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Impact of *Al-Jazeera's* Portrayal of Sufferings of Women and Children in the 2023/2024 Israeli-Hamas War on Christian/Muslim Relationship in Nigeria: A Perception Study

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Abstract

Background: Since Israel began the occupation of "Palestinian territories" in 1967 following her victory in the 'Six-Day Arab War', Gaza has witnessed many conflicts and instances of civilian suffering. The 2023/2024 Israeli-Hamas war appears the most devastating. International media, including *Al Jazeera*, extensively covered the conflict.

Objectives: This study investigated the perceived implication of Al Jazeera's representation of the sufferings of women and children in the Gaza Strip in the 2023/2024 Israel-Hamas war on the Christian/Muslim relationship in Nigeria.

Method: The study adopted the descriptive survey research design and sampled 384 participants using purposive and multistage sampling techniques. The participants were sampled from six out of the twelve districts that make up the Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC). The six districts

are Asokoro, Gwarimpa, Maitama, Wuse, Garki, and Utako. Data were collected using a structured questionnaire which had a consistency coefficient of 0.85. Analyses were done using descriptive statistics and summarised using frequency tables.

Results: Most participants reported that they were regular viewers of *Al Jazeera* news networks, and had followed up with the Isreal-Hamas war on the station since the October 7, 2023 Hamas attacks on Israel. The participants also reported that *Al Jazeera*'s reports of the 2023/2024 Israel-Hamas war depicted the conflict as an injustice and humanitarian crisis consciously inflicted on 'innocent victims' and that *Al Jazeera* represented the war as a conflict between Christianity and the West versus Islam and the Arab world. The participants expressed concerns that such representation could potentially increase interfaith suspicions and religious tensions in the studied area.

Conclusion: This study concludes that the manner in which *Al Jazeera* represented the sufferings of women and children in the 2023/2024 Israeli-Hamas war has negative implications on the Christian/Muslim relationship in Nigeria.

Unique contribution: This study has offered a fresh perspective that could help improve how wars are reported in the media without potentially fanning the flames of violence across distant geographical locations among persons emotionally connected to distant victims of wars.

Key recommendation: Proactive measures should be taken to monitor the public's media content, counter any incitement to violence, and promote peaceful coexistence among different religious and ethnic groups in Nigeria.

Keywords: Israeli-Hamas war, Televised distant suffering, Women and Children, Gaza Strip Islamophobia

Introduction

In the early hours of October 7, 2023, Hamas and other armed groups from Gaza carried out massive and coordinated land, sea and air surprise attacks on Southern Israel (Zanottiet al., 2023), which, according to the Israeli authorities, killed a total of 1,139 persons and abducted over 240 others, mostly women and children. In response, Israel, on October 8, formally declared a state of war under Article 40A for the first time since the 1973 Yom Kippur War, calling up 300,000 reservists, the highest in the history of the country, and 24 hours later, ordered a "complete siege" of the Gaza Strip, cutting off water, electricity, food, and fuel from entering the territory. The war began with the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) conducting a series of airstrikes on the Gaza Strip, followed by a ground incursion of troops and armoured vehicles weeks later. The Israeli government stated that the war aimed to eliminate Hamas's military capabilities and end its rule over the Gaza Strip (Satloffet al., 2023).

HAMAS, which acronymically stands for Harakat al-Musqawama al-Islamiya, or 'Islamic Resistance Movement', was founded in 1987 by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, a Palestinian cleric who became an activist in the local branch of the Muslim Brotherhood after dedicating his early life to Islamic scholarship in Cairo. At inception, Yassin used the group to preach and perform charity works in the West Bank and Gaza, both of which were occupied by Israel following the 1967 Six-Day Arab War. The group eventually metamorphosed into the largest and most capable militant group in the Palestinian territories and the de facto governing body in the Gaza Strip since 2007, when it ousted the Palestinian Authority in the 2006 election (National Counterterrorism Center,

2022). Hamas is committed to armed resistance against Israel and creation of an Islamic Palestinian state in Gaza and in the Israel occupied West Bank, an agenda that has led to the designation of the group as an international terrorist organisation by the US State Department as well as dozens of other countries, though some apply this label only to its military wing (National Counterterrorism Centre, 2022).

The war, which began on October 8, 2023, caused widespread suffering and hardships for the people of Gaza, with massive civilian casualties and huge destruction of infrastructure. As at May 12th, 2024, the Hamas-controlled Health Ministry in Gaza puts the death toll at 35,034; the number of injuries at 78,755 and the number of displaced persons at 1.9million (85% of the entire population), with children and women constituting about 65% (International Committee of the Red Cross, 2024).

The conflict has attracted extensive coverage from international media, including Al Jazeera (a Qatari state media conglomerate founded in 1996 in Doha by the emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad ibn Khalifa Al Thani). The news channel is popular and received on both satellite and cable TV across Nigeria. The station aired footage of the killed, injured and traumatised women and children in Gaza and provided in-depth and harrowing images and stories of the impact of the war on civilians, particularly women and children.

Media coverage, generally, plays a vital role in shaping public opinion regarding issues, particularly the sufferings of affected populations in times of conflict (Nwafor, 2019). This is called human interest stories in journalism parlance. Nwafor, et al. (2013) observe that television, in particular, has this ability to bridge geographical distances and bring distant suffering into the homes of viewers, triggering emotional and psychological responses. This concept is called televised distant suffering. According to Ong (2012, p. 8), "televised distance suffering" is the phenomenon where individuals emotionally react to the mediated sufferings of others at a distance, primarily through the medium of television. Onwe et al. (2017) and Nwafor (2021) are unanimous that stories of human suffering, irrespective of physical closeness, elicit strong emotional responses from audiences beyond geographical locations, creating a sense of psychological proximity.

Studies exist on media reports of distant suffering. Nwakpu et al. (2020) studied 'Spectators of Sufferings: Witnessing Victims of Jungle Justices on Social Media. Chouliaraki, (2008) investigated 'Mediation of suffering and the vision of a cosmopolitan public; while Pyy (2021) investigated 'Victims of war: Gendered dynamics of suffering'. The findings of these studies are unanimous that images of human sufferings in any part of the world trigger psychological sympathy among individuals in faraway geographical locations.

The major gap between those studies and the current study is that whereas majority of them have focused only on the emotional sympathy that media audiences share with actual sufferers in faraway geographical locations, adequate attention has not been given to the ethical implications of the media representation patterns of distant sufferings from the perspective of potentially triggering a spillover of reprisals among persons emotionally connected to distant sufferers. It is therefore hoped that the findings of this study will not only contribute to the existing body of literature on the psychological and behavioural impacts of televised distance suffering and provide specific insights into the emotional connections formed by *Al Jazeera* viewers in Abuja, Nigeria, with images of women and children on the Gaza strip during the 2023/2024 Israeli-Hamas war, but help improve how distant suffering is portrayed in the media without potentially fanning the flames of violence across distant geographical locations.

Theoretical Framework

This study was anchored on the Cultivation theory as Gerbner, et al. propounded in 1996. The theory talks about how the mass media slowly but steadily cultivates messages in the audience's mind and consciousness. According to Anaeto et al. (2008) cited in Okoro et al. (2014), the theory has four basic assumptions, which state that (i) television viewers will cultivate the perception of reality portrayed by the television, (ii) people predicate their judgments - about and their actions – in the world on the cultivated reality provided by television, (iii) television's major cultural function is to stabilise social patterns; it is a medium of socialisation and acculturation, (iv) the observable independent contributions of television to the culture are relatively small, though we cannot always see media effects, they do occur and eventually will change the culture in possible, profound ways.

The main thrust of the theory lies in the question of whether television and other media technologies encourage perceptions of reality that are more consistent with media portrayals than with actuality. Supporters of this theory, such as Shanahan and Morgan (1999) argue that heavy television viewing, no doubt, distorts our perception of the world we live in, making it seem more like a utopian world.

Within the context of this study, the problem is the perceived influence of *Al Jazeera*'s portrayal of the sufferings of women and children in Gaza during the Israel-Hamas war of 2023/2024 on the Christian/Muslim relationships in Nigeria. The implication of this is that residents of Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC) who frequently watched *Al Jazeera*'s depiction of the images of women and children in Gaza during the Israel-Hamas war of 2023/2024 would gradually cultivate the perception of reality portrayed by the station, and will predicate their judgments about their actions based on the cultivated reality provided by *Al Jazeera* television networks.

The theory, however, makes a case for using television to stabilise social patterns as a medium of socialisation and acculturation. A study by Mari (2016) reported that television could indeed be used to promote a culture of unity in diversity. Ezaka and Nwafor (2016) also reported that television is a veritable tool for achieving cohesion in a community of ethno-religious diversities such as Nigeria.

Research Questions

- 1. What is the level of viewership of *AlJazeera*'s reports of the sufferings of women and children in the Gaza Strip in the 2023/2024 Israel-Hamas war?
- 2. In what specific ways did *Al Jazeera* represent the sufferings of women and children in the Gaza Strip in the 2023/2024 Israel-Hamas war?
- 3. What were the perceived implications of *Al Jazeera's* representation of the sufferings of women and children in the Gaza Strip in the 2023/2024 Israel-Hamas war on Christian/Muslim relationships in Nigeria?

Methodology

Research Design

The study adopted the descriptive survey research design. This choice of design was justified because it allows for the collection of data from a large and diverse sample of participants,

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providing a broad view of the research topic. It also allows for the measurement of variables and examination of relationships among variables, and it provides valuable insights into trends and patterns within the data.

Population of the Study

The population of the study was *Al Jazeera* viewers in Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC) of Nigeria's Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja. The choice of Abuja, and AMAC in particular, was because Abuja, being Nigeria's federal capital territory, serves as the microcosm of the macrocosm of the population of the entire country with adequate representation of the socio-political and ethno-religious diversities of the country, and AMAC is host to the major city centres and districts of the FCT.

The total population of AMAC was 1,693,400 in 2022 according to the National Bureau of Statistics computations using geospatial data. The population of *Al Jazeera* viewers in the area was unknown and indeterminate. To arrive at a sample size for the study, the researchers relied on the Topman formula for estimating sample size of an indeterminate population to arrive at 384.

Sampling technique

The study adopted the multistage sampling technique to select the participants. In the first stage, six districts (Asokoro, Gwarimpa, Maitama, Wuse, Garki and Utako) were randomly selected from 12 districts that make up the Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC). This was done using a balloting system where names of all 12 districts were folded and mixed in a basket, and 6 were randomly selected using lucky deeps. In the second stage, the researchers adopted a proportionate sampling technique. This made it possible to allot appropriate numbers of participants to each of the districts in accordance with the size of their total population. In the last stage, the researchers adopted a purposive sampling technique to ensure that only persons who have access to *Al Jazeera* and have followed up with events of the Israeli-Hamas war from October 7, 2023, when the Hamas attacks took place, participated in the study. The researchers visited public places such as offices, markets, motor parks, schools, churches and mosques to select the study participants. Other purposeful criteria for participation in the study included willingness to participate, ability to read and write and residency in the area for at least six (6) months.

Instrument for data collection

Structured questionnaire served as instrument for data collection. The choice of structured questionnaire was because of its ability to gather data in large quantity. The questionnaire was structured to capture both the demographic and psychographic data. Two experts, one from the department of Statistics, the other from Mass communication of Ebonyi State University, Abakaliki, Nigeria validated the instrument. To determine the reliability of the instrument, a pilot study was conducted using repeated measures of two weeks intervals with 25 participants in Suleja who were not part of the real study. The data were analysed using the Pearson r correlation coefficient and the result showed that the instrument had a consistency or reliability coefficient of 0.85, which means that the instrument was appropriate for the main study. Generated data were coded and analysed using descriptive statistics and summarised using frequency tables.

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Result

The results of the study indicate that out of the 384 copies of the questionnaire administered, a total of 379 representing 97% were correctly filled and returned, and adjudged useful. The results of the study are presented below:

Table 1: Demographic Data of Respondents

Variables	Frequency	Percentage		
Gender				
Male	262	69%		
Female	117	31%		
Total	379	100%		
Age (in years)				
18-25	61	17%		
26-33	91	27%		
34-40	123	32%		
41-above	104	24%		
Total	379	100%		
Level of formal education	on			
Primary	76	20%		
Secondary	175	46%		
Tertiary	128	44%		
Total	379	100%		
Religion				
Christianity	189	50%		
Islam	185	49%		
Others	5	1%		
Total	379	100%		

Source: Researchers' Field Survey, February 2023

Demographic data in Table 1 indicate that the majority of the Al Jazeera viewers were male, and most of them had at least a secondary school certificate. There was also a balance in the Christian-Muslim ratio of the respondents, with the middle age group (34-40) appearing more than other age categories.

Table 2: Level of viewership of Al Jazeera's reports of the plights of women and children in the Gaza Strip in the 2023 Israel-Hamas war

Variables	Frequency	Percentage		
Regular Viewer	28	575%		
Irregular viewers	76	20%		
Rarely watch	11	3%		
Never watch	0	0%		

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Don't have access to Aljazeera	. 0	0%
Prefer not to answer	7	2%
Total	379	100%

Source: Researchers' Field Survey, February 2023

Data in Table 2 indicate that the majority of the respondents were regular viewers of the *Al Jazeera* news network who have followed up with the channel since the October 7, 2023, Hamas attacks on Israel.

Table 3: Participants' Perception of *Al Jazeera's* Representation of the 2023/2024 Israel-Hamas War

Variables	Frequency	Percentage		
Humanitarian crisis	61	15%		
Innocent victims	52	13%		
Agony/Sufferings	46	12%		
Helplessness/Frustration	41	10.3%		
Genocide/War crime	29	7.3%		
Collateral damage	45	11.4%		
Sympathy and compassion	56	14%		
Inhumanness/Wickedness	31	8%		
Injustice/Neglect of Gaza by				
the International Community	35	9%		
Total	396	100%		

Source: Researchers' Field Survey, February 2023

Data in Table 3 indicate that the majority of the participants of the study perceived Al Jazeera's reports of the 2023/2024 Israel-Hamas war humanitarian crisis as innocent victims, agony and suffering, helplessness and frustration, inducing feelings of sympathy, compassion, injustice and neglect.

Table 4: Mean scores on Viewers' perception of potential implications of the Israeli-Hamas war on Christian/Muslim relations in Northern Nigeria

	N	Minimum Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Decision
Increased interfaith suspicion/intolerance	379	1.00 5.00	2.7	1.34	Accepted
Heightened ethno- religious tensions	379	1.00 5.00	2.7	1.34	Accepted
Heightened islamophobia	379	1.00 5.00	2.7	.48	Accepted

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Muslim solidarity/ support/protests	379	1.00 5.00	2.7	1.34	Accepted
Interfaith dialogue/					
understanding	379	1.00 4.00	2.7	1.34	Accepted
Valid N (listwise)	379				_

Data in Table 4 shows that the majority of the respondents expressed fears of a possible escalation of the crisis across the region with the potential of increasing interfaith suspicion and intolerance, heightened islamophobia and Muslim solidarity/support/protests here in Nigeria. More so, the mean response of the respondents ($\bar{x}=2.74$) was verified using a theorised acceptance mean value of 3.0 ($\bar{x}=3.0$). The mean response of the respondents ($\bar{x}=2.74$) revealed that the respondents have an understanding of what the implications of the war could be in Nigeria. The standard deviation also shows that most respondents hold no contrary opinion based on their response cluster.

Discussion

Results showed male dominance and a relatively high level of education among participants, and there was a balance in the Christian-Muslim ratio of the respondents, with the middle age group of 34-40 appearing more than other categories. These findings are consistent with those of Nwafor et al. (2013), who suggest that young men are more attracted to stories about conflicts and wars than women, who are rather more attracted to entertainment stories, fashion, love, and gossip. On possible reasons for the balance in the Christian-Muslim ratio, explanations could be that the study was carried out at the nation's Federal capital territory, which serves as the centre of the country from the Muslim-dominated north to the Christian-dominated south; the area, therefore, adequately represents the socio-political and ethno-religious diversities of the country.

Generated data further indicate that the study's participants were mainly regular viewers of the Al Jazeera news network who have followed up with the channel since the October 7, 2023, Hamas attacks on Israel. This constituted 76% of the entire participants. In a demonstration of true follow-up with the development of events in Gaza through Al Jazeera, the participants were able to respond to questions on some of the talking points of the war, such as the narratives and counternarratives that surrounded the bombing of hospitals, schools, internally displaced persons (IDPs) camps, deaths of journalists and UN aid workers, as well as the release of Israeli captives in exchange with Palestinian prisoners.

On the implication of the pattern adopted in reporting the war by *Al Jazeera* on Christian/Muslim relationships in Nigeria, generated data show that the majority of the study participants expressed worries that such depictions could promote interfaith tensions and suspicions and heightened islamophobia across the globe, particularly in countries with long history of recurrent ethno-religious crises like Nigeria.

In a demonstration of already existing interfaith biases among respondents, generated data show that whereas the majority of the Christians accused Hamas of orchestrating the war by attacking Israel on October 7, 2023, the majority of the Muslim respondents rather blamed Israel and America for the war, insisting that the conflict dates back to many years before the October 7 attacks.

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On possible reasons for this perception among participants, Nigeria is a country that is sharply split across ethno-religious divides between Muslims in the north and Christians in the South. The South is home to seven of the ten largest churches in Africa (Jayeoba, 2023), and the North is home to Africa's largest Muslim population, with over 99 million of them (Galal, 2023). There have been instances in the past where events in distant environments triggered crises in the country, particularly in the north. In September 2005, a Danish newspaper, Jyllands-Posten. published a series of cartoons depicting Prophet Mohammed putting on a turban that looked like a bomb in condemnation of the several Islamic terrorist groups that were springing up at the time and the growing islamophobia across the world. The publication ignited fury across the Muslin world (Hassner, (2011). Weeks after the publication, violence erupted in Maiduguri, North-East Nigeria, as irate Muslim youths who perceived the publication as blasphemous attacked the Christian minorities in the area, killing at least 16 and burning down their churches and businesses (Hill & Asthana, 2006). Before the 2005 Maiduguri mayhem, there was a heavier one in Kaduna, North-West Nigeria, in November 2002 over a *ThisDay* newspaper article on the Miss World beauty pageant billed to be held in Abuja on December 7. The decision to hold the 2002 Miss World Beauty contest in Nigeria was because the winner of the 2001 edition was a Nigerian, Miss Agbani Darego. Weeks before the date of the event, there were a number of negative comments, particularly in the Muslim-dominated north, who opposed the beauty contest on moral grounds.

On Saturday, November 16, an article was published in *ThisDay*, one of the main daily newspapers in Nigeria, written by Isioma Daniel, a 22-year-old US-trained journalist of the Christian faith. The article suggested that the Prophet Mohammed would have approved of the Miss World contest and would probably have chosen a wife from among them. The article provoked a storm of outrage from the Muslim community in the country and went violent in Kaduna, resulting in the killing of over 250 persons, mostly Christians and the burning down of their churches and businesses, including the *ThisDay* newspaper office in Kaduna (Human Rights Watch, 2002; Abdulsamad, 2023).

The Nigerian North-East and some parts of the North-West have been home to Islamic fanaticism and terrorism. It is home to the Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP) and the Boko Haram. Both organisations have been ranked 6th and 7th deadliest Islamic terrorist organisations in the world in the 2023 Global Terrorism Index (Uthman, 2023). This is also reflected in the report of 'Top 50 Countries where It is Hardest to Practice the Christian Faith in 2024' published in *Christian Today*, which ranks Nigeria 6th of countries where Christians are most persecuted globally. The report goes on to place Nigeria's highest in the number of killings of Christians for their faith globally (Casper, 2024).

Coming from the above background, participants of the study who expressed concerns that *Al Jazeera*'s depiction of the suffering of women and children in the Israeli-Hamas war of 2023/2024 was capable of instigating a spillover of the crisis into other countries like Nigeria may be justified. This is so, as generated data further indicate that *Al Jazeera*'s reports of the war focused on the sufferings of Muslim women and children in a manner that aroused feelings of empathy and sympathy towards the victims of the war.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the results, the study concludes that the manner in which *Al Jazeera* represented the sufferings of women and children in the 2023/2024 Israeli-Hamas war has negative implications on Christian/Muslim relationship in Nigeria. This is because *Al Jazeera* represented the war as a

humanitarian crisis deliberately inflicted on innocent victims. It also portrayed it as a conflict between Christianity and the West versus Islam and the Arab world. Such representations could promote hatred and intolerance among adherents of the two religions and potentially fuel reprisal attacks in areas with Christian minorities both in Nigeria and other countries with similar ethnoreligious postures.

We expect that policymakers will find the result of this study useful in planning and implementing policies aimed at proactively monitoring the media contents consumed by the populace and taking steps towards countering any incitement to violence and promoting peaceful coexistence among different religious and ethnic groups. This will help to prevent possible spillover of conflicts from external sources and mitigate the risk of inter-religious violence in the country. This study has, therefore, contributed to the literature by providing a fresh perspective regarding conflict reporting. This new perspective will help improve how distant suffering is portrayed in the media without potentially fanning the flames of violence across distant geographical locations among persons emotionally connected to distant sufferers. We hope this new angle may be useful to scholars who desire to explore the same or similar research areas. Despite the unique contributions of this study, it has some limitations. Firstly, the researchers could not study the entirety of Nigeria or the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja, but concentrated on the Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC). Consequently, using the findings of this study to generalise for the entire country may be prone to error. Secondly, the responses provided in the study were based on the mere perception of the participants, which individual psycho-social and ethno-religious biases could influence. Therefore, the study recommends that other scholars investigate the limitations identified in this study.

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