

# *Terrorising the Town and the Gown: A Critical Linguistic Assessment of Newspaper Reports on Insurgents/Militants Attacks on Educational Institutions in Nigeria*

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## Introduction

The abduction of Chibok girls in Nigeria in 2013 represents the greatest attack on any educational facilities in the history of Nigeria. That attack which was carried out by Boko Haram insurgents was necessitated by the sect's campaign to impose an Islamic state in the country. The attack can be described as the bloodiest school siege worldwide in nearly a decade and the worst terrorist attack in recent history. Amid an outpouring of anguish and condemnation in Nigeria and around the world, the Boko Haram insurgents were quick to claim responsibility "we selected the school for the attack because the government is targeting our families and friends," "We want them to feel our pain" (THISDAY, 2014). The attack was another expression of a brutish trend: a growing number of educational institutions have been targeted in terrorist attacks in recent times. In trying to access the level of damage done to the world educational sectors, the University of Maryland's Global Terrorism Database, which lists more than 125,000 terrorist attacks around the world since 1970, recorded a sharp increase in terror attacks on schools (Global Terrorism Database, 2017). This increase in the number of attacks on schools has coincided with a more general increase in terrorist attacks around the world with a specific focus on Nigeria.

According to Global Terrorism Database quoted by (Ebim, 2017): "schools remain a small and relatively stable proportion of overall terrorist targets recorded in recent years that have brought the rise of Nigeria's Boko Haram, which explicitly condemns Western education and conducted one of the biggest school attacks when it kidnapped nearly 300 schoolgirls". This incident could be described as an extremist approach as it is viewed

in places as Pakistan, Afghanistan, South Asia, Iraq, and other places in the Middle East. These places as (Ebim, 2016) observes "are largely driving the growth in terrorist targeting of schools". This study therefore, takes a critical linguistic look at the representation of the Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militants as the tormentors of educational infrastructure in Nigeria. Taking a critical look at the modes of operations of the two groups and their activities, one observes that while the Boko Haram sect members destroy schools in Nigeria, educational centres were turned into a safe haven for the Niger Delta ex-militants who were camped in those places to receive trainings and, in most cases, they turn around to vandalise the facilities in those schools.

## Background to the Study

Religious extremism and the struggle for political power can be said to be responsible for internal conflict in Nigeria. This is because "conflict arises when one group decides to impose its brand of religion on another group because of extremism...whereas with Boko Haram in Nigeria, religion is a contributing factor to the insurgency or conflict, there is therefore the need for all religions to treat one another with mutual respect" (Daily Post, 2014). It is therefore believed that such conflicts as we have in Nigeria naturally generate antagonistic memories that are sometimes hard to heal, even long after the cessation of fire. Insurgencies are more disruptive of human security when there is the struggle for control of political power between component major ethnic groups, or imbalance in the distribution of social economic resources. The perpetrators however call for an all-inclusive government

so as to accommodate everybody; because in the absence of an inclusive government, the art of reconciliation and healing of memories becomes difficult and even unrealisable” (Ebim, 2017). In this study therefore, we describe the newspaper reports on the activities of the two groups as they reflect politics, religious extremism and terrorism in Nigeria.

The level of violence unleashed by the Boko Haram, has become a nationwide concern in Nigeria. On a daily basis the media run and re-run pictures of dramatic acts of violence carried out by this group. Such graphical illustrations of pictorials are always scary. The federal government has launched many initiatives to combat the threat posed by Boko Haram. Indeed, considerable amount of money has been invested in programmes to enhance security and contain the threat of Boko Haram. As the crisis rages on, scholars have tried in their own ways to proffer solutions to it with different people giving it different names and linguistic labels. To some people, perpetrators of such acts should be called “terrorists” while others believe that such a label is harsh. (Chiluwa, 2011) observes that the word “terrorism” has no universally legal binding definition since the concept may itself be controversial as it is often used by state authorities to delegitimize political brutality and potentially legitimize the state’s own use of armed forces against opponents”. But the term can be taken to mean “those violent acts which are intended to create fear, perpetrated for religious, political or ideological goals”.

The kidnapping of the Chibok girls did not just come as a surprise as the nation at that time was under close watch over issues of kidnapping especially in the Niger Delta region. When the Niger Delta militants targeted oil facilities in the Niger Delta in the 2000s and kidnapped oil workers, it was a serious issue that called for concern even on the international scene as (Ebim, 2015) observes “the Niger Delta crises which mixed genuine grievances with a form of organised crime including kidnappings and extortion, made some people to come to the conclusion that the nation was unstable but in recent years, Boko Haram has come to eclipse unrest in the Niger Delta”. From the above scenario, one can say that it was not apparently an immediate threat to oil interests, in part because of geography as oil wells are hundreds of miles away in the south. More worrisome is the clearly stated intent by Boko Haram and al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb to coordinate and synchronise their efforts in terms of their styles of operation. The Boko Haram could possibly be a threat to Nigeria’s oil production because the group has already adopted many of al-Qaida’s tactics. If Boko Haram continues this trend, Nigerian oil facilities will be in the crosshairs. Previously the targets were foreign oil companies’ western workers, who were taken by the Niger Delta militants, but in recent times, it has steadily penetrated into the northern states and the kidnapers are becoming ever more attracted to wealthy individuals and politicians as well as schoolchildren. Headlines and news content are therefore extracted and subjected to a form of linguistic analysis to bring out the linguistic resources that are prevalent in the news with regards to educational terrorism.

## Theoretical Framework

The adopted theory for the analysis of data in this study is Critical Discourse Analysis which according to (van Dijk, 1998a) is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources. It examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within

specific social, political and historical contexts. For (Fairclough,1993) CDA is discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (p. 135). Simply put, CDA aims at making transparent the connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures, connections that might be opaque to the layperson. CDA was developed by a group of linguists and literary theorists at the University of East Anglia (Fowler et al. 1979, Kress and Hodge, 1979) and their approach was based on Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The practitioners of CDA aimed at isolating ideology in discourse and showing how ideology and ideological processes are manifested as systems of linguistic characteristics and processes. This aim was pursued by developing CDA’s analytical tools (Fowler et al. 1979, Fowler, 1991) based on SFL. Halliday’s view of language as a “social act” is central to many of CDA’s practitioners (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1995b, 1995a, Fowler et al. 1979, Fowler, 1991, Hodge and Kress, 1979). This therefore means that language is a social act and it is ideologically driven. This ideological predisposition of CDA could account for the attitude and character of the insurgents and militants as portrayed in the media. In this sense, for van Dijk, “ideologies ... are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize ... socially shared attitudes” (p. 18). Ideologies, thus, “indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members” in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions (p. 19).

## Data Presentation and Analysis

The data presented here were explicated from three Nigerian newspapers: The Guardian, THISDAY and Daily Trust. The three media outfits are relevant because they have wide geographical spread. While the Guardian is published in the southern part of the country and it has a nationwide circulation, Daily Trust is published in the north and it also has a wide circulation in the country. THISDAY is owned by a southerner but it is based in Abuja the nation’s capital and it has a wide readership. The analysis is divided into two forms: the Niger Delta case study constitutes the first part of the analysis and it focuses on the activities of the militants in the south-south region. The second segment of the analysis focuses on the Boko Haram activities which is predominantly in the north. The analytical framework is purely qualitative; focusing on the description and interpretation of data. It is a textual form of analysis. The data are labelled in alphabetical order i.e., DATA A- to the end.

## Data Analysis I: The Niger Delta Case Studies

Data described and interpreted here focus on the Niger Delta militants and their portrayal as militants as well as educational terrorists as they are depicted in the media:

From a Militants’ Kingdom to a University Community: The militant enclave of Gbaramatu Kingdom of Delta State becomes a university community as

President Goodluck Jonathan performs the ground breaking ceremonies of the Nigeria Maritime University and a Shipyard/Dockyard facility in the coastal community. This time four, five years ago, Gbaramatu Kingdom, the militant enclave of Delta State, was of forlorn hope, despair, sadness and a battle ground between one of the warlords of the bloody Niger Delta Struggle and the Federal Government Joint (Military) Taskforce. The area did not only witness severe bombardment, it came under heavy shelling and was almost reduced to rubbles on the accusation that it harboured militants, fighting against the economic interest of Nigeria and in the quest to capture dead or alive one of the most dreadful commanders of the region's militants, 'General' Tompolo, a son of the kingdom. Many fled their homes to seek refuge in surrounding bushes and neighbouring communities, some were killed or maimed, homes were damaged, burnt or destroyed, and the people were torn between life and death. TEXT A (The Guardian, 2014).

Extract A1 above paints a picture of gloom, war and terror with a mixture of sadness and joy as the once "enclave for Niger Delta militants" becomes a university environment. The reporter captures vividly the happenings that had taken place in that community prior to it becoming a place for the acquisition of knowledge. The news headline is a typical irony where the reporter opines that the community was undergoing a period of metamorphosis---transforming from "a militant enclave" to a university environment: "From a Militants' Kingdom to a University Community". Such lexical items used in describing the level of terror that reigned supreme include: "The militant enclave" "forlorn hope" "despair" "sadness" "a battle ground" "severe bombardment" "under heavy shelling" "reduced to rubbles" "harboured militants" "fighting against the economic interest of Nigeria" "capture dead or alive" "Many fled their homes" "to seek refuge in surrounding bushes and neighbouring communities" "some were killed or maimed" "homes were damaged" "burnt" or destroyed" "the people were torn between life and death". All these lexical choices portray a moment of anguish, frustration and despair accompanied by an exodus of people to an unknown destination. But the same environment with such lexical descriptions has been turned into "university community" "as the then President Goodluck Jonathan performs the ground breaking ceremonies of the Nigeria Maritime University and a Shipyard/Dockyard facility in the coastal community" and the reporter was quick to observe that some years back, the same environment was hardly accessible: "This time four, five years ago, Gbaramatu Kingdom, the militant enclave of Delta State, was of forlorn hope, despair, sadness and a battle ground between one of the warlords of the bloody Niger Delta Struggle and the Federal Government Joint (Military) Taskforce" these are juxtapositions of the positive and negative painting the "other" bad in order to make the "us" look good. The change in the atmospheric condition is captured in TEXT B below:

But all that had long given way to a new life of promise and hope in the wake of the hand of amnesty extended by the government to the fighting militants. As President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and his entourage of the Delta State Governor, Dr Emmanuel Uduaghan, Anambra State Governor, Chief Willie Obiano, the Minister of Transport, Senator Idris Umar, the Director General of the Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA), Patrick Ziakade Akpobolokemi and a host of others stepped out of their choppers to a rousing reception in the kingdom for the ground breaking ceremonies of the Nigeria Maritime University (NUM), the NIMASA Shipyard/Dockyard facility both sited in Okerenkoko and the flag off of the

temporary site of the NUM in kurutie, also in the kingdom, it was obvious that the days of the long knives are long over. The president was visiting the kingdom for the first time since he assumed office, having been there last in 2007 as vice president.

## TEXT B

The above extract presupposes that there was hopelessness and that the presence of the then president and members of his entourage was to give the people hope. This is a clear indication of polarization effects to ensure that "them" are the bad ones while the "us" epitomizes a ray of hope---"But all that had long given way to a new life of promise and hope in the wake of the hand of amnesty extended by the government to the fighting militants" "it was obvious that the days of the long knives are long over. The president was visiting the kingdom for the first time since he assumed office, having been there last in 2007 as vice president". For the president not to have visited the place for over seven years even though he is from that region and from that same locality goes to show how the peoples' leaders show disdain for the people they purport to govern.

The mood was as warm as the occasion was colourful; celebrations knew no bounds as cultural and other displays took over. In between the unending singing, dancing and display of joy, President Jonathan rose to perform the mission of his visit to a thunderous ovation. He was delightful at his return to the kingdom, recalling that the last time he visited in 2007; he solicited their co-operation to embrace peace in the Niger Delta region convinced that "peace in the region was invariably going to translate to greater economic fortunes for the kingdom and our great country in general. "I am glad you took the advice and today the story of our collective success in entrenching peace in this region is told all over the world and is currently considered a model for the resolution of conflicts in other parts of the World particularly, in Africa. We must admit that the journey to the present state has been challenging but you forged ahead.

## TEXT C

TEXT C above is an embodiment of ideological collectivism and collectivism of inclusiveness by saying "I am glad you took the advice and today the story of our collective success in entrenching peace in this region is told all over the world and is currently considered a model for the resolution of conflicts in other parts of the World particularly, in Africa" the president is of the opinion that it is only the principles of "collective responsibility" that can "move a nation forward" and for taking the advice, the decision has led to greater improvements in the region. This is accompanied by the use of such lexical items as "warm" "colourful" "celebrations knew no bounds" "cultural and other displays took over" "unending singing" "dancing" "display of joy" "thunderous ovation" to denote the acceptance of the present circumstance and a rejection of the former approach to life. This corroborates the text below as we see results of the need for skills acquisition.

PTI trains 350 ex-militants: ABOUT 350 ex-militants have been trained in various skills in the Federal Government -owned Petroleum Training Institute, Effurun, near Warri in Delta State, the Acting Principal/Chief Executive Mrs Nnenna Dennar has disclosed. Mrs Dennar stated this while

briefing members of the House of Representatives Committee on Petroleum Upstream, led by the chair, Hon Ajibola Muraina, who were at the institute on oversight function, Wednesday. She said most of them were employed on completion of their training, adding that there was a case of 26 ex-militants that trained as divers, who were employed by a Nigerian company even before they finished the training. Mrs Dennar in response to inquiry by committee members confirmed that the fees for the ex-militants that were trained by the school were paid by the Presidential Amnesty Office, PAP, and Abuja.

#### TEXT D

Here the Petroleum Training Institute {PTI} becomes home to the ex-militants who through the amnesty programme have received trainings in different areas of specialization as the principal of the institute observes “350 ex-militants have been trained in various skills in the Federal Government –owned Petroleum Training Institute” “...most of them were employed on completion of their training, adding that there was a case of 26 ex-militants that trained as divers, who were employed by a Nigerian company even before they finished the training”. Herein lies the need for peace as preached by the ex-president on the occasion of the “ground breaking” ceremony of the establishment of the University in Delta (see extract G100).

NOUN to build study centres for militants: The National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN) is to build a study centre for the Niger Delta militants, the Vice Chancellor of the university, Professor Olugbemiro Jegede has said. Jegede said that already, NOUN has identified an abandoned ship used by the former Military Governor of Rivers state, Commander Diette Spiff that would be refurbished to serve as one of the centres. He spoke in Kaduna yesterday while commissioning a special study centre for officers and men of the Nigeria Air Force.

#### TEXT E

The position of the Vice Chancellor that the National Open University of Nigeria “will build” study centres to train ex-militants is a sharp contrast to the subsequent sentence that says “an abandoned ship” has been spotted and that it “will be refurbished” to become a study centre for the ex-militants. The headline betrays the main news item as it is couched in sensational tendencies to attract potential readers who would ordinarily rush to buy the paper to see how “brand new” educational institutions will be built for ex-militants at the expense of the dilapidating federal universities, polytechnics and colleges of education in the country and other educational institutions only to discover that the headline is an opposite of the main news, and by training the ex-militants in an abandoned ship is a clear demonstration of the level of decay that trails the Nigerian educational sector. The Vice Chancellor’s position is clear on the issue:

We will develop it to be a complete study centre complete with offices, computers, DSTV and satellite station so that they can communicate with anybody and do their assignment. Anywhere it gets to, students will come in, do their assignment, get off and the ship moves. We are hoping that, since the government has, its wisdom said that the River Niger should be dredged, once it is dredged, ships can go all the way to Barro and go through the other side to Makurdi. Our plan is that the ship will sail all through the River Niger. So, it will be moving and our staff will be on it all the time.

We want to develop it and once we can do that, it will help alleviate the problems of the unemployed youths that we have running around the country, particularly in the South-South and the Riverine areas. We think that because education is so critical, these people need to be educated or must be educated. We think that the irreducible minimum that Nigeria owes its people is education.

#### TEXT F

The Vice Chancellor’s emphasis is on “development” which he says “we develop it to be a complete study centre complete” contrary to the media reportage that “building study centres is the key word”. The word “develop” is used twice for emphasis and for using the expression with the word “can” “once we can do that” It means the process is conditional subject to approval from certain quarters before the “developing” and not “building” can take place. The journalist therefore whipped up sentiment into the headline through the process of media sensationalism to sell his paper at the expense of the true position of the story which is more important to the readers. The need to “develop” the ship is anchored on the premise that “We think that because education is so critical, these people need to be educated or must be educated. We think that the irreducible minimum that Nigeria owes its people is education” thus portraying the benchmark for any nation that is ready to meet the challenges on the international scene.

#### Data Analysis Ii: The Boko Haram Case Studies

As the south-south region of the country is waking up from the slumber of “destroying” oil installations in the name of militancy to call government’s attention to the level of negligence, there is a sharp disconnect in the northern part of the country where the Boko Haram insurgents are busy kidnapping and destroying the schools in that part of the country. In an interview with the leader of the Arewa Consultative Forum {ACF} one of the Hausa socio-political organizations, there is a clear rejection of the government implementation of certain programmes in ensuring that the streets urchins in the north are made to go back to school. He completely rejects the offer and calls for a total overhaul of the system where the Boko Haram insurgents will be granted amnesty where they will be made to get the same benefits as their Niger Delta counterparts. He rather sees the Boko Haram insurgency as a political war and demands an immediate arrest and prosecution of the former governor of Bornu state, Modu Sheriff. He describes the “Almajiri” school programme as a “crazy idea” and calls for its immediate reversal.

The government is not ready for the short-term solution rather looking for a long term by opening Almagiri School. That is crazy. Yes. Tell me one person that is not an Almagiri in Nigeria. Today the constitution has made the Federal government stronger and the states weaker. Anything you want to do; you have to go to Abuja and lobby for it. In fact, if you want to be your local government chairman, you have to lobby for it in Abuja, no matter your credibility or acceptability. So, who is not an Almagiri? The problem in the northern part of the country requires a total overhaul and you can’t do it all at once, there are short measures to take rather than creating Almagiri School. We are thinking of how government can integrate the people into the society. The concept of the Almagiri is that they are children of poor people, beggars and less privileged of the society TEXT A.

The term “Almajiri” is a concept derived from the Hausa language for those children who go about begging on the streets for their daily bread and the Federal Government decided to keep such children off the streets by creating schools for them. Those schools were called “Almajiri schools” mainly for the less privileged in the northern part of the country. However, in this extract the leader of the Arewa Consultative Forum extends the semantic concept of “Almajiri” to even those who go about lobbying for positions in government and traces the problem of the northern part of the country that culminated in the formation of the militant Boko Haram to political irresponsibility on the part of politicians. He also sees the linguistic label “Almajiri” as a derogatory term that is reserved for the poor and downtrodden that have been perpetually relegated to the background because of the position the government has placed them. By describing the idea as crazy, is a sign of total rejection of the government offer that is aimed at sanitising the system and keeping the children off the streets. In TEXT B, we see violence right inside students’ hostels:

**50 YOBE COLLEGE STUDENTS SHOT DEAD:** Gunmen suspected to be insurgents launched a predawn attack on an agriculture college in Yobe State yesterday, killing at least 50 students and injuring five others. The students were woken up from sleep in their dormitory and shot dead at the College of Agriculture, Gujba, 50 kilometres south of the state capital Damaturu. Survivors said about 30 gunmen drove into the school in three Hilux vans and four motorcycles around 1.30am. They headed to the hostel where they assembled the students in one place and opened fire on them.

#### TEXT B

The outright rejection of the Almajiri school system was followed by the launching of terrorist attacks on both tertiary institutions and secondary schools in the northern part of the country where the Boko Haram sect reigned supreme. In this extract the insurgents were said to have carried out a predawn attack that resulted in the death of over fifty students of a federal college of education in Yobe state. In the face of this insurgency, the journalist chose to use the word “suspected” to describe the insurgents as if there was war in the country involving another set of people aside from the Boko Haram sect. It is a situational irony that “The students were woken up from sleep in their dormitory and shot dead” because the night is a period of terror both spiritual and physical and when people go to bed they pray to see the light of day but in the case of these students, the day was the most horrifying moment in their lives and a time they will not pray to encounter again; that the insurgents “headed to the hostel where they assembled the students in one place and opened fire on them” mean that they had a destination in mind; they knew their destination and knew exactly what to do. But the euphemism of “opening fire” and not “slaughtering” or “killing” or “butchering” them is a way of hiding the real truth so as to avoid tension and reprisal attacks in other parts of the country. The headline is so captivating, catchy and straight to the point. But the essence is to provoke emotions and whip up sentiments because for “50 students to be shot dead” in one day is not only tragic but it is heart rendering and emotions laden. There is however disparity in the actual number of casualties as different authorities gave different figures to ascertain the true figure of those that died in the course of the insurgent intrusion into the students’ domain.

At first, we thought they were security personnel on surveillance,” a survivor told Daily Trust, adding that the gunmen were in military fatigue. State Police Commissioner Sanusi Rufa’i confirmed that 40 corpses were recovered, and the medical director of the Sani Abacha Hospital in Damaturu, Dr Garba Fika, also said 40 bodies were deposited at the morgue. Five other students who sustained bullet wounds were admitted and those with fractures would be referred to the Nguru hospital, Fika said. But provost of the college Murima Maimato Gaidam, speaking to Associated Press news agency, said the number of dead could be as high as 50, adding that security forces were still recovering the bodies and that about 1,000 students had fled the campus.

#### TEXT C

The mere sight of people wearing security uniforms deceived the students into believing that the insurgents were “security personnel on surveillance” “the gunmen were in military fatigue” so there was no point running away from them. This is clearly a case of manipulation of circumstances and betrayal of trust. In the aftermath of that ugly situation and the killings that followed in other schools as reported by the media, schools in the state were shut down due to insecurity but the reaction of the president captures our attention.

**Yobe Shuts Schools After Deadly Attacks:** Attackers will go to hell—Jonathan. 40 ‘insurgents’ killed in Borno: Secondary schools in Yobe State have been shut until a new academic session begins in September, following the school attack that left dozens of students dead in Potiskum local government area on Saturday. Governor Ibrahim Gaidam, who ordered the closure yesterday, said it was to give authorities time to figure out how to better protect the lives of students and teachers. In the pre-dawn attack on Government Secondary School, Mamudo, gunmen set fire to buildings and then opened fire on fleeing students, leaving more than 20 students and a teacher dead.

#### TEXT D

The headline above is clear and unambiguous. But the contradiction in the news lead is worthy of note; the Boko Haram ideology is built on the firm believe that “those who kill in the name of Allah” will not only go to “Aljana” but that they will “marry seventy virgins” and here we have the president declaring the perpetrators of such acts “guests of hell”. This is where the clash of ideology comes into play: one is of the view that those who kill enjoy at their death while the other is of the view that those who kill will rot in hell. The killing is however seen as “horrendous” “criminal” “callous” and “devoid of any shred of humanity.” And the decision to shut down all schools is to allow the state government in collaboration with the Joint Security Task Force (JTF) and community leaders to evaluate and evolve better and additional strategies that would ensure the safety and security of students and their teachers” as observed by the state Governor who made the pronouncement on the closure of schools. A juxtaposition of the happenings in the north and south shows a clear demarcation between the two militant groups: at the time of this study, one focused on acquiring education while the other focuses on destroying the educational infrastructure.

## Conclusion

This study has tried to examine the role of terrorists in the destabilization of academic sessions, destruction of educational facilities and the attempt to “recover” the vandalized government institutional facilities and convert them into learning facilities for ex-militants in Nigeria. The study uncovers filaments of irony where one segment of the society destroys and the other rebuilds the same facilities. It also raises questions of government commitment to the true nature of governance as some facilities are provided as rather forms of palliatives. The study reveals cases of ideological collectivism and collectivism of inclusiveness. The “refurbishing” of a destroyed facility for e-militants usage is a metaphor for the consequences of intolerance. More so, most of the news items are sensationalised to capture the attention of the populace. The study also opines that even though there is the willingness on the part of political leaders to develop the northern part of the country along educational lines, there is the strong resistance from the elites. The aim is to keep the delinquent in their ram shackled state thus substantiating van Dirck’s ideological square in his postulation of CDA. For instance, where schools in the south were running their programmes effectively, those in the north were shut down as a result of terrorist attacks thus displaying a situation unequal right in the same society.

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