

Media, Ethnic Hegemony and Conflict in Africa: The Northern-Southern Nigerian Media Reportage on Insurgency

Tajudeen Odebode Ishola

Department of Religions and Peace Studies

Peace Studies Unit

isholatajudeen71@gmail.com

tajudeen.ishola@lasu.edu.ng

Received: November 15, 2024,

Accepted: December 7, 2024

ABSTRACT

This study analyzing the media reportage on insurgence issues in the Northern-Southern Nigerian, where there is need for the reporters to be professionally inclined not to create conflict in transforming conflicts. The insurgence group had their motive to create disharmony, fear, confusion, and misunderstanding to achieve their nefarious desires on the nation's states. It is the responsibility of the media to understand the significance of their profession to operate in critical form for the government to search for a new course for the one becoming of the insurgence group through the media reportage. As a concomitant draw out, the study will enrich the literature on the nature of the media reportage on global terrorism, and insurgence groups on the rise in Africa. The study of this nature increases and improves scholars and experts on insurgence media reportage and tailors their expertise skills towards peace journalism.

Keywords: Media, Ethnic Hegemony, Conflict, Africa, Nigerian Media, Reportage, Insurgency.

INTRODUCTION

In conflict situations, media has a significant role through adequate and scientific reportage in contributing to the improvement and sustainability of the peaceful atmosphere of the communities, states, region-experiencing crisis in each of the nations of the world. Africa as a continent is described in negativity by most foreign researchers as continent ravages in diseases, poverty, hunger, and wars ^(1, 2). The first civil war in Nigeria broke out after the first coup and counter coup in 1967 as the then military governor of eastern region Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu tried to break away or secede the eastern region of Nigeria as 'Republic of Biafra'. The civil war could also be tagged as an ethnic/tribal war; although, there was faintest coloration of religious hegemony in the first coup before the countered coup that resulted in the civil war. The religion factorization was jettisoned in 1967 civil war because of the alignment by the western region on the part of Nigeria forces.

Before the Nigeria independence, there are religious organizations most especially Islamic organizations were formed for propagation of the religion to other parts of the country. Oloyede⁽³⁾ described the year 1914 as significant to Nigeria as the year of protectorate of southern and northern amalgamated and modern Nigeria came into being. Moreover, to Muslims it is significant because the year marked the beginning of formal Islamic organizations in the country. He then categorized the Islamic organizations into six (6), (i) the root (ii) the umbrella (iii) the personalized

Tajudeen Odebode Ishola

(iv) the professional/specialized (v) the ideological (vi) the independent/Non-Aligned⁽³⁾. The Jama'atu Alu-Ssuna Lidda'awati wal-jihad also known as Boko Haram belong to the umbrella category, it is a coalition of another Muslim group within it ⁽³⁾ .

Muhammed Yusuf, the deceased leader of 'Boko Haram was formally a member of Jamaatul Tajdid Islam (JTI) in Bornu state. Based on ideology he later crossed over to Ahlulsunna Wal'jama'ah Hijra or shabaab. Eventually, the travelling of Amir of the later organization to University of Madina for scholarship gave opportunity to Yusuf and displaced the elderly sect members to change the name of the organization to Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad – 'People committed to the Prophet's Teaching for propagation and Jihad⁽⁴⁾ . The insurgency activities of Boko Haram began because of the death of Muhammed Yusuf in police custody. His followers and members of his organization held the view that he was murdered. Different media reports began to unfold, and different views about the group were released with their security network in the country. Out of the thirty-eight print media houses in Nigeria, twenty-eight (72.6%) were based in the southern part of the country while the northern part house the remaining ten (10) (27.4%) of the print media.

Since the death of the group's leader, Muhammed Yusuf in 2002, the group had carried out nefarious activities on security personnel and security buildings, religious houses of worship, diplomatic and public establishments, schools, towns and villages. It is believed by certain section of the country that the prints media mostly based in the southern part are many, and as well as major readable outlet of newspaper in Nigeria were not adequately covering the Boko-Haram activities in the northeast Nigeria. Thus, the study seeks to analyze the northern-southern Nigeria media reportage on insurgency with the aim to provide plausible and vital suggestions on balance media reportage on insurgency by avoiding ethnic, religion hegemony and conflicts in Nigeria and Africa as a continent of the black race.

Research Questions

The two questions raised to guide the theoretical and scientific nature of the study are:

1. How do Nigeria media report on the Boko Haram insurgency?
2. How can we explain observed similarities and/or dissimilarities between northern and southern Nigeria media on insurgency?

Research Hypotheses

1. There is no significant difference in Nigeria media reportage on the Boko Haram insurgency
2. There is no observed similarities and/ or dissimilarities between northern and southern Nigeria media reportage on insurgency

Significance of the Study

The study is of significance considering the effect of insurgency on human existence in the affected area, Nigeria and indeed Africa. The neighboring countries (Cameroon, Chad, and Niger) were also not spare in Boko Haram attack activities. The destructions of infrastructural development the northeast has built over the years and the number of casualties recorded since 2009 when the insurgence group rears its ugly head are enormous. Invariably, despite the efforts of the past and present administrations to restrict the spread and extension of insurgency's activities to other regions of north central and northwest of the country forced Boko Haram group to Lake Chad area.

Media, Ethnic Hegemony and Conflict in Africa: The Northern-Southern Nigerian Media Reportage on Insurgency

In complementing the efforts of the government, there should be adequate information from the people through the media as the fourth estate of the realm, media in whatever form plays a significant role in the peace, development and conflict transformation of any nation's state. The media reportage of any issue critical as insurgency requires a balance reportage with a view to create emotional balance in the mind of the target audience, which are the people and also to give positive support to the government forces in confrontation with the insurgent group. This is the best professional practice of peace journalistic instinct of positivism.

Scope of the Study

Media is large and there are differences. Thus, the scope of the study is printing media. Three (3) newspaper are picked, one (1) is pick from the northern axis and the other two (2) are picked from the southwest and southeast of Nigeria, Also, the period of the study is between 2019 to 2020, and the content is on insurgency in northeast Nigeria. The scope also to:

- i. identify the aspect not covered by the southern prints' media.
- ii. examine the content of the covered reportage

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of the study is to investigate the reportage activities of the Nigeria media on Boko Haram insurgency. After the death of the leader of the 'Jama'atu Alu-Ssuna Lidda'awati wal-jihad', Muhammed Yusuf in 2002. The group had carried out nefarious activities on certain sections of the country causing serious damages and destructions to life and property with adverse effects on socio-economic development of the affected region. It is believed by certain section of the people that the prints media mostly based in the southern part of Nigeria are not adequately covering the Boko Haram activities in the northern part of Nigeria at it should base on factors not clearly outlined, which the study will objectively spelt out.

Literature Review

History and Evolution of the Media

Kirillova⁽⁵⁾ opined that the growing role of media culture, information and communication technologies perceived as factors that influence society and individual psychology, politics, economics and the state management system (peace and conflict transformation). He is of the belief that this role poses a new challenge to media studies. Though, a great number of researchers have made attempts to create a theoretical position that would expose the evolution of the media culture development as a system of traditions and innovations in dynamics⁽⁶⁾.

Kirillova⁽⁵⁾ described the history and evolution of the media in four distinct periods. The pre-writing in barbaric societies is the longest in human history, given that the first creatures of the Homo family appeared about 4 million years ago and Homo sapiens began to evolve about 100,000 years ago. He used syncretism (gr.) syncretism that is connection), in other words, differentiation of forms is the main distinctive features of primitive culture. There was absence of writing at this period, writing is slow paces of information accumulation and other social evolution. The second phase according to⁽⁵⁾ the era of the alphabet and phonetic writing- He explained that the Mesopotamian cuneiform script and Egyptian hieroglyphs that were in use until the end of the 4th millennium BCE, are some of the well-known pre-alphabetic writing systems. He stressed that the first alphabet appeared in 2000 BCE. Although, based on Egyptian hieroglyphs, it was intended for use by Hebrews writing in Egypt. A new variety of writing appeared in Ancient Greece in early

Tajudeen Odebode Ishola

1st millennium BCE. It was reported by⁽⁵⁾ that Caesar, the founder of the Roman Empire, is also considered the founder of a daily newspaper. Caesar tried to make public minutes of the discussions and decisions of the Roman Senate (*Acta Senatus*). Inscriptions were made on a board, covered with white plaster, and displayed to the public, this reminded modern posters.

Kirillova⁽⁵⁾ explained the third phase as print culture (The Gutenberg Galaxy) which started in the Renaissance and lasted for five centuries (15th-19th centuries). Specifically, the Russia example that opened a window onto Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, following the reform of Peter the Great. The first newspaper in Russia, *Vedomosti*, printed in 1702 with the total numbers of 2000 copies. Indeed, transition from manuscript to print lasted in Russia almost one century and half. Research shows that the aim of the first printed publications in Russia was to solve specific political test. Peter, I felt it necessary to inform certain audiences in Russia and at Europe courts about the success of his reform and military victories, it is not mere chance that by 1703 'Vedomosti' had a circulation of four thousand newspapers⁽⁷⁾. It was reported that the reign of Alexander, I characterized by liberation of social life, saw a considerable growth in the number of periodical literature. From 1801 to 1811 alone, 60 new magazines and newspapers were introduced to the public. In the second half of the 19 century, media culture was developing in the context of the industrialization of society directly related to urbanization, technical revolution, growth of industry⁽⁶⁾.

Formation and development of electronic culture also described as the "Marconi Galaxy" is the fourth force explained by⁽⁵⁾. At this phase, print media has already established and spread through the continents of the world. The fifth phase and the current wave is the screen culture priorities also called the Internet Galaxy. Though, in the last thirty years, audiovisual communication has seriously challenged the printed world, the screen has played a decisive role in the democratization of culture and the emergence of its new media forms. In this regard, the socio-cultural situation in the world and the media environment has undergone major transformation in history.

University of Minnesota Libraries Publishing (UMLP) in one of her publications, *Understanding Media and Culture* (2016), observed that the increased efficiency went hand in hand with the rise of the daily newspaper. The newspaper according to UMC (2016) was the perfect medium for the increasingly urbanized of the 19th century, who could no longer get their local news merely through gossip and word of mouth. According to UMC (2016), that the Americans were living in unfamiliar territory and newspapers and other media helped them negotiate the rapidly changing world. It held that some people had more leisure time and more money, and media helped them figure out how to spend both. Media theorist Benedict Anderson has agreed that newspapers also helped forge a sense of national identity by treating readers across the country as part of one unified community⁽⁸⁾.

In the 1830s, the major daily newspapers faced a new threat from the rise of penny papers, which were low-priced broad sheets that served as a cheaper, more sensational daily news source. They favoured the news of murder and adventure over the dry political news of the day. While newspapers catered to wealthier more educated audience, the penny press attempted to reach a wide swath of readers through cheap prices and entertaining (often scandalous) stories. The penny press can be seen as the forerunner to today's gossip hungry tabloids. UMC (2016) stress furthered that in the early decades of the 20th century, the first major non-points form of mass media - radio - exploded in popularity. Radios, which were less expensive than telephone and widely available but by the 1920s had the unprecedented ability of allowing huge numbers of people to listen to the same event at the same time.

Media, Ethnic Hegemony and Conflict in Africa: The Northern-Southern Nigerian Media Reportage on Insurgency

The media world faced drastic changes once again in the 1980s and 1990s with the spread of cable television. One reason for the changes in homogeneity is the fact that at the early decades of television, viewers had limited number of channels to choose from. Cable providers allowed viewers a wide menu of choices.

As media continue to evolve, Carlos⁽⁹⁾ condensed the six natural life circle model by Lehman-Wilzig and Cohen-Avigdor (2004) into three phases explained as superimposed onto the six stages. The birth, market penetration, and growth condensed under emergence. The maturation and defensive resistance cycle is regarded as dominance. The last cycle of adaptation, convergence, or obsolescence categorized as survival or extinction⁽⁹⁾.

Media in Violent Conflicts

Media in its general term has a potential role to play in conflict prevention, management, and transformation. Gerd⁽¹⁰⁾ captured the role of media in phases of spreading images of threats, animosity, of “the other”. Media plays a crucial role in the escalation of conflicts, also in taming conflicts- if we want them to do so⁽¹⁰⁾.

Conflict does not break out from one moment to the next or from a single interaction. But most times a long period of tension builds up. The situation can be prevented from the outburst of violence and reduce the antagonism between the conflictual group(s). Different television and radio programs can be air and view to prevent conflict and violence. The Rwanda example in which the radio program exacerbated the ethnic conflict and still used to reconcile the people can be equally used to prevent conflict in any human society. It can be used to mobilize listeners to intervene at early stage of the conflict.

In the media is the media arena in which⁽¹¹⁾ Wolfsfeild described as a particular arena in which actors compete to control or influence the media in various ways to secure or gain political influence. It is emphasized on two dimensions needed to be understanding the way political conflicts can influence competition over the media, “the structural and the cultural”. In the structural dimension, the competition is over access to the media. The cultural dimension is the competition over frames, there is dependent and independent media. In societies where the media is heavily controlled by the state or by the other interests usually assume that the success in controlling access automatically leads to success in the higher level of political support. However, as media become more independent this becomes more difficult: the more independent media is the less more it will be to manipulation from outside actors⁽¹¹⁾.

Welfseld⁽¹¹⁾ submitted that international media as it works today has negligible or negative influence on violent conflicts in the pre and post violent conflict phases. In most cases, internal conflicts do not get substantial media attention in these conflict phases. Welfseld⁽¹¹⁾ observes that the negative influence of the international media is closely related to its preference for sensationalist events and its increasingly infotainment-oriented news reporting. Jakobsen⁽¹²⁾ (2000) emphasized the essential accurate reporting, though often due to a lack of time and accessibility, it is difficult to verify information but necessary.

In the pre- and post-violent phases of a conflict, ensuring that national media fulfills its role as a credible source of information and guardian against all vices is essential. This can be done in such a way that the media is perceived as a legitimate representation of the concerns of all levels of society to ensure active and constructive communication between decision makers and civil society.

Contemporarily, media are mostly in the hands of the powerful. They can be state owned, or rich individual owns them. In many cases, therefore, the media do hardly fulfill their role as a critical watchdog. Gerd⁽¹⁰⁾ explained that private media practitioners face problems in making sales and often leads to sensational reporting which invariably contributes to the escalation of conflicts, because acts of violence may dominate the news, and peaceful interaction remains underreported.

Peace Journalism Paradigm

Peace journalism is a novel and emerging phrase in conflicts transformatory as a way or form of journalistic commitment to exploring root causes of conflict to create opportunities for society to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict⁽¹³⁾. He presented the views of^(14, 15) Lynch and Galtung (2010); Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) on 'conflict' equals 'war' this view was considered problematic because it prevents conflict to be seen from positivism perspectives. In fact, John Galtung's theory of non-violence and conflict resolution⁽¹⁶⁾ (Galtung, 1967) suggests a conflict is a clash of incompatible interests among the parties that can be transcended to reach a further and deeper agreement.

De-Michelis⁽¹³⁾ argued that in peace journalism studies, war journalism is seen as a profession and predominantly reports violence and detaches conflict from its wider context, both in time and space. In time as 'that is' - it fails to report all the causes that historically might have led to the conflict formation, space – its geography, namely it fails to report on all the parties that might be attached to the conflict.

Peace journalism according to⁽¹⁵⁾ is the process when editors and reporters make choices – of what stories to report, and how to report them – which create opportunities for society to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict (p. 5). Kempf⁽¹⁸⁾ juxtapose the work of⁽¹⁷⁾ peace journalism model. Kempf⁽¹⁸⁾ submits that Galtung (1998) wants to free journalism from the dictates of news factors to facilitate peace oriented, truth oriented, people oriented and solution-oriented reportage. In their own submission⁽¹⁵⁾ says the editors and reporters make choices – of what stories to report, and how to report them. Kempf⁽¹⁹⁾ strives to secure the often-violated quality norms of journalism – truthfulness, objectivity, and neutrality – as well in terms of conflict and crises.

'Boko Haram' as Terrorist and Insurgency Group

Terrorism is defined as the systematic use of violence and intimidation to coerce a government or community into acceding to specific political demands. However, Article 2 of the draft Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism captured the concept as any person who commits an offence within the meaning of this Convention, if that person, by any means, unlawfully and intentionally, causes: death or serious bodily injury to any person; or serious damage to public or private property, including a place of public use, a state or government facility, a public transportation system, an infrastructure facility or the environment; or damage to property, places, facilities, or systems referred to in paragraph 1 (b) of this article, resulting or likely to result in major economic loss, when the purpose of the conduct, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act⁽²⁰⁾.

With the description of terrorism by the article, it is clear to consider the activities carried out by Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad also known as Boko Haram to be terrorist group. Similarly, the group on insurgency, as⁽²¹⁾ explained insurgency as an organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government with subversion and armed conflict. The Boko

Media, Ethnic Hegemony and Conflict in Africa: The Northern-Southern Nigerian Media Reportage on Insurgency

Haram has done so with force of guerrilla warfare tactics, terrorism, coercion or intimidation, propaganda, subversion, and political mobilization.

There was no report of terrorism activities in Africa until 2009 when Boko Haram emerged on the soil of Nigeria in the northeast region of the country. The affiliation '*Boko Haram*' was not the actual identification of the group but affliction from the media, '*a bad name in order to hang it*', The group affiliation according to⁽⁴⁾ is Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad – 'People committed to the Prophet's Teaching for propagation and Jihad'. How is the group tag with the affiliation 'Boko Haram'? This indeed is another academic scientific exercise; however, the space will summarily answer the interesting question. Hustaz (Arabist – Teacher) Muhammed Yusuf, the leader of the society enjoined large members and followership in Maiduguri the capital of Borno State. In 2007, as narrated by the source, Abu Madu Sherif a contestant in the governorship race under All Nigerians Peoples Party (ANPP) contacted Yusuf for support, for he (Abu Madu Sherif) to become the next governor in the state, which Yusuf based on tete-a-tete on most concerned issues obliged. The governor won the elections and there was a mutual and cordial relationship between the group and group leadership. It was reported that as the governor began to deviate from the campaign promises, Yusuf went to him for clarifications, the governor responded that those were political campaign statements that do happen during canvassing for votes. It was at that point Yusuf responded that if that is what your western education taught you, to say something positive to the people and do another thing in contrary then that your education is haram. He (Yusuf) straight off resigned his appointment as commissioner in the administration of Abu Madu Sherif.

Since then, the state government and the society were at crossroad until the army officers arrested Yusuf after series of confrontations, he was hand over to the police for further investigation but killed while in the police custody as ordered by the power at the top. Since then, the group has moved from religion society to terrorist and insurgence group in connection with the international terrorist groups and birthed other criminal activities that ravage the entire northern region of the country causing havoc in social, political, economic, education and human capital space of the country.

Theoretical Framework

As vast as the field of media so also are the theories on media communication process. For instance, there are information theories, mass media theories, communication theories, media culture and society theories and so forth. The concise and relevant theory for this study is dependency theory propounded by⁽²²⁾. The theory according to University of Twente Compilation of Communication Theories (UTCCT) (2003/2004) is drawn out of communication discipline. The theory combined psycho analytics and social system theory with that of systematic and casual approach; it also combined elements of uses and gratifications theory with less on effects. The theory according to UTCCT (2003/04) regards audience as an active part in communication process. The theory is of the agreement that there is an internal link between media, audience, and larger social system. It argues that learning from real life is limited therefore, the audience can use media to get more information to fulfill their needs (UTCCT, 2003/04). Factors that influence the degree of media dependence are of individual becoming more dependent on media have been satisfied the audience needs. Of social stability, the audience reconsiders their beliefs, practice and behaviours when strong social change, conflicts, riots or election outcry, which forces the audience to reevaluate and make new decisions. At that, reliance on the media for information will increase

Tajudeen Odebode Ishola

because there is a strong need for information, support and advice. As dependence theory combines from the perspective of psychology, which allows professional conduct and ethics from the media practitioners in news reportage. The insurgent groups have the notion to create fear in the mind of the public, and even set the public against the government for them (the insurgent) to achieve their objectives. It also used propaganda to support their nefarious activities to create fear into the mind of the public. Ogbondah and Agbese ⁽²³⁾ observed that the group recognizes the potency of propaganda, and hence it devotes time and resources to the dissemination of its messages through statements and video appearances. We contend that a comprehensive understanding of what Boko Haram stands for and the implications of its attacks can be understood by adding succinct analyses of its media strategy to what is already known about its military strategy. Boko Haram uses its media strategy to advance its military goals as it frequently utilizes video appearances by its leader, Abubakar Shekau, to threaten military attacks. There should be counter narrative from the public and government media and other entities based on dependence theory. The media should understand these and relate adequate news that will assist the government in whatever form to strategically and cooperatively with the people fight with the insurgent groups. Whatever real out by the media in their reportage has adverse effects on the audience as receiver most especially on insurgent groups activities, which are common enemy on socio-economic, political, and educational development of the people in that region of the country.

In this case, the audience and the individuals reading the newspapers holds the beliefs that necessary and adequate information about the activities of insurgent group(s) in the northeast of the country were published accordingly to the audience society. The information is necessary in that it will assist and improve the measures put in place by the government, to arrest the situation and improve the living conditions in terms of security of life and property.

METHODOLOGY

The research methodology adopted in this study is qualitative research with content analysis. Kothari⁽²⁴⁾ explained that content analysis consists of analyzing the contents of documentary/materials such as books, magazines, newspapers and the contents of all other verbal materials that can either be spoken or printed. In this regard, three (3) newspapers were selected, one in the northern part of the country while two (2) newspapers selected from the southern part because, large numbers are published from the southern part of the country. Daily Trust (Abuja), The Punch and The Nation (Lagos).

Nigerian media reportage on the Boko Haram insurgency activities

Table (1) indicates the dates of different attacks by the *Boko Haram* insurgent group, the three newspapers selected – The Daily Trust, The Punch and The Nation newspapers. The table also shows that the Boko Haram insurgent attacked different communities in the northeast Nigeria based on the available records from December 25th, 2019, to August 9th, 2020. It equally indicates if the three newspapers selected reported the attack activities carried out by the Boko Haram insurgency on the stipulated dates or not. The three-selected newspapers were widely circulated to different states across the country. They also have an online version of the news on their website.

Media, Ethnic Hegemony and Conflict in Africa: The Northern-Southern Nigerian Media Reportage on Insurgency

Table 1. Insurgency's attack on different communities in the northeast, Nigeria

Insurgency attack	Daily Trust	The Punch	The Nation
December 25, 2019. Bagajau community in Askira/Uba LGA, Borno State, killing nine people (all are christians)	2 died and 13 sustained injuries following the Sunday evening attack on Biu town by Boko Haram militants.	There is no news on the insurgent group on December 25 th , 2019.	There is no news on the insurgent group.
December 29, 2019. 18 people were abducted following an attack on the Mandaragirau community in Biu LGA, Borno State.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.
January 6 th , 2020. 38 persons killed at Gamburu, Borno State	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.
January 18 th , 2020. 6 abducted following an attack on Kwaragilum village in Chibok LGA,	3 persons killed and 13 worshipers sustained injuries as Boko Haram suicide bombers detonated explosives near a mosque in Gwoza, Borno State.	Emir of Potiskum escaped the Boko Haram attack.	The Emir of Potiskum escaped reported. There is no news about the attack on Kwaragilum village.
January 27 th , 2020. Tur community attacked and several homes razed down.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on Tur community attack. But, there is news on foiled Boko Haram attack on Internally Displaced Persons' camp in Gamborou-Ngala, Borno State.
February 2 nd , 2020. Leho community in Askira/Uba LGA, attacked and three churches burnt down.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.
February 9 th , 2020. 30 persons killed at Auno, Borno State	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.
February 20 th , 2020. Tabang community attacked in Askira/Uba LGA, Borno State. Burnt down several homes, many people sustained injuries, and a nine-year-old boy abducted.	There is no news about the insurgent group. However, the Governor of Borno declared February 24, 2020, statewide fasting and prayer against Boko Haram insurgency.	There is no news about the insurgent group. It also carried the story of Governor, Borno State.	There is no news about the insurgent group. It also carried the news of the governor on February 24 prayer and fast against Boko Haram insurgency.
February 21 st , 2020. Garkida community attacked, different churches, College of Health Technology, vehicles, homes were looted and burnt. A man was equally abducted.	There is no news on the insurgent group on February 21. However, the news of Garkida was reported on February 24, 2020.	There is news on insurgent group attack on Garkida community on Friday, February 21, 2020.	There is no news on the insurgent group.

Tajudeen Odebode Ishola

February 29 th , 2020. Rumirgo community attacked in Askira/Uba LGA, Borno State, 7 persons killed.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.
March 1 st , 2020. Rumirgo attacked, food items loaded in a truck and carted away.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.
March 23 rd , 2020. Massacre against Chadian and Nigerian armies.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.
April 3 rd , 2020. Kubumbula and Kwamtiyahi villages in Chibok LGA, Borno State, killed and abducted people, and raised down several homes.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.
April 5 th , 2020. Mussa Bri in Askira/Uba LGA, Borno State, looting and burning houses.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.
April 7 th , 2020. Wamdeo community attacked in Askira/Uba LGA, Borno State, 5 persons killed, and property burnt.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.
May 6 th , 2020. Debiro, Dakwama, and Tarfa communities attacked in Biu LGA, Borno State, killed a man, destroyed several houses and looted valuable goods.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.
May 12 th , 2020. Mussa Bri community attacked in Askira/Uba LGA, Borno State, killed a man and left a woman badly injured.	There is no news on insurgent group	There is no news on insurgent group	There is no news on insurgent group
May 30 th , 2020. Kwabila village attacked in Askira/Uba LGA, Borno State. A woman killed and others sustained injuries.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.
June 2 nd , 2020. Kwabila village attacked again, and 2 persons killed.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.
June 7 th , 2020. Kidindila community attacked in Askira/Uba LGA, Borno State, abducted a woman, injured others and destroyed property.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.
June 9 th , 2020. Gubio community attacked, Borno State, 81 villagers killed.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.
June 13 th , 2020. Monguno and Nagazai communities attacked in Borno State, killed 20 soldiers and 40 civilians.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.

Media, Ethnic Hegemony and Conflict in Africa: The Northern-Southern Nigerian Media Reportage on Insurgency

June 16 th , 2020. Mbulabam community attacked in Chibok LGA, Borno State, abducted a young girl and others got missing.	Caption differently: Don't loss hope	It is reported.	There is no news on insurgent group.
June 17 th , 2020. Kautikari community attacked in Chibok LGA, killed 3 persons and abducted 6 others.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.
June 22 nd , 2020. Kautikari community attacked again, killed 2 persons and abducted 3 others.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on insurgent group.
August 2 nd , 2020. Internally Displaced Persons camp attacked, killed 18 persons	There is no news on insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.	There is no news on the insurgent group.
August 9 th , 2020. Islamic State of West Africa Province attack and killed 6 French Aid workers and 2 Niger civilians in Koure, Tillaberi region.			

Source: Researcher's design

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Nigeria media reportage on the Boko Haram insurgence activities

The three selected newspapers have reporters in all the state capitals in Nigeria. The most common way of reportage by the newspapers is through a reporter at the seat of power of each state of the federation (state capitals). Each newspaper selected has a reporter in each state of the northeast. Like any other human being, reporters are not superhuman and will put their life in danger for the sake of gathering news for better dissemination to the public. However, there are professional strategies that can be employed to access news in conflict situation or environment. Media reporter can involve going undercover for covering a story or event. International Centre for Journalists (2018) explained that undercover investigation is a strategy that can be employed to access the veracity or authenticity of an event or scenario for accurate information by the journalists to the public. It also emphasized the significance of technology and equipment in modern times like hidden cameras and tape recorders that can be fixed in eyeglasses, pens now available and easy to use. Based on the content analysis, it is appalling that reporters in the northeast do not engage in investigative reporting that will unfold most nefarious activities of the Boko Haram insurgency rather they engaged in copying and editing style of reportage. This is attested to in the news reported on 20th February 2020 that 'Governor of Borno declared February 24th, 2020, statewide fasting and prayer against Boko Haram insurgency'. The three (3) newspapers selected published this piece. The reason for the three selected newspapers to have reported this news might be (i), it came out of the government house where all the reporters are present or/and the government house is where the correspondence chapel as well as Press Secretary to the governor disseminate information to the media reporters in the state house. However, the attack on Tabang community was not reported or related by the three (3) selected newspapers, even though the *Daily Trust* that has its base in the northern part of the country failed to report the news because none of its media investigators accessed the story.

Tajudeen Odebode Ishola

Another, concrete evidence was the Punch, and the Nation newspapers reports that ‘the Emir of Potiskum escaped Boko Haram attack’ (18th Jan. 2020, The Punch p. 42 The Nation p. 3). On the same date, the Trust newspaper reported that ‘3 persons killed, and 13 worshipers sustained injuries as Boko Haram suicide bombers detonated explosives near a mosque in Gwoza, Borno State’. Whereas as indicated in Table 1. January 18th, 2020. Six (6) persons abducted following an attack on Kwaragilum village in Chibok LGA, as reported by⁽²⁵⁾ that monitored and reported day by day activities of the insurgence group in the area.

It was obvious from Table (1) that the styles of reportage by the Nigerian media are the same. There are differences in the title of the newspapers, but the working patterns and practices are the same. Udoakah⁽²⁶⁾ in Eshett⁽²⁷⁾ gives an apt description of the reportage by Nigerian newspaper and indeed African journalist thus:

“African journalists are stationed at their regional headquarters or state capitals (in the case of Nigerian) and selected Local Government or District Headquarters. The decision to send reporters to local Government or District Headquarter is usually informed by the economic or political importance of such towns. Hence, journalism in Africa, like Western Europe and America, is essentially an urban phenomenon... Or when something with society happens, for instance, an outbreak of an epidemic or communicable disease.

Adegoroye⁽²⁸⁾ observed that the Nigeria media were not adequately reporting the nefarious activities of the insurgent group, and they are equally not giving expected moral support to the troops of Nigerian Armed Forces since the unfortunate outbreak of insurgence war in the northeast. The uneven and biased reportage by the northern and southern media also favor the insurgent group over the government troops and this often than not gives moral strength to the terrorists. However, Eshett⁽²⁷⁾ explained some strategies, which were modified for effective media reportage that could enhance public confidence, result oriented that will collectively mitigate if not totally defeat the insurgence groups:

- i. Adaptation of news values
- ii. Assign of correspondents to strategic rural areas
- iii. Use of local language for adequate source of news/facts
- iv. Identify news sources
- v. Locate and identify the opinion leaders
- vi. Establish rapport with the locals

The observed similarities and/or dissimilarities between northern and southern Nigeria media reportage on insurgency

A critical look and assessment of the mode of operandi of the Boko Haram insurgency (Table 1) shows that there was no single day of the week and month the insurgent group did not carry out their nefarious activities on the people of northeast region. Nevertheless, most of the attacks were either unreported or under-reported. The dastard activities used in this study were reported by a religion organization⁽²⁵⁾ that Boko Haram terrorists perpetrated over fifty different attacks on different communities, which were unreported or under reported by both the print and electronic media (p. 1). This shows that different religious groups as well as socio-cultural development groups and associations will have relevant records of unreported activities of this insurgence group.

Careful observation of the table shows that Daily Trust is a newspaper established and has been based in the northern region of the country. Out of twenty-seven events narrated by⁽²⁵⁾ the daily trust reported four attacks were not among them. For instance, Garkida Community was

Media, Ethnic Hegemony and Conflict in Africa: The Northern-Southern Nigerian Media Reportage on Insurgency

attacked on 21st February 2020 where different churches, College of Health Technology, vehicles, homes were looted and burnt, and a man was equally abducted. The Daily Trust reported the news the fourth day after the bad incident. What a dead story! What expired information! In a similar analysis. The Punch newspaper, one of the most readable and circulated newspaper in Nigeria covered one out of the twenty-seven attacks, the covered story was the news of the escaped of the Emir of Potiskum from the unidentified attackers on 18th January 2020. The second newspaper selected in the southern region, the Nation newspaper reported two incidents out of the twenty-seven attacks compiled by the EYNCBN (2020), the escape of the Emir of Potiskum, and the foiled Boko Haram attack on internally displaced persons' camp in Gamboron-Ngala, Borno State on 27th January 2020. The activities of the insurgent group are terrifying considering the spate of attacks in the northeast region of the country at the point in time. The compilation by the group, which were not reported by the media, the ones reported by the media despite the small in number were different from what the group⁽²⁵⁾ compiled. This juxtaposes many attacks carried out by the insurgent groups that were not reported by the media, not known to the security officers, government officers except the victims of the attacks.

Hypothesis Findings

Based on the analysis of the content and context of the compiled attacks by the EYNCBN (2020) in the northeast region of the country. There is no significant difference in the media reportage on the bases of the region. The study shows that the southern media reportage was a bit proactive in their reportage than their counterpart in the northern region on insurgence attack activities.

There are similarities in the reportage of the media not minding the regional base of the newspaper. This was deduced from the reportage of the newspaper in the northern part and that of the newspapers base in the southern part on their style of reportage as explained on table 1 of the study.

Conclusion

Media plays significant role in peace, growth and development of any nation, either in sustainability of peaceful coexistence or engendering peace in crisis. Media reportage is beyond news relaying and reporting. But, achieving the broad goal of disseminating the adequate information that will strengthen the capacity of the government in providing the necessary needs that will enhance the development and growth of socio-economic, educational, and political stability of the country. Nigerian media should be 'Nigerians' not regional in their reportage to win the war against insurgence group in the project called Nigeria, the most populous nation in Africa and the proud of the black nations in the world.

Recommendations

1. The study recommends that media reporters should engage, involve and practice investigative strategy through the techniques highlighted in the study for easy access to most of the major communities, especially the semi-urban communities that are local government headquarters for news and report on the criminal activities of the Boko Haram insurgency in the northeast region.

2. There is need for more hands-on media reportage in Nigeria media houses. Lack of adequate reportage for effective and efficiency in news dissemination, gathering and sourcing for news in strategic areas requires competent individuals in media practice.
3. The media practitioners should embrace peace journalistic approach in relay and relating news. Their approach in news reporting should envision the support of government and the people in fighting and cripple the activities of insurgent groups does not embolden the nefarious activities of the group or demoralizing the government forces against the insurgence groups.

REFERENCES

- 1- Abraham, M. and Christian, A. (2005). Hunger is spreading in Africa. Retrieved from www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/purefay/article/217/40185.html
- 2- Patrick, B. (2005). Dispossessioning Africa's wealth: Global policy forum. Retrieved from www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/211/44600.html.
- 3- Oloyede, I.O. (2015). Islam in Nigeria: A century of National Islamic societies. *Journal of Islam in Nigeria*, 1(1). Retrieved online 31/10/2020.
- 4- Abee, O.S. (2013). The psychological make of the Muhammed Yusuf. <https://www.e-15info2013/11/04thepsychological.online> Adedire, S.A.; Ake, M. and Olowojolu, O. (2016). Combating Terrorism and Insurgency in Nigeria: An international collaboration against Boko Haram. *Journal of Management Sciences* 5 (1) Special Edition.
- 5- Kirillova, N.B. (2016). Evolution of media culture in the context of McLuhan's Typology: History, reality, prospects. *Global Media Journal*.
- 6- Kirillova N. (2013). *Medialogiyakaksinteznauk* (Medialogia as a synthesis of science). Akademicheskyyproyekt.
- 7- Kalyuzhny, D.E.E. (2003). The case and the world. The future of Russia from the point of view of the theory of evolution. *Algoritm*.
- 8- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalisms*. Verso.
- 9- Carlos, A.S (2013). Media evolution: Emergence, dominance, survival, and extinction in the media ecology. *International Journal of Communication*, 7, 1418-1441.
- 10- Gerd, J. (2013). The role of media in conflict transformation. <https://www.Irenees.net>.
- 11- Welfseld, G. (1997). *Media and political conflict: News from the middle-east*. Cambridge University Press.
- 12- Jakobsen, P.V. (2000). Focus on the CNN effect misses the point. The real media impact on conflict management is invisible and indirect. *Journal of Peace Research*, 37 (2):131– 134.
- 13- DeMichelis, S. (2018). Peace journalism in theory and practice. <https://www.e-ir.info/2018/12/23>
- 14- Lynch, J. and Galtung, J. (2010). *Reporting conflict: New direction in peace Journalism*. University of Queensland Press.
- 15- Lynch, J. and McGoldrick, A. (2005). *Peace journalism*. Hawthon Press.
- 16- Galtung, J. and Ruge, M.H. (1965). The structure of foreign news. The presentation of the Congon, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2 (1), 64-90 <https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336500200104>.
- 17- Galtung, J. (1998). High road, low road charity the course for peace journalism. *Track Two*, 7 (4): 7-9. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-32481-9>
- 18- Kempf, W. (2019). Concepts and conceptions of peace journalism. *Conflicts and Communication*, 18 (2). <https://www.cco.regender.online.deISSN16180747>.

Media, Ethnic Hegemony and Conflict in Africa: The Northern-Southern Nigerian Media Reportage on Insurgency

- 19- Kempf, W. (2003). Constructive conflict coverage: A social-psychological research and development programme. *Conflict and Communication*.
- 20- Schmid, A.P. and Graaf, J. (1980). *Insurgent, terrorism and the western news media*, Leiden: COMT.
- 21- Haviland, S. (2012). *Defining terrorism*. New York: American Diplomacy Publishers Chapel Hill NC
- 22- Ball-Rokeach, S.J. and DeFleur, M.L. (1976). A dependency model on mass-media effects. *Communication Research*, 3:3–21. In *Communication Theories of the University of Twente (2003/2004)* in Enschede, The Netherlands.
- 23- Ogbondah, C.W. and Agbese, P.O. (2018). Terrorist and social media messages: A critical analysis of Boko Haram's messages and messaging techniques. In B. Mustsvario (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Media and Communication Research in Nigeria*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-319-70443-2_18
- 24- Kothari, C. R. (2012). *Research methodology methods and techniques* (2nd ed.). New Age International Limited.
- 25- The EkklesiyarYan'uwa Nigeria (EYN) (2020). Over fifty attacks in six months by Boko-Haramgo unreported.
- 26- Udokah, N. (1998). *Development communication*. Ibadan: Stirling - Horden Publishers.
- 27- Eshett, D.E. (2009). Approaches for effective reportage of rural areas by Nigeria mass media. *Journal of Communication and Culture*. Vol. 1. (1&2). 87-104. <http://icidr.org.ng/index.php/jcc/index>
- 28- Adegoroye, W. (10th May 2020). Nigeria: the disservice of Nigeria's media to counter-insurgency war. *Vanguard* (Lagos), <https://www.vanguardnigr.com>