Media Influence on Terrorism: Analysis of Boko Haram as a Product of Postmodernism

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Abstract
As products of post-modernity, mass media remain twofold phenomena. They can be used as instruments for good projects and, to some, for evil activities. This paper discussed the above assertion by evaluating the role of the media in fostering globalization process, showing the inevitability of information and communication technology in the post-modern era. Media is necessary for global politics to thrive, especially the global yearning for democratization; for international economy to become more robust; and for peace to be achieved. But the obverse aspect of the media showed that, the media of communication and their related technologies constitute avenue for terrorist groups to spread propaganda for manipulating public perception of their activities; justify their cause; form forums for group chats, and invite as well as recruit gullible youth or potential followers. The modern ICT also provides shortcut to criminal victimization; it facilitates e-crime and e-terrorism. With special reference to "Boko Haram" of Northeastern Nigeria, the paper concluded that, use of media outlets by terrorist organizations is revealing the reality of "risk" associated with post-modernity. Governments and transnational institutions shall therefore make media one of counterterrorism tools by spreading peace messages, and equip security organizations with skills of fighting media-related terrorism.
Keywords: Boko Haram, mass media, media, post-modernity, terrorism**.**

Introduction

In the nomenclatures of various epochs of human civilizations, sociologists labeled the second half of the Twentieth Century up till the beginning of the Twenty-first Century as 'postmodern' era (Henslin, 2006; Henslin, 2010; Giddens, 2009; Flanagan, 2010; Ritzer, 2011). Postmodernism is a perspective based on the idea that communication in all its forms is reality, such that understanding society requires studying all forms of communication, including cultural ideas, language, texts, and self-conceptions (Andersen & Taylor, 2011).

Media is the vehicle that moved globalization to its present stage. Globalization, on the other hand, has changed the world because of the massive changes in communication technology. This strong wave of globalization is supposedly overcoming local economies, politics and cultures. Haq (2010) observes that, development in the information and communication technology (ICT) revolution is the important aspect of media that drives globalization. An irony in this claim is that, the bombardment of the information and communication conditioned by the post-modernity has shrouded as well as shaped the way people think and act because it is today's 'social fact'. Once the media tried to provide copies of reality, but now they are on their own reality. The communication/media revolution meant that people are engulfed by information to such an extent that the distinction between reality and the image which portrays or breakdown into a condition called *hyper-reality* (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008). In Baudrillard's most famous remark concerning the Gulf War (16 January to 28 Febuary 1991):

> it was a hyper-real representation on our television screen; the real battle fields were now replaced by media saturation. We can watch the bombings, hear the planning, see the war and all its atrocities from the comfort of our living room. The war is a simulation; we are not there, nor will we ever be there. All we will know is the hyper-reality that media messages convey to us (Baudrillard, 1991, in Macionis, 2005:587).

The above statement meant that, the combat was a representation of war of the media age. It was carried out in a *televisual* spectacle, in which, along with other viewers throughout the world, leaders of the warring nations (George Bush Senior of the US and Saddam Hussein of Iraq) were watching the War as it was actually taking place (Giddens, 2009). In this condition, another key characteristic of post-modernity is that the words, images and the information they convey become open to multiple interpretation, mirroring the breakdown of objectives (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008). This feature of post-modernity is evident in virtually all aspects of our social life. The implication of this trend is that, we are living in a media-mediated world and people are relying totally on media revelations.

The postmodern society is faced with dramatic dynamism regarding delinquency, deviance, crime, and other non-traditional crimes, such as terrorism. Adeniran (2011) and Ndubueze (2013) noted that, the growth of ICT in the recent years has created the emergence of new forms of crime and criminality in Nigeria, such as *yahoo boys*. As a result, issues on crime and criminal justice have been attracting intense media attention; matters related to crime are portrayed via all streams and forms of media outfits. From frozen pictures, motion

pictures or films, books, newspapers, magazines, through to television broadcasts, people are constantly engaging in what Dowler (2003) labeled as "crime talk". The mass media play an important role in the construction of criminality. The public's perception of victims, criminals, deviants, and law enforcement officials is largely determined by their portrayal in the mass media.

The modern terrorism especially right from the late 1960s to 1990s has taken different trends and dimensions. Abimbola & Adesote (2012) divided the modern terrorism into three main trends. The first is loosely organized, self-financed and internationalized network of terrorists. Second trend in the modern terrorism is that which is religiously or ideologically-motivated. For instance, radical and fundamentalist groups and groups that justify violence on religious platform pose terrorist threats of varying kinds to many nations' interests. A third trend in modern terrorism is the apparent growth of cross-national links among different terrorist organizations which may involve combinations of military training or funding, technology transfer or political advice. This transfer and exchange of skills, propaganda as well as ability of a terrorist group to voice out or publicize their cause are facilitated by the media.

This paper is aimed at investigating how media facilitates the spread of terrorism in the postmodern era. According to Kilcullen (2006), historical experience illustrated the influence of mass media in counterinsurgency. But media penetration has reached unprecedented levels, largely through the emergence of *insurgent* mass media, with every incidence in Iraq, and many in Afghanistan, Palestine and Chechnya, being recorded for propaganda purposes by insurgent video teams (Kilcullen, 2006). This also accounts for the role of media in creating public fear of the dreaded *Boko Haram* in Nigeria. Moreover, globalization in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries is becoming more spectacular under the auspices of modern information and communications technology. With the media the world has become starkly compressed because communication between two or more individuals, groups or nations can be made on the spot, live and instantaneously. This is the world characteristic which McLuhan (1964, cited in Haq, 2010) aptly dubbed as 'global village'. But the new means of communications have also made it easier for terrorist groups to spread their propaganda, invite and recruit new members, exchange communications and intelligence, etc. As a result, media contributes in making terrorism to thrive. The paper will analyze this influence of media on terrorism.

Conceptual Issues: Media, Terrorism, Cyber-terrorism

Media is a plural of the noun "medium". A medium, in the language of the academic field of communication, is a means of sending messages, or communicating. Mass media are the instruments by which messages are sent to a large numbers of people in modern societies (Academic American Encyclopedia, 2006). As defined by Wilkinsom (2011:149), media is a "generic concept that comprises all methods or channels of information and entertainment". The mass media are taken to encompass newspapers, radio and television and other important forms of communications including books, films, music, theater, and the visual arts. Because the mass media are the gatekeepers for social movements, their favorable or unfavorable coverage greatly affects a social movement, and tactics are chosen with the media in mind (Henslin, 2006).

With increasing technology, internet-based transmission made new media to come and downplay the traditional media-newspapers, magazines, radio, television, etc. The traditional forms of the media are now incorporating the internet-based transmission to become more appealing. That is why we have Daily Trust online, BBC World News online, Freedom Radio online in other to meet up with the demands of the contemporary information revolution. Social networking sites, such as Whatsapp, Facebook, 2go, Twitter, and Myspace allow users to create and manage their own online profile and build social networks with friends and other users. These networking sites not only provide platforms for interpersonal relationship, through chatting, messaging, emailing, and sharing of files, they also allow for forming political forum, participating in group discussions and for blogging (Australian Communications and Media Authority, 2008). But Buhari, Ahmad, & Ashara (2014) observed there is increasing use of social media for internet crimes, such as hacking to recruitment for terrorism.

Terrorism in terms of definitional issue is a very contentious concept. As Duyvesteyn (2012) said, apart from being difficult to define, terrorism as a term is judged from the point of view of its beholder. Thus, Chomsky (cited in Duyvesteyn, 2012:27) contends that, "we have to qualify the definition of 'terrorism' given official sources: the term applies only to terrorism against *us*, not the terrorism we carry out against *them*." The European Union (EU, 2007) conceived terrorism as acts that aim:

-at seriously intimidating a population;

-at unduly compelling a government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act; those acts that aimed at

-at seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization.

Current Nigerian criminal codes do not define terrorism as a crime. That same gap was common to many countries in the late 20th Century. However, terrorism has been part of human social and political experiences throughout history; the concept has not been given intellectual devotion by academics and ardent attention by

Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization
www.iiste.org
ISSN 2224-3240 (Paper) ISSN 2224-3259 (Online)
Vol.59, 2017

national and international authorities until recently. This is conditioned by the increase in its frequency and the fact that it took on novel dimensions as an international and transnational violent activity (Duyvesteyn, 2012).

Cyber-terrorism is an act of terror via electronic means of people's interaction, rather than physical. It can be texts containing message of intimidation or threat, or sending something that capable of destroying important electronic information/malware, or hacking to spy on other person's or organization's data base. According to Olusola et al. (2013), any act intended to instill fear by accessing and distorting any useful information in organizations or government bodies using computer and internet is generally referred to as cyber terrorism. A cyber-terrorist can be described as someone who launches attack on government or organization in order to distort and or access stored information stored on the computer and their networks. A cyber-terrorist is someone who intimidates a government or to advance his or her political or social objectives by launching computer-based attack against computers, network, and the information stored on them. For instance, a rumor on the Internet about terror acts. Cyber-terrorism as an act of terrorism committed through the use of cyberspace or computer resources.

In addition, Olusola et al. (2013) noted that, cyber-extortion is a form of cyber-terrorism. For them, cyber-extortion, is a cyber-terrorism in which a website, e-mail server, computer systems is put under attacks by hackers for denial of services, demanding for ransom in return. Cyber-extortionists are increasingly attacking corporate websites and networks, crippling their ability to operate and demanding payments to restore their service.

Literature Review

More than ever before, there is an upsurge of writings on terrorism and insurgency since the phenomenal incidence of the September 11th 2001. By now, much has been written on the subject (White, 2002; Praja, 2003; Chaliand & Blin, 2007; Merari, 2007; Kiras, 2008; Rapoport, 2012; Lutz & Lutz, 2013; Smith, 2015), nonetheless these writings are not enough until the primary goal of 'war on global terrorism' is achieved-i.e. to crush the act of terror. However, most of these literatures are giving less attention to the influence of media on the increasing wave of terrorism. In his *Terrorism Today*, Christopher Hermon wrote on technologies and tactics of global terrorists but ended up making a thorough analysis of three levels of technological exploitation by terrorist groups.

The first level of technology according Hermon (2010) is the "low-tech threats" such as drive-by shootings on motorcycle, use of detonation of Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) on a car door or strap up bombs by suicide bombers to kill dozen of victims. The second level, in Hermon's classification, is the "mid-tech threat" which is more dangerous than the low-tech threat. Mid-tech terrorist threat involves attack by a small or large terrorist group which has professional skills or weapons of medium-tech quality or power. Some bombs are built in a sophisticated form by skilled group. These types of weapons include use of propane gas tanks of cooking size for homemakers as bombs to be slung into military bases or civilian's recreational and market places. Bombs in Iraq and other countries are skillfully made and to be set off by objects like an egg timer or rigged wrist watch but as innovative as garage-door opener, a radio signal, a cell phone, pager, infrared beams. Hermon's third level of technological innovation in terrorist operations is the "high-tech" threat which involves the use of nuclear weapons or weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

What is left unexplained by Hermon is the role of media in amplifying violence, justifying terrorism and even recruiting new members by the terrorist groups. For example, insurgents in Iraq, Somalia, Syria, Nigeria and other places infiltrated by insurgents are adept at exploiting global media effects, while the 'Global Islamic Media Front' (*al-Jabhah al-'ilamiyah al-islamiyah al-'alamiyah*), and al-Qaeda's *ash-Shabab* media production arm have achieved new heights of professionalism. Internet-based financial transfers, training and recruitment, clandestine communication, planning and intelligence capabilities allow insurgents to exploit virtual sanctuary for more than just propaganda (Kilcullen, 2006).

James Lutz & Brenda Lutz (2013) also put forward some elaborate explanations and expositions on terrorism, from antiquity to the Twenty-first Century in the book titled *Global Terrorism*. In their work, Lutz & Lutz observed that, more sophisticated techniques, strategies and weapons are used by modern terrorist organizations, insurgents and/or dissidents in a political struggle. Lutz & Lutz also identified the potential targets of terrorist attacks, such as people with symbolic value, foreigners, physical objects, buildings, or indiscriminately on the general public. If modern terrorism tends mainly to target civilians, the phenomenon derives in fact from the general evolution of political structures and the emergence of the mass media. In the West, political structures have evolved toward democracy since the late Eighteenth Century. The modern media, a critical component of liberal democracy, emerged in tandem (Chaliand & Blin, 2007a).

However, Lutz & Lutz did not stress much on the impact of mass media on recruitment and facilitating terrorist activities of various dissident groups. Merari (2007) opined that, terrorism is essentially a strategy that relies heavily on psychological intimidation, propaganda, and provocation. More recent brand has turned to indiscriminate attacks aiming to cause multiple casualties. In doing so, they have exchanged the propaganda

value of justification for greater shock value, ensuring massive media coverage. This change seems to reflect the adaptation of the strategy to the age of television. Anyway, this basic concept of the nature of the terrorist struggle does not constitute a complete strategy. Like some other conceptions of terrorism in the idea of 'propaganda by deed', terrorism is only meant to be the first stage of the struggle (Merari, 2007).

Arjun Appadurai (1996, cited in Goodman, 2007; Appelrouth & Edles, 2007) identifies five complex disjunctive dimensions of global cultural flows: ethnoscapes, the influx of people across national borders or cultural imaginary of mobile individuals; mediascapes, in which the world is dominated and influenced by movies, television and other global media; technoscapes, the uneven distribution of technologies; financescapes, the disposition of global capital; and ideoscapes, the distribution of political ideas and values. These forces combine and disperse to increase heterogeneity, having their greatest effect on the cultural imagination.

Theoretical Consideration
Three theories are to be used in explaining the influence of media on terrorism. These theories are: Agenda-Setting Theory, Uses and Gratification theory and Cultivation theory. The *Agenda-setting theory* is credited to Shaw & McCombs (1972, cited in Asogwa, Iyere & Attah, 2012) who studied people's reactions to election campaigns through the media. In this theory, it is assumed that the more attention the media give to a topic, the greater is the importance attributed to it by the news audience. This simply means that if the media give much air-time or space (in a repetitive manner) to an issue or event, it is seen by information consumers as very important (Asogwa, etal. 2012). As observed by Morgan (2004), most recent scholarship has taken the perspective that contemporary terrorism represents a significant departure from the past. Various factors have led to the development of this new type of terrorism. Looking at the indiscriminate attack of victims and mass casualties as a result of the terrorist attacks, several possible reasons account for this upsurge of terrorist activities. First among these reasons is saturation of the media whereby images of terrorist atrocity has raised the bar on the level of destruction that will attract headline attention.

This theory is significant in this paper because terrorists know how to skillfully exploit the power of the mass media directly or indirectly. They use the media to their own advantage by committing destructive activities or violence which must be reported by the media. It is therefore correct to say, media and terrorism mutually in need of each other. In other words, the media need the terrorists and the terrorists need the media to reach out to the public. From its radicalization, particularly from the onset of its combat with the Nigerian security, *Boko Haram* has been to using the new media by uploading its activities and call for people to join its movement on Youtube. Giddens (2009) also accounts on how liberalization of broadcasting and the power of global satellite TV have transformed the contours of television in the Islamic world. The events of the 1991 Gulf War made the Middle East a centre of attention for the global media industry and significantly affected television broadcasting and consumption within the region as well.

Uses and Gratifications Theory is also employable in this context. The theory posits that audience members have certain needs or drives that are satisfied by using varied media sources. And this is a version of "individualist functional theory" and that of "active audience theory" which has been used in the study of media effects on users (Asogwa, etal. 2012). The question is not what media do to their scattered audiences but how the consumers made use of the media. The terrorists are pleased to hear or view their destructive activities being aired or relayed by the media.

Even if they do not air their activities, organizations such as al-Qaeda, Taliban, Islamic State in Iran and Syria (ISIS) and Al-Qaeda in Maghreb (AQIM) and *Boko Haram* are glad to have these activities being disseminated on satellite and televisions. Like the definition of terrorism, the mass media is used to label some groups as criminals, terrorists or despots while others as good, democratic or liberal. As Chaliand & Blin (2007b) note, anything and anybody can be defined as "despotic" in matter of reality. Prior to their confrontation with the Nigerian government, *Boko Haram* leaders have been using media outlets like TV, radio and tape/cassettes and Mp3s to win the minds of people in the guise of preaching.

By so doing, their ideologies are also disseminated to the public. Non-terrorist audiences feel that the media have to tell them or inform them of what is happening in their environment. It follows, therefore, that terrorists, criminals and ordinary audience need the media to satisfy their needs, and the effects can be positive and negative (Asogwa, etal. 2012). The mass media is a powerful tool of communication in peace and conflict situations. It can be used positively to promote peace and resolve conflicts at appropriate times. Conversely, it can also be used negatively to initiate, escalate and sustain conflict covertly and overtly (Akpan, Ering, & Alofu-Adeoye, 2013). The theory can explain the problem under investigation in this study because both terrorists and other populations as audiences of the media usually listen, read, watch news, documentary, music, movie, etc for gratifications for entertainment, advertisement, curiosity, education or announcement.

The third theory is *Cultivation theory*. As Fog (2013) noted, cultivation theory is a research tradition, which assumes that there are certain repetitive and pervasive patterns of images and ideologies dominating most genres of television shows and films. If people spend several hours a day, year after year, watching television,

and if every show they watch is full of violence, then people may come to believe that the world is full of violence. This is the kind of hypotheses that cultivation studies are trying to prove (Fog, 2013). Not only news and documentaries can influence people's perception of the world, but also fiction and entertainment shows.

For example, violence television watched by young children has been agreed by many sociologists that it will temper with socialization process and shape the personality of children to become aggressive (Kendall, 2004; Andersen & Taylor, 2011, Kendal 2013). There can be no doubt that the television world is different from the real world. News and drama alike contain more crime and violence than the real world. The proportion of violent crimes to nonviolent crimes is much higher in TV than in the real world. The characters portrayed in TV drama are not representative of the population at large. There are more men than women and an over-representation of people in prestigious professions (Fog, 2013).

The effects of receiving the high dose of crime and violence from television have been called the *mean world syndrome*. Heavy TV viewers may come to perceive the world as a gloomy and dangerous place. People become fearful of falling victim to violent crime and take drastic measures to protect themselves and their children-measures that are out of touch with the objective risk (Fog, 2013).

For the purpose of this paper, the agenda-setting theory is adopted because the aim of the paper is not only to describe the process through which media influence audience with reference to their definitions of situation such as transmission of violence, fear of violence and utility of media in publicizing terrorist activities. The paper also sought to explain how, in the first place, media houses are established to promote peace, win people's minds and even fight terrorism indirectly. There are usually some predetermined objectives for the establishment of media organizations. Insurgent or dissident groups can open media house in order to directly or indirectly air their messages of violence or resistance. That is why Radio Biafra was banned because they transmit hate speeches.

Media Influence on the Spate of Terrorism

Media is an important tool for promoting democratic cause. Among other functions, it can be used by a democratic society for surveillance of sociopolitical developments, identifying the most relevant issues, providing a platform for debate across a diverse range of views, holding officials to account for the way they exercise power, provide incentives for citizens to learn, choose, and become involved in the political process (Fog, 2013). In particular, media is a tool for national and international development. The role of the mass media is associated with some mutually reinforcing cluster of indices of development. For example, urbanization is accompanied by an increase in literacy. And, in turn, the urbanization leads to an increase in exposure to the mass media (Harrison, 2005).

In terms of terrorism and other forms of modern warfare, which are called "Fourth Generation Warfare" (4GW) by Hammes (2004), terrorists may use money, the media, or even seemingly legitimate political power to create his maneuver space. The media can be used to establish maneuver room for an insurgent group. An insurgent cause or issue in the media may be too politically sensitive for the government to openly contest and if they do not have the will to do so, then the insurgent has free reign to use that issue however he wishes. The local population usually holds the key to success for an insurgency. Whether the goal is overthrow of the state or just carrying out limited goals, the insurgent needs some level of popular support. A war of national liberation in a classic insurgency will probably need a significant amount of the population either fighting for it or tolerating it (US Field Manual, 2009) and to influence the population, the insurgents must find means for psychological defeat. Media can provide one of those means of getting the acceptance of the people.

Terrorist groups use different tactics and techniques to instill fear in the mind of the public or sabotage government. Hijackings, including those with hostages, have been used by a wide variety of groups. For example, it is not a new trend that airliners are the frequent targets for hijackings. The first of such hijackings, took place in 1930, when Peruvian revolutionaries used a hijacked plane to prop propaganda leaflets (Lutz & Lutz, 2013). Skyjacking has now become a common technique of terrorist attack and it 9/11 attacks are exemplary cases. The bottom line is that, it can be part of political struggle in which the dissidents make passengers and crew members to become hostages and then bargain chips with the targeted government. Governments in such scenario are confronted with the dilemma of paying the ransom because if they pay in exchange of the hostages they will appear weak or the payment may encourage further hostage-taking. If they refused to do the nationals and the world will think the government is endangering the lives of their citizens.

Lutz & Lutz (2013) note, the publicity is frequently a goal of dissidents and terrorist organizations; publicity may be invaluable in attracting support for the dissident cause or in weakening support for the government. With publicizing, the hijackers derive more courage because they are demonstrating their ability to successfully undertake political action. With it they will gain their immediate goal more allows.

Although twentieth century guerrilla theoreticians emphasize the propaganda value of guerrilla operations in spreading the word of the revolution, attracting supporters, and awakening dormant opponents of the regime and providing them with a recipe for resistance, the importance of these psychological elements

remains secondary. All insurgent guerrilla doctrines insist that the battleground against government forces is the countryside. The very concept of staging the struggle in rural areas, far from the eyes of the media, weakens the significance of the psychological factor. Indeed, psychological impact is the most essential element in terrorism as a strategy (Merari, 2007).

It has been envisioned that, the effects of 'propaganda by terrorism' will be over-arching under the auspices of mass media. As contend by Chaliand & Blin (2007c), the entire world now knows first-hand that the better aimed the shot or the explosion, and the more perfectly undertaken the attack, the greater the propagandistic impact will be. Moreover, when modern revolutionaries act, it is not only their actions that matter, but the propagandistic effects they may achieve. Therefore, we advocate not only action for its own sake, but also action as propaganda. The media campaigns have now become part of the terrorist arsenal. As observe by Chaliand & Blin (2007c), in order to fully achieve their desired success, immediately after an action has been accomplished, posters should go up explaining the reasons why the action was undertaken so as to gain the utmost advantage thereby in the town where it has taken place.

Globalization is a new context for public policy that creates both new opportunities and new risks (Ritzer, 2007). In his analysis of cosmopolitanism in the context of globalization, Beck (2007) argued that, national perspective is imperiled by the growing mobility of communication, information, cash flows, risks, products and services. Even indigenous groups who had remained immobile are being experientially trans-nationalized through mass-communication, publicity etc.

Today, computer has replaced both gun and pen as the weapon of choice for many criminals. Contrary to what the movies suggest, perpetrators of e-crime are though prevalent in the developing nations of the world, Nigeria inclusive, cut across every race and gender. E-criminals include students, amateurs, terrorists, and company insiders-clerks, cashiers, programmers, computer operators, and managers-who have no extraordinary technical ingenuity. For example, one of the emerging e-crimes is hypothetically given by Balogun & Obe (2010) in which a scammer claims to be an American soldier in Iraq. He requests personal and financial information of the victim in order to deposit funds from the treasure of terrorist currency he claimed to have discovered.

In a survey on young people's usage of electronic media in Australia, it was found that, significant number of teenagers (72%) use internet alone, while 28% use it jointly, such as for study and in watching television and DVD, 35% of the young people spent its viewing time alone and 65% was with other people (ACMA, 2008). This means the younger generation is becoming more vulnerable to negative indoctrinations by deviant or criminal adults. Lutz & Lutz (2013) accounted on the involvement of thousands of young people of Iraq and Afghanistan into terrorism. Many youth from Europe and Africa including Nigeria are also getting recruited into ISIS through social media.

Boko Haram as Nigerian Experience
Nigeria had been experiencing civil resistance motivated by a variety of factors. The Civil War of 1967-70 was motivated by the Igbo people of the Southeastern Nigeria to secede from the country and establish Biafran Republic. In addition, there are mutual hostilities between the different ethnic and religious groups. These hostilities are fanning an ember of violence in different parts of the country (Lutz & Lutz, 2013). The violence culminated in more casualties in some areas than in others. For example, ethnic clashes and confrontations in the city of Jos resulted in battles that claimed 3,000 lives (Lutz & Lutz, 2013:214). In some cases the assaults are becoming like ethnic cleansing. As a result of these conflicts, militia groups began to be formed in different parts of the country to provide security (e.g. Bakassi Boys), self-determination (e.g. Movement for the Actualizations of Sovereign States of Biafra), and to gain advantage for their own ethnic group (e.g. Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People). Maitatsine uprising of the 1980s was on religious radicalism.

Kidnappings, vandalizations, and hostage-takings by members of Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) were because of environmental injustice on the people of the region by the government and ethnic sentiment. Some of these have taken place for some decades back, but Nigeria's present security challenge is by and large attributed to *Boko Haram*. Because *Maitatsine* shares similarities with the *Boko Haram*, Abimbola & Adesote (2012) claimed that the emergence of the sect had its root and inspiration from colonial period as well as from the *Maitatsine* uprisings of the early 1980s in particular.

Muhammad Yusuf, founder of *Boko Haram* was a devout student and follower of Sheikh Jaafar Mahmud Adam, a notable and influential Islamic scholar before he encountered a radical ideology (modeled on the Afghan Taliban). The radicalization of the Yusuf was because he formed a group which declared a total boycott of democracy, government and Western education. Details about the biography of late Yusuf, however, indicated that, he was hailed from a village in Jakusko Local Government Area of Yobe State (Abimbola & Adesote, 2012). The *Boko Haram* sect was, however, formally believed to have started in Maiduguri in 2002 (Agbaje, 2014). It was founded in 2002 by the Yusuf. In 2004, it moved to Kanamma, Yobe State where it set up a base called "Afganistan". This base was used to attack nearby police outposts, killing police officers, burning Churches and schools with a vow that the war will continue as long as the political and educational system was

not changed. The *Boko Haram* members prefer the Sharia Law applied all over the country and this will be difficult for the government to comply.

Yusuf was attracted to this 'pure' form of Islam which led to a confrontation with his former mentor, Adam. The late mentor of late Yusuf regarded the path and teachings of his former mentee as extremist, and he (Adam) was later assassinated in Kano in 2007. There were many allegations that the group was responsible for the killing of late Adam. The group vowed to have a separate Islamic state carved out of Nigeria where they can practice their religion unhindered whereas the Federal Government of Nigeria perceive this a treason made an attempt to purge the group of its excesses (Patrick & Felix, 2013).

When the sectarian violence engulfed the country in 2009, the Nigeria security forces captured and killed the leader of the *Boko Haram,* Muhammad Yusuf, because the group was responsible for days of clashes which have killed more than 300 people (Micheal, 2012). The group attracted the allegiance of many followers especially when its leaders continued to speak against police-brutality and political corruption in the country.

For Adenrele (2012), the gradual radicalization of the group as the leaders of the group had earlier called on the government to prosecute the police officers involved in the extra-judicial killing of their leader and some other members. They equally called for the arrest and trial of some Northern Nigerian politicians for what they described as acts of "betrayal" because they had all along being political thugs to these politicians and, in exchange, are funded by these politicians. By the year the groups waged war against Nigerian government, 2009, Nigeria worked on its own anti-terrorism bill. This bill if passed, it would permit incarceration for up to thirty-five years (Hermon, 2009).

Conclusion

The main thrust of the paper is to examine the influence of media on spread of terrorism. Because of the current insecurity posed by the emergence of *Boko Haram* in Nigeria, special attention was given to the group and to the country. Media is an important social institution which facilitates human social networks. The modern media or communication technologies are used for many purposes from personal contact, social networking, reconnection between old friends and relatives to doing complex businesses. Indeed, modern information and communications have immensely contributed to the development of global economy. The negative aspects of the media are also many. Among others, the media have made violence crime, delinquency, and terrorism widespread. The new media are even facilitating cyber-terrorism. Interestingly, as they operate as sources of social and political problems like terrorism, media are also essential for combating insurgency, terrorism and other media-generated crimes.

Like they provide safer havens to terrorist organizations in chatting, sharing of ideas, intelligence and plans on targets as well as recruitment of new members, the media outlets can equally be used to report, fight, prevent or deter crimes and terrorism. But it should be noted that, media houses also found themselves under attack by those who felt that their reporting of the conflict was helping the enemy or authority and undermining the morale of the terrorists (Dixon, 2009). From periodical reports of PUNCH newspaper, Abimbola & Adesote (2012) also where it was found that *Boko Haram* had launched attacks on many media houses including This Day, The Sun, and The Moment Newspapers.

Policy Implications and Recommendations

As noted in the concluding remark, media can be used as tools for perpetrating 'evil', but they will also serve as panaceas for safeguarding Nigeria from virtually all forms of threat supposed to emanate from media-related insecurity. Media and their related modern technologies can be used to foster peace in Nigeria and the world at large. The media technology can be used to fight terrorism and promote security taken into consideration agenda-setting to avoid dissemination of information that can provoke conflict or violence. The government shall also make some media persons become part of counterterrorism agents, to at least be assigned to be broadcasting news related to psychological counterinsurgency and counterinsurgency by winning the hearts and minds of terrorists and the general public. Dixon (2009) stated that the purpose of psychological operations was for the government to promote its own cause and undermine that of the enemy by disseminating its view of the situation. It is a propaganda battle backed up by military action.

Nigeria has a vibrant press with government-run and privately-owned media outlets vigorously trying to outperform each other for audience and advertising revenue. The private press has improved over the years, and attempts to match international standards in terms of quality of production. By promoting the rule of law, engaging the media, sharing best practices, and disseminating other information, they will help to bring attention to human rights abuses and encourage governments to improve their own adherence to human rights norms.

For the Nigerian government, especially the law enforcement body like police, state security services, Defense Intelligence Agency, Navy, National Intelligence Agency, Air Force, etc. to attain the capacity of tackling scourge of terrorism and to adequately address other forms of insecurity emanating from conventional, white-collar, and organized crimes, emphasis shall focus on proactive approach. To achieve this objective,

Ogbede & Jacob (2012) suggested the promotion of three research areas, including *security* (authentication, availability, containment, detection and identification, privacy, recovery, and new security models); *information fusion* (research in data and text mining, data integration, language technologies, image and video processing, and evidence combination), and *critical infrastructure-based* as recommended by a National Research Council Committee on Science and Technology for Countering Terrorism in the USA.

With the advent of democracy, journalists and citizens have also become more daring and vocal in expressing their views. Information technology (IT) will play a critical role in strengthening Nigeria's national security against potential future attacks. In specific terms, IT will help enable the Nigeria to identify potential threats, share information more readily, provide mechanisms to protect the nation, and develop response capabilities. Propaganda could be as effective as armies in defeating insurgency; the people had to be persuaded that their interests lie with the government. But reality remains that, success of all these efforts lies in good governance by the Nigerian leadership classes. The effective way of winning the hearts, minds and support of subjects, including terrorists or dissidents is ensure transparent, accountable, credible, or just and selfless leadership. One of the strategies used the by late *Boko Haram* leader, Yusuf, was the justification of boycotting the Nigerian secular government since it failed to improve the living conditions of the majority of the citizens. This argument convinced many youth and led them to join the *Boko Haram* movement without hesitation.

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A Regulation of Construction for General Principles of Good Governance as a Review for Impeachment of Indonesian President

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Abstract
Construction Principles regulation of Good Governance as a review of impeachment for President in his position, therefore used two methods namely: Amendment method of Indonesian constitution of 1945 that is known as the regulatory term; and law construction method by the judge of the Constitutional Court (MK-RI) that is known as the system of jurisprudence. Constructed through amendment methods of theIndonesian Republic Constitution of 1945 is the President or Vice President may be impeachment in their position of office by the Assembly on the proposal of the House of Representatives, both if it is proven to have violated the law in the form of treason, corruption, bribery, other high criminals, or misdemeanour*s*, or proved to have violated Principles of Good Governance, and proved no longer qualifies as President or vice President. While the results of the legal construction by the judges of the Constitutional Court (MK-RI) will be included in the legal consideration of judges is not in the dictum of the decision set forth in the jurisprudence. The results of the two methods gave birth to the theory of formal recognition (of the formal recognition), so that it becomes positifis instrumentalist as a review of impeachment for contemporary .
Keywords: Construction, Principles of Good Governance, Review, Impeachment, President.

1.   Introduction

Construction[1] law regulation a reason for impeachment of President on his position in this article interpreted rearrangement of legal norms setting a reason for impeachment of president to give a purpose and a new paradigm as a review of Indonesia president impeachment.

The regulation is a reason for impeachment of president in his position has been defined in Article 7A of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia to demonstrate the Indonesian State has clear rules and mechanisms and have forward the principles of a democratic legal state constitutional Indonesian version apart from the influence of political conspiracy in the formulation of the articles on the reasons and mechanisms of the President in the discharge of his president. It has described the constitutional design changes that result strongly suggests the power control of the actions of the President, even though the issue of dismissal is primarily an issue of violation of law with political overtones that accompanied it. Design of these violations, are (1) Treason on the state. (2) Corruption. (3) Bribery. (4) other serious high crime or (5) a misdemeanors. (6) Proven no longer qualifies as President or Vice President.

Design by infringing the law as a reason for impeachment of president under Article 7A of Indonesian constitution of 1945 needs to be constructed, considering it too strengthen the position of the President as head of state and government are not easily impeached in his position. Whereas in such condition.[2] the President may perform arbitrary actions and abuse of power can even harm the country.

According to Sudarsono, a mis-intrepret of power, including the power (detournement de pouvoir) and acts of arbitrary (willekeur /abuse de pouvoir) is a phenomenon that has long existed, also once reminded on the importance of control over the use of authority (authority) itself. Moreover, with the presumption of validity (vermoden van rechtmatigheid = praesumptio iustae causa), which requires us to consider valid advance an act of

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[1] The word "construction" has no significant meaning, if not paired with another word that has the purpose or intent of language writer. According to Indonesian Dictionary Compiler Team, (2008), construction is the arrangement (model) a building word in a sentence or group of words, meaning build, repair, build. Construction can also be interpreted as the manufacture or design-building and the preparation of (Pius A Partanto & M. Dahlan Al Barry, 365). While Sarwiji (2008) argued that the construction (construction meaning) is contained in the meaning of language construction. Therefore, the construction of meaning in this paper is the development or building a word or phrase as a new model in the context of language previously considered less appropriate.

[2] In theory the system of government Presidensiel where the President seated as head of state and government of the position of the President is very strong and not easy to be dismissed of his rule, lawlessness as a legitimate reason dismissal of his rule set out in Article 7A of the above does not mean simplify the dismissal of the President , but will strengthen the position of the president in Indonesia Presidensiel system results 1945 changes.

government before any decisions or rulings to the contrary. This principle according to Sudarsono, can encourage a person to abuse their authority or acting arbitrarily, if controls on the use of authority itself is weakened or reduced.[1]

Based on the statement above, violations of the law as a reason for impeachment of president under Article 7A of Indonesian constitution of 1945 is not adequate due to the strong position of the President as head of state and government as the character of the presidensiel goverment system, because the condition can lead to judicial careless action and abuse of power can even endanger the State. Therefore, it is necessary principles of good governance as legal reasons impeachment of the President of Indonesia through the method of amendment by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) or through a construction method that results are to be established in the form of the jurisprudence of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia (MK-RI).

The proses of impeachment in in Indonesia through the proces of three state institutions directly, namely by the House of Representatives (DPR), the Constitutional Court (MK-RI), and the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). However, whether or not the president impeached in his position depends on the political purpose, especially if the majority of the Assembly members of the election winner and as supporters of President or as the opposition of the President, the achievement of courum can be arranged. This study was conducted to answer legal issues (legal issue), how the construction of the runway setting AUPB as a review of impeachment on the President of Indonesia.

2.   Research Method

This research method is the study of law (legal research), is a legal research done in order to find the principle or the doctrine of positive law. This research is commonly known as the study of dogmatic or commonly known as the doctrinal research.[2] Selection of this type of research tailored to the legal issues under study, namely that the law drafted in the form of legislation formed, built and enacted by the competent institutions, in addition to the norms of unwritten laws that are always evolving development of human civilization in accordance with legal principles that have universal values.

The approach used is a theoretical approach, the approach of the law (statute approach), approach to the concept (conseptual approach), approach to history (historical approach), the comparative approach (comparative approach), the philosophical approach (philoshopy approach). The types and sources of legal materials, such as primary legal materials, secondary, and tertiary. While the method of collection of legal materials do with identifying and / or browse relevant legislation, and then analyzed using an instrument theory, methods of construction and the amendment method and results are presented in the form of an analytic descriptive or prescriptive analytics. Therefore, construction and application settings AUPB as an impeachmen review of the President is done through two ways, method of amendment and method of construction as the following description:

3.   Result and Discussion
3.1 The Construction Law Setting of the general principles of Good Governance As a review of President impeachment.
3.1.1 Amendment Method
The word is derived from the English namely, the "amendment" which means the change or to amend, to alter, and to revise. The term "change" comes from the word "change" that got prefix and suffix's. Etymologically, the word "change" means things changed condition, transition, transfer or exchange. These changes can mean "repeal", "Extra" and "repair" / revision.[3]

Another term change is the reform. So the notion of "constitutional changes" may include two senses, namely: (1). Amendments to the constitution (constitutional Amendment). (2). constitutional reform.

Broadly, there are two kinds of changes system to the Constitution made by several countries, namely: (1) The first system is, when a Constitution is changed, then that will apply is the Constitution or a new whole constitution, This means that the constitution has been amended from every sections that has nothing to do anymore with the old constitution. This system goes into (constitutional reform). This system adopted by almost all countries in the world, including the Netherlands, Germany, and France. (2) The second system, when a Constitution or the constitution is changed, the original constitution remains is still operate. Changes to the constitution an amendment of the original constitution, or an addendum or insertions of the original constitution. Or in other words, part of the amended constitute or be part of the constitution, so between the change and the

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[1] Sudarsono, "*Choice of Law In Dispute Resolution State Administration in the State Administrative Court", Speech Inauguration Position Professor in the field of Law of the State Administration At UB Faculty of Law*, delivered at a meeting of the Senate Senate Open University of Brawijaya, Malang, March 26, 2008, p. 1-2
[2] Soetandyo Wignjosoebroto, *Legal Research: A Typology*, People magazine Indonesia the first year No. 2 in 1974.
[3] Taufiqurrohman Syahuri, *Constitutional Law: Constitution Amendment Process and Procedures in Indonesia 1945-2002*, first printing, (Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia, 2004), p. 44.