

Curbing Insurgencies in Nigeria: Roles for the Media

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Abstract

Insurgency is a concept that is fluid and largely subject to arguments which are capable of generating emotional exchanges due to differing perspectives and divergent understandings and positions. It has been a global phenomenon, particularly in the Nigerian State with the emergence of groups such as the Niger-Delta ethnic militants in the South-South, Oodu'a People's Congress (OPC) in the South West, Bakassi Boys and Movement for the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) in the South East that its approach is to unleash force to maintain order. The research also brings up the case of the group Jama'atul Ahlus Sunnah Lidda'awati wal Jihad, popularly referred to as Boko Haram which means Westernization is a sin, giving great publicity to terrorist actions such as killings, kidnapping, bombing, disruption of public peace and so on. The research hence looks at how the activities of the media has aided the actions of insurgents and how it may be used as a tool to stem the insurgency tide in the country. The research adopts the survey methodology, using Focus Group Discussion as an instrument to elicit discussants perceptions as to how the media can use its wide reach to curb the spread of insurgency in Nigeria.

Keywords: Niger-Delta, Oodu'a People's Congress, Bakassi, MASSOB, Boko Haram

1.1 Introduction

The concept of insurgency has undergone kaleidoscopic trends over the years. It is fluid and largely subject to arguments which are capable of generating emotional exchanges due to differing perspectives and divergent understandings and positions. The word has in recent times been frequently used interchangeably with terrorism which has of late become a constant phenomenon in several parts of the world.

To Hoffman (2003:118), insurgency or terrorism, as the case may be, may be seen as a violent act that is conceived specifically to attract attention and then, through the publicity it generates, to communicate a message. As a one of leaders of the United Red Army once realistically explained: "violent actions... are shocking. We want to shock people, everywhere... It is our way of communicating with the people." (Hoffman, 2003:118). Mass media, as the principal conduit of information about such acts, thus play a vital part in the terrorists' calculus. Going by Hoffman's perspective, it becomes pertinent to examine the consequences of disseminating information on the terror and outrage meted by insurgent to the affected people and the world's media audience generally. Hoffman however argues that the dissemination of terror information based on activities of insurgents is capable of enhancing the realisation of the maximum potential of their actions, intentions and quest to effect fundamental political change as the media is so powerful that it could catalyse or hinder the success of any idea or action.

The United States Law Code defines terrorism as any form of "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents." Drawing from the same source, international terrorism refers to terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country (U.S. Code Title 22, ch.38, para. 2656f (d)). This is to say that international terrorism refers to those acts in which the terrorists cross national frontiers and carry out attacks, or attack foreign targets at home such as bombing embassies, or hijacking air or sea liners (Lesser, 1999:6).

1.2 Phases of Insurgencies across the Globe

The "Anarchist wave" is the first form of insurgency or terrorism experienced in history internationally, three similar, consecutive and overlapping expressions followed. The "Anticolonial wave" started in the 1920s and lasted for forty years. Then came the "New left wave" which diminished immediately as the twentieth century came to an end, leaving only a few groups still active in Nepal, Spain, the United Kingdom, Peru, and Colombia. In 1979 the "Religious wave" emerged and it is assumed to disappear by 2025 for a new wave to emerge.

A wave is composed of organizations, but waves and organizations have very different life rhythm. Normally, an organization disappears before the initial waves associated to them does. Resistance, political concessions, and the changes in the perceptions of generations are critical factors in explaining the disappearance.

The Irish Republican Army (IRA) is the oldest terrorist organization, emerging first in 1916 though not as a terror organization. But in the 1950s, it fought critically for five campaigns as revolution. Revolution is the overriding aim in every wave. The revolutionaries create a new source of political legitimacy, and more often than not that meant national self-determination. Terror was violence beyond the moral conventions used to regulate the rules of war and punishment. Tracing terrorism to the lineage of French revolution, as they sought

political targets or those who can affect public attitudes.

In the Russian case as well as in all subsequent ones, major unexpected political events dramatized new governments' vulnerabilities. Russian rebels trained and encouraged other groups even those with different political aims. Their efforts bore fruit quickly as Armenians and Polish groups committed to assassination emerged in Russia and used bank robbery to finance their activities.

In the case of religious terrorism, Christian terrorism based on racist interpretation of the Bible emerged in an Amorphous American "Christian Identity" movement. In true medieval millenarian fashion, armed rural communes composed of families withdrew from the state to wait for the second coming and the great racial war. Although some observers have associated Christian Identity with the Oklahoma city bombing (1995), the Christian level of violence has been minimal so far. In 1979 the Iranian revolution brought about the Islamic new century, and the Soviets made an unprovoked invasion of Afghanistan.

Iranian street demonstrations disintegrated the Shah's secular state. The event also was clear evidence to believers that religion now had more political appeal, and this altered the relationship among all Muslims as well as between Islam and the rest of the world. Most immediately, the Iranians inspired and assisted the Shiite terror movement outside of Iran, particularly in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Lebanon. Shiites influenced by the self-martyrdom tactic of the medieval Assassins introduced suicide bombing, with surprising results, ousting American and all other foreign troops that had entered Lebanon on a peace mission after the 1982 Israeli invasion.

The Iranian revolution was so unexpected that made Muslims to storm the Grand Mosque in Mecca in the first minutes of the new century of 1979, and resulted in 10,000 casualties. Whatever the specific local causes, it is striking that so many examples of such insurgency appeared at the same time in Egypt, Syria, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, the Philippines, and Indonesia. Muslim population that are formerly part of Soviet Union such as Chechnya, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Azerbaijan became an important new fields for Islamic rebels.

Al-Qaeda is probably still the largest terrorist group with perhaps 5,000 members with cells operating in seventy-two countries. Most of the group recruits served with the Taliban in the Afghan civil war. Al-Qaeda is responsible for several attacks in the Arabian Peninsula, Africa, and American homeland. Its initial objective was to force the U.S evacuation of military bases in Saudi Arabia, the land containing Islam two holiest sites as this led to the September 11, 2001 bombing of the World Trade Centre in the United States of America. Several media houses have in recent times however referred to this group as "ailing" and this state is attributed to the emergence of a new terrorist group: Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) which is now simply known as the Islamic State (IS) and spreading its tentacles world over, carrying out several dreadful threats and attacks.

In Somalia, the operations of religious fundamentalists and ethnic militia groups aided by international terrorist groups have crippled governmental operations and state functions. In Mali, ethnic Tuareg fighters aided by foreign terrorist groups have stoked a simmering rebellion, and the consequent Malian coup d'état (Raghavan, 2011; CNN. 3 June 2012). Consequently, the pursuit of the protection of national security, territorial authority and sovereignty of nation-states by state actors has been on the ascendancy assuming a global dimension. The reason is that international and local terrorism have been recognized as potent threats to the security and sovereignty of nation-states and their citizens. Though international terrorism dates back to 1945, the period immediately after the World War II, its contemporary form and dimension has been engendered by the process of globalization. With the aid of globalization, terrorist groups and organizations have become powerful national security challengers which the nation-states in most cases are not adequately prepared to encounter (William, 2008; Aydinli, 2006).

The Nigerian State fights terrorism through its responses to groups such as the Niger Delta ethnic militants in the South South, Oodu'a People's Congress (OPC) in the South West, Bakassi Boys and Movement for the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) in the South East that its approach is to unleash force to maintain order. It was only in the case of the militants that a more useful approach was adopted that has succeeded in containing the violence. But it is instructive that it was violent attacks against symbols of the State and its interests that led to granting the people in the Niger Delta what they justly deserve as citizens.

The research also brings up the case of the group Jama'atul Ahlus Sunnah Lidda'awati wal Jihad, popularly referred to as Boko Haram which means Westernization is a sin, giving great publicity to terrorist actions such as killings, kidnapping, bombing, disruption of public peace and so on. Recently, for example the abduction of Nigeria federal girls secondary school students (Chibok) in Bornu State has greatly increased the public pressure on government representatives to give in to terrorists' requests.

Using Nigeria as a focus it is the contention in this research that the factors influencing the emergence of groups challenging the State's monopoly of the use of arsenals of violence and waging attacks against fellow citizens, who may be innocent, arise from the manner that the operators of the Nigerian State handle national issues.

On the other hand, informing about terrorism, especially kidnappings and hostage crisis, is for mass

media a source of news that, due to the fact that these news stories are dramatic, updated and raise great public attention, could significantly raise reader and viewer ratings, and thus media companies' profit as well. Mass media will always do so in case of terrorist attacks because of a great public attention/interest for such an event. Wilkinson (2002) points out that every percentage of rating increase raises the annual profit by tens of millions of pounds. At the same time, in his opinion, chief editors are not even aware of the political implications caused by their relentless struggle to increase ratings, popularity, acceptance and profit.

Determining influences mass media have on terrorism is a very complex issue. Cepulkauskaitė (2000) opines that the influence of mass media grows in cases when they are the only source of information and when there are no other opinions on certain events. Taking into consideration that information on terrorism are mostly transmitted through mass media and that the public does not have a preconception on a certain event. Hence saying that mass media plays the crucial role in forming public opinion on terrorism and their actions is a logical conclusion.

It can be argued that the environment in which Nigerians live and their experiences of governance practices could be contributory factors to the emergence of terrorism. It is this that gives groups the initiative to take on the Nigerian State because of its perception as unjust, demeaning to the citizen, without guarantees of individual safety and security and exploitative. There is a widespread disenchantment with the Nigerian State arising from its failure to meet its obligations to the people and the perception that State policies are implemented to advance private interests for personal accumulation. There is widespread perception and evidences to suggest that the citizens are not getting 'a good deal' from the State as the emergence and activities of ethnic militia groups in different parts of the country: the South South, South West and South East. The recent phenomenon popularly called Boko Haram also fits into the realm of dissatisfaction with the way and manner the affairs of the Nigerian State are being handled Depending on one's perspective and understanding of the motivations of each group.

The research examines different ways in which journalism may be fuelling insurgency so as to create the awareness and cause necessary changes and determine what other roles the media may play to curb the menace with particular reference to terrorism. It also considers how the media can be strengthened, to enhance their role in curbing the unpalatable insurgency. It remains a symptom of a poorly functioning state as witnessed in most developing countries such as Nigeria as some of the factors that led citizens to take up arms against the State and uses the activities of ethnic militia groups as an example of the use of violence and terror to address their grievance.

The purpose of this study is to determine how a contemporary society with the aid of the media could respond to terrorism and to determine how the media could adequately disseminate information on terrorists' attacks, and in doing so, not enhancing the image, achievements, capacity and capability of insurgents. Societies react on terrorism in different ways, and it is of great importance to investigate how democratic societies respond to terrorism, especially if the media reveals that the greatest peril to the societies is terrorism itself. In doing so, special attention should be given to the role of the media, as the major channel for transmission and dissemination of information, that have come to represent one of the essential levers of both terrorist and antiterrorist organizations in contemporary society.

The similitude of terrorism anywhere in the world is like smoke oozing out of the chimney of a kitchen and dangerously polluting the environment for everybody. To stop the ensuing pollution and save people from its suffocating effect, dispelling the smoke may not be an adequate solution. For as long as the fire keeps burning inside the kitchen and gives vent to the oozing smoke, the environment will continue to be polluted unabatedly. In that situation, it will be wiser to quench the fire than to chase the smoke around. Dispelling the smoke can never have any effect on the burning fire. On the other hand, quenching the fire will automatically stop the polluting smoke.

In the fight against terrorism, it appears that no one is exonerated. As exposed, the national economy could rightly be apportioned blames for the preponderance of this menace. Therefore, this research is hinged on the problem of the continuously increasing insurgency. It is arguable that the media has assisted insurgents in achieving their aims through frequent dissemination of information of their activities which is capable of causing and heightening panic and insecurity amongst citizens. This study thus moves to examine public perception of media activities and how they may be enhancing insurgency. It also delves into proffering effective methods by which the media may participate in the move to curbing or absolutely eradicate the insurgency as it is important to note that handling terrorism can be significantly aided by the cooperation of the media. This is because the media know their communities better and any report(s) on daily basis of suspicious behaviour or activity could lead to actionable intelligence leading to disruption of attacks.

The ability of government to deter, defeat and respond decisively to terrorist attacks is one of the most challenging priorities facing nations today. Nigeria is no exception to this situation as terrorism, a hitherto alien phenomenon in Nigeria, recently emerged as the leading national security issue, attracting many and varied comments in contemporary national discourse, terrorist attacks recorded in the country include drive-by-

shootings, bombings, use of Improved Explosive Devices (IEDs) as well as suicide attacks. All these groups emerge perhaps because of the failure of governance, a complacent security regime and absence of strong culture that enables citizens to make effective demands from their rulers.

Against this backdrop, this study is carried out with the following objectives:

1. To examine the perception of media users on the media's approach to information dissemination as it concerns insurgencies.
2. To investigate if the media has in any way enhanced insurgency in the nation.
3. To investigate how the media through its influence on the population can effectively curb terrorism in the nation.
4. To determine the successes of the media (if any) in curtailing further uncontrollable havoc caused by insurgency.

The relevance of this study cannot be over emphasized, as the research will help to excavate the evolution and the remote causes of terrorism in Nigeria and proffer, if possible, an enduring solution to it to avoid future cases of such.

This study is also significant because it will awaken the government owned media and other private media owners' management of the importance of the media as an effective and integral tool for solving the national and indeed global problem of insurgencies and all other related challenges.

The study hopes also to influence policy as regards the mode of reportage of insurgent activities around the nation in a manner that will not make it seem like the media is glorifying the insurgents and portraying their tactics and strategies as superior to the security outfits thereby causing utmost fear and insecurity in the minds of the citizens and rendering the government practically incapacitated.

To adequately achieve its objectives of this study, the following research questions were raised;

1. What is the perception of media users on the media's approach to information dissemination as it concerns insurgencies?
2. What is the level of direct or indirect involvement of the media in enhancing insurgency in Nigeria?
3. What is the level of awareness of the citizens on measures for preventing insurgent activities?
4. To what extent has of the media been able to curtail further insurgency in the nation?

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Insurgencies in the "Third World"

Going by Aiyesimoju and Najm (2014), the world operates on a paradigm of developmental comparisons among nations irrespective of landmass, population, natural resources, colonization, systems of government and so on. This brings about the global stratification whereby one world is divided into three different worlds: first, second and third. Although there is a further categorisation of the fourth world which George Manuel coined in his 1974 book – *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* but for the purpose of this study, the categories shall be limited to the three major ones.

The term "First World" refers to so called developed, capitalist, industrial countries, roughly, a bloc of countries aligned with the United States after World War II, with more or less common political and economic interests: North America, Western Europe, Japan and Australia. "Second World" refers to the former communist-socialist, industrial states, (formerly the Eastern bloc, the territory and sphere of influence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic) today: Russia, Eastern Europe (e.g., Poland) and some of the Turk States (e.g., Kazakhstan) as well as China. "Third World" are all the other countries, today often used to roughly describe the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The term Third World becomes quite ironic when countries as rich as Saudi Arabia are categorised alongside a country as poor as Mali.

In several parts of the third world category of countries today especially in Africa and Asia, there are several insurgent groups who for various reasons as obscure as may be rebel against the constituted government and stage attacks, destroying lives and properties of people in the affected areas. For instance, Africa has suffered a level of insurgency. Islamist insurgency in Northern Nigeria began since early 2000s with rising death toll same while Egypt, Central African Republic and South Sudan have had their part of the insurgencies since 2012. Others include Libya's post war insurgency since 2012, ADF insurgency in 2007 in Democratic Republic of Congo, 2004 Niger-Delta conflict in Nigeria and so on.

In Asia, Afghanistan insurgency dates back to 1978 and is on till present; Iraq and Syria began witnessing new dimensions of insurgencies since 2011. The Kurdish separatism fights have been on in Iran since 1918; the Korean conflicts between North and South Korea since 1945, Kashmir Conflict between India and Pakistan since 1947, Israeli-Palestinian conflict since 1948, Burma conflict and the North-Eastern Indian Insurgency since the 60s, the Naxalite-Maoist Insurgency also in India since 1967, Communist insurgency in the Philippines since 1969, AlQaeda insurgency in Yemen since 1998, Shia insurgency also in Yemen since 2004,

South Yemen insurgency in 2009, and so forth.

Asides usage of existing literature, Aiyesimoju and Najm (2014) made a theoretical assessment of Dennis McQuail's Development Media Theory and made recommendations as to how the media can make necessary inputs towards reducing insurgency to the barest minimum.

2.2 Emergence of Terrorism in Nigeria and its Impacts on the Citizens

Nigeria's heterogeneity has at some point been regarded as its strength but it currently is perceived to me the crack which may cause a predicted break-down. The religious cum cultural diversity has always threatened the continued existence of the Nigerian nation as one entity such that in the past various opinion leaders have proffered secession as the permanent solution to internal crisis and terrorism in the country which started rearing its ugly head since the early 2000s.

Every terrorist group that have had brutal impacts on the country have been established based on tribal or religious dissatisfaction: the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) is one of such which fomented troubles aimed at securing recognition for the South-South from the Federal Government; Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) has also staged series of attacks to facilitate the secession of the South-East towards achieving a sovereign Biafran State. The Islamic Boko Haram sect in the North-West has also been a clog in the wheel of the nation's progress ever since their establishment in 2001; they launched attack in 2009 with death tolls rising fast.

It is pertinent to note that the division Nigeria suffers led it to a Civil War that lasted thirty months claiming lives and property. Memories of this war and the losses still linger in the hearts of those who experienced it and has been passed on to the younger generation causing continued strife among the tribes involved which still is largely responsible for some unrests the country currently witnesses.

Again, since the beginning of the fourth democratic dispensation, federal power has caused a major tussle among the various ethnic groups including minority groups. It has become the trend for at least one ethnic group per time to stage resistant actions against government. During President Olusegun Obasanjo's leadership between 1999 and 2008, the South-South came up with several bodies of militants carrying out all sorts of crimes. This continued during Umaru Musa Yar'adua's tenure. When President Goodluck Jonathan took over after the demise of President Yar'adua, the Boko Haram took the stage and unleashed a new lease of terror in the North.

Although the Islamic insurgents have based their attacks on a couple of extremist demands such as asking for absolute abolishing of every form of western civilization as their name – *Boko Haram* implies, several people believe the attacks are politically motivated.

Their attacks have rendered several parts of Northern Nigeria insecure. Churches, Mosques, Schools, Barracks and several individuals have been attacked. Residents have been forced to relocate due to the constant attacks by the insurgents in recent times. This has led to the Federal Government's declaration of a state of Emergency on some states in the affected region.

The insecure state of this part of Nigeria has scared off investors thereby hindering the country's economic growth even though oil exploration continues to give it a boost. Several business owners have closed down their businesses and workers have relocated from their places leaving several work places deserted and reducing the means of livelihood of people caught up in the affected areas and increasing poverty in the nation.

Death toll has constantly been on the rise in the country, especially the North-Western region. Number of deaths per attack now ranges from twenty to one hundred and fifty. This portrays the government as one which is not able to adequately protect the lives of the citizens. Continued killings have hindered several essential services in the region such as health care, education amongst others.

Food shortage is another effect of terrorism in Nigeria. The Northern part of the country produces a major part of Nigeria's food. The supply of food from there however has been reduced thereby making available food more expensive which in turn causes hikes in food prices.

Although Nigeria, the giant of Africa, describes her heterogeneity as a situation of "Unity in Diversity", it has become one of violence and terror. The various lines of division in the country has given rise to the current situation of terrorism and violence. This situation has caused loss of lives and property, high level of insecurity, food shortage, price hikes, poverty and stunted economic growth.

2.3 Timeline of some Insurgency Incidents in Nigeria

Below is a timeline of insurgent attacks between December 2010 and April, 2014 as documented by Wikipedia.com.

7 September 2010	Bauchi prison break
31 December 2010	December 2010 Abuja attack
12 March 2011	Assassinated Muslim Cleric Imam Ibrahim Ahmed Abdullahi for criticizing the violent groups in northeast Nigeria

22 April 2011	Boko Haram frees 14 prisoners during a jailbreak in Yola, Adamawa State
29 May 2011	May 2011 northern Nigeria bombings
16 June 2011	The group claims responsibility for the 2011 Abuja police headquarters bombing
26 June 2011	Bombing attack on a beer garden in Maiduguri, leaving 25 dead and 12 injured
10 July 2011	Bombing at the All Christian Fellowship Church in Suleja, Niger State
11 July 2011	The University of Maiduguri temporarily closes down its campus citing security concerns
12 August 2011	Prominent Muslim Cleric Liman Bana was shot dead by Boko Haram
26 August 2011	2011 Abuja bombing
4 November 2011	2011 Damaturu attacks
25 December 2011	December 2011 Nigeria bombings
5–6 January 2012	January 2012 Nigeria attacks
20 January 2012	January 2012 Kano bombings
28 January 2012	Nigerian army says it killed 11 Boko Haram insurgents
8 February 2012	Boko Haram claims responsibility for a suicide bombing at the army headquarters in Kaduna.
16 February 2012	Another prison break staged in central Nigeria; 119 prisoners are released, one warden killed.
8 March 2012	During a British hostage rescue attempt to free Italian engineer Franco Lamolinara and Briton Christopher McManus, abducted in 2011 by a splinter group Boko Haram, both hostages were killed.
31 May 2012	During a Joint Task Force raid on a Boko Haram den, it was reported that 5 sect members and a German hostage were killed.
3 June 2012	15 church-goers were killed and several injured in a church bombing in Bauchi state. Boku Haram claimed responsibility through spokesperson Abu Qaqa.
17 June 2012	Suicide bombers strike three churches in Kaduna State. At least 50 people were killed.
17 June 2012	130 bodies were found in Plateau State. It is presumed they were killed by Boko Haram members.
18 September 2012	Family of four murdered
18 September 2012	Murder of six at an outdoor party
19 September 2012	Nigerian Military arrest Boko Haram members, reported death of Abu Qaqa
3 October 2012	Around 25–46 people were massacred in the town of Mubi in Nigeria during a night-time raid.
18 March 2013	2013 Kano Bus bombing: At least 22 killed and 65 injured, when a suicide car bomb exploded in Kano bus station.
7 May 2013	At least 55 killed and 105 inmates freed in coordinated attacks on army barracks, a prison and police post in Bama town.
6 July 2013	Yobe State school shooting: 42 people, mostly students, were killed in a school attack in northeast Nigeria.
29 September 2013	College of Agriculture in Gujba: 40 students killed.
14 January 2014	At least 31 people killed, over 50 people injured by suicide bombing in Maiduguri, Borno State.
16 February 2014	Izghe massacre: 106 villagers are killed.
25 February 2014	Federal Government College attack: Fury at military over Yobe deaths. At least 29 teenage boys dead at Federal Government College Buni Yadi.
14 April 2014	Chibok Local Government Area of Borno State Attack: Government properties, including the only girls' secondary school, attacked. At least 16 killed or missing, and 136 female students kidnapped.

Source: Wikipedia

2.4 Theoretical Framework

In order to ascertain the role of the media in curbing terrorism, it becomes imperative therefore to acknowledge that the role of the media is critical in promoting good governance and controlling terrorism. It does not only raise public awareness about terrorism, it reveals its causes, consequences and possible remedies but also investigates and reports incidences of terrorism. The effectiveness of the media, in turn, depends on access to information and freedom of expression, as well as a professional and ethical cadre of investigative journalists (Stapenhurst, 2000).

If democracy is to survive and be a fruitful concept, the role of the media in sustaining it through anti-terrorism crusade could not be overemphasized. Primary of these is the proper understanding of the concept and

nature of the media practice that can nurture democracy and create favourable environment for it to thrive.

The fight against terrorism in Nigeria one must acknowledge is one of the most daunting and challenging task to embark on, but with political will and commitment by her leaders through the aid of the media's influence in creating the right attitude by all Nigerians there is no doubt that someday, terrorism rate will be at minimal in the country.

Specifically, while the role that a free press can play in investigating, reporting and thereby helping combat terrorism is now well recognized, assessments and descriptions of the precise means by which news media can perform this function appear to be scarce-despite the fact that there is a strong correlation between the incidence of terrorism and the extent to which the media is free.

The Mass Media play important roles in the society which includes informative, educative and entertaining roles. Through these roles, they may aim at creating awareness, achieving behavioural change, easing societal tension and so on.

Taking a clue from the Development Media Theory, emphasis is laid on the application of media techniques to lessen political tension, increase level of political education, and create a sound, stable and secure atmosphere for public enlightenment; all for the purpose of carrying the masses along towards national development.

The theory sees the press as a very important entity in the society. It is seen as the voice of the people. The "voice role" of the press is a sacred one which demands that it should be carried out fairly, honestly, courageously and constructively.

The press occupies a very critical position in the socio-political development of any country. Besides the general roles of information, education and entertainment, the press is capable of mobilizing public opinion on topical issues, influencing government's policy and enhancing social interaction and integration among various components of the society.

As propounded by Dennis McQuail, the development media theory gives emphasis to grassroots participation and application of media techniques to lessen political tension, raise level of political education, create a sound atmosphere for public enlightenment for the purpose of atmosphere for public enlightenment for the masses along in the nation building process.

This theory applies the forces of the media in enlightening the populace on levels of development in various sectors of a nation.

Basic assumptions of the theory as cited by Anaeto, Onabajo and Osifeso (2008) are listed below.

1. The media must accept and carry out positive development tasks in line with national established policy.
2. Freedom of the media should be open to economic priorities and development needs of the society.
3. The media should give priority in their content to national culture and languages.
4. The media should give priority to news and information that link with other developing countries, which are close geographically, politically or culturally.
5. Journalists and other media workers have responsibilities as well as freedom in their information gathering and dissemination task.
6. In the interest of development ends, the state has a right to intervene in, or restrict media operation, and devices and direct control can be justified.

This theory might however be said to have limited development to an outcome of positive imaging of a country; it has not really delved into the aspect of criticism which is meant to be a major duty of the press, although in a constructive manner. This answers the question of reportage of negative or embarrassing occurrences. By reporting these "ruinous" stories, newspapers help the government of the day to be at alert and guard against anything that will soil the government's image. The press should not just criticize, however, rather, they should pose better alternatives to achieving desired developmental results. Although, to a journalist, "bad news is good news" the developmental aim of the country must also be considered. Thus, it should be noted that development media theory can also be seen from the perspective of criticism especially when they are constructive.

In a situation of insurgency, the media must assume its social responsibility roles and follow governmental policies as regards dissemination of security details. The Development Media Theory for the purpose of this study emphasises national security as a part of national development as the central aim of the activities of the press.

Hence, the struggle for an end to insurgency does not lie solely with the government or the security outfit of a country, the media also have roles to play.

2.5 Relationships between the Media and Terrorism

Political science Professor Abraham Miller talks about the symbiotic relationship between terrorism and media, from which neither of the two can step out. He noted: "terrorism is capable of writing any drama – no matter how horrible – to compel the media's attention. Terrorism, like an ill-mannered enfant terrible, is the media's

stepchild, a stepchild which the media, unfortunately, can neither completely ignore nor deny” (Tuman, 2003:115). The revolution in mass communication offers abundant new opportunities to communicate on a vaster scale than ever before and the development of technological inventions significantly changed the way news are communicated, making them accessible to a great number of people. Terrorists take advantage of that successfully and recklessly. So, Hoffman (2003:122) also uses the term symbiosis between media and terrorism and he mentions three great revolutions in mass communications which had a direct influence on terrorism.

First such revolution happened in the 19th century and was caused by the invention of the printing machine which enabled printing papers in great number. Hoffman sees the symbiotic relationship between terrorism and the media during this era by in the example of Narodnaya Volye and their anarchist contemporaries who used the papers to communicate their messages to a wide audience. The second great revolution in mass communication occurred in 1968. That year marked not only the birth of international terrorism but also the launching the first television satellite by the United States which accelerated news broadcasting, and terrorists immediately started to use it to achieve their goals. A third revolution in the communication of news appeared in the end of the 20th century, and compared to the previous two, has been less dependent upon new major technological breakthrough, but used the existing ones to change the style of news presentation. Hoffman names this the “CNN syndrome” which has revolutionized news broadcasting through the emergence of dedicated round-the-clock, “all the news all the time”, which was the reason why American media were proclaimed “the best intelligence agency”. Besides classic terrorist threats, the influence of contemporary media has initiated the so called propaganda war, and terrorist organizations attach great importance to it. Propaganda war can be a very powerful psychological weapon and can greatly increase the effect of certain actions. Terrorists, on the one hand, need media propaganda in order to demonstrate „absolute justness of their goals“, but at the same time they are aware of how much damage negative publicity might cause to their goals. The four main objectives in using mass media are:

1. To convey the propaganda of the deed and to create extreme fear among their target group;
2. To mobilize wider support for their cause among the general population, and international no pinion by emphasizing such themes as righteousness of their cause and the inevitability of their victory;
3. To frustrate and disrupt the response of the government and security forces;
4. To mobilize, incite and boost their constituency of actual and potential supporters and in so doing to increase recruitment, raise more funds and inspire further attacks (Wilkinson, 2002:192).

Free media are a symbol and basic value of a democratic society. But, due to competition in open society and ever-present rivalry in who will be the first one to deliver a significant news, media sometimes consciously react on terrorist propaganda. Wilkinson (2002:190), however, notices that it would be wrong to conclude that terrorists control mass media; they barely try to manipulate and exploit them for their own purpose. Hoffman (2003:120-121) for that reason, names terrorism “a perverted form of show business”, and ways in which some media companies inform about terrorist actions “a capitulation of American TV networks before terrorists’ opinions”. Media professionals and the public thus have to constantly be on the watch before terrorist manipulation attempts.

In an open society with free media it is possible to have corrupted and interrupted counterterrorist operations due to irresponsible media behaviour. Television crews appearing too close to the hostage area, which might complicate rescue team action, or releasing too many information about the terrorists in the media, which later could endanger and obstruct court trials against them.

2.6 Insurgency or Freedom Fight?

The customary modern usage of the term “insurgency” refers to actions such as the bombing in mid-air of Pan Am Flight 103 in December 1988, the attacks on passengers in the Rome and Vienna airports in December 1985, and the seizure of the Saudi embassy in Khartoum in March 1973. These actions represent a form of political violence different from guerrilla war, conventional war, and riots. Actions of this kind, when they are carried out systematically, constitute a distinct strategy of insurgency. This strategy should have a name, be it “terrorism” or another, and “terrorism” has the advantage of familiarity. In fact, practitioners and advocates of this form of struggle have themselves often used the term to describe their method. Yet the definitions of the term leave several questions to be answered.

In several cases, revolutionary actions were envisaged. The three most important elements in this preparatory period were recruiting, educating, and organizing the revolutionary cadres. At the opportune moment, the prepared mechanism would be put to action. Karl Marx in one of his early works has predicted such a time as this. According to the Marxist theory, this moment would come when the inherent economic characteristics of the capitalistic regime brought about its collapse. Of course, not all of the activity of the revolutionary party would be clandestine. There are front organizations and other tools of propaganda that perform the important task of preparing the hearts and minds of the people. In the case of the Leninist revolution, the most important element was the tightly knit clandestine party apparatus. The Leninist model of revolutionary strategy can,

therefore, be characterized as an insurgency from below, involving numerous people. The period of preparation is usually very long, but the direct violent confrontation is expected to be brief.

In Nigeria for instance, there are several organisations that in their philosophies believe that they are freedom fighters but by the definitions of insurgency may be categorised as insurgent groups. The Odua People’s Congress popularly called by its acronym OPC is not constitutionally recognised as a judicial outfit, yet it carries the philosophy of fighting to protect the freedom and recognition of the Yoruba people who are basically indigenes of the South-Western states of Nigeria. The OPC despite its illegal status uses arms and ammunition in its activities which often disrupts public peace and political stability as it causes damages to lives and property. This factor makes it easily describable as an insurgent group.

Also, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), a militant group in the Niger-Delta came up with the aim of enhancing its people’s freedom from undue exploitation from government since they occupy the highest oil producing region in the country – the south-south. Hence, they began carrying arms and got involved in kidnapping oil workers, expatriates, public officials, killing people, oil theft and destroying properties; disrupting public peace and economic stability. The government however yielded to their requests and granted them amnesty which caused the case to drop significantly.

Furthermore, in South Africa, during the apartheid regime, it was believed that several government policies such as taxation, Land Use Act amongst others were deliberately made to cause inconvenience for the blacks. This and a couple of other factors led to the establishment of the African National Congress in January 1912. The ANC came up as South Africa’s movement for liberation and worked for it. It however also encouraged and adopted the use of arms and ammunition against the government which makes it arguable that it also, at least at some point, functioned as an insurgent group. The group has however evolved into a political party and has since been producing the nation’s presidents since the late 90s with Nelson Mandela as its first.

3.0 Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design and Instrument

According to Wimmer and Dominick (2000), a descriptive survey attempts to picture or document current conditions, that is to describe what exists at the moment. They are also used to investigate problems in realistic settings and large amount of data can be collected with relative ease from a variety of people, thereby allowing the researcher to analyse the data.

The descriptive research also involves collecting data in order to answer questions concerning the current status of the study. According to Kerlinger (1979), survey study is also a method usually adopted when handling a large population especially on issues of the moment that involves systematic collection of data from a population of study through the use of questionnaire, interview, Focus Group Discussions and observations. However, the survey research was considered suitable for the study because it focuses on the people and their views, beliefs, opinions, perceptions, attitudes and behaviours as moulded by contemporary reportage of insurgent activities around them.

As data handling is very critical, focus group discussions are adopted as they enable large amount of data to be collected from several respondents within a short period of time. This approach allows the expression of diversity of views while enhancing consensus among the respondents.

3.2 Population of the Study

The study population encompasses the general media-using Nigerian populace. However, it is generally acceptable that the population be categorised along the lines of geographical demarcation to allow for due federal character. The country is divided into six geo-political zones namely: North-East, North-West, North-Central, South-East, South-West and South-South. Four (4) discussants were purposively selected from each geo-political zone, based on their nativity or residence and exposure to various media platforms thus making twenty-four (24) discussants in all.

The data gathered was systematically/scientifically analysed. Calculations were done in **simple percentage** and where necessary, tables, was used to present the findings of this research work efficiently.

4.1 Data Analyses, Interpretation and Discussion of Findings

Focus Group Discussion Analysis

Table 1: What is your understanding and appraisal of the media’s style of disseminating information about insurgencies in Nigeria?

Options	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Positive	17	70.8%
Negative	7	29.2%
Neutral	0	0%
Total	24	100%

Table 2: Do you think media houses should have a common style of reporting insurgencies?

Options	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	12	50%
No	4	16.7%
Undecided	8	33.3%
Total	24	100%

Table 3: Could the media be said to be responsible directly or indirectly for continued insurgency?

Options	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	6	25%
No	17	70.8%
Undecided	1	4.2%
Total	24	100%

Table 4: From your observation of the media, do you think there is adequate public enlightenment as to ways of preventing insurgent activities?

Options	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	5	20.9%
No	19	79.1%
Undecided	0	0%
Total	24	100%

Table 5: Has the media helped in any way to assist in stemming the insurgency tide in Nigeria?

Options	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	13	54.2%
No	4	16.7%
Undecided	7	29.1%
Total	24	100%

Table 6: Any specific methods you wish to propose for the media in their reportage of insurgencies?

Options	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Sensational Journalism	0	0%
Development Journalism	20	83.3%
Investigative Journalism	4	16.7%
Total	24	100%

Research Question One: What is the perception of media users on the media's approach to information dissemination as it concerns insurgencies?

Tables one and two were used to answer this research question based on the Focus Group Discussion conducted. Table one shows that 70.8% of the discussants perceived the media's style of dissemination of insurgency information as positive while the remainder of 29.2% perceive it as negative. From the discussion, it was gathered that the media is in the habit of reporting either for higher ranking or higher profit, hence the news stories are politicised or exaggerated to curry some favour from the ruling or opposition party. On whether the various media forms should develop a unified policy on insurgency reportage, 50% of the discussants were in full support while 16.7% felt otherwise and the remainder of 33.3% were indecisive about the issue.

Research Question Two: What is the level of direct or indirect involvement of the media in enhancing insurgency in Nigeria?

Questions were raised as to the media's involvement directly or indirectly in enhancing insurgency in the country. Table three above shows that 25% of discussants agreed to the media's culpability while 70.8% perceived otherwise and the remaining 4.2 remained neutral. On whether there is adequate public enlightenment as a way of preventing insurgent activities based on discussants observation of the media, 20.9% opine in agreement to the disposition while 79.1% moved against the disposition.

Research Question Three: What is the level of awareness of the citizens on measures for preventing insurgent activities?

Research Question Four: To what extent has the media been able to curtail further insurgency in the nation?

Information was elicited to answer both research questions three and four, to discover if the media has successfully educated the masses on how to actively prevent further insurgency. 54.2% of the discussants have opined that the media has done quite well in disseminating educational information which may be useful for preventing continued insurgency, while 16.7% feel that the reverse is the case and 29.1 are undecided about the subject-matter. This informs that the media programmes are yielding quite good results but not adequately spread through the nation's media as representatives of some geographical zones do not agree that information dissemination on the subject matter is adequate.

When opinion was sought as to the appropriate reportage style for reporting insurgency in Nigeria, 0% went in favour of yellow or sensational journalism while development journalism and investigative journalism had 83.3% and 16.7% respectively.

It was gathered during the discussion that better security situations are necessary for investigative journalists to ensure thorough situational unearthing and safety and it is recommended that the investigative journalists work hand in glove with development journalists to ensure that national interest is protected.

5.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

This research work moves to awaken the government owned media and other private media owners of the importance of the media as an effective and integral tool for solving the national and indeed global problem of insurgencies and all other related challenges.

The study intends to influence policy as regards the mode of reportage of insurgent activities around the nation in a manner that will not make it seem like the media is glorifying the insurgents and portraying their tactics and strategies as superior to the security outfits thereby causing utmost fear and insecurity in the minds of the citizens and rendering the government practically incapacitated.

Based on the findings of this research and the adopted Dennis McQuail's Development Media theory, the following recommendations are thus made:

1. That public interest be the major aim of every Media Corporation rather than profit.
2. That anti-terrorism messages be specially packaged in various languages based on the audience's exposure and understanding
3. The media must work with the security agencies to understand the sensitivity of information at their disposal so as not to disclose classified information as to secret approaches of countering the insurgencies.
4. The need for investigative journalism is on the rise again. Media houses must devote an adequate budget to carry out investigations into the root causes of the insurgency and expose their sponsors and stakeholders.
5. While the media reports incidents of attacks, pictures of gruesome killings should not be displayed so as not to incite other citizens into taking actions which may worsen crises situation.
6. Educative programmes must be carried out, enlightening the populace on how to approach suspected insurgent attacks.
7. Constant information must be given to the media audience on safety and actions to take in tense times.
8. The security agency from time to time must give reports through the media on their successes in fighting and aborting terrorist attacks.
9. The media must encourage grassroots participation in suggesting ways to end the insurgency menace by talking with citizens and fairly representing their opinion in the media.
10. Messages aimed at dissuading citizens from being recruited into insurgent groups must also be given prominence. The messages must portray the benefits that life offers and the hazards in terrorism making the former more desirable.

In summary, media platforms operators should develop policies to work hand in glove with the military in order to understand the effects of their pattern of reportage. They should also understand that press freedom must be used in good faith and in such a manner as does not jeopardise the peace, unity and sovereignty of the country. The Government should also make necessary moves to ensure due censorship and gatekeeping on the internet platform to avoid a re-occurrence of the Arab spring edition in Nigeria and West Africa.

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