

EDITORIAL INSIGHTS INTO RADICAL MOVEMENTS: PATTERNS AND PERSPECTIVES IN NIGERIA

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17434818>

Abstract

This study focuses on the editorial analysis of recurrent themes in reports on radical movements in Nigeria, with particular attention to the discourse structure of editorials. The data, comprising 16 editorial reports from four Nigerian newspapers—the Guardian, Punch, Daily Trust, and Daily Independent—was analyzed using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Findings reveal that editorial reports strategically select themes to subtly shape readers' perspectives on radical movements in Nigeria. Based on these insights, it is recommended that media discourse be incorporated into the curricula of Nigerian tertiary institutions to enhance public awareness of the discourse strategies employed by the media to influence perceptions.

Keywords: Editorial, Recurrent Themes, Radical Movements, Nigeria

1.0 Introduction

The mass media are concerned with the transmission of messages through the mass media to a large anonymous and heterogeneous audience. Mass media take the message beyond the immediate environment to a large number of people around the world (Bitner, 1989). They not only influence today's world but also shape the world of tomorrow. Dissemination of information is the major function of the mass media, offering some authentic and timely reports and opinions about various events and situations to mass audience. Information provided by the mass media can be opinionated, objective or subjective. The Media also provide education and information side by side to people of all levels, directly or indirectly using different forms of contents.

Representation in the media presupposes that media texts constitute points of views and value judgments about social events, situations and relationships. Hence, representation comprises versions of social reality that mirror the position and purpose of the people that produce them; this is usually reflected in the choices that are made about what is foregrounded or left in the background, included or excluded, made explicit or left implicit in the text (Fairclough, 1995a, cited in Chiluwa 2011). All representations encode a viewpoint and ideology, even if their linguistic patterns claim apparent neutrality, certainty, or truth value. The analysis of the representation of the media would include how various ideologies are presented and reflected in newspapers-headlines, editorials etc. The writer's choice in the use of certain words or expressions helps to show the perception of the writer in an attempt to shape the opinions of the readers.

According to Chilwa (2011), Ideologies expressed in media language includes how individuals or groups, identities and relations are represented. Hall (1999) emphasizes that the media cannot impose interpretation, meanings and views upon the public since man is not a tabulae rasae. But despite this, he argues that the media have the integrating, explanatory and legitimate power to shape and define political reality especially in unprecedented, problematic and threatening situation. Most of the time the media give explanation or detail to these threatening situations and the public received such uncritically without suspecting the ideological principle behind such opinions or that the reader's views are manipulated through such seemingly harmless publications. Luther, Lepre and Clark (1998) argues that the media play important roles in legitimizing identities. Not only is identity shaped on the basis of discourses and representation, but people also imbibe the identity/image/picture of others through the media and other discourses. From this argument it is clear that the editorials which constitute the opinions of the newspapers or their producers are capable of influencing the opinions of their readers by the way they choose to represent individuals, groups, or social situations they present to the public.

The objective of this study is to analyze the recurrent themes on the editorial representation on radical movement in Nigeria.

2.0 Literature Review

2.0.1 Theoretical Framework

This study applies Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). SFL is a model of grammar that was developed by Halliday (1978), who was influenced by John Firth. It is an approach to linguistic description which aims to provide a comprehensive account of how language is used in context for communication. The 'systemic' part views language as a network of systems, whereas the 'functional' part is concerned with the actual uses that language is put to in real-life contexts (as opposed to viewing language as an abstract system). SFL analyses language in terms of semantics, phonology and lexico-grammar (the relationship between structures and words). Halliday also views language as having three meta-functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. The ideational function is represented by transitivity; the interpersonal by mood, and the textual by a set of system that have been referred to collectively as "theme". SFL was influential in the development of Critical Linguistics (Fowler 1979) and later Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1989). CDA is a type of Discourse Analysis that views language as a social practice and is interested in the ways ideologies and power relations are expressed through language. CDA is not only concerned with text but also about the social context of the text. Norman Fairclough adopted a three-dimensional framework of analysis: (i) description, which involves text analysis, (ii) Interpretation, which focuses on the relationship between text and interaction and (iii) explanation, which deals with the relationship between interaction and social context.

2.0.2 The Emergence of Radical Movements in Nigeria

The emergence of radical movements in Nigeria could be traced back to pre- independence era when several nationalist radicals rose against the colonial rule to secure Nigeria independence. After the

independence, Nigeria being, a multi-ethnic nations there have been various organized ethnic groups protesting against one form of injustice or the other, trying to secure the attention of the government. The restoration of democratic rule in Nigeria on 29 May, 1999 also signaled the emergence and continued proliferation of vigilante groups, ethnic and sectional militias as operating as secessionist or separatist groups. Prominent among these are the O'odua people's Congress (OPC), formed in 1994 as a militant arm of the Afenifere, and a pan- Yoruba group and National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) that were at the forefront of protesting the annulment of the June 12,1993 general elections. The short lived Arewa peoples' Congress (APC) appears to have been formed to serve as a check on OPC's incessant attacks on the Hausa/Fulani population in Lagos and other Yoruba towns. The Igbo people's Congress (IPC) - a militant arm of Ohanaeze Eastern Mandate in response to, OPC and others that frequently vandalize their goods and properties across the country was formed in 1999. Others are the Bakassi Boys - a vigilante outfit set up by Abia and Anambra state governments to curb criminal activities in 1999, the Egbesu Boys (1998), the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) 2000, Tiv Militia 2001; Jukun Militia 2001; Ijaw Militia 1999; Itsekiri Militia 1999, and the Militia arm of the movement for the survival of the Ogoni people. Some other groups include Movements for Emancipation of Niger Delta, Boko Haram and its splinter group Ansaru etc. This study will examine the last three. The inclusion of Boko Haram and Ansaru in this study is significant because they are the most recent and because of their attempt to impose a religious ideology on a secular Nigeria society and their ability to continue to pose as a serious security challenge to the nation despite various attempts by the government to check them. MEND is also significant and included in this study because of its impact on Nigeria oil production and its influence in attracting global attention to Nigeria.

2.0.3. Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND)

MEND is a leading militant group in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. The group is said to have existed since 2004 and is led by one Henry Okah. Hanson (2007) explains that MEND's stated goals are to localize control of Nigerian oil and to secure reparations from the federal government for the pollution caused by the oil industry. The people of Niger Delta are said to have suffered severe problems of environmental degradation since the discovery of oil. Apart from this, there have been complaints about underdevelopment of the region, despite the huge amount of money Nigerian government realizes on a daily basis on the sale of crude oil from the area. This led to the proliferation of many militant groups from the region. The movement for the survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) led by Ken Saro Wiwa was the first group to receive international attention among these militant groups. The group launched a non-violent campaign in 1990 to protect environmental degradation and economic neglect of the area. Subsequently, Ken Saro Wiwa and eight other members of MOSOP were executed by the military regime in 1995. Subsequently many other non-violent groups like Movement for the Survival of the Ijaw Ethnic Nationality in the Niger Delta (MOSIEND), Movement for Reparation to Ogbia (MORETO), The Chikoko Movement, The Oron National Forum, Egi People Coalition, Ikwere Youth Convention, The Ijaw Youth

Council etc. emerged but the government did not accede to their demands and this led to the emergence of some armed pressure groups like Egbesu Boys for Africa, Niger Delta Vigilante, Niger Delta People Volunteer Force etc.

The arrest and detention of Dokubo-Asari the NDPVF leader for treason and the arrest of Diepreye Alamieseigha former Governor of Bayelsa state among other things created conditions for the escalation of tension in the Niger Delta. The emergency of some radical tendencies within the Ijaw movement based on the feeling that the non-violent path to the struggle for resource control had failed to get the federal government and oil companies to change their attitude towards the plight of the people of the Niger Delta. This was the background to the coming together of various militias and armed group in the region leading to the emergence of MEND (Courson 2009). According to Obi (2009) MEND is the most potent militant group engaging in local resistance but targeting a global audience. MEND has launched several daring raids into fortified oil installations onshore and offshore and kidnapped foreign oil workers, detonated explosive devices near oil compounds, and fought pitched battles on land and at sea with Nigeria's military forces and published its activities in global media. MEND took responsibility for many cases of bombing, kidnapping and vandalization which affected not only the government and the people of Nigeria but the international community.

2.0.4 Boko Haram

Boko Haram is a Nigerian Islamic group that seeks the imposition of Sharia law in the Northern states of Nigeria with the philosophy that western or non-Islamic education is a sin. There have been various views about the origin, the name and the founder of the group. Adibe (2013) states that members of Boko Haram prefer to be known by their Arabic name *Jamaatu Ahlis Sunna* – meaning people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teaching and Jihad. The name

"Boko Haram"- a combination of the Hausa word "boko" meaning western education and the Arabic word "Haram" which means *forbidden* was given to the group by the residents of Maiduguri where the sect was believed to have been formed. Adibe (2013) further observes that the locals in Maiduguri also refer to the group as "Taliban" even though there is no evidence it has links with the Taliban of Afghanistan. Anyadike (2013) explains that the origin of Boko Haram is traceable to a group of radical Islamist youths who worshipped at Alhaji Muhammadu Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri around 2002; an offshoot of this group (not yet known as Boko Haram) declared the city and the Islamic establishments to be intolerably corrupt and irredeemable. The group embarked on "hijra" (a withdrawal from Mecca to Medina) from Maiduguri to a village called Kanaba in Yobe State. The group under the leadership of Mohammed Yusuf, espoused antistate ideology and called on other Muslims to join the group and return to a life under true Islamic law with the aim of making a more perfect society away from the corrupt establishment.(Adibe 2013).

This claim cannot be said to be authentic because there are several claims to the date of the origin and of the formation of the leadership of Boko Haram. Adibe (2013) upholds popular belief that the group was founded around 2001 or 2002. Madike (2011) traces the date to as far back as 1995 and argues that one

Lawan Abubakar who later left for further studies at the University of Medina, Saudi Arabia actually founded the group. Adibe (2013). He further claims that, after taken over the leadership of the sect, Yusuf embarked on intensive and successful membership recruitment such that he had over 500,000 members before his demise. According to him whatever may be the truth about the origin of the sect, what is not in dispute is that Yusuf was responsible for raising its profile. Adibe (2013) also claims that there is consensus that until 2009 Boko Haram conducted its operation in a more or less peacefully and that its radicalization was as a result of government attack on the group in 2009 in which 800 people died. Mohammed Yusuf died while in police custody. As a form of retaliation the group carried out its first terrorist attack in Borno in January 2010 at Dala Alenderi Ward in Maduguri metropolis, which resulted in the death of four people. In 2012, Abubakar Shekau, a former deputy to Yusuf who was thought to have died in the government attack of 2009 appeared in a video posted on Youtube and assumed the leadership of the group. Since then till date there have been numerous attacks by the sect which have led to the death of thousands of people.

2.0.5. Ansaru

Ansaru also known as *Jama'atu Ansaru Muslimina fi Biladis Sudan* meaning "vanguard for the protection of Muslims in Black Africa" was founded by Abu Usmatul Al-Ansari in January 2001. Their motto is 'Jihad Sabilillah' meaning a struggle for the cause of Allah. The group is said to be an off shoot of Boko Haram. Cumming (2014) claims that there is evidence to suggest that Ansaru developed as an off shoot of Boko Haram and that its membership comprises individuals who were disenchanted with the leadership of Boko Haram under Abubakar Shekau. He also claims that Ansaru has a link with al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQ119). On 13 November 2013, the US listed Boko Haram and Ansaru as foreign terrorist organizations and specially as designated global terrorist entities as part of US efforts to help Nigeria succeed in adopting a comprehensive approach to address his domestic terrorist threat. Cumming (2014) observes that there are ideological differences between the two groups. Ansaru has made explicit its intention to directly target western nationals. Any foreign nationals belonging to western government, who are either directly or tactically supporting military operations against regional and international Islamist militant groups are also their target. By contrast, Boko Haram has generally restricted its attacks in Nigeria to domestic targets and, apart from a suicide bombing at the United Nations headquarters in Abuja on the 26th August 2011, has distanced its self from acts of violence perpetrated against foreign interest.

Cumming (2014) explains that Ansaru appears to favour the use of kidnapping as an operational tactics. The group has claimed responsibility for various kidnappings and abductions. For example on 18 February 2013, they claimed the responsibility for kidnapping seven foreign expatriate workers employed by the Lebanese – owned Setraca Construction Company. The group also claimed the responsibility for a prison break in Abuja in November 2013, attack on convoy of Nigerian troops in January 2013, and an attack on French owned Uranium mine (Niger) in cooperation with Mokhtar Belmokhtar in May 23 2013. The group

has carried out numerous kidnappings from 2012 till date. Ansaru's killing of hostages in response to failed security operations is similar to an AQIM counter insurgency strategy whereby killing are executed to protect the possible identification of the kidnappers.

2.0.6 Editorial as Media Discourse

An editorial is an article that presents the newspaper's opinion on an issue. It reflects the majority vote of the editorial board, the governing body of the newspaper made up of editors and business managers. Editorial writers build on an argument and try to persuade readers to think the same way they do. Thus, editorials are meant to influence public opinion, promote critical thinking, and sometimes cause people to take action on an issue. In essence, an editorial is an opinionated news story. It is a critical interpretation of significant, usually contemporary events so that the readers will be informed, influenced, or entertained. It is the stand of the paper, rather than an individual editor. According to Lagonisko (2005) the underlying purpose of editorials is to deliver the dominant ideologies to the public. The opinion function of the mass media has made editorial writing a celebrated concept for serious-minded newspapers just as news commentary is to broadcast media (Ate, 2006). The posture of an editorial is influenced by the policy and philosophy of the newspaper, ownership structure and the political environment in which the newspaper operates.

2.0.7 Representation of Minority Groups

Representation, in itself, refers to the construction in any medium of aspects of "reality" such as people, places, objects, events, cultural identities and other abstract concepts. Such representations may be in speech or writing as well as still or moving pictures.

Most minority media efforts, including protests, have focused on the area of media content. Minorities realize — supported by research — that the media influence not only how others view them, but even how they view themselves. So minorities and other ethnic groups have long attempted to convince industry decision-makers to seek better balance in news coverage of minorities and to reduce the widespread negativism in the fictional treatment of minorities by the entertainment media. Likewise, they have clamored for the media presentation of better minority role models — in news, in entertainment, even in advertising — both to set standards for minority people and to reduce the deleterious stereotypes too long prevalent in the media. While progress has occurred, the media have not been consistently responsive or sensitive Carlos (2012).

2.0.7 Previous Works on Niger Delta Insurgency

Gbajumo (2009) confirm that the military as well as lawlessness of the Nigerian youths appeared justified as many Nigerians sympathize with the cause of militancy. He concludes that the judicial and the police systems are weak and corrupt and there is a huge disparity between the rich and the poor and there is political and economic breakdown; hence the high rate of kidnapping. Paul and Paul (2011) explain that swift and sustainable development of the Niger Delta is the only alternative to peace in the area.

The World Bank (2008) is a study on The Republic of Nigeria Social and Conflict Analysis. The study reveals that to solve the problems of Niger Delta and create peace and security in the area, there should be a rebuild trust through sustainable dialogue, creation of employment for youth, building visible benefits and community design and implementation of projects with support from government, and oil companies. The study also suggests some long term structural changes like improved transparency, accountability and governance assess full impact of environmental degradation, improved public service delivery.

2.0.8 Works on Boko Haram and Ansaru

The rise of these radical movements has been attributed partly to the poor socio economic infrastructures and poor governance in Nigeria. The major catalyst leading to the rapid increase in the membership of these religious extremist groups is poverty. The rise of these sects has also been linked to the increase and aiding of religious extremist by politicians for their selfish ambitions. Samson (2013) observes that illiteracy and poverty which are the major problems in the North are responsible for the way frustrated people are recruited into insurgency. He claims that insurgents capitalize on the loopholes in governance to get more people to join them. He further argues that insurgency in Nigeria is not all about religion as thought by many or as projected by the media. He asserts that Nigerian Media adopts a great deal of framing with regards to the news about Boko Haram, and the fight against bad governance which is also part of Boko Haram's insistence for an Islamic state is often not mentioned by the media. What the Nigeria Media often project is that the group is against westernization and wants an Islamic state possibly to gain external military support. Samson (2013) concludes that insurgency is traceable to bad leadership and that it is a collective of many who are often given almost cogent reasons why they have to join and that counter insurgency as a state apparatus has the effects of not just destroying the state or leading to the death of innocent civilian, but that it has a higher possibility of almost justifiable reasons leading to a mere insurgency into a classical state of terrorism and for this reason, it is better to avoid any situation that can lead to insurgency than attempting to counter one. Marc-Antonie (2014) argues that Boko Haram insurgency cannot be reduced simply to a revolt of the rural poor or the urban destitute against the rich. He explains that the military repression of Boko Haram in July 2009 uprising and emergency rule in Borno , Yobe and Adamawa states since May 2013 certainly contributed to an intensification of violence and the movement's transformation into a terrorist group. He further explains that failure of emergency rule to contain and impede Boko Haram violence clearly shows that the military option with an absolute focus on the violent destruction of Boko Haram is not tenable and an alternate must be sought. He concludes that the Nigeria government will need to reassess the role and mandate of the armed forces in the North East. The international communities must encourage a mandate that prioritizes the protection of the civilians and witnesses. In the long run the government must work towards professionalizing its armed forces appropriate to a democratic context and in particular its federal police force and that authority will need to plan for the demobilization, rehabilitation and reintegration of insurgents.

According to Danjibo (2009) there is a lot more than ideological radicalism to be taken into account to understand the reason for sectarian violence in Nigeria. He argues that there is the issue of unhealthy rivalry between Islamic movements in Nigeria. Also, a lot of Muslims have been brainwashed and believe that dying in the course of defending Islam would make them earn the status of martyr. Therefore they are inclined to sacrifice their lives through violent means. Lastly, he attributed violence to the 'Almajeri' Syndrome; A large army of unemployed scavenging. These are ready to get involved and even perpetrate violence for a token. He concludes that political elite must demonstrate strong commitment and good governance. In this respect good governance is the remedy for conflict and disorder, including sectarian violence.

3.0 Methodology

Functional-systemic Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis are used to unfold the realities and ideological bases underlying most of the editorial reports on radical movements in Nigeria. Thus the analysis is essentially descriptive. This study uses a total of sixteen newspapers editorials randomly selected from four widely read newspapers on Boko Haram, MEND and Ansaru. The papers selected are *The Guardian, Punch, Daily Trust and Daily Independence*. These papers are purposively selected because of time factor. However, they are among the popular newspapers in the country and they cut across the various political zones. Fifteen of the twenty seven ideological strategies proposed by Van Dijk (2005) as well as the meta functions of language identified by Halliday guide the analysis of the study.

4.0 DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0.1 Thematic Analysis

In most of the editorial reports on radical movements: Boko Haram, Ansaru and MEND, the themes of war and insecurity, terrorism and kidnapping and Islamization are prevalent revealing the identity and ideology of these movements and why it is almost becoming impossible for the Nigeria security authorities to bring the situation under control.

4.0.2 War and Insecurity

Most of the editorials reports portray a typical situation of war and insecurity. Many of them see the war as a guerilla one which is different from the conventional war that the Nigerian soldiers are familiar with. Some of the editorials also feel that the series of setbacks experienced by the military can be traced to the unusual nature of the war. They equally believe that the military needs a special training to combat the insurgents. Text 3 below especially, shows that the government and the security forces need to develop a new strategy to match the insurgents who seem to be steps ahead of them. The editorials use language to create a situation of war and insecurity. Expressions like "full blown war", "seized territories", "to end the carnage", "the killing" etc, give a picture of a country in a war situation. This is done by the media to portray the radical movements in Nigeria as agents of war and destruction. Some of the texts below show how the image of insecurity and war are depicted.

Text 1

Nigeria is enmeshed in a full blown war with terrorist, who, peddling a warped ideology, have seized territories in the North-Eastern states of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe. Boko Haram has been credited with killing over 15,000 people over the past five years.

(Punch Sept.16 2014)

Text 2

Nigeria is in grave danger unless the government and the security forces rise up to the challenges. There should be urgent action to recover our last territory. The military need to change their current, ineffectual strategy and fortify the border areas with adequate troops and equipment. The capacity of the Nigerian state to control all its territory has been degraded.

(Punch June 20, 2014)

Text 3

The Nigerian government may have allowed the Boko Haram menace to fester for too long with the result that the sect has now moved to a new stage of what may be a long drawn guerrilla tactics in its war against the Nigerian state. Obviously, this is not the kind of war that conventional soldiers are familiar with. Therefore, a new strategy is required to confront it.

(The Guardian Oct. 8, 2013.)

Text 4

There seems to be no end to the sorrow, tears and blood flowing in this country. While the government claims to have done so much to end the carnage, the killing two days ago of over a hundred Nigerians in Borno State by the Boko Haram insurgents, following several similar gruesome killing in the past, is an indication that the hemorrhaging is doing great damage to this country.

(The Guardian Feb. 19 2014.)

In the texts above, the writers want the reading public to see the situation of the insurgent as a serious war situation. Exaggerating the situation this way, may be an effort on the part of the editorial to emphasize the need for the Nigeria government to take the situation more seriously and give it the kind of attention it will give if Nigeria were to be involved with another nation in a war. Another intention of the writer might be to discourage Nigerians who might have soft spot for the insurgents from sympathizing with their course. It might also be to criminalize the group and discourage other Nigerians from joining them. It is also a way of getting support from the populace. To take the situation more seriously the expression "Nigeria is enmeshed in a full blown war" is used. From text 2, it is obvious that, the writer wants to create the impression that the Nigeria military appear to be incapable of putting the insurgency to a stop. Presenting a grievous situation like this might make the Nigeria government take more decisive steps in combating the insurgents. It might also be a bid to attract strong nations of the world to the plight of Nigerians. So, presenting the war situation in this manner helps to portray these insurgent groups as opposition to Nigeria sovereignty. Hence, the need to defend the nation and see them as common enemy.

4.0.3 Terrorism and Kidnapping

Another important thematic representation of the radical movement in Nigeria is their construction as terrorists and kidnappers whose intention is to use their victims to generate money for their groups, destroy the economy and the image of the country especially by kidnapping expatriate oil workers and foreigners. The insurgents are portrayed as more powerful and sophisticated than the Nigeria military. The country is also portrayed as being in grave danger and the government seems not to have a clue on what to do to combat the insurgents. For instance the Punch editorial in text 5 charges the President to take the bull by the horn and stop giving excuses or blaming the opposition for the problem. The texts below help to depict the insurgents as terrorists and kidnappers.

Text 5

President Goodluck Jonathan and the military are losing the fight against terrorism and need to change tactics very fast or Nigeria could implode under their watch ..Jonathan should drop his self –defeating tendency of viewing terrorism solely as an opposition project. He has the responsibility and the necessary constitutional powers to mobilize all the resources of the state to defeat Boko Haram....

(Punch June 20 2014.)

Text 6

...The answer can be located in President Gooluck Jonathan's comment last week over the fate of the seven foreign construction workers kidnapped by the Ansaru Fundamentalist group on February this year.

(Daily independence May 15, 2013)

Text 7

Soldiers raid militants' hide-out, free two expatriates. Youths blow up ALSCON staff quarters; abduct six foreigners. One suspected militant was feared killed and two expatriates freed as government forces yesterday raided a hide-out believed to belong to a band of activist Niger Delta youths. Two expatriates, both Filipino sailors, were freed in the face-off. Before the raid, a group of militants had blown up the residential quarters of the Aluminum Smelter Company of Nigeria (ALSON) in Ikot Abasi, Akwa Ibom State and abducted six of the firm's foreign workers. Meanwhile, the Rivers State Police Commissioner, Mr. Felix Ogbaudu has said that the whereabouts of about 14 expatriates including women and children kidnapped in the state last Friday and Saturday remain unknown...

(The *Guardian*, June 4, 2000.)

Text 8

During the Niger Delta crisis, whenever the militant sneezed, the rest of the country inevitably caught cold. Their engagement in kidnapping of expatriate oil workers, destruction of oil pipelines, illegal bunkering, establishment of illegal refineries and other forms of criminality...

(Daily independence May 5, 2013)

Text 10

The war of terror on Nigeria , sadly is far from its end. The violence that has Practically sliced off Nigeria's northeast central with Benue, Plateau and Nassarawa states now under siege , arrived on the nation's capital on a return leg , with devaststating effects two days ago.... With the killing of hundreds of Nigerians and maiming of several other hundreds in the suicide bombing of Nyanya Motor Park in the Federal capital territory.

(The Guardian April 16 2014.)

In most Nigeria editorials, MEND and Ansaru especially are viewed as kidnappers. Several editorials link Boko Haram and Ansaru terror groups with some other international terror groups around the world. Infact, Ansaru and Boko Haram are seen as offshoot of Al-Qaueda. This is shown in text 11 above. There are other several reports calling on the federal government to solicit the help of foreign nations in combating the menace of terrorism in Nigeria since it has been established that these terror groups have foreign connections. For example in text 9 and 10 *Punch and Daily independence* editorials stressed the need for Nigeria government to accept support from other nations who are more equipped and experienced in handling terrorism. . Linking Boko Haram with other international terror groups create a grave picture of the situation in Nigeria because Al-Qaueda is an international terror group with more expertise and finances, and having such a terror group in Nigeria portend a great danger. The implication of this is that, the international communities will begin to understand why the Nigeria government has not been able to subdue these terror groups and why it is expedient for Nigeria to get help from outside. This may further help to label these insurgents as "evil" and probably more dangerous hence the need to tackle them more seriously. Text 11and 12 below are examples of how the insurgents are portrayed as offshoot of international terror groups.

Text 11

Boko Haram is nothing but virulent form of terrorism. The terror group which has killed about 2,500 Nigerians this year and over 15,000 in all –has linked up with the main al-qaeda, al-shubaab and other Islamist terror organizations intent on employing Jihad to establish an Islamic world order.

(Punch May14, 2014) Text 12

The offer by the international community to help locate and bring back over 200 school girls from Boko Haram's captivity is a development that calls for the full support and cooperation of Nigerians. After much dithering, occasioned by unnecessary self pride, a clueless Nigerians government caved in to pressure last week and reluctantly, decided to avail itself of the wealth of experience and resources of the United States of America, Britain, France China and Israel to combat the Islamist terrorist and bring back the abducted girls. We believe that the best way to defeat terrorism is through international cooperation. This is not the right time to flaunt national pride.

(Punch May14, 2014)

Text 13

It calls for the deployment of undercover intelligence by all the country's security Network to break into the different cells of the sects making up the Boko Haram Franchise. The international bent of the new Islamist sect JAMB, which name translates to "the Vanguard for the protection of Muslims in Black Africa" means that the Nigeria authorities may even need to extend the searchlight to the Al-Qaeda affiliates holding sway in northern Mali. Incidentally the commander of the United States Africa command (Africom) in Stuttgart, Germany, General Carter F. Ham while recently appraising the operations of militant organizations on the African continent had warned that Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb are strengthening their hold in northern Mali and exporting terrorism to the northern part of Nigeria through the provision of arms, explosives and financing.

(Daily independence May 5, 2013)

4.0.4. Islamization

Another major theme that is associated with radicalism is Islamization; though only with radical movements who solicit the establishment of Islamic caliphate especially the Boko Haram and Ansaru. Many Nigerians, following the initial attacks on Christians and churches in the North, before the various onslaughts on mosques and Muslim clerics believed that aim of these Islamic groups was to Islamize the whole nation. Some editorials captured this and give the impression that the Boko Haram attacks are only targeted at Christians. The texts below exemplify this view.

Text 14

Have any of their families been so murderously attacked by Boko Haram element Would they demand amnesty for Boko Haram if they were at the receiving end like the many Christian families that have suffered that pain and misery at the expense of the Islamic extremist?

Daily Trust 27 March 2013

Text 15

Since December, the group, campaigning to overthrow Nigeria's legitimacy and enthrone its own warped Islamist ideology, has attacked soft targets like the Federal Government College, Buni Yadi Yobe State, as well as churches villages and public buildings.

(Punch, 28 March, 2014)

Text 16

Boko Haram is nothing but a virulent form of terrorism...-has linked up with the main al-Qaeda, al-Shabaab and other Islamist terror organisations intent on employing jihad to establish an Islamic world order.

(Punch May 14 2014)

There is another international dimension to this argument of Islamization. Some of the editorials opine that that there is a plan to spread the Islamic Jihad to the whole world. They link many terror attacks in most part of the world as stemming from the east and that the intention is to Islamize the whole world. *The Punch* editorials of May 12 2014 quoted Tony Blair as saying that for the last 40 to 50 years, there has been a steady stream of funding, proselytizing, organizing and promulgating coming out of the Middle-

East, pushing views of religion that are narrow-minded and dangerous. Presenting Boko Haram and Ansaru in this light, further helps to shift the attention of the people from one form of grievances or the other, which the group might have and portraying them as people who do not respect the fundamental right of other citizens to religion or association.

5.0 Summary, conclusion and recommendation

This study has examined the recurrent themes on report of radical movements in Nigeria are represented. The fore scholarly studies on media communication, media discourse with particular interest on representation in the media generally and especially in the editorials, representation of minority group and previous work on insurgency and radical movements in Nigeria. However, this study identified recurrent themes and justifies the questions that this research set out to answer, and also attempt to unravel the research problem. The findings revealed that editorial reports carefully select most of their themes to reflect and subtly construct the reader's perspectives of the radical movements in Nigeria. It is therefore recommended that media discourse be included in the curriculum in Nigeria tertiary institutions so that educated public can be aware of various discourse tools use by media to manipulate the perception of the readers

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