THE PERVASIVE INSECURITY IN NIGERIA AND THE CHALLENGES OF THE MEDIA.

Ogungbamigbe, O. O.
Department of Mass Communication, Federal Polytechnic, Offa

Abstract
The pervasive insecurity in Nigeria is no doubt a serious concern. The cases of kidnapping, Boko Haram insurgency, communal clashes and a host of other security issues confronting the nation have left lives and properties destroyed. As it were, the media – the hope of the common man has a lot of roles to perform. Thus, this paper, examined the various facets of insecurity bedevilling Nigeria, the role, the media has been playing, the various challenges inhibiting them from performing these roles effectively and how such challenges can be surmounted. The paper concludes that the media, in spite of the challenges being faced must continue to provide information that will lead to the desired type of security the nation deserves.

Key words:*media, insecurity, violence, challenge*

Introduction
The situation of civil obedience to law and strict adherence to due process of law by the citizenry are the two critical highest points on which the pendulum of the State and National Security continue to swing. Observance of social order as a potent governments policy thrust at various levels of government is, a necessary precondition for peace and national security. Social orderliness is characterized by the well-being of the citizenry and hence the safety of lives and property; and freedom of the citizens to pursue their legitimate businesses. In view of the foregoing, the responsibility of ensuring security lies with the three tiers of governments-local, state and the national.

In spite of the constitutional provision and establishment of institutional framework by the federal government to provide security; security challenges tend to increase by the minute, hour and day. This has constituted threats to the much desired nation building. It is rather unfortunate that inadequate security or lack of it has retarded the progress of the country. The dimension that the problem of National Security has assumed in the last two decades has virtually made it impossible for the government at all levels to provide the much desired meaningful life for the citizenry. The challenges posed by this negative security matrix have been responsible for lack of unity and was indeed responsible for non-attainment of the nations socio-economic and political independence in spite of its sovereignty.

At present, around the world, the media is preoccupied with issues concerning the basic necessities of life i.e. food, clothing and shelter. The media is one of the oldest organizations in Nigeria and the most consistent in championing the cause of the people through its activities. It prides itself as an institution given a constitutional mandate to perform with the other sectors of the economy. This further entrenches its importance and relevance in virtually all human activities. This paper thus examined the roles the media play during security threat to the nation as against the roles expected of them by media specialists and the public. This will be done through a content analysis of relevant materials and scholarly write-ups which the media have employed as frontiers of their contributions to various issues of social concerns.

Insecurity
Insecurity is a feeling of general unease or nervousness that may be triggered by perceiving that one

is vulnerable in some ways or a sense of vulnerability and instability which threatens ones self image or ego. A person who is insecure lacks trust in himself or others or has fears that a present positive state is temporal or will let him down or will cause him loss or distress by going wrong in the future. According to Omede (2011), security is a very important issue in the survival of any nation. Without adequate security of lives and property, the system will be rife with lawlessness, chaos and eventual disintegration. This is why security is considered as a dynamic condition, which involves the relative ability of a state to counter threats to its core values and interests. The security issues as they concern the state are multifarious. They might be military, economic, ideological, cultural, etc. Accordingly, the security for any state embodies a notion of order, or of the conditions necessary to maintain the smooth and functioning society. According to McGrew (1988, p. 101), the security of a nation is predicated on two central pillars. On one hand, it entails the maintenance and protection of the socio-economic order in the face of internal and external threat. On the other, it entails the promotion of a preferred international order, which minimizes the threat to core values and interests, as well as to the domestic order.

Ibagere (2011) posits that there is an erroneous equation of national security with territorial security. Nigeria presently can only boast of territorial security in the sense that it is fully protected against its neighbours who may not have any cause to attack her but at the same time; the country cannot place her national security on the same pedestal as its territorial security. Ekoko (2004) has classified the definitions of national security into two broad groups. The first is the military strategic concept of security and the second is the non-strategic socio-economic security. Quoting the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Ekoko (2004) thus defines security as the ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threat.

Al-Mashat (1985) submits that national security transcends territorial defense and should focus on the physical, social and psychological quality of life of a society and its members, both in the domestic setting and within the larger regional and global setting. From the foregoing, it is clear that the main index of national security is the maintenance of values within territorial boundaries. This definition is more meaningful in view of the current emphasis on global security whereby it is virtually impossible for one nation to attack another just for the purpose satisfying an expansionist tendency. Thus, emphasis is laid on the national security for the purpose of safeguarding the internal working systems of a nation.

The Mass Media and the Law
Mass media consists of the various means by which information reaches a large number of people, such as television, radio, movies, newspapers, and the internet. The mass media functions in various ways. It informs people, on who says what in the society, to whom, when and how? In carrying out this basic function, the mass media performs various tasks that have been classified into four functions. Wright (1960), and Akindele and Lamidi (2001). These functions are:

- surveillance,
- correlation of facts of the environment,
- transmission of heritage, and
- Entertainment.

Surveillance
This has to do with nosing into the nooks and crannies of the society to fish out information that is of interest to the people.

Correlation of Facts of the Environment
In correlation, the media act to "mediate" the taste of the people because they interpret the information so gathered by sifting and discarding what may not be in the interest of the people before passing such information to them. By correlation, the mass media assist other agencies to interpret the information so gathered about the environment. It utilises the information for the purpose of ensuring the national security or suppressing the perpetuation of practices that constitute

threats to national security. This function is referred to as social responsibility in the world of mass media.

Transmission of Heritage
Another basic function of the media is the transmission of the values, norm and culture to the people from one generation to another. This is done through publication of historical and cultural materials. Through transmission of culture, the media enhance the entrenchment of those norms, the defense of which constitutes national security. The media thus contributes to the perpetration of national security by ensuring that values are respected and protected. This it does by communicating to the people the norms which guide human conduct.

Entertainment
The media also entertain the people through publication of comic materials that expose the follies associated with engaging in social vices, communal conflicts, etc.

Timeline of the Circle of Violence in Nigeria
The media in Nigeria have been taking various steps to combat insecurity through its reportage of crimes. The press has been combating insecurity through exposition of occurrences of crime. The Nigerian Civil War, the June 12 election crisis, the Odi community unrest and genocide in Rivers State, the Jukuns/Tivs civil unrest in Taraba/Benue States, Ife-Modakeke inter-communal clashes in Osun State, Umuleri/Aguleri in Imo/Anambra State, the restlessness in Niger Delta, Jos crisis, the streams of political crisis that trailed the 2011 general elections in some parts of the country and very recently, the Boko Haram sectarian acts of insurgency are all issues of national security which pose serious challenges to the nation even after five decades of the nations independence.

Reports on Cases of Kidnappings in Nigeria between 2006 and 2012

- January, 2006: Four expatriate oil workers, who were held hostage for two weeks by Niger Delta militants, obtained their freedom.
- January 7, 2007: A Belarusian woman was kidnapped in Port Harcourt. A Prominent Anambra indigene.
- Chief Pius Ogbuawa, was kidnapped in full public glare. Ogbuawa, a prominent Nnewi-based automobile dealer, was allegedly abducted during a church service by unknown gunmen.
- June, 2007: Delta State Waterways and Security Committee arrested three suspects in connection with the kidnapping of two expatriates in Sapele, Delta State.
- July, 2007: A Briton, Margaret Hill, was kidnapped on her way to the school.
- Madam Hansel, mother of Bayelsa State House of Assembly Speaker, was kidnapped in Akaiebiri, Ekpetiama, Yenagoa.
- October, 2007: A 10-year-old boy Master Joseph Edem was kidnapped from his school in Calabar by his uncle for a ransom of N3 million.
- January, 2008: Unknown gunmen kidnapped 15-year-old son of the secretary to the Peoples Democratic Party, Ogochukwu Orisa Onyiri in Rivers State and demanded a sum of N60 million as ransom.
- February, 2008: Gunmen attacked the Port-Hacourt residence of Chief O. B. Lulu Briggs and abducted his wife, Seinya.
- June, 2008: Two Germans and four Nigerians were kidnapped by persons suspected to be Ijaw youths at Dodo Creeks in Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State.
- July, 2008: Gunmen kidnapped Chief Arthur Okowa, 76-year-old father of the secretary to Delta State Government.
- Two civilians were reportedly shot and eight expatriates abducted when heavily armed men believed to be militants stormed a liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) tanker at Bouy 38-39 in Bonny, Rivers State.
- Gubernatorial aspirant in Akwa Ibom State, Ani Asikpo, was abducted by a group of young men and later released.
- August, 2008: The traditional ruler of Rumolumeni, Ndubueze, was abducted by unknown

gunmen.

- Two-year-old son of the bursar of Anambra State University of Science and Technology, Uli, was kidnapped in Uli.
- Chairman of Port-Harcourt City Local Government, Mr.Azubuike Emeregini was rescued from kidnappers by the police. The kidnappers had successfully abducted their victim and were fleeing with him when the police pounced.
- Vice chancellor of Rivers State University of Science and Technology, Prof. Barineme B. Fakae, was kidnapped in the state while driving in his official car with three other persons suspected to be his children.
- Four Igbo traders were also kidnapped in Owo.
- An attempt by unidentified men to kidnap an Indian national, working with Seven-Up Bottling Company was foiled by internal security officers of the University of Benin.
- Barely 20 days after 11 Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) chieftains were kidnapped by militants, another six chieftains of the party including the chairman of the state Oil Producing Area Development Commission (OSOPADEC), Chief Adewale Omojuwa, were kidnapped.
- September, 2008: A gang of armed youths seized a Briton and an Irish national, both of whom were employees of Pan Ocean Oil Corporation in Warri.
- Two Britons, Michael Coe and Paul Alford, were kidnapped by youths at a bar near the Shell Petroleum Development Company Industrial Area at Ogunu, Warri.
- December 9, 2012: Osun speakers wife Mrs Mulikat Sallam was kidnapped.
- Mother of finance minister, Prof (Mrs) Kamene Okonjo was kidnapped.

Reports Boko Haram Attacks in Nigeria between 2010 and 2012

- January 2010: Boko Haram struck in Borno, killing four people in Dala Alemderi ward in Maiduguri metropolis.
- September, 2010: Boko Haram freed some 700 inmates from a prison in Bauchi State.
- December 2010: Boko Haram was blamed for a market bombing, following which 92 of its members were arrested by the police.
- January, 2011: A gubernatorial candidate was assassinated, along with his brother and four police officers the sect later claimed responsibility.
- March 2011: Police thwarted a plot to bomb an (ANPP) election rally in Maiduguri, Borno State. The threat was blamed on Boko Haram.
- April, 2011: Suspected Boko Haram members attacked a police station in Bauchi. A polling center in Maiduguri was bombed. The Maiduguri office of the Independent National Electoral Commission was bombed, and several people were shot in a separate incident on the same day. Authorities suspected Boko Haram. Boko Haram killed a Muslim cleric and ambushed several police officers in Maiduguri. Boko Haram freed 14 prisoners during a jailbreak in Yola, Adamawa State. Bombing and attacks on different churches in the North.
- June, 2011: Boko Haram claimed responsibility for a bombing attack on the police force headquarters in Abuja.
- August, 2011: Attacks on banks and police station in Gombe state. Bombing of the U.N. building in Abuja.
- November 4, 2011: Major Boko Haram bomb blast killed some 60 people in Damaturu, Yobe state Nigeria.

Reports on other Instances of Killings in Nigeria

- April, 2011: Election violence, among the dead were ten youth corp members in Bauchi state.
- February, 2012: Killing of 9 health workers in kano state. 3 nationals of North Korea were killed by suspected Islamic militants in Pokistum, Yobe State.
- October, 2012: 4 Uniport students killed for allegedly stealing of laptop and phones at Omuokiri-Aluu community in Obiapo local government of Rivers state.
- 40 students of Adamawa state university, federal polytechnic and the school of health technology all in Mubi were massacred.

The investigation made in study reveals that the press did not just report the incidents above for the mere purpose of giving information about them but to expose them and make the perpetrators know that they are operating under the watchful eyes of the press. The manners of reportage of every case in the litany of crimes are discovered to have helped the security operators by giving them clues that would assist them on the investigation and effort to prevent re-occurrence. The media in this sense can be described as the information bedrock for the fight against crime.

How Did We Get Here?
It is said that a man that cannot track his past may not be able to know where he aims at, hence; Omede (2005) submits that, the upsurge in violence has also attributed to the engagement of the military forces in peace keeping/support operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The proliferation of small and light weapons in the country is attributable to the returning soldiers from peace support operations and arms contractors who engaged in the indiscriminate importation/smuggle of arms into the country. This has fuelled the rising patterns of armed robberies, kidnapping, use of arms by different political groups to settle conflicts.

The insecurity condition in the country has further been attenuated by the concentration of economic activities and the subsequent development of social infrastructure in major cities in Nigeria. This has resulted to a massive movement from the rural areas to the towns and cities. The unfortunate effects of the massive rural-urban drift are reflected in widespread social disintegration, a sense of ruthlessness and all the evils which exist in the over-crowded urban centres (Palmer & Perkins, 2011).

The struggle for political power, the quest to control the centre and the ethno- religious differences among the various political groupings in the country can also be described as a "push-pull factor" towards a "do-or-die politics". Religious differences between the predominantly Muslim North and the Christian South coupled with the agitation for an equitable/fair distribution of resources by minority groups (from the Niger-Delta) have also created a pattern of feuds and an unending circle of violence in Nigeria. Conflicts among different ethnic groups (both intra and inter-state) have always resulted in violence and destruction of lives and properties. An observable trend in most of these conflicts is that during conflicts, each side either attacks or retaliates in a seemingly unending circle of violence.

Usually, each side believes it is acting defensively and that the other side started it. The issue is simply about "I do not like you" and the conflict tends to drag on without resolution for generations. Several other factors have been attributed to the high state of insecurity in Nigeria. Poverty for instance, has been domesticated in Nigeria. Frustration emanating from lack of access to the basic needs of life has made many Nigerians to take solace in nefarious activities like human trafficking, prostitution and other social vices that were alien in the not too distant past (Omede, 2005). In a population where over 70 percent are below 30 years implies that the youths have to be critically engaged in productive ventures to tap from their positive side, which if not properly harnessed, could be channelled towards destructive purposes.

The twin evil of "godfatherism" and favouritism has eaten deep into the entire gamut of the security agencies. Sycophancy rather than professionalism has been elevated as the most important criterion for career advancement. Finally, one can surmise that the problems of instability and insurrection are due among other things, to the lack of social justice and economic inequality between the various economic classes existing in Nigeria. The environment of extreme poverty, ignorance and diseases where "might" is "right", where the gap between the haves and have-nots is increasing at a geometric proportion, where law serves the interest of the few, where most people are hopeless, can only but encourage such sundry acts of terrorism capable of regressing man into the primitive state of nature where there is war of all against all and the life of man is nasty, brutish and short.

Tracking Insecurity
The influence of the media in the moulding and shaping of opinion cannot be over-emphasised.

Moulding and shaping people opinions and decisions are in most cases done by the media to track the cases of insecurity. Constitutionally, the media has the responsibility to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in section 21 of the 1999 constitution. The provision of the constitution states that:

the press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in the chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people. In the global scene, the media is more than just a watchdog. In every society, it plays important roles, such as creating awareness on issues of public interest, disseminating relevant and functional messages, providing channel of communication and ensuring transparency. Although the media has enormous challenges in the dissemination of information, especially in the developing world, it has the social responsibility of informing the public accurately against all odds. It is the social responsibility of journalists to remove ignorance that stands in the way of achieving peace. Jamieson and Segliman (2001) cited in Ekwueme and Obayi (2012) describes the roles of the media in handling security threats as follows:

Freedom from the State Helplessness:
Dangers like the one posed by the Boko Harams is made to become less poignant when they are presented in a controllable manner. The media tell Nigerians in specific terms; what actions they could take to reduce the danger of terrorist attacks. Measures like advising and encouraging the public to report any suspicious movements or unknown new faces to the security operatives and such other actions are taken as means of tracking the insecurity posed by the group.

Blunt Availability:
By showing, printing or airing vivid pictures of the victims of Boko Haram attacks, the media is unwittingly playing into the hands of Boko Haram as these pictures help in spreading their message of fear. Though news has to be reported, the media however couched its reportage in strong reassuring words and phrases that give the audience confidence with little or none of the often gruesome pictures of the victims.

Reframing:
  Framing has a lot to do in how people perceive risk and danger. If the media frame a risk in terms of loss, people are less likely to take it but reframe it in terms of gain and they will be more inclined to take it. Instead of overtly stating the number that died in violent attacks, the media pay more attention to the number that survived it. This gives people confidence that after all, the attacks are not an immutable death sentence.

Telling the Story of Survival:
  It does not help if the local media keep on harping only on governments lack of preparedness, ineffectual policies, and the success of the terrorist attacks. This form of reportage tends to make the people helpless in face of a ruthless enemy. Rather, they pay more attention to similar situations where the government came out triumphant through diligent and purposeful use of resources. For instance, it took the Gbaramantu assault on Niger Delta to rein in the dreaded Niger Delta militants and force them to embrace peace. .

Preaching Courage:
It is Contagious. Courage contagious, just like fear. Those who preach courage and heroism inspire it in others. Both the government and media inspire courage and not fear and helplessness when speaking on terrorist activities. Hence, those making such announcements (reporters and government officials) convey a sense of courage and confidence as it will impact positively on the audience.

Using the Safety Signals:
The media inform the society when threats are no longer expected as much as they do when there is a palpable threat. Leaving the public to live in perpetual fear of imminent terror attacks weakens

their resolve to face down the threat. The media in collaboration with security operatives give the people the all-clear signal to relax their anxiety and enable them go about their business when there are no immediate threats.

The Media and the Security Challenges
Even with the media publicity acclaimed to be the "oxygen"of terrorism, the relationship between the radical Islamic sect Boko Haram and the Nigerian Media has not been judging by its threat to deal with the media. The sect has not hidden its disdain for the Nigerian media. This word is evident in the word of its spokesman Abu Qaqa

> "we have repeatedly cautioned reporters and media houses to be professional and objective in their report, this is a war between us and the federal government, unfortunately the media has not been fair in their report of the on-going war..."

Shortly after this threat the premises of THIS DAY, THE MOMENT and DAILY SUN Newspapers were bombed in Abuja and Kaduna on April 26, 2012. Ekuweme and Obayi (2012) explain that in most countries in the world, objectivity in news reportage means a middle path between two extremes in an issue. That is, it has to be a little to the right and a little to the left. Despite the fact that maintaining a balance is critical in media reportage of national security issues, how to strike such balance impressively remains a huge debt on the conscience of journalists and various media practitioners. According to Ekweme and Obayi (2012) the mass media has the capacity to make all the difference in managing national crisis and protecting the national security.

Another challenge facing the media in giving qualitative security report in Nigeria is the incessant persecution and man hunting. In the past and in recent time, the story of Nigeria mass media has been characterized with inhuman treatment from those in authority and those whose identities are not known due to Nigeria"s inefficient security system. Typical examples of hazards that have confronted journalists in the course of discharging their duties to get people informed include:

- The killing of Dele Giwa, the editor-in-chief of News Watch magazine who was killed in 1989 with a letter bomb during the Babangida regime is another point of reference.
- The subjection of Chris Anyawu to inhuman treatment and incarceration during the regime of late dictator, General Sanni Abacha over activities which the then government described as being anti-government and capable of inciting the people against the government.
- The killing of a Kano based reporter of channels television Enenche Akogwu who was shot dead by Islamic militants while discharging his professional duty at the scene of the multiple bomb blast that occurred in the city of Kano.

These and many more assaults and inhuman treatments which have been inflicted on journalists have reduced the credibility of security situation in Nigeria.

The Media and Ownership Challenges
Ownership control is another media challenge. For instance, the media houses that belong to the government tend to cover-up or avoid reporting issues that portray their owner in a bad light or uncover their inability to ensure the security of lives and properties. Also privately owned media pan towards their house style as lay down by their owners. This tends to limit the bluntness in the performance of journalistic duties and obligation.

Technological Challenges
Inadequate or lack of modern technological devices has equally hindered the effective delivery of news reportage. Devices such as satellites that can stream live feeds from any hotspot (conflict zones) have made news reporting easy in developed countries. The lack of such devices serves as a major setback for the media practitioners especially in the broadcast and in discharging their professional duties.

Summary
This paper has identified and examined various threats confronting Nigeria"s national security. These threats include kidnappings, armed robberies and bombing of selected institutions by fundamental militant groups who direct their attacks at strategic institutions in the nations capital – Abuja and some other selected parts of the country. Our investigation revealed that the impacts of these attacks are gloomy. Thousands of human lives are lost and valuable properties destroyed. The study further showed that the problems of unemployment, poverty and social injustices among others, account for the continuous up-surge of violence in Nigeria.

The resultant effects of the various insecurity instances that have been discussed in this paper pale, when they are compared to the number of deaths, maiming and destruction, one could surmise that governments at both Federal and State levels, have been responsible for 40% or more of the problems through their failure to provide or maintain basic amenities needed to tackle security threats. This paper establishes that thousands of people have lost their lives and properties as a result of governments carelessness, neglect and indifference. For instance, the failure to regulate the importation of arms and ammunitions has led to the death of many. For there to be sustainable peace and reduction in the spate of violence in Nigeria, this study is of the view that issues of insecurity needs to be squarely addressed by the Nigerian State with the help of the media.

Conclusion and Recommendations
This paper concludes by recommending the following:

- To reduce fear of encountering hazards at work, the media should advocate for proper insurance policies to be included in the work package of journalists by the various media owners (government and private owned alike). This will bring about a measure of fearlessness into the discharge of duties knowing well that their families and loved ones will be taken care of in the case of any eventuality.
- There should be a systematic evaluation of a theory-driven peace awareness media campaign with emphasis on communities that are prone to violence.
- Owners of media outfit must always leave professional journalists to discharge their duties without interference of any form.
- The media can become a potent tool for the attainment of qualitative peace if they provide timely information based on investigative journalism on activities of violence and terrorist groups by alerting the right government agencies and the public before the full scale outbreak of such violence.
- Messages on the need for peace should be produced in various local languages that are simple enough for the people to understand.
- The media is admonished to focus campaigns towards educating the traditional institutions and leaders that are nearer to the people at the grassroots level. They are very conversant with the family lineages, the totem, the names and the historical antecedents of every family household. They are the custodians of the culture, customs and heritage of their people. Therefore, the traditional rulers are more naturally strategically positioned to handle community matters. They must be enlightened to have co-ordinate powers with local government council leadership to quash violence before it erupts.
- Proper media publicity to back the various poverty eradication programs embarked upon by the government is of essence and this should be done in various local languages so as to reach the desired target audience. Poverty attracts violence and can lead to security threats.
- Through various media campaign National Orientation programmes must be stepped up. Youth empowerment and self-employment acquisition skills programme must be vigorously pursued to reduce the level of unemployment.

Reference

Akindele, F. and Lamidi, T. (2001) The Rise of Ethnic Militias, Delegitimisation of the
State and the Threat to Nigerian Federalism, West Africa Review. 3, (1), 1 -11.

Al-Mashat A. M. (1985). National security in the third world. U.S.A: West view Replica edition.

Ekoko, A. O (2004). Military in politics. Uyo: Soulmate Publishers

Ekoko, A. O (1989). Federal government of Nigeria (1989: The four years of the Babangida administration:
        achievements and prospects. Lagos: Federal Government Printer.
Ekwueme, O. and Obayi B. (2012). National security and sustainable democracy.
         In E. O. Ojo (ed). Challenges of sustainable democracy in Nigeria. Nigeria. Ibadan: John
        Archer Publishers.
Ibagere, E. (2011). Nigeria and the quest for an enduring security mechanism.
         A paper delivered at the National Security at the Royal United Service Institute, London.
        March 26, 2010.
McGrew, T. (1988). Security and order. In M. Smith, S, Smith, and B. White British Foreign Policy:
        Tradition, Change and Transformation. London: Allen and Unwin.
Mubi massacre-Insurgency of Boko Haram: Retrieved 7/10/2012. From
         http://circumspectblog.wordpress.com
Omede, A. J. (2005). Threats and threats analysis: a strategic analysis of Nigerias territorial defense.
         The Nigerian army quarterly journal, Vol. 1, (2 &3). pp. 148 -249.
Palmer, R. and Perkins, I., (2011). BBC Programme, Nigeria: Welcome to Lagos. Monitored on BBC
         World, Via Satellite Television. March 25, 2011. www.yourdictionary.com Definition of
        security accessed on March 2, 2013