

Terrorising Investors Out of Nigeria: The Effect of Media Narratives of Boko Haram Terrorism on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Nigeria

Blessed Frederick Ngonso & Ofomegbe Daniel Ekharefo

Abstract

This paper examines media narratives of the Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria from 2011-2015 and its implications on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and development. The paper is anchored on economic determinism theory and framing theory. The study used textual analysis and secondary analysis to discourse the contents of media reports on the subject. The study revealed that 3,168 civilian casualties have been recorded between 2011- March 13, 2015, this figure is far from being the exact figure. The study findings also showed that, Boko Haram activities affected the economy mainly in the North-East by slowing down agricultural production, leading to increase in food prices by 9.8 Per cent. This lowered the projected growth rate of Gross Domestic Product from 5.6 percent for 2015 to 4.3 percent. It further revealed that Boko Haram attacks had negative impact on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) especially in the agricultural sector. The paper concludes that the nation's quest for development has been affected by the growing poverty, illiteracy and infrastructural deficits which the terrorism has unleashed on the nation.

Keywords. Terrorism, Foreign Direct Investment, Development, Framing, Boko Haram

INTRODUCTION

Insecurity has been noted as one of the major problems confronting Nigeria since the beginning of the Fourth Republic (1999). In many parts of the country, the citizens have different stories to tell about the level of threat to their lives by different violent groups. In the six geopolitical zones of the country, it seems obvious that violence, threats to violence and insecurity have become the lots of the people. For instance, from 2002 to 2007, the Niger Delta region was a hot bed for the agitation for resource control; South-East demanded for a Sovereign State of Biafra, South- West was not left out on the agitation for self -determination, and the North-East has become a theatre of violence.

Prior to the insurgency in the North-East of Nigeria, regional groups pushed forward their demands through Liberation Movements, Terrorist Organizations, Substance Cartel and other Para-State entities which emerged within this period. For instance, the South-South was thrown into a state of anarchy by Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND); Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF); the Supreme Egbesu Assembly (SEA) of Ijaw Ethnic Nationality; Ijaw Youth Congress (IYC) of Ijaw Ethnic Nationality; Ijaw National Congress (INC) of Ijaw Ethnic Nationality and the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP). The South-East is troubled by Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the Bakassi Boys (BB). The South-West is occasionally rummaged by Oodua People Congress (OPC) of the Yoruba Ethnic Nationality; Oodua Liberation Movement (OLM) of Yoruba Ethnic Nationality; National Association of Yoruba Descendants (NAD) still of the Yoruba Ethnic Nationality and Egbe Isokan Yoruba (EIY) of the Yoruba Ethnic Nationality etc.

Boko Haram, whose original name is *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awatiwal Jihad*, which when translated in English language means (a group of people committed to the propagation of Prophet's teaching on Jihad), invaded Northern Nigeria in 2007, in what seems to be political thugs in Borno State and swept across some states in the Nigeria particularly in Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Kano, Kaduna, Bauchi, Niger and Abuja the nation's capital. Boko Haram's strong presence became noticeable from 2010 immediately President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan became the acting President following the demise of Umaru Musa Yar'Adua. Many have argued that, the Northern clique who were not comfortable with the emergence of President Goodluck was responsible, some said it was the inability of the ruling party; All Nigeria's People Party (ANPP) to control the boys they used as thugs during Ali-Modu Sherif's tenure as Governor of Borno State. The paper adopted secondary analysis, literature modelling and textual analysis of the manifest contents of newspaper as methodology.

Objective

The basic objective of this paper is to discuss the effects of Boko Haram insurgency on foreign direct investment and development. It traces media report from 2011 to 2015 highlighting the tragedies, conspiracy and efforts of government in tackling the menace. It draws on experts' view on the impact of insurgency on foreign direct investment and the challenge on development.

Theoretical framework

This paper is anchored on endogenous and classical theories of economic development and framing theory. The thrust of endogenous theory of economic development is that foreign investment stimulates domestic growth, supports domestic capital and productivity. Driffied (2001) noted that foreign direct investment is assumed to augment domestic capital thereby stimulating the productivity of domestic investments. The classical theories of economic development as Zein (2006) asserts, postulate that foreign direct investment and multinationals contribute to the development of host countries through several channels. These channels include; the transfer of capital, advanced technological equipment and skills improvement in the balance of payments, the expansion of the tax base and foreign exchange earnings, creation of employment, infrastructural development and integration of the host economy into international markets.

Media framing theory emanates from the agenda setting theory propounded by Mcombs and Shaw in 1972. Media frame is the importance which the media give to an issue or personality based on the prominence and emphasis on an issue or personality. Gitlin (1980) noted that media frame is largely unspoken and unacknowledged, it organizes the world both for the journalists and reports it in some important degrees, for us who rely on their report. They are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, selection, emphasis, and exclusion by which handlers routinely organize discourse. Iyengar and Kinder (1987, p.114) argued that "by lavishing news coverage on an issue while ignoring others, the media draw attention to certain aspects of political life at the expense of the others".

The relevance of these theories to the paper lies in the fact that, government effort at foreign direct investment is a deliberate attempt to attract capital, technologies and human resource into Nigeria with the mind of improving on the economy and the general standard of living of Nigerians. When media frame the Boko Haram insurgency in a particular context, it can either scare or encourage investors into the country. The resultant effect of a negative frame is that development will continue to elude the people.

Nigeria Media Reportage of Boko Haram Insurgency and Foreign Rating

Nigeria's predicament took a new and more worrisome dimension in 2011 in what seems to be the climax in terrorist attack when a suicide bomber ignored attempts by security guards to stop him, drove an explosives loaded car into the UN building in Abuja which promptly detonated at impact, leaving 34 persons dead. This attack which took place on August 26, came few months after Boko Haram had made an attempt to kill the Inspector General of Police (IG) Hafiz Ringim in Abuja in June 2011. Following the series of attacks on churches, Police stations, outdoor bars, military establishments and other government's properties in Maiduguri (Borno), Yobe, Bauchi, Adamawa, Kaduna and Kano states etc, a UK based global analysts, Maplecroft released a survey which showed that Nigeria ranked 19th among countries prone to terrorist attacks.

Nigeria's record as giant of Africa in sports, agriculture, and as the largest economy in the black continent was no longer in the front burner of global discourse but rather, global attention was shifted to the level of insecurity in Nigeria perpetrated by Boko Haram insurgents primarily in the northern part of Nigeria. Within this period under review, Nigeria had recorded high number of deaths by the deadly Islamic sect. Some of the incidents that accounted for the casualties include; January 1, 2011 attack at the Mammy Market in Mogadishu Barracks, Abuja. On April 8, 2011, another attack was recorded, this time, it was targeted at an Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) office in Suleja, Niger State, killing 34 persons before the commencement of the election, that was slated for that day; April 26, 2011, a bomb blast killed 18 persons in Maiduguri, May 29, 2011, democracy day, a bomb blast rocked Bauchi at an Army Barracks Mammy market of Shandawanka where 13 persons were confirmed dead and 40 persons injured. May 30, 2011 another explosion disrupted activities in Baga road Maiduguri, June 16, 2011, a bomb blast hit the Police Headquarters in Abuja, triggered by a suicide bomber who drove his car into the premises (Adeyemi, 2011, p.13). Tuesday July 26, 2011, a soldier attached to the Joint Task Force (JTF) killed a member of the violent sect in Borno State (Olugbode, 2011, p.10). Apart from the attacks listed above, Nigerian press reported some of the incidents as follows:

7 Killed, 14 arrested: Kano-Three policemen were killed weekend in a bloody clash with members of the Boko Haram Islamic sect at Darmunawa quarters in Kano municipality. Four members died in the encounter while 14 were arrested with assorted implosive devices and three posh cars recovered (Muhammed, 2011,p.1). Boko Haram Kills village head's brother in Borno: Members of the Boko Haram sect struck again on Wednesday night. They invaded a Borno village, Mainok in three Lorries. (Alli & Joseph, 2011, p.4)

Jos boils again, 20 killed, 50 injured, 50 vehicles, 100 motorcycles burnt, Boko Haram kills LG boss, two others in Bauchi: Jos, the Plateau State capital which had enjoyed relative peace for several weeks erupted in another orgy of violence, as the rampaging Islamic sect, Boko Haram struck again in Maiduguri Borno State capital killing three people including a local council chairman (Obateru & Marama,2011,p.1/5). Boko Haram: Bomb blast rock Borno, Yobe, three suicide bombers killed in Maiduguri. (Ndahi,2011,p.5)

The records above testify to the intensity of attacks by the deadly Islamic sect. Although, the above incidents excluded the sum total of casualties recorded from the various attacks by the Islamic sect, but a careful computation of casualty figures when compared to Yemen and others, would not place Nigeria on the bottom.

In a similar account, Maplecroft index (2011) shows that the index rated 198 countries on the number, Frequency and intensity of terrorism attacks, plus the likelihood of mass casualties occurring, while it based its report on historical data, the survey's report of April 2010 to March 2011 partly overlaps with the June 2009 to June 2010 data used in its previous ranking. On South-Sudan, it stated that in spite of its elevated risk ranking. The 2011 death toll recorded from terrorist attacks, over the same period, Somalia suffered

1,385 deaths; Pakistan, 2,163 deaths; Iraq, 3,456 deaths and Afghanistan, 3,423 deaths which together account for more than 75 per cent of the world 13,492 fatalities.

Tragedies and the near collapse of Nigeria from 2012- February 2015

Within the period under review, several lives were lost, houses, churches, mosques and humans burnt and buried, particularly in the far north-eastern part of Nigeria. January 5 and 6 2012, *Vanguard*, January, 26, p.52, reported that Boko Haram unleashed a wave of bloody attacks killing 28 people and wounding many others in Gombe where 8 members of the Deeper Life Bible Church were killed. Another incident at Mubi, Adamawa State left 99 churches destroyed. January 20, 2012, there was a bomb attack and gun battle in Kano, 186 people were feared dead, in another attack, January 24, Boko Haram bombed a police outpost at Sheka leaving 210 people killed (Mamah, Omonobi & Mummad, 2012, p.1-5). In April 8, 2012, a suicide bomber killed 36 in Kaduna, injured 20 (Binniyat, 2012, p.1-5). Nigeria was not only threatened by the above mentioned incidents, there were many cases that are not included in this essay, however, the threats to pull Nigeria apart crossed into 2013 down to 2014.

Gever & Nwabuzor (2014) observe that on March 18th 2013 there was a Kano bus bombing with at least 22 killed and 65 injured. On 7th May 2013, at least 55 people were killed and 105 inmates freed in coordinated attacks on army barracks, a prison and police post in *Bama* town. 6th July 2013, Yobe State school shooting: 42 people, mostly students were killed in a school attack in northeast Nigeria, 29 September 2013, College of Agriculture in Gujba: 40 male students were killed. 14th January 2014, at least 31 people were killed, more than 50 people injured by suicide bombings in Maiduguri, Borno State. 16th February 2014 *Izghe* massacre: 106 villagers were killed. 25th February 2014, Federal Government College attack. Fury at military over Yobe deaths at least 29 teenage boys were killed at Federal Government College, Buni Yadi. April 14, 2014, Chibok kidnapping: 219 or 234 (conflicting figures) female students kidnapped. same day Abuja was bombed: Two bombs exploded at a crowded bus station in Abuja, Nigeria, killing at least 90 people injuring more than 200. May 5, 2014, Gamburu attack: Boko Haram attacked the twin towns of Gamburu and Ngala in Borno State, Nigeria. May 15, 2014, Menari, Tsangayari and Garawa: Boko Haram attacked three villages killing 60 people. Vigilante fought back, killing 200 Boko Haram fighters. May 18, 2014, Kano: suicide car bomb kills five people. May 20, 2014, Jos: *Twin bomb explosions killed 118 people.*

Boko Haram Activities and the Effects on Foreign Direct Investment

The progress of any nation is judged based on the economic viability of that nation. One of such variables used to measure the economic viability or wellbeing of any nation is the inflow of Foreign Direct Investment which also supplements the available domestic capital by stimulating the productivity of domestic investment. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) according to the World Bank (1996) is an investment made to acquire a lasting management interest (normally 10% of voting stock) in a business enterprise operating in a country other than that of the investor defined according to residency. Olusanya (2013) noted that, such investment may take the form of either "green field" investment (also called mortar and brick investment) or merger and acquisition (M&A), which entails the acquisition of existing interest rather than new investment.

Nigeria economy is largely a monolithic economy. Over the years, government introduced different investment measures aimed at stimulating economic growth and development. The establishment of free trade zones is a pointer to this fact. Cankovic and Levine (2002) note that the economic rationale for offering special incentives to attract foreign direct investment frequently derives from the belief that foreign investment produces externalities in the form of technology transfer and spill over. Olusanya (2013) contends that one of the most salient features of today's globalisation drive is conscious encouragement of cross-border investments, especially by transnational corporations and

firms (TNC's). Countries and continents now see attractive foreign direct investment as an important element in their economic development. This is most probably because foreign direct investment is seen as an amalgamation of capital, technology, marketing and management.

Although there has been much talk about the benefits of foreign direct investment to any nation, however, the right environment must be created for investors before they can invest. Blomstrom, Lipsey and Zegan (1994) opined that though foreign direct investment exerts a positive effect on economic growth, but there seems to be threshold level of income above which foreign direct investment has positive effect on economic growth and below which it does not. They explained that human capital is one of the reasons for the differential response to foreign direct investment at different levels of income. Olusanya (2013) asserts that it takes a well educated population to understand and spread the benefits of new innovations to the whole economy. This means that, investors would be attracted to an economy when the economic level is okay, the human capital is well educated and the environment is conducive for investment to thrive.

Nigeria is one of such nations in Africa where foreign investors like to invest, because of her rich natural and human resources and availability of market for any product introduced into the Nigerian market. However, it is a known fact that, investments thrive where there is adequate security of lives and properties as no nation can attain reasonable progress and development where there is no peace and tranquillity. Nigeria as a nation in the last five years has experienced difficult times due to Boko Haram threat to lives of Nigerian citizenry and foreigners alike. Some argued that the activities of this group have impacted negatively on the economy of the nation and its overall development, while others differ on this claim.

Caulderwood (2014,p.6) agrees that, Nigeria has broken two records in 2014; first, as the largest economy in Africa after rebasing its GDP in spite of Boko Haram attacks. He also stated that in 2007 Nigeria was regarded as the largest recipient of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) with inward flows jumping 28 per cent to hit 21 billion in 2013. Gillespie (2014) asserts that in 2013 more than \$ 21 billion FDI poured into Nigeria being 28 per cent higher than the previous year and confirming Caulderwood's claim. Gillespie quoting World Investment Records (WIR) asserts that, in 2013 FDI in Nigeria dropped by 21 % in just one year from \$ 8.9 billion in 2011 to \$ 7 billion in 2012 showing a loss of \$1.9 billion. Experts affirmed that, the reason for Nigeria's FDI relative strength in spite of the various attacks by Boko Haram in the Northern part of Nigeria is as a result of the fact that, other aspects of the economy have remain unharmed by the Islamic sect partly because of geographical factor. Caulderwood (2014) argues that, the multinational presence in the oil rich South of Nigeria, availability of banks and other business activities have continued to support the economy accounting for its meteoric rise with Foreign Investors scrambling to get a piece of Africa's most promising market, Portnoy also affirmed Caulderwood's position on FDI inflows, and maintained that, "up till now, Nigeria's FDI inflows have been almost exclusively in natural resources sector, specifically in the oil and gas industries". But Caulderwood also agreed that Boko Haram activities have affected agricultural activities in the northern part of the country leading to increase in food prices by 9.8 per cent in 2014. This is why Olusanya (2013) argued that the pattern of foreign Direct Investment that does exist is skewed towards the extractive industry, meaning that the differential rate of foreign direct investment inflow into sub-Saharan countries have been adduced to natural resources although the size of the local market may also be a consideration.

Asiedu (2004) however, noted that the relationship between foreign direct investments may not be the same for other regions. In the same vein, the determinants of foreign direct investment in countries within a region may be different from one another and from one period to another. This is because Nigeria is a large geographical entity with varied environmental template. It is possible for investment to be affected in one area of

the economy without affecting the other. This can be attributed to the geographical size, ethnic differences and natural resource distribution of the nation. While it is easy for a passive observer to wave outside the possibility of investors coming to Nigeria to do business in the midst of the security situation, a more critical observer will draw on the investment climate in non volatile parts of the country.

Nonetheless, investors will feel safe in a peaceful environment than in a volatile system. This configuration is what has occupied the minds of security experts and investment analyst for quite a while.

Implications of Insecurity on National Development

It was Dudley Sear the British Development Economist who argued that the necessary questions to ask about a country's development are; what is happening to poverty, inequality and unemployment? Oyeboade (2003,p. 94) on his part contends that development is an overall improvement in the total quality of life of the people as well as personal intellectual development. He noted that "development emphasizes the provision of basic necessities for the largest segments of the population. Some of the basic needs include shelter, food, and clothing, access to health and educational facilities, as well as greater employment".

Using Sear's three indices as basis for theoretical assumptions about a country's development from a human paradigm of development perspective and Oyeboade's basic needs approach, it suggest that the insecurity in the north has widened the gap between them and development. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) report for 2013 has it that, about 10 million children in the Northern parts of Nigeria were not in school or out of school as a result of poverty and the growing insecurity. The implication is that the much talked about sustainable development will remain a dream if the future leaders of the country have no access to education. On what will the future of the children be premised? In a similar vein, children in Yobe, Borno and Adamawa States have been largely out of school from the last quarter of 2013 till date. This means that the region has been taken aback in terms of human capital development. The effects of the crisis are the creation of internally displaced persons camp with its attendant health and social problems, poverty, unemployment and economic loss.

The insecurity created by Boko Haram negates Nwodu and Fab-Ukozor (2003) neo-paradigm approach of development when they argued that development should be seen as change that impacts meaningfully on all ramifications of the people's lives. Soola (2003) also aligns with this view when he asserts that in our thinking, a holistic view of development must conceive of development as people-centred, human capital-based, designed and packaged to promote the well-being of the beneficiaries of development benefits. It must recognise the need for people participation and self-reliance within the complex, increasingly interdependent world of globalization.

The crux of the whole matter is that insecurity affects infrastructural development, human capacity, basic needs, and the freedom to participate meaningfully in the political system; particularly, the people's right to decide who govern them or hold their leaders to account for their leadership.

Government effort at wooing investors into the land particularly in the area of agriculture which is a major step towards diversifying the economy did not favour the North-East with its agricultural potentials. It means that the region would have been taken aback by the insecurity in the region. The hopes for the graduates, young school leavers and the teeming youths to get a meaning source of living have been dashed.

The impact of the crisis on the environment can be better imagined. Considering the weapons used in the war against the sect, and destruction of houses resulting to dilapidated structures and shanty towns and villages, the place of a safe environment in the discourse of development will remain largely an issue in this area for a long time.

In an age where gender mainstreaming and equality appears the mantra of feminist movements all over the world, the weapon the girl -child needs to demand for equality and better treatment in the social and economic sphere has been shattered. Until a proper rebuilding of the schools, reconstruction of social and religious centres, public infrastructure is done; the quest for development in the region will remain largely a dream. Government effort at wooing investors in the land cannot be realised. Businesses grow in a friendly and peaceful environment. The absence of these basics in the region suggests a development mirage.

Summary and Conclusion

The study examines the insecurity situation and the challenge for development in respect to Boko Haram activities and the attendant consequences on Foreign Direct Investment. The study used primary and secondary materials to discourse the situation, from 2011-2015, and discovered that, Boko Haram is linked to other terrorist groups around Sahel region. The study findings revealed that the dangerous Islamic sect had killed 1,168 civilians and rendered many, homeless. 2015 stood as a year of success on the part of government in the fight against the sect; with the help of the Multinational Joint Task force, territories previously occupied by the terrorists have been recaptured by the Task force. In terms of development of the country, the study revealed that, Boko Haram attacks have some kinds of effects; reduction in agricultural activities, increase in prices of foods by 9.8 per cent. In economic terms, it has reduced the nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth projection of 5.4 to 4.6. The study findings also showed that, Boko Haram activities have impact on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) particularly in the Agricultural and solid mineral sectors; there were however, foreign direct investments in the oil and gas sector and the manufacturing sector. The researchers therefore concluded that, Boko Haram activities are harmful to the economy and must not be allowed spread to other parts of the country.

References

- Abubaka, M. & Musari, A. (March 4.2015,). 70 Boko Haram members killed, troops backed by vigilantes. *The Guardian*,p.1-2,
- Adetayo, O. (Jan. 30, 2012,). Jonathan addresses African union on terrorism, fuel subsidy *Punch*, p.8.
- Adetayo, O. (March 152012,). Government identifies 1,497 illegal routes to Nigeria. *The Punch*, p.11.
- Alli,Y.& Joseph, A.(Nov.11, 2011,).Boko Haram kills village head's brother in Borno. *The Nation*, p.4.
- Asiedu, E. (2003). Capital controls and Foreign Direct Investment. *World development*, 32 (3). Pp. 497-90.
- Bakare, W. (August 9, 2011). Nigeria ranks 19th among countries prone to terrorist attacks-Survey. *The Punch*,p.3.
- Blomstrom, M. Lipsey, R. & Zegan, M. (1994). What explains developing country growth? NBER Working Paper no 4132. National Bureau for Economic Research. Cambridge, Massachussets.
- Binniyat, L. (April 9, 2012). 58 die in bomb blast, church collapse. *Vanguard*, p.1-5.
- Carkovic, M & Levine, R. (2002). Does foreign direct investment accelerate economic growth? University of Minneapolis working paper, Minneapolis. Available at http://www.worldbank.org/research/conference/financial_globalisation/FDI. Accessed on 7th January 2015
- Caulderwood, K. (2014). Impact of Boko Haram attacks on Nigerian economy. Available at www.ibtimes.com/bokoharam-nigerians, accessed on 18/32015.
- Driffield, N. (2001). The Impact of Domestic Productivity of inward investment in UK. *The Manchester School*, 69, pp103-19

- Fabiyi, O. (Sept. 5, 2011,). Boko Haram: Mass deportation of illegal aliens likely. *The Punch*, p.1-8.
- Gever, C.& Nwabuzor, M.(2015). Securing us through the airwaves: analysis of the influence of broadcast media security awareness campaigns on security alertness among Enugu State Residents. *International Journal of Media, security and Development*,1(1).
- Gillespie, A. (2014). Boko Haram and its impact on the Nigerian economy. Available at www.tapj.co.za/feature/june14/eat, accessed 20/3/2015
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The Whole is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the new left*. Los Angeles: university of California Press.
- Iyenger, S. & Kinder, D.R. (1987). *News that matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago press.
- Mama, E., Omonobi K.,& Muhammed, A. (April 5,2012). Boko Haram bombs Kano afresh. *Vanguard*, p.1-5.
- Muhammed, A.(December 19,2011). Boko Haram, Police shootout,7 killed, 14 arrested. *Vanguard*, p.1-5.
- Ndahi, I. (November 5, 2011). Boko Haram: Bomb blasts rock Borno, Yobe. *Saturday Mirror pp.5*
- Ndiribe, O. (August 3,2011). FG inaugurates committee. *Vanguard*, p.5.
- Nwodu, L.C. and Fab-Ukozor, N. (2003). *Communication Imperatives for Development*. Enugu: John Jacobs Classic Publishers.
- Obateru, T. & Marama, N. (August 30, 2011). Jos boils again. *Vanguard*,p.1-5.
- Obayuwana, O. (October 3,2011). The terror cells up there, threatening Nigeria. *The Guardian*, p.13.
- Olugbode, M. (July 10, 2011).JTF kills suspected Boko Haram member.*Thisday*,p.10.
- Olusanya, S.O. (2013). Impact of foreign direct investment on economic growth in a pre and post deregulated Nigerian economy. A Granger Causality Test (1970-2010). *European Scientific Journal*. September, vol 9. No. 25. Pp 335-356.
- Omonobi, K. & Ikpen, M. (February 24,2012).Boko Haram invades Islamic schools-FG. *Vanguard*, p. 1-5.
- Onuorah, M. (March 6, 2015).No surprise in security circles over ex-CJN's son joining ISIS. *The Guardian*, p. 1-2.
- Portnoy, E. (2012). Foreign direct investment in Nigeria. Retrieved from [www.http://dartmouthbusinessjournal.com/2012/05/foreign-direct-investment-in-nigeria](http://dartmouthbusinessjournal.com/2012/05/foreign-direct-investment-in-nigeria)
- Soriwei, F. (Feb. 5, 2015). Nigeria, Chad, others joint Operation against Boko Haram. *The Punch*, p.1-18.
- Soola, E. O. (2003). Development Communication: The Past , The Present and The Future, in Soala, E. O. (ed.). *Communicating for Development Purposes*. Ibadan: Kraft Books Ltd.
- Soriwei, F. (Feb.13, 2015) We're recaptured 11 towns, killed 300 insurgents. *The Punch*, p.1-9.
- Soriwei, F., Adetayo, O. & Idowu, K.(Jan. 5,2015.). Nine soldiers and 56 insurgents killed. *The Punch*, p.1-2.
- Vanguard*, (Jan. 26, 2012) Some Boko Haram attacks and mayhem under Rigim.p.5.

Dr. NGONSO, Blessed Frederick, is a Lecturer in the Department of Mass Communication, Samuel Adegboyega University, Ogwa, Edo State, Nigeria. He specializes in broadcast journalism and media research. blessedngonso@gmail.com +2348034342020

Dr. EKHAREAFO, O. Daniel, is a Lecturer in the Department of Theatre Arts and Mass Communication, University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria. He specializes in political communication and media research. Talk2ofomegbe@gmail.com +2348032682533