Embracing questions of media-democracy with peace in political communication-statecraft of women in northern Nigeria

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Abstract

Political communication and statecraft of women in Northern Nigeria are assessable from the women's participation in democracy. Thus, this paper triangulates the women's works by syntagmatic content analysis, critical discourse analysis and critical textual analysis. The women's critical sociality justifies these methodologies and validates dimensions of critical theory and that of the theory of moral sentiments. Critical Discourse Analysis was used to evaluate the responses. The women's statecraft, was justified on the Nigeria Political Thought in consolidating the women's peace-building. Lastly, this paper recommends critical sociality and peace-building against conflict that empirical answers to historical questions of media and democracy have unveiled.

Keywords: Media, Peace, Questions, Statecraft, Women.

1. Introduction

There are positive and negative sides of the attachment paradox that scholars have accused the media and democracy when examining consequences of media freedom violations and destructive public response habits in democracy (Peters & Simonson, 2004). In this century this attachment paradox is more glaring where particularly women are involved in using the media to exercise their democratic rights to fair representation for statecraft in politics. It is with women participation in democracy that this paper finds best examples of the negative sides of the historical questions of media and democracy in this media and democracy attachment paradox that scholars identified. This paper argued subsequently that political communication and statecrafts of women in northern Nigeria provides best examples of effectively measuring these positive and negative sides of the attachment paradox from contenders and public response habits. Peace-building is the positive attachment paradox that this paper discovered in the women's political communication and statecraft: it is a paradox because it tolerates political opponents' negative responses. The women's peace-building in their statecraft stands out as positive contribution to democracy within the political contentions in Nigeria as the public response habits to particularly the women's involvement in statecraft have revealed.

The major aim of this paper is to provide a framework for Nigeria Political Thought, to make the framework a functional document for answers to problems of media freedom abuse among citizens. It also aims in moderating public response habits to women's representation in politics through counterbalancing consequences of the eight historical questions of media/mass communication and democracy. The paper is guided by five objectives which include: to construct a framework for Nigeria Political Thought from using Ersoy (2016) 12 peace journalism codes against 12 war journalism codes, validating only positive codes for peace-building in the women's political communication with media laws

and ethics and their critical sociality based on dimensions of critical theory from Fuchs (2017); to make the framework of the Nigeria Political Thought agreeable to arbitrating embattling public response habits to women's politics on social media and in the mainstream media; to create Nigeria Political Thought from this paper and to use such as functional documents for generating empirically positive answers to the historical questions of the media/mass communication and democracy; and to support the Nigeria Political Thought with peace-building from the political communication and statecraft of women in northern Nigeria and to use both for reaching consensus at preventing conflicts from media and citizens' participation in media freedom and democracy.

The following are also the research questions: who are the northern Nigeria women chosen for their political communication and statecraft? What qualifies the women's political communication and statecraft as justified example for this paper? What in the women's political communication and statecraft is their important focus? And What indices are measurable from the women's political communication and statecraft?

It is based on the above scope of the study that this research contributes new contexts to political communication by engagement with women's political party work, publicity and statecraft: the women's communities and followers on social media are in the cope. The research situates these contexts within mass communication and communication and media studies, linking findings to roles of journalism and the media in strengthening and deepening democracy and tertiary education, particularly unbundled mass communication in Nigerian universities, polytechnics and other higher institutions. The study explores three wide-ranging components and locates these three components within its survey of the eleven

women's personal involvements in political communication and statecraft and within its investigations of contexts of women's representation in Nigeria's democracy.

This work has contributed to knowledge from face-to-face interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) that consolidates evaluation of the works of the eleven northern Nigeria women selected. Views of the women's followers on Facebook and mainstream media were sampled using recommendations (Cohen et al., 2000) and review of Borg and Gall's (1996) sampling technique for large populations. For instance, as at December 5th, 2023 Maryam Shetty has 207,547 followers while Senator Aishatu Ahmed Dahiru Binani has 11,000 followers on her identified Facebook Page which comprised Amana Binani Media Team. Also, Senator Binani has several other support groups that this research considered. The following are among the additional names of the women and their works accessed from their social media pages: Ambassador Paulin Tallen and Senator Beni Lar, Hajiya Naja'atu Bala Muhammad, Senator Binta Masi among others. The combined population of these northern Nigeria women's Facebook followers requires using Ball and Gall's sampling technique formula as the scholars recommended, namely: when the population is above 10,000, use 5 per cent of the sample, but when it is above 5000, use 10 per cent (Ball & Gall, 1996). This paper validated these women's political communication and statecraft using three additional qualitative methodologies, namely: structural corroboration, referential adequacy and critical textual analysis as Creswell (1997) and Botan and Krepp (1999) recommended. These scholars have given four major approaches to using textual analysis as follows: rhetorical criticism, content analysis, interaction analysis and performance studies. To these scholars, the purpose of textual analysis is to describe the content, structure, and

functions of the messages contained in the media texts.

The expected outcome of this research is development of frameworks for Nigeria Political Thought from evaluation of political communication and statecraft of women in northern Nigeria. The framework is from the following indices isolated from the women's political communication and statecrafts as ranked on 5-Point Liker Scaling Index: Intensity based on emphasis and value and prominence to context identified; Favourable contexts of the women's political communication and statecraft; Unfavorable based on negative contexts of the political communication; Neutral, based on the balance component and absence of slant or tilting and 12 Positive and 12 Negative rankings from the Ersoy (2018) war/peace journalism codes

The absence of an acceptable, one-single, coherent document on Nigeria Political Thought in Nigeria is a major problem. This paper sees abuse of media freedom as primary problems leading to bias and offenses in media laws and journalism ethics as a consequence of this absence of Nigeria Political Thought. These consequences provoke conflicts. Second to this is 'mass communication's attachment to anxieties' that lead to contentious public response habits within negative sides of the eight historical questions of mass communication from Peters and Simonson (2004). The gaps in knowledge from these eight questions of mass communication in each century and country are problematic and these historical questions require varying positive and negative answers depending on natures of the national problems from public response habits that the publics of a country present on the social media and the mainstream. This paper discovers knowledge gaps in these two areas and suggested as its contributions to knowledge, a Nigeria Social Thought framework from Ersoy (2018) 12 war and 12 peace journalism codes with support from media laws and journalism ethics. The

Nigeria Political Thought framework that this paper presents becomes then a mechanism for absorbing these eight questions of mass communication. This paper designed this absorption in ways that make the historical questions applicable to contextualizing answers against rejection of media regulation and challenges to regulatory agencies like the Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), the Nigeria Union of Journalist (NUJ) or the Guild of Editors.

2. Literature Review
2.1 Historical Questions of the Media/Mass Communication and Democracy

The origin of the historical questions of the media is the 'attachment of mass communication to hopes and anxieties' which public response habits have grabbed, enjoyed, misused and abused. This inference from observation on attachment of mass communication by Peters and Simonson (2004) is applicable to the Nigeria media landscape, democracy, participation of women and public response habits to all. This is why this paper focused on concerns towards why political communications of women in northern Nigeria have attracted attachment of public response habits and restrictive constrains from political contenders. If mass communication and the media have continued "attaching themselves to hopes and anxieties" as Peters and Simonson (2004) outlined, why not women to, like men? Searching for answers to why mass communication 'attaches to anxieties,' not always 'hopes,' this paper turned to observations of Peters and Simonson (2004) and used them as the eight historical questions of the media/democracy and of. This paper reshapes the scholars' reflection on the media/ democracy into the eight historical questions even though Peters and Simonson (2004) did not number their reflections.

2.2 Introducing the Historical Questions of the Media and Democracy for Society

Below is the re-introduction of these two authors' reflections on the attachment of mass communication to anxieties of all centuries since coinage and usage of mass communication in 1939 and 1941 (Peters & Simonson, 2004). The questions posed to the media and democracy for society and mass communication are: Would it (the media) enhance democracy or breed totalitarianism and other despotisms? Would it consolidate power or challenge it? Would it bring us closer together or isolate us? Educate and uplift us or degrade us and make us stupider? Was it a way to bring art to the masses or to kill art as we know it? Could it be a force to eliminate prejudice and increase cross-cultural understanding? Would it maintain stereotypes, divisions, and dominances? Did it create new and liberating and distorted forms of social life? This paper embraced the above eight historical questions as the commonest issues linking peace-building and critical sociality from political communication and statecraft of women in northern Nigeria to public response habits, political contentions and the purposes of democracy, positive or negative. Positive empirical answers to these eight historical questions then are useful frameworks for building a Nigeria Political Thought on with as peace and critical sociality in the political communication and statecraft of the women research populations that this paper chooses from northern Nigeria.

This literature engages political communication conceptually within two practical contexts. These are from scholars' concepts of political communication (Pfetsch et al., 2004) and Perloff (2014) and from this paper's interpretations of the scholars. Engaging political communication conceptually allows for expanding the narrow scope it has been confined as subsidiary course in university and polytechnic curricular. The Nigeria University Commission (NUC) and the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE) drafted the curricular that unbundled Mass Communication and expanded it with limited aspects of political communication. It is from all these that this paper evolved credentials of political communication and other components of this literature review. This study hopes to bridge knowledge gaps through expanding political communication by focusing on thematic areas of interests to Nigeria's democracy, statecraft and women representation under the following subheadings:

Credentials of Political Communication

This paper developed credentials of political communication from many sources. The most important sources are the studies of Esser, et al (2004), Pfetsch, et al, (2004) and Perloff (2014). The comparison of "political communication, theories, cases and challenges" that Esser, et al. (2004) and Pfetsch, et al. (2004) made is unique not only to the scholars but from the depth and scope in their engagements with political communication. It is apt from Esser et al. (2004) and Pfeitsch et al. (2004) that "…in communication sciences, political communication has always been a central subject. This statement consolidates this paper's justification for political communication in unbundled mass communication and from northern Nigeria women's statecraft. But the focus of this paper is beyond the narrow scope of political communication that Esser et al. (2004) and Pfeitsch et al. (2004) cautioned about when they warned that, "…it was believed for a long time that it would suffice to describe 'political communication' as a singular phenomenon in the realm of national politics or 'one' to subscribe to 'only' historical studies". It is based on the foregoing that this paper expanded the scope with northern Nigeria examples of political communication of women within contexts of these scholars in their explanations that:

"This volume [their book] also allows for the deeper insight that political communication processes in themselves are by no means to be understood as delimited phenomena. In the twenty-first century we are confronted with developments in the realm of politics and mass communication that rule out the conception of political communication as a phenomenon that could be defined within singular national, cultural, or linguistic boundaries" (Esser & Pfeitsch et al, 2004)

It is evident from the above that this paper narrows to women in northern Nigeria not due focus on linguistic considerations but for manageability of the research. The paper's perspectives are however in conformity to the context that Perloff's (2014) attaches' importance to what matters most to political communication, which are the "dynamics:" if media, politics and the epoch are the concerns of Perloff, northern Nigeria women and their statecraft are the concerns for this paper. This means that the perspective of Perloff (2014) is utilizable in the scholar's personified examples of news, advertisements and campaigns from the political personalities' contributions to political communication. The perspectives utilized from engagements of Esser and Pfetsch, et al (2004) with comparative political communication research enriched this paper's methodologies and themes isolated which validated concepts isolated from the northern Nigeria women's approaches to political communication and statecraft.

Contexts, Orientations, Formats, Processes, Convergences, Challenges and Standards

This section forms the basis for more understanding of political communication and its concepts, contexts and technologies from the scholars: these perspectives validate the northern Nigeria women's

political communication and statecraft as subject of research. The justification for this paper also are the focuses of Pfetsch et al. (2004) on fields, approaches, orientations, convergences, formats, processes, global standards and challenges of comparing political communication: as the scholars believed that these are the most important determinants and validators of individual participation in political communication, this paper also argued that such focuses showed how the individual participants of political communication shape, mobilize and tilt public opinion. The engagements of Pfetsch et al. (2004) with gender influences and with roles of the political communication participants and their political campaiging are helpful to understanding how partisan or professional the political communicators and the political communication are. These scholars also highlighted the importance of political communication messages, whether such are pictures, video or television clips or even the influence of the personalities involved in the political communication. The practicality of the views of Pfetsch et al. (2004) is multifaceted: one aspect draws attention to the methods, designs, theories, themes, cases and challenges to choose from and use while comparing political communications and deriving meanings from them.

This paper adopted these suggestions, realizing that there are also the practical steps and indices to evaluating political communication in its ramifications, whether such are globalization and modernization or otherwise. The ones this paper prefers are women in northern Nigeria and their political communication and statecraft. This concern of the scholars leads attention to principles and perspectives of political communication as the scholars discussed them, but also as others engaged them. This concern influenced this paper to include the contexts of (the women's) political news, or information such as entertainment, analysis,

pictures, advertisements or films. There are also the scholars' highlights on orientations to political communication and distinctions between them. For this paper, the choice from what the scholars offered is not limited only to whether the orientations focus of the research are to be on conventional political communication or contemporary. It is here that the contributions of Pfetsch et al. (2004) require for any researcher to focus on practically engaging media convergence on the Internet.

For this research, what becomes valid in the case of the northern Nigeria women politicians are their social media, Facebook pages, newspaper reports on them, and their Facebook posts: the responses of the women's followers are also components of the political communications that this paper eventually samples. All are important instruments. Pfetsch et al. (2004) have equally analysed formats, contents and processes of political communication and discussed global standards. This perspective validates this paper's focus on contexts of political communication that included good governance, human development, development communication, and other local variants of political communication as contexts of Nigeria's unbundled mass communication.

This paper's attention to the political communication and statecraft of women in northern Nigeria therefore centres primarily on the women's individual participations in political communication and statecrafts and also on their follower's responses on Facebook. We evaluated how the women's political communication and statecrafts shape, mobilize or tilt or entrench the opinions of their Facebook followers as we ascertain the roles of the entire political communication and statecrafts of the women. Other aspects we engaged with are political campaigning and the status of the political communication entirely, whether it is professional or partisan. The perspectives of Pfetsch et al. (2004) on political communication effects help in this area

through the specific contributions of the different scholars whose work appeared in the study. We explored other themes in comparisons with perspectives of these scholars but citing our local examples to make our study unique and relatable to mainstream research and scholarships on political communication in contexts of mass communication and communication and media studies. The direction of this paper expanded through linking and broadening focuses with contributions of other scholars.

Perloff (2014), highlighted the important areas that contemporary media and politics have charted for political communication on social media, in mass communication and in communication and media studies. This paper utilized the richness of Perloff (2014) from his reviewer's comments on page two of the book. That section exemplified components of communication for political purposes. We drew credentials of political communication from these components that included news, advertisements, advertising and political persuasion for votes. It is however the focus on the impact of democratic or undemocratic ideas in the media and on audiences and political communicators that made us also utilized Perloff's (2014) perspectives on inclusion of political communication theories and beliefs as among the major credentials of political communication. The endorsements that Perloff got are specifically useful to this paper in its efforts at making understandable the credentials of political communication built in this research. This paper expanded these credentials from scholars' emphasis on components of media work "such as agenda setting, agenda building, framing, political socialization and issues of bias that are part of campaign news" (Perloff, 2014). The reviewer's endorsements of the focus of Perloff (2014) on principles, methods of research and testing hypothesis are also among components this paper utilized in fostering

understanding of the credentials of political communication that this research has built. The endorsement scholars have given to Perfloff (2014) on the usefulness of his book (2014) to students, researchers and teachers is also a validation of both this paper's aims and focus on credentials of political communication that the research has built. The credentials of political communication that this paper built are in essence then also for students, for communication and media studies, for political communication, for researchers and mass communication teachers, journalists and northern Nigeria women in political communication and statecrafts.

Another guide from Perloff (2014) on what credentials of political communication should entail is the highlight on "online campaigning, negative advertising, gender bias in campaign politics and image-management strategies." Aspects of the section's commentaries on influences of the digital age on politics, the media and political communication are for this paper, important basis of political communication from its definitions, its study areas, and its engagement with the media, democracy, representation and political socialization. Perloff's (2014) in this sense further validates contexts of "political news", "agenda setting", "agenda building", "framing" and concepts of "political news myths and realities." This paper however localized assessments of political communication from the contexts of this research on women in northern Nigeria.

Furthermore, Perloff's (2014) was explored in engagements with communication and election campaigns to understand useful tips for Nigeria contexts from the American trends. He explained these under six subheadings of the contexts of practical political communication that he analysed. We also explored Perloff's analyses of contexts of political communication and election campaigns in America. The nature of political campaigns and the main players in the political campaigns were the

interesting contexts from Perloff that enriched our analyses of the political communication and statecrafts of women in northern Nigeria which we are under obligation to evaluate. The examples that Perloff's made use of in discussing "persuasion and political communication impacted our second research obligation: having to analyse fans, supporters and social media followers of Maryam Shetty and Senator Aisha Ahmed Binani, or those of Pauline Tallen and Beni Lar, four of the women subjects of our research. We drew from media laws and ethics in Nigeria and from Nigeria advertising ethics and compared them with the rules, ethics and issues in political advertising that Perloff focused on. These sources strengthened our evaluation of political advertising in the northern Nigeria women's political communication and statecrafts that we engaged with. While doing this, the social media handles (Facebook) of Maryam Shetty, Senator Aisha Ahmed Binani, Pauline Tallen, Beni Lar and those of the other women, became our media of analyses as it is through the women's Facebook pages that we were able to follow, sample and evaluate their political communications.

It is however the focus group discussions and the face-to-face interviews that we hope to have with these women that shall augment our research data, if the chance is given to us. Perloff's (2014) discussions of "the panoply of political communication" which opens chapter one of his book was equally useful to use in validating sampling of the women's Facebook follower's comments and responses of the women's political communication and statecraft on Facebook and in real public life. In these contexts, Perloff (2014) became to us an important source that kept us within contexts of political communication that scholars have charted. We assess the persuasiveness levels of the political communication and statecrafts of these two northern women through guidance from

Perloff's references to specific details as we read, understood and distilled from them. For instance, we utilized Perloff's focus on "unpacking political news" and "political campaign past and present" in mastering the analysis of the political news that northern women post, utilized in their political campaigns and statecrafts.

Comparatives of Political Communication/Statecraft, Differences and Uniformity

Our focuses in the credentials of political communication are in essence comparative. We for instance, sampled the political communication of Maryam Shetty, who technically is just a political party appointee, but not specifically a politician. Maryam Shetty is unique for her large social media followings on twitter, instagram and Facebook. Senator Aisha Ahmed Dahiru Binani is on the other hand an experienced senator who political experiences and involvement in philanthropy as politician. Pauline Tallen was a deputy governor of plateau state and later a federal minister, while Beni Lar is a senator, so also a seasoned politician. Maryam Shetty's involvements with political communication are primarily outside political participation in government, other than making her posts on behalf of and for a political party. Maryam Shetty also has already carved out for herself a non-political career through her work in sport's physiotherapy and through her own philanthropy which she engaged with for herself, not under political partisanship, but under her non-governmental organization.' It can be stated however that Senator Aishatu Binani's senatorial work and her campaigns for elections as governor of Adamawa State are political, so were Pauline Tallen's bid in plateau politics. Our credentials of political communication are therefore built to include mixtures of several contexts. The first contexts are from one woman's personal and political participations in political communication and statecraft. The other contexts are from the other woman's work as a senator and as political campaigner contesting elections for Governor of Adamawa state. We juxtaposed this two women's political communication and statecrafts with those of their counter parts: Senator Beni Lar, Hajiya Naja'atu Bala Muhammad, Ambassador Pauline Tallen among them.

Democracy, Political Socialization, Gender, Bias and Representations

Perloff's (2014) engagements with "normative theories of democracy" clarifies our focus on democracy, representation and women's political communication and statecrafts northern in Nigeria. It is here that we utilized the divergences of other theories of democracy that Perloff engaged with. Yet our engagement with Perloff is as the engagements of researchers seeking to gathering evidence and justifications for the roles of political morality in political communication and statecraft of the women according to their political circumstances, grievances and resolution styles. The saga of the Adamawa state gubernatorial elections where Aisha Binani, a woman, challenged the incumbent male governor, and was about to win, but the election was declared inconclusive, is an example of these cries of the northern women against patriarchy. Our approaches to political communication then are from the critical theory perspectives, we, knowing that Perloff's (2014) too, has discoursed "political communication: a critical approach. We accordingly deepened our credentials of political communication with the awareness from Perloff (2014) that political communication builds on three sources of activities from "leaders, media and the public." Our choice of the platform of political communication to use is social media, particularly Facebook: we evaluated the political communication and statecrafts of women northern Nigeria from women's Facebook posts. Facebook is among the media (social) that Perloff identified with his focus on "politics [being] played on a

media platform" with "technology [being] a centre piece of political communication". It is however Perloff's warning that "political communication can be a force of good and evil" that underscored our declaration that our analysis of the political communication and statecrafts of women in northern Nigeria is not political party-partisan and biased. We validated our research with acknowledgments of the theories and methodologies of political communication that Esser and Pfetsch et al. (2004) and Perloff (2014). Survey and content analysis as the methodologies we chose coincided with the methodologies that Perloff identified also for political communication, namely, "content analysis, experiment and survey." The paper included theories and methodologies among the credentials of political communication.

Among the other enriching scopes of political communication that we drew on from Perloff (2014) are his focus on "media and public knowledge" for engaging with "mass communication perspectives" and its "psychological and sociological approaches." Perloff's "political knowledge in the age of the Internet" is then a requirement for engaging in analyzing political communication. We found justification for our focus on political communication and statecrafts of women in northern Nigeria from Perloff's engagements with "contemporary themes in political socialization." Perloff's analysis of "interpersonal political communication dynamics" are similarly additional means of validating assessments of political communication. This gives angles to how we may wish to expand the scope of our credentials of political communication. Discussions of "agenda setting" from Perloff specifically provided guidance for evaluating political communication. In the question that Perloff raised, this guidance seemed to urge that the researcher ponders "do the data [from political communication] supports agenda setting" for political communication? We ensured therefore that

our data from the women's political communication and statecrafts also supported the types of political communication and statecrafts we focused on evaluating from the women in the contexts they appeared. We drew from Perloff's "framing" by also framing the political communication and statecrafts of the northern Nigeria women we engaged with on Facebook. Our methodology determines the procedures we used for contextualizing our research data as in examples of Perloff's "news indexing" and "cascading frames: news media challenge the status quo": these are useful for applying to northern Nigeria contexts. These contexts are useful against the backdrop of the challenges the women faced for their political activism and aspirations to lead. This paper used Perloff's (2014) analysis of "journalistic perspectives" and "gender role perspectives" in justifying women's outcry against political marginalization and stigmatization. We analyzed this further by contrasting the use of social role theory (Eagly, 1987) among women academics (Ibrahim, 2017) decrying absence or unequal presence of women in journalism education. We believed that Eagly's (1987) social role theory as used by Maryam (2017) contrasts women to men but ignored exceptionality in the women's unusual acts. The political communication and statecrafts of women in northern Nigeria that we chose are from realms where the impacts of the women are more of the impact of the quality of their contributions rather than a matter of their numerical strength or quests for equality and parity with men in job placements.

Economic Influences of Political Communication
We equally found to be useful, Perloff's (2014) interest in "economic influences" of political communication. The clear angle of relevance here from Perloff is where "audience factors" and "economic development interests on local

communities" becomes assessment indices in our evaluation of the statecrafts of women in northern Nigeria. Perloff's "main players in political campaigns" leads us to the limit our choice of players to only the selected eleven women from northern Nigeria and their political communication and statecrafts. The peace-building focuses of the women political communication and statecraft on social media and in their communities that we discovered are the most important influences for this research. Perloff's engagement with this extended to "media and candidates", "political consultants" and "political parties" among others. It is however Perloff's "persuasion and political campaigns" that clarifies the roles he appears to have assigned the political communicator through the "who says it and what they say" but also thorough the "communicators qualities and expertise". His arguments are also important in being extended also to the political candidates' "trust worthiness" and "good will" as well as gender of the communicator or the "campaign messages" and "mobilization". Other important indices from Perloff (2014) included "consequential nonverbal communications" that this paper considered through also evaluating the women's postures in still or motion pictures, gestures or public outings in general as sourced from their posts on their Facebook pages.

Theoretical Framework

This paper utilises the Relevance Theory approaches (Wilson et al., 2004) in supporting the research's efforts at linking the relevance of the historical questions of the media and democracy to grievances of women and to the women's attempts at validating such grievances through seeking redress in political communication and statecraft. It is however the paper's identification of the peace-building focus of the women's political communication and statecraft that justifies how founders of the theory Wilson, Deirdre and Sperber (2004) had themselves validated the Relevance

Theory in the contexts that it name symbolizes. The relevance theory is accordingly about finding and relating the relevance of the contradictory focuses of any research in relations to contradictory variables that the reach either unveils or tried to harmonise. This paper eventually expands the scope of the application of the theory with updates of the theory from Nambrol, (2020). The useful aspects of this theory that this research focuses on from Nambrol (2020) is that of studying human communication within both interpersonal contexts and in the mass media, mainstream and internet-related, that have made human communication relatable in all ramifications including the political, to be accessible as social mediated. This theory is apt for this research from its emphasis on human communication in different contexts and its recognition of the intentions of the communication and intensions of also the humans. Where interests, motives and drives come in as in the contexts that the relevance theory has outlined, political communication comes in as much as the end result associated with that political communication. This end result is ideally, fair representation, dividends of democracy and statecraft otherwise known as nation building. This research then used the relevance theory in demonstrating how political communication and statecraft of women in northern Nigeria also reveals the ways that dividend of democracy trickles down to people, states and localities within communities. The relevance theory in essences validates these activities, showing relevance of the communicated contexts of the women's political communication and statecraft. This research follows the trend of utilizing this theory based on the "worthwhile difference to the individual's representation of the world" (Wilson & Sperber, 2004) as Nambrol (2020) quoted.

3. Methodology

This methodology is a triangulation of survey, content analysis and critical textual analysis. It consists of the research subjects, the research procedures, research design and the analysis technique that harmonized survey, content analysis and the critical textual analysis used. Syntagmatic analysis is the technique for this harmonization used in the sampling, analysis and interpretations of the women's political communication and in harmonizing the research approached triangulated. Syntagmatic analysis guided both data analysis trends and how each of the methodological approaches was used. Syntagmatic analysis refers to how data for this research is sampled, studied and analysed from the women's political communications and statecraft's on social media, mainstream media and in public. This analysis of the social media like Facebook is of the women's posts, texts, videos and written communication and the news events that the women generated and publicised across the screen time of the social media that the women used. The procedures below are the 6 components of this methodology.

Research Design

This identifies juxtapositions, paradoxes and relatable contradictions from triangulation as the methods of conducting this research: these relatable incongruences work for syntagmatic analysis researchers by the researchers focusing on finding positives and negatives such as opposing variables like men/women; human/animal; rich/poor; powerful/powerless, peace/conflict. Drawing meaningful relatedness from incongruences is the aim of juxtaposing. This juxtaposing contextualizes the analysis by pairing of opposites and exposing how the dominant weakens or overrides through ideologies, prejudices of tribalism, sexism, classism or ageism and so on that are in our society and that relate to representation and political communication. Syntagmatic analysis is the sequential exploration of women's political communication and statecraft in relations to the women's screen time posts and the public response habits that the political communication and statecraft of the women generated. Syntagmatic analysis is paradigmatic analysis that reveals realms of knowledge, awareness and perceptions in relations to particularly women political communication and statecraft or other representations within the contexts of this research.

Analysis Approach

The analysis approach is the multistage sampling and analysis technique. The multistage sampling and analysis technique is a methodology for selecting and analysing given research contents such as research populations, speeches or media texts such as the women's political communication and statecraft or issues of representations in Nigeria's democracy. In the multistage sampling and analysis technique, a researcher conducts analysis by focusing on clusters of information in the media texts continuously to the end of the texts. If it is women's political communication and statecraft or issues of representations analysis, then the researcher engages with whatever texts he/she finds from the women's political communication and statecraft.

4. Results and Discussion
4.1 Data Presentation
The Ersoy War/Peace Journalism Code

The Ersoy's (2016) War-Peace Journalism Code consists of 24 frameworks distributed equally on 12 Positive and 12 Negative Indexes. This code can be used for measuring bias, in newspaper or social media and public response habits on news, headlines and contents in conformity to the premise of Ersoy's study (2016) that, "despite popular belief, news is not always presented in a pure and innocent manner." Using Ersoy (2018) war/peace journalism codes, this paper verified the predominance of peace-building in the women's political

communication and statecraft in the data presented. Below is the result:

Results

This data identified bias, neutrality, favourability, un-favourability, intensity codes: all are summed up under negative frames for dichotomy contexts in conformity with the focus of Ersoy's (2016) codes on "the role of political pressure, regulations, mainstream news values" that tilt media and public responses habits towards polarisation. This paper discovers that in the public response habits of Nigerians and politicians towards the political communication and statecraft of women in northern Nigeria, influences of the negative consequences of the historical questions of the media are what tilted the media and the public towards accusation, blame and the creation of suspicion that women are of the 'other' side."

It is necessary therefore to use cross tabulation of Ersoy's (2018) war/peace journalism codes in 12 positive and 12 Negative indices in the evaluation of the political communication and statecraft of women in northern Nigeria. The Ersoy (2018) war/peace journalism codes are important in explaining roles of power relations, politics, newspaper ownership structure, and marketability of content based on popular sentiments in the newspapers' zones of support or bases. The Ersoy (2018) code is also important for developing frame work of the Nigeria Political Thought.

Table 1: Showing Negative Frames Frequencies for Dichotomy Contents Tabulated at Negative Frame value 2

Negative Contents' Frames Frequencies

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
NF[a]	'Exclusive' frame	2	1.8%	4.8%
	'Status Quo	9	8.2%	21.4%
	'Other is the Threat'	23	20.9%	54.8%
	'Revenge' Frame	2	1.8%	4.8%
	'Antipathy' Frame	2	1.8%	4.8%
	'Distrust' Frame	8	7.3%	19.0%
	'Prejudiced' Frame	7	6.4%	16.7%
	'Sport' Frame	2	1.8%	4.8%
	'Unbalance Background'	1	0.9%	2.4%
	Criticize Other	4	3.6%	9.5%
	'They are our Enemy'	22	20.0%	52.4%
	'Win–Lose'	1	0.9%	2.4%
	'Inferior' Frame	1	0.9%	2.4%
	'Nationalist' Frame	1	0.9%	2.4%
	'Hate Speech' Frame	3	2.7%	7.1%

	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
'Blame the Other Side'	10	9.1%	23.8%
'Self and Other'	1	0.9%	2.4%
'Just War' Frame	4	3.6%	9.5%
'Good and Evil'	7	6.4%	16.7%
Total	110	100.0%	261.9%

a. Dichotomy Contents' Group Tabulated at Table 1Value.

Data above shows frequency percentages of the 12 negative frames measuring public response habits to how the media or other communication contexts induce embattling public response habits in opposition political parties' readers responding to political communication of women in northern Nigeria.

Table 2: Showing Positive Frames Frequencies against Dichotomy Contents Group Tabulated at Positive Frame Value 2
Positive frames frequencies

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
PF[a]	'Inclusive' Frame	3	8.6%	16.7%
	'Solution-Oriented'	14	40.0%	77.8%
	'Forgiveness' Frame	2	5.7%	11.1%
	'Unprejudiced' Frame	3	8.6%	16.7%
	'Fair Play' Frame	5	14.3%	27.8%
	'Balance Background'	1	2.9%	5.6%
	'Emphasize Both Sides'	1	2.9%	5.6%
	'We are Friend' Frame	1	2.9%	5.6%
	'Win–Win' Frame	1	2.9%	5.6%
	'Applaud' Frame	1	2.9%	5.6%
	'Common Ground'	3	8.6%	16.7%
	Total	35	100.0%	194.4%

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Data above shows the effectiveness of the Ersoy (2018) war/peace journalism code/frames in either conflict-resolution or war-instigation and embattling public response habits of opposition political readers' responses to political

communication and statecraft of women in northern Nigeria that they see on social media. The 12 positive frames therefore can aptly apply to answering the eight historical questions of mass communication on positive scales

Discussions

Using critical theory of communication, media, democracy and society in providing answers to the historical questions of communication, media, democracy and society therefore can lead us to "critique of domination and exploitation" in communication, media, democracy and society, such that mass communication, media, democracy and society can conceive structures and agency as dialectical. As Fuchs (2017) explains, domination is structural phenomena that must be forced into "sublation or change." Using critical theory of communication, media, democracy and society in providing answers to the historical questions of communication, media, democracy and society therefore can lead us to "dialectical reasoning" that is, showing that society is shaped by contradictions that eventually lead to sublation or change (Fuchs, 2017).

Validation

This research is validated by answers to the research questions and the research objectives which formed this paper's methodological contributions. Example: **Research QI "who are the women?"** was validated by composition of the northern Nigeria women sampled for this research, all being either senators (Senator Aisha Binani, Senator Beni Lar), political party workers (Maryam Shetty), onetime deputy governor, ambassador and minister (Pauline Tallen), political activists (Hajiya Naja'atu Bala Mohammed). **Research Q2, "what in the women's focus is measurable?"** was also answered as the women's peace-building, critical sociality and Ersoy (2018) codes used in measuring negative responses of their political opposition audiences and positive responses of also their political supporters.

Research Q3, "what qualifies the women?" was equally answered by the political qualifications, works and identities of the women. **Research Q4, "What indices are measurable from the women's works"?** is satisfactorily answered

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

The answers to the historical questions of communication, media and democracy that Peters and Simonson (2004) raised can be found in the above itemized frames from Ersoy (2018), from critical theoretical approaches and from media laws, starting with role of "critical ethics." According to Fuchs (2016), citing Marcuse (1988) critical ethics has a concern with human essence, human existence and human happiness. Hence, mass communication, media and democracy should not "breed totalitarianism and other despotisms," "should not isolate us," but rather that they "should educate and uplift us," not "degrade and make us stupider." The 12 positive frames of the Ersoy (2018) code then are empirical validations for resolving the eight historical questions of mass communication and for framing the Nigeria Social Thought. Using these frames of the Ersoy war and peace journalism code can ensure that the Nigeria Social Thought can also be developed in another research. If developed, the Nigeria Social Thought can ensure that the media, mass communication and its historical questions "should be forces to eliminate prejudice and increase cross-cultural understanding," not "maintain stereotypes, divisions and dominance," as consequences of the 12 positive frames of the Ersoy (2018) code have shown. But whether developed or delayed, the Nigeria Social Thought is at present the most viable of secular options that Nigeria should aimed at if we truly want to use the historical questions of mass communication to "create new and liberating forms of social life," not "pathological and distorted forms of social

life," as negative resolution of the questions has juxtaposed in Peters and Simonson (2004)

The everlasting relevance of critical theory of communication, media, democracy and society is its "categorical imperative" and "normative and realistic" aspects (Fuchs, 2017), which, Fuchs (2017) citing Marx (1997), "seek to overthrow all conditions in which humans are (by extension mass communication, the media, democracy and society) degraded, enslaved, neglected, contemptible beings." The 12 positive peace journalism and 12 negative war frames of the Ersoy (2018) are in this respect effective tools for evaluating and judging societies, in essence also communication, media, contents and audience-responses "according to the extent they provide or fail to provide humane conditions" and peace.

The following are recommendations:
1.   The Nigeria Social Thought needs to be explored and developed into a document.
2.   Using the 12 negative war journalism frames that lead to embattling public response habits on social media must be challenged and stopped using the frameworks of the Nigeria Social Thought that this paper presented.
3.   There must be constant engagement with public response habits to media freedom and proactive responses against those responses that push Nigerians into conflicts.
4.   Media freedom, democracy and regulation in digital era should henceforth continuously be at the forefront of national dialogues and policy for the academia and among journalist towards educating the public.

The historical questions of mass communication must not be allowed to drag the media, public response habits and democracy into the negative empirical answers that destroyed earlier generations.

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