re-branding Nigeria Campaign. March 16, 2009.
- Alagiah, G. (2001).** *A Passage to Africa*. London: Little Brown.
- Albritton, R.B. & Manheim, J.B. (1983).** *News of Rhodesia: The impact of a public relations campaign*. *Journalism Quarterly*, 60, 622–28.

- Albritton, R.B. & Manheim, J.B. (1984).** *Changing national images: International public relations and media agenda setting.* The American Political Science Review, 78, 641–57.
- Albritton, R.B. & Manheim, J.B. (1985).** *Public relations efforts for the third world: Images in the news.* Journal of Communication, 35, 43–59.
- Alleyne, M. D. (1997).** News Revolution, New York: St Martin's Press
- Alozie, E. (2006).** *Taking Stock of UNESCO's Media Declaration: An Analysis of Selected Issues of Time Magazine's News and Related Coverage of Africa, 1979 - 1986.* Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association, Dresden, Germany.
- Alozie, E. (2007).** What Did They Say? African Media Coverage of the 100 Days of Rwanda Crisis, (pp. 211-31). In **A. Thompson (Ed.),** *The Media and the Rwandan Genocide.* London: Pluto Press.
- Anderson, W. (2010).** *Welcome to Lagos - It'll Defy Your Expectations* <http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/tv/2010/04/welcome-to-lagos-itll-defy-you.shtml> retrieved on 23/03/2012.
- Anholt, S. (2002).** *Foreword.* Journal of Brand Management (4-5): 229-39.
- Anholt, S. (2003).** *Brand New Justice: The Upside of Global Branding.* Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Anholt, S. (2005).** *Brand New Justice: How Branding Places and Products Can Help the Developing World.* Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Anholt, S. (2007).** *Competitive Identity: The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Anholt, S. (2008).** *Editorial: Place Branding, Is it marketing, or isn't it?* Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, Vol. 4, No. 1: pp 1-6.
- Ankomah, B (2008).** *Reporting Africa.* Global Media Journal African Edition 2008 Vol. 2 (2).

- Ansah, P. A. (1984).** International News: Mutual Responsibilities of Developed and Developing Nations. In **G. Gerbner (Ed.),** *World Communications*, 83-91. New York: Longman.
- Aremu, M.A., & Bamiduro, J. (2012).** *Assessment of the Need for Effectiveness of Re-branding in Nigeria.* International Journal of Management and Administrative Sciences (IJMAS), Vol. 1, No. 4. 11-12.
- Arens, W. F. (1999).** *Contemporary Advertising. 7th Ed.,* Boston: Irwin McGraw-Hill.
- Asante, M. K. (2013).** *The Western Media and the Falsification of Africa: Complications of Value and Evaluation.* China Media Research, 9(2): 64 – 70.
- Asika, N. (2004).** *Research Methodology in the Behavioural Sciences.* Lagos: Longman Nigeria PLC.
- Atkinson, A. C., Donev, A. N., & Tobias, R. D. (2007).** *Optimum Experimental Designs.* Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Ayisi, A. (2013).** *The Politics of Representation and Audience Reception: Alternative Visions of Africa* (Research in African Literatures in Visibility in African Cultures). Indiana: Indiana University Press, pp. 125-141.
- Badejo-Okusanya, Y. (2007)** *Rebranding Nigeria through Public Relations.* Corporate Mirror PR Journal, Vol. 1, No. 12. Abeokuta: MAPOLY MASS COMM. Publications, pp. 11-13.
- Bailey, R. A. (2008).** *Design of Comparative Experiments.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baker, B. (1994).** *How to Identify Liberal Media Bias.* Media Research Center. <http://archive.mrc.org/books/identifybias.asp>
- Baker, B. (2007)** *Destination Branding for Small Cities.* Portland: Creative Leap Books.

- Balnaves, M. & Caputi, P. (2001).** *Introduction to Quantitative Research Method*. London: Sage Publications.
- Barzilai-Nahon, K. (2009).** *Gatekeeping: A Critical Review*. Annual Review of Information Science and Technology, Vol. 43, Issue 1, pp.1-79.
- Bell, A. (1991).** *News Values. In the Language of News Media, Language in Society*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Bello, A. (2007),** “*A Yoruba Town Hall Meeting*”, in Comment and Debate by Segun Gbadegesin, The Nation, Lagos: Vintage Press Ltd., Vol. 1, August 10.
- Benson, R. (2008).** Journalism: Normative Theories. In **Donsbach, Wolfgang (Ed).** *The International Encyclopaedia of Communication*. Blackwell Publishing, Blackwell Reference Online.
- Biber, D., Conrad, S., & Reppen, R. (1998).** *Corpus Linguistics: Investigating Language Structure and Use*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Biel, A.L. (1993).** *Converting Image into Equity, in Brand Equity and Advertising: Advertising's Role in Building Strong Brands*, Edited by **David A. A. and Alexander L. B.** New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bilkey, W.J. & Ness, E. (1982).** *Country of origin effects on product evaluations*. Journal of Communication, 35 (1), 43-59.
- Black, S. (1995).** *A Content Analysis of African News Stories on CNN World Report and U.S. Commercial Broadcast Networks*. Unpublished master's thesis, Texas Tech University, Lubbock.
- Bogert, C. (2011).** *The Changing Media Landscape and NGOs*. Human Right Watch.

- Bookmiller, R. J., & Bookmiller, K. N. (1992).** Dateline Algeria: U.S. press coverage of the Algerian war of independence. In **B. G. Hawk (Ed.),** *Africa's media image* p. 62-76 New York: Praeger.
- Boyd-Barrett, O. & Rantanen, T. (1998).** *The Globalization of News.* London: Sage.
- Boulding, K. (1969).** National Images and International Images. In **J. Rosenau (Ed.),** *International Politics and Foreign Policy.* New York: Free Press.
- Braun, J. (2012).** *News Values.* <http://mediaresearchhub.ssrc.org/icdc-content-folder/news-values/> Last viewed on 10-6-2012
- Brewer, P. R. (2006).** *National interest frames and public opinion about world affairs.* Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 11, 89-102
- Brookes, H. J. (1995).** *Suit, Tie and a Touch of Juju – The Ideological Construction of Africa: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News on Africa in the British Press.* Discourse and Society, 6(4), 461–94.
- Brooks, B. S.; Kennedy, G.; Moen, D. R. & Ranly, D. (1992).** *News Reporting & Writing.* New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Brymer, C. (2003).** "Branding A Country". <http://www.brandchannel.com>. Retrieved 14/2/12.
- Cantril, H. & Allport, G. W. (1935).** *The Psychology of Radio.* New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Cantril, H.; Gaudet, H.; & Herzog, H. (1940).** *The Invasion from Mars: A Study in the Psychology of Panic.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Carragee, K. (1991).** *News and ideology: An analysis of coverage of the West German Green Party in the New York Times.* Journalism Monographs, 128.

- Chang, T. K.; Shoemaker, P. J.; & Brendlinger, N. (1987).** *Determinants of International News Coverage in the U.S. Media.* Communication Research.
- Chang, T. K. & Lee, J. W. (1993).** *U.S. Gatekeepers and the New World Information Order: Journalistic Qualities and Editorial Positions.* Political Communication 10: 303–316.
- Chavis, R. (1998).** *Africa in the Western Media.* Paper presented at the Sixth Annual African Studies Consortium Workshop, October 2, 1998. <http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Workshop/chavis98.html>
- Clifton, R. (2003).** *Brands and Branding.* London: Profile Books.
- Cohen, B. (1994).** The View from the Academy. In **W.L. Bennett and D.L. Paletz (Eds.)** *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion and US Foreign Policy in the Gulf War.* Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Compaine, B. & Gomery, D. (2000).** *Who Owns the Media? Competition and Concentration in the Mass Media Industries.* Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum.
- Commission for Africa Final Report (2005) Our Common Interest as cited in **Franks, S. (2009).** *The Neglect of Africa and the Power of Aid.* The International Communication Gazette. Vol. 72, 1-84
- Davies, M. M. & Mosdell, N. (2006).** *Practical Research Methods for Media and Cultural Studies: Making People Count.* Edinburgh: University Press.
- De Gouveia P.F. (2005).** *An African AlJazeera: Mass Media and the African Renaissance.* London: The Foreign Policy Centre.
- DellaVigna, S. & Kaplan, E. (2007).** *The Fox News Effect: Media Bias and Voting.* The Quarterly Journal of Economics. Vol. 122 (3).
- Desbarats, P. & Southerst, J. (1986).** *Information Crisis Development: News from the Third World.* Ontario: Graduate School of Journalism, University of Western Ontario.

- Dowden, R. (2012).** *"You Can't Come Here With European Eyes": A Letter to John Humphreys on His Trip to Liberia.* <http://africanarguments.org/2012/04/11/you-can%E2%80%99t-come-here-with-european-eyes-a-letter-to-john-humphreys-on-his-trip-to-liberia-by-richard-dowden/>
- Dowell B, (2010).** *Wole Soyinka attacks BBC Portrayal of Lagos Pit of Degradation.* <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2010/apr/28/soyinka-bbc-lagos-documentaries-criticism> retrieved on 23/03/2012
- Easterby-Smith, M.; Lowe, R. & Thorpe, A. (2002).** *Management Research: An Introduction.* London: Sage Publications.
- Ebo, B, as edited by Hawk, B. (1992).** *Africa's Media Image.* New York: Praeger.
- Egwemi, V. (2010).** *Managing Nigeria's Image Crisis: Akunyili's Rebranding Programme to the Rescue?* Current Research Journal of Economic Theory, Vol.2, No.3, pp. 131-35.
- Ejime, P. (June, 2009).** *An interactive session with PhD candidates of the department of Mass Communication at the University of Lagos, Nigeria.*
- Elton, M. (2008).** *The Effects of Mass Media on Society.* <http://www.scribd.com/doc/8007461/The-Effects-of-Mass-Media-on-Society>. Retrieved on the 23rd of February, 2012.
- Ellis, S. (2000).** *Reporting Africa.* Current History, 637, pp. 221-26.
- Engel, M. (1997).** *Tickle the Public: One Hundred Years of the Popular Press.* London: Indigo.
- Entman, R. M. (1993).** *Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.* Journal of Communication, 43, 51–58.
- Entman, R. M. (2004).** *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Fahmy, S. (2010). How could so much produce so little? Foreign affairs reporting in the wake of 9/11. In **G. Golan, T. J. Johnson and W. Wanta (Eds.)**, *International Media Communication in a Global Age*. (pp. 147-159). Philadelphia: Routledge.

Fair, J. E. (1993). *War, famine, and poverty: Race in the construction of Africa's media image*. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 17(2), 5–22.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (1993). *Critical discourse analysis and the marketization of public discourse: The universities* *Discourse and Society* 4(2):133-68.

Fairclough, N. (2006). *Language and Globalisation*. London: Routledge.

Faringer, G. L. (1991). *Press Freedom in Africa*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Ferguson, R. (2001). *Brand-name Government*.
http://www.knowledgemarketinggroup.com/pages_print/oct2001_printable.htm

Fenton, T. (2005) *Bad news: The decline of reporting, the business of news, and the danger to us all*. New York: Regan Books

Fox, C. (2008). *Content Analysis: The Hows & Whys to Understanding your Content*. Copenhagen: Euro.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office UK (2012).
<http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/what-we-do/working-in-partnership/working-with-stakeholder-groups/086-diaspora-groups/Nigerian-diaspora/britain-nigeria> Retrieved on 1/07/2012

Franks, S. (2009). *The Neglect of Africa and the Power of Aid*. *The international Communication Gazette*. Vol. 72, 1-84.

Fredin, E. S. (2001). *Frame Breaking and Creativity: A Frame Database for Hypermedia News*. In **S. D. Reese, O. H. Grandy & A. E. Grant:**

Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and our Understanding of the Social World.

Gamson, W. A. & Modigliani, A. (1987). The Changing Political Culture of Affirmative Action. In **R. G. Braugart & M. M. Braugart:** *Research in Political Sociology*, Vol. 3, 137-177, Greenwich: JAI Press.

Gamson, W. A. & Modigliani, A. (1989). *Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power. A Constructionist Approach.* American Journal of Sociology, 95, 1-37.

Gerbner, G. & Gross, L. (1976). *Living with Television: The Violence Profile.* Journal of Communication (Spring) Vol. 26:2.

Gershon R. A. (1997). *The Transnational Media Corporation: Global Messages and Free Market Competition.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum & Associates.

Gershon, R. A. (2007). The Transnational Media Corporation and the Economics of Global Competition. In **Y.R. Kamalipour.** *Global Communication.* Belmont CA: Wadsworth.

Gieber, W. J. (1964). News is what Newspapermen Make It. In **L.A. Dexter & D.M. White.** *People, Society, and Mass Communication.* London: The Free Press of Glencoe.

Giffard, C. A. (1984). *Developed and Developing Nation News in U.S. Wire Service Files to Asia.* Journalism Quarterly, 61(1), 14–19.

Giffard, C. A. (1989). *UNESCO and the Media.* New York: Longman

Gilboa, E. (2000). *Mass Communication and Diplomacy: A Theoretical Framework* Communication Theory, 10 (3), 275–309

Gilboa, E. (2008). *Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy: The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 616, No. 1, pp 55–77.

- Golan, G. & Wanta, W. (2003).** *International Elections on the U.S. Network News: An Examination of Factors Affecting Newsworthiness*. Gazette 65(1), 25–40.
- Golan, G. J. (2008).** *Where in the world is Africa? Predicting Coverage of Africa by U.S. Television Networks*. The International Communication Gazette, 70(1), 41–57.
- Golding, P. & Elliot, P. (1974).** Mass Communication and Social Change: The Imagery of Development and Development Imagery. In **E. Kadl & G. Williams.** *Sociology and Development*. London: Tanstick.
- Graber, D. (1993).** *Mass Media and American Politics*. Washington: Washington D.C. Press
- Gudjonsson, H. (2005).** *Nation branding: Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 1 (3): 283-298.
- Hachten, W. A. & Beil, B. (1985).** *Bad News or no News? Covering Africa, 1965–1982*. Journalism Quarterly, 62, 626–630.
- Halliday, J. (2010).** “*Guardian.co.uk passes 40m monthly browser*”. Retrieved March 30, 2012, from The Guardian (London).
- Hallin, D. C. & Mancini, P. (2004).** *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanan, A. M. (2006).** *The media-foreign policy relationship: Pakistan’s media image and U.S. foreign policy*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, York University, Canada.
- Hansen, A.; Cottle, S.; Negrine, R. & Newbold, C. (1998).** *Mass Communication Research Methods*. Hampshire: Palgrave.
- Harcup, T. & O'Neill, D. (2001).** *What is News? Galtung and Ruge revisited*. Journalism Studies, 2(2), 261-280.
- Harrigan, J. T. & Dunlap, K. B. (2004).** *The Editorial Eye*. Boston: Bedford

The Harris Poll (2005). *Most U.S. Adults Feel Good About Nation's Response to the Recent Tsunami.* Retrieved March 10, 2007, from http://www.harrisinteractive.com/harris_poll/printerfriend/index.asp?PID=538

Hassan, D. M. (2001). *Global Media and the Propagation of African History and Culture: Problems and Prospects.* Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press.

Hatchen, W. A. (1981). *The World News Prism: Changing Media of International Communication.* Iowa: Iowa State University Press.

Hatchen, W. A. (1998). *The Troubles of Journalism: A Critical Look at what's Right and Wrong with the Press.* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Hausman, C. (1992). *Crafting the News for Electronic Media: Writing, Reporting and Producing.* California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Hawk, B. (1992). *Africa's Media Image.* New York: Praeger.

Hiebert, R. E.; Ungurait, D. F. & Bohn, T. W. (1979) *Mass Media: An Introduction to Modern Communication.* Longman.

Hongladarom, S. (2009) Information Divide, Information Flow and Global Justice. In **R. Capurro, J.J. Britz, T.J.D. Bothma, & B.C. Bester.** *Africa Reader on Information Ethics.* Pretoria: Department of Communication.

Ito, M. (2004). The Representation of Femininity in Japanese Television Drama of the 1990s. In K. Iwabuchi. *Feeling Asian Modernities: Transnational Consumption of Japanese TV Drama.* Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press.

Iyengar, S. & Kinder, D. (1987). *News That Matters.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Iyengar, S. (1991).** *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jaworski, A. & Coupland, N. (1999).** *The discourse reader*. Permalink.
- Jeffres, L. W. & Perloff, R. M. (1986).** *Mass Media: Processes and Effects*. Illinois: Waveland Press.
- Jeffres, L. W. (1997).** *Mass Media Effects*. Illinois: Waveland Press.
- Jennings, B. & Thomson, S. (2001).** *Fundamentals of Media Effects*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Jervis, R. (1970).** *The Logic of Images in International Relations*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Kaid, L. L. & Wadsworth, A. J. (1989).** Content Analysis. In **P. Emmert & L. Barker (Eds.)**, *Measurement of communication behavior* pp. 197-217. New York: Longman.
- Kashmira, L. (2011).** *Types and Reasons of Media Bias*. Posted on <http://www.buzzle.com/articles/types-and-reasons-of-media-bias.html>. Retrieved on 23/03/2012
- Kavoori, A. & Malek, A. (2000).** *The Global Dynamics of News: Studies in International News Coverage and News Agenda*. Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- King, C. & Lester, P. M. (2005).** *Photographic coverage during Persian Gulf and Iraq wars in three U.S. newspapers*. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(3), 623-637.
- Korzenny, F.; del Toro, W. & Gaudino, J. (1987).** *International News Media Exposure, Knowledge, and Attitudes*. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*.
- Kotler, P. (1993).** *Marketing Places*. New York: The Free Press.

Kotler, P. & Gertner, D. (2002). *Country as brand product and beyond: A place marketing and brand management perspective.* Brand Management, 4/5, 249-261.

Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Kunczik, M. (1997). *Images of Nations and International Public Relations.* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kunczik, M. (2003). Transnational Public Relations by Foreign Governments. In **K. Sriramesh & D. Vercic (Eds.),** *Handbook of global public relations* (pp. 399-424). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Lader, D. (2007). *Public Attitudes towards Development.* London: DFID.

Larkin, S. & Larkin, T. J. (1994). *Communicating Change.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Larson, J. F. (1979). *International Affairs Coverage in U.S. Network Television.* Journal of Communication 29, 136-147.

Lasswell, H. D. (1971). The structure and function of communication in society. In **W. Schramm & D. F. Roberts (Eds.),** *The process and effects of mass communication* (pp. 84-99). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Lee, F. L. F.; He, Z.; Lee, C.; Lin W. & Yao, M. Z. (2012). *Globalization and People's Interest in Foreign Affairs: A Comparative Survey in Hong Kong and Taipei.* International Communication Gazette. Vol. 74.

Lee, S. (2007). *International public relations as a predictor of prominence of US news coverage.* Public Relations Review, 33, 158-165.

Lee, S. and Yoon Y (2010). *The return on investment (ROI) of international public relations: A country-level analysis.* Public Relations Review, 36, 15-20

- Lent, J. A. (1977).** *Foreign News in American Media*. Journal of Communication, 27, 46–51.
- Leonard, M (1997).** *Britain TM*. London: Demos.
- Lewis-Beck, M. S. (1995).** *Data Analysis: An Introduction*. New Delhi: Sage Publications Inc.
- Li, Y. & Izard, R. (2003).** *9/11 Attacks Coverage Reveals Similarities, Differences*. Newspaper Research Journal 24, 204-209.
- Lor, P. J. & Britz, J. (2005)** *Knowledge Production from an African Perspective: International Information Flows and Intellectual Property*. Elsevier: The International Information & Library Review.
- Louw, P. E. (2004).** Journalists Reporting from Foreign Places. In **A.S. de Beer & J.C. Merrill**. *Global Journalism: Topical Issues and Media* (pp. 151–162). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Lugo-Ocando, J. & Malaolu, P.O. (2015).** Africa, that scar on our face. In **J. Lugo-Ocando**. *Blaming the victim: how global journalism fails those in poverty*. pp. 85-103, London: Pluto Press.
- Luyendijk, J. (2006).** *People like Us: The Truth about Reporting the Middle East*. Amsterdam: Podium.
- MacBride, S. et al. (1980).** *Many Voices, One World. Report by International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems*. Paris: UNESCO. pp. 35-43.
- Mackintosh, A. (1996).** *International aid and the media*. Contemporary Politics: Vol 2, No 1 (Spring).
- Magid, R. (2011).** *Communication: Intent versus Impact*.
http://www.selfgrowth.com/articles/Communication_Intent_versus_Impact.html
- Malaolu, P.O. (2012).** *Media Representation and Democracy in Africa: 'Why there are no skyscrapers in Nigeria' – A critical analysis of UK news*

media's representation of Nigeria's democracy, 1997-2007. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Stirling, Scotland.

Manheim, J.B. (1994). *Strategic public diplomacy and American foreign policy: The evolution of influence*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Manohar, U. "Different Types of Mass Media". Buzzle.com. Retrieved November 26, 2011.

Marthoz, J. P. (2007). African Conflicts in the Global Media. In **M.S. Frere**, *The Media and Conflicts in Central Africa* (pp. 221–239). Colorado: Lynne Rienner.

Martin, J. B. (2002). *Mass Media: A Bibliography with Indexes*. New York: Nova Publishers.

Masmoudi, M. (1979). *The New World Information Order*. Journal of Communication 29(2). 172-189.

McCombs, M., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). *The Agenda-setting Function of the Mass Media*. Public Opinion Quarterly, 36.176-185.

McMullen, J. (2003). *Early Theories Part 2: Limited Effects Paradigms*. <http://fly.hiwaay.net/~jmcmmulle/314limited%20effects%20theories.htm>. Retrieved on 25th of February, 2012.

McNair, B. (2000). *Journalism and Democracy: An Evaluation of the Political Public Sphere*. London: Routledge.

McQuail, D. (1983). *Mass Communication Theory*. London: Sage.

McQuail, D. (1997). *Mass Communication Theory*. London: Sage.

McQuail, D. (2005). *Mass Communication Theory*. London: Sage.

Media Matters (2009). *Fair and Balanced: Fox News is Anything but in Coverage of Tea Parties*. <http://mediamatters.org/research/200904160011>.

Mencher, M. (2007). *News Reporting and Writing*. Columbia University.

- Meyrowitz, J. (1994).** Images of Media: Hidden Ferment and Harmony in the Field. In **M. Levy and M. Gurevitch.** *Defining Media Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miske, A. B. (1971).** The French Mass Media. In **O. Stokke.** *Reporting Africa*. New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Moilanen, T., & Rainisto, S. (2009).** *How to Brand Nations, Cities, & Destinations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Moore, M. (2010).** *Shrinking World: The Decline of International Reporting in the British Press*. London: Media Standards Trust.
- Mowlana, H. (1985).** *International Flow of Information: A Global Report and Analysis*.
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0006/000652/065258eo.pdf>
- Mukasa, S.G. and Becker, L.B. (1992).** *Toward indigenised philosophy of communication: An analysis of African communication resources and needs*. Africa Media Review, 6(3):31-50
- Nelson, R. A. (2003).** *Tracking Propaganda to the Source: Tools for Analysing Media Bias*. Global Media Journal, Vol. 2 (3).
- Nerone, J.C. (1995).** *Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories of the Press, On Social Responsibility*, pp. 77 – 100. Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- Neuliep, J. W. (2009).** *Intercultural communication: A Contextual Approach*. Thousand Oak: Sage.
- Neuman, W. R., Jus, M. R., & Crigler, A. N. (1992).** *Common Knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nkandu, M. (1995).** *The Image of Africa on BBC Television News*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Wales, Cardiff.
- Nnaemeka, T., & Richstad, J. (1981).** *Internal Controls and Foreign News Coverage: Pacific Press System*. Retrieved from <http://crx.sagepub.com/content/8/1/97.extract>

Noelle-Neumann, E. (1984). *The Spiral of Silence*. University of Chicago, Chicago.

Nordenstreng, K. (1984). *The Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Normative Media Theory in Module 2: Unit 11: Media Regulation
http://www.le.ac.uk/oerresources/media/ms7501/mod2unit11/page_07.htm

Norris, P (2003). *A Virtuous Circle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Noshina, S. (2000). *U.S. Media Framing of Foreign Countries Image: An Analytical Perspective*. Canadian Journal of Media Studies, Vol. 2(1) 130.

Nworah, U (2005). *Nigeria as a Brand*.
<http://www.brandchannel.com/papers> Last viewed on 25/3/2012

Nworah, U. (2006). *Africa and the Global Media Imbalance*.
http://EzineArticles.com/expert/Uche_Nworah/56715

Nworah, U. (2007). *Branding Nigeria's Cities*. Advertising News, Vol. 2, No. 1, Jan.- June, Lagos: APCON Publications.

Nworah, U. (2009). *BBC, CNN and The Rest Don't Mean Nigeria Well*.
<http://www.nigerian-newspaper.com/bbc-cnn-nigeria.htm>. Retrieved on 12th of December, 2011.

Nworah, U. (2009). *Imperatives of Good Image for Enhanced Development*. <http://www.nigerian-newspaper.com/good-image.pdf> Last viewed 11/4/2012

Nye Jr., J. S. (2008). *Public diplomacy and soft power*. The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 616 (1), 94–109.

Ogilvy, D. (1963). *Confessions of an Advertising man*, New York: Atheneum Publishers.

- Okigbo, C. C. (1985).** *News Flow Imbalance: Quantifications of Nigerian Press Content*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Olins, W. (1999).** *Trading Identities*. London: The Foreign Policy Centre.
- Olins, W. (2002).** "Branding the Nation – the historical context", *Journal of Brand Management*, 9:4-5, 241-248.
- Online Advancement of Student Information Skills (OASIS).** *Genres & Target Audiences*. <https://oasis.fiu.edu/Ch8/ch8page4.htm>
- Onyedike, E. (2000).** *Coverage of Africa by the African-American Press: Perceptions of African Newspaper Editors*. *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 24(4), 195–201.
- Osho, S. (2004).** *Advertising and Public Relations Law*. Abeokuta: Jedidiah Publishers.
- Osunde, S. O. (1996).** *The politics and social influence of news-making: American media coverage of Africa*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Howard University, Washington, DC.
- Otufodunrin, L. (2010).** *Gender Bias Persists in Nigerian Media*. <http://www.mediacareer.ng.org/2010/11/16/gender-bias-persist-in-nigerian-media-study-reveals/>
- Palmer, J. (2000).** *Spinning into control: News values and source strategies*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Pandey, A. (2010).** *The Role of Newspapers in the Society*. <http://www.indiastudychannel.com/resources/112265-The-Role-Newspapers-society.aspx>
- Pate, U. A. (1992).** *Reporting African Countries in the Nigerian Press: Perspectives in International News*. *Africa Media Review*. Vol. 6 No. 1.
- Patterson, T. (1993).** *Out of Order*. New York: Vintage.

- Pawson, L. (2007).** 'Reporting Africa's Unknown Wars'. In **S. Maltby and R. Keeble.** *Communicating War: Memory, Media and Military.* Bury St Edmunds: Arima Press.
- Peel, M. (2009).** *A Swamp Full of Dollars: Pipelines and Paramilitaries at Nigeria's Oil Frontier.* London: I. B. Tauris.
- Peterson, S. (1980).** *A Case Study of Third World News Coverage by Western News Agencies.* *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 15, 62–98.
- Philo, G., Beattie, L., et al (1999).** *The Media and Africa: Images of Disaster and Rebellion.* New York: Longman.
- Poindexter, M. (1991).** *Subscription Television in the Third World: The Moroccan Experience.* *Journal of Communications* 41, 26-39.
- Potter, W. J. (2008).** *Arguing for a General Framework for Mass Media Scholarship.* London Sage.
- Quist-Adade, C. (2001).** *In the Shadows of the Kremlin and the White House: Africa's Media Image from Communism to Post-Communism.* Lanham: University Press of America.
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. G. (2005).** *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research (2nd ed.).* Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Righter, R. (1979).** *Who Won?* *Journal of Communication.* pp. 192-195.
- Robock, S. H., & Simmonds K. (1999).** *International Business and Multinational Enterprises.* The World Bank Group Directory.
- Robson, C. (2002).** *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers.* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rodney, W. (1976).** *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.* Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing.

- Rosenblum, M. (1979).** *Coups and Earthquakes*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc.
- Roser, C. & Brown, L. (1986).** *Analyzing Media Messages*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Rothman, S. & Lichter, L. (1986).** *The Media Elite*. Washington DC: Adler and Adler.
- Ryan, C. (1991).** *Prime Time Activism: Media Strategies for Grassroots Organizing*. Boston: South End Press.
- Sarpong, A. (2007).** *West Africa's Image in the British Press: A comparative analysis of the image of four states: Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Liberia from June 1999-2007*. Unpublished master's thesis, Cardiff University, Wales.
- Samuel, P., Heuveline, P. & Guillot, M. (2000).** *Demography: Measuring & Modeling Population Processes*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. (2003).** *Research Methods for Business Students*. Harlow: FT Prentice Hall.
- Schiller, H. I. (1969).** *Mass Communications and American Empire*. Beacon Press.
- Schramm, W. L. (1964).** *Mass Media and National Development: the Role of Information in the Developing Countries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Schuler, A. L., Prizant, B. M., & Wetherby, A. M. (1997).** Enhancing Language and Communication Development: Prelinguistic Approaches. In **D.J. Cohen and F.R. Volkmar.** *Handbook of Autism and Pervasive Developmental Disorders*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Scott, M. (2009).** *Marginalized, Negative or Trivial: Coverage of Africa in the UK Press*. *Media, Culture and Society*, 31(4): 533-557.

- Scott, M. (2010).** *WordSmith Tools step by step Version 5.0*. Liverpool: Lexical Analysis Software.
- Semetko, H. A. & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000).** *Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News*. *Journal of Communication* 50, 93-109.
- Shoemaker, P. J. & Vos, T. (2009).** *Gatekeeping Theory*. London: Routledge.
- Shuaib, Y. A. (2004)** *'Building Nigeria's Image: The FAPRA option'*
<http://yashuaib.com/2004/08/building-nigerias-image-the-fapras-option/>
- Siebert, F., Peterson, T. & Schramm, W. (1956).** *Four theories of the press*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Smith, S. E. (2011).** *"What is Mass Media?"* Conjecture Corporation. Retrieved November 26, 2011.
- Sobowale, I. (1987).** *Image of the World through the Eyes of Five Nigerian Newspapers*. *Africa Media Review* Vol. 2 No. 1.
- Sparkes, V. M. (1978).** *The Flow of News Between Canada and the United States*. *Journalism Quarterly* Vol. 55 No. 2.
- Sreberny-Mohammadi, A. (1984).** *Foreign news in the media: International reporting in twenty-nine countries*, Vol. 93 Paris: UNESCO.
- Stark, A. & Humphrey, L. (2008).** *A Guide to Research Tools*. Vancouver: Recreation Tourism Research Institute, Vancouver Island University.
- Stay, B. L. (1999).** *Mass Media: Opposing Viewpoints*. Greenhaven Press.
- Stempel, G. H. (2003).** Content Analysis. In **G. H. Stempel & B. H. Westley.** *Research Methods in Mass Communications*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Sung, E. & Jang, W. J. (2003). *Globalization or Alienation? A Comparative Study of News Coverage between AP and IPS*. Paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, International Communication Division, Markham Competition. Kansas City, MO.

Szondi, G. (2008). *'Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding. Conceptual Similarities and Differences'*, Discussion Paper in Diplomacy No. 112 (Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingendael, October).

Tapachai, N. & Waryszak, R. (2000). *An examination of the role of beneficial image in tourist destination selection*. Journal of Travel Research, 39, 37-44.

Teng'o, D. (2008). *More of the same: the Flow and Framing of African News on the Websites of Five Western News Organizations and an African News Aggregator*. An unpublished Master of Arts thesis submitted to Kent State University.

The Grenada Revolution Online. *NWICO - New World Information and Communication* Order.
<http://www.thegrenadarevolutiononline.com/nwico.html> Last viewed 16/3/2012.

Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: The Free Press.

Uche, L.U. (1996). Ed. *North-South Information Culture: Trends in the Global Communications and Research Paradigms*. Lagos: Longman, 17.

UNESCO's *Mass Media Declaration: A forum of Three Worlds*. Journal of Communication, op. cit. 186-192.

United States General Accounting Office (1996). *Content Analysis: A Methodology for Structuring and Analysing Written Materials*. Washington D.C.: United States GAO.

Upton, G., & Cook, I. (2004). *A Dictionary of Statistics*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Vidal, J. (2009). *A Swamp Full of Dollars by Michael Peel: A Study of the West's Role in Exploiting Nigeria's Oil Wealth Impresses*. The Guardian, Saturday 12 September 2009.

Wainaina, B. (2005) 'How to Write about Africa', Grant 92 (winter); At: <http://www.granta.com/Archive/92/How-to-Write-about-Africa/Page-1> (6/4/2012)

Wang, J. (2006). *Managing national reputation and international relations in the global era: Public diplomacy revisited*. Public Relations Review, 32, 91–96.

Ward, S. J. A. (2013). *Global Media Ethics: Problems and Perspectives* pp. 326. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic Content Analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

White, D. M. (1950). "The 'Gate Keeper': A Case Study in the Selection of News." *Journalism Quarterly* 17(4): 383.

Williams, K. (2003). *Understanding Media Theory*. London: Arnold

Wu, H. D. (1998). *Investigating the Determinants of International News Flow*. *Gazette: The International Journal for Communication Studies*, 60(6), 493–512.

Wu, H. D. (2003). *Homogeneity around the World? Comparing the Systemic Determinants of International News Flow between Developed And Developing Countries*. *Gazette*, 65(1), 9– 24.

Wu, H. D. (2006). *A Brave New World for International News? Exploring the Determinants of the Coverage of Foreign Nations on U.S. Websites*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association, Dresden, Germany.

Yar'Adua, M. (2009). *Re-branding*: being a speech presented during the inauguration of the Logo and Slogan for the rebranding Nigeria Campaign, March 16, 2009, published by the Punch Newspaper, Wednesday, March 18, 2009.

Yina, G. (2009). “*Language Education and the Rebranding Project in Nigeria*”. A lead paper presented at the 3rd Annual National Conference, School of Languages, F.C.E. Obudu, 3rd -7th August, 2009.

Yi-jun, C., Ling-yan, S., & Jieqiong, Z. (2011). *National Interest and International News Reporting: How Differently do China Daily and the New York Times Report the 2009 Copenhagen Climate Change Conference?* Asia-Pacific Science and Culture Journal. Volume 1 no 2: 1-13.

Yushkiavitshus, H. (2003). *UNESCO welcomes back U.S.A.* Retrieved 2011-08-06.

Zayani, M. (2005). *The Al Jazeera phenomenon: Critical perspectives on new Arab media.* London: Pluto Press.

Ziegler, D., & Asante, M. K. (1992). *Thunder and Silence: The Mass Media in Africa.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.