

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE REPORTAGE OF JOS CRISIS AND BOKO HARAM
INSURGENCE BY SELECTED NEWSPAPERS**

BY

Musediq Aderemi BASORUN B.Sc. (ABU, 2009)

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work in this Thesis titled, “An Analysis of the Reportage of Jos Crisis and Boko Haram Insurgence by Selected Newspapers” was performed by me in the Department of Mass Communication, under the supervision of ADEYANJU A.M. (PhD) and Prof. Charles OKIGBO. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this work was previously presented for another degree or diploma at any institution.

Musediq A. BASORUN

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Signature

Date

CERTIFICATION

This Thesis entitled, “An Analysis of the Reportage of Jos Crisis and Boko Haram Insurgence by Selected Newspapers” meets the regulation governing the award of the degree of M.Sc. Mass Communication of the Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

Chairman, Supervisory Committee ADEYANJU, A. M., Ph.D. Signature Date
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Member, Supervisory Committee Prof. Charles OKIGBO Signature Date
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Head of Department Mahmud M. Umar, Ph.D. Signature Date
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Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies Prof. Adamu Z. Hassan Signature Date
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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to GOD the Almighty, the most Benevolence and the most Merciful, the GOD of impossibility and the most faithful, who's inexhaustible grace, favour, mercies and protection galvanised this achievement.

To the memory of my late father Pa. Abdulganiyu Olapade Alowonle Ajagbe Basorun, and my dearest mother, Mama Olalonpe Anike Basorun whom fate denied the opportunity of acquiring western education. Also to Ronke Remi-Basorun and Emmanuella Faith Oluwademilade Basorun my loving wife and daughter respectively, whose understandings shown to me during the programme were too mature to describe.

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ABSTRACT

The upsurge in the rate at which ethno-religious conflicts do break out across Nigerian cities especially in northern part is worrisome. It has put the unity and harmonious co-existence among the various ethnic and religious groups under serious threat. Nigerian press as the watch-dog of the society has covered this endemics deficiently. The inadequacy in the coverage pattern has compounded the challenges faced by the federal government in attempting to arrest the incessant crises. The objectives of the study are: to know the level of prominence Nigerian Newspapers gave to coverage of ethno-religious conflicts; the extent at which they ensure balance, if they have been responsible in their reportage of the conflicts and if ownership interests do influence coverage of conflict stories. Employing the mixed method of data gathering, the study content analysed the daily and weekend editions of *Tribune*, *Sun* and *Daily Trust* Newspapers on the coverage of Jos crisis and Boko Haram Insurgence (Ethno-Religious conflicts) for a period of twenty months (April, 2010- December 31, 2012). In addition, Six conflict reporters from the three sampled Newspapers were also selected for In-depth Interview. The Framing theory of the media was employed as the theoretical framework. Findings revealed that *Daily Trust* was less sensational while, *Sun* and *Tribune* tended to be sensational in that, most of their stories with screaming headlines ran from *front* page to *inside* page. *Daily Trust* Newspaper did well at balancing its report by allotting more space for stories written in full pages while *Sun* and *Tribune* allocated less space hence, level of balance in their stories were affected. Accordingly, during the study period, the papers gave high prominence to coverage of Jos crisis and Boko Haram Insurgence by publishing (42.6%) of the stories as *front* page, they are responsible in that most (56%) of the stories were tucked *inside* and a minimal (1.2%) on *back* pages. More so, most (84.0%) of the stories were written as *Straight News* as ‘major’ form with minimal *feature* (11.2%), *letter* (1.5%), *editorial* (1.2%), the use of evocative *pictures* were also de-emphasized (20.6%), the sampled papers were *neutral* (58.1%), *negative* (38.7%) minimally (3.3%) *positive* in their reports. The study then concludes, that contrary to the widely held view that Nigerian Media indulge in unethical conduct in its reportage of ethno-religious crisis, and that ownership pattern do influence to some extent media content the Media, still do strive to ensure ethical reporting, and they also practice responsible journalism. It then recommends among others that Journalists should be properly trained on media ethics so as to ensure that they write balanced and objective stories and, strive to be responsible when presenting information on conflicts to the general public.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

Nigeria’s socio-political and economic landscape has been blighted by the endemic twin, religious and ethnic violence. The widespread frustration and deep sense of insecurity to life and

property, occasioned by this epidemic, has become a matter of grave concern to government, security agencies and the Nigerian citizenry at large (Nwosu, 2003). Neither the urban nor rural is immune to civil, ethnic, political and religious violence which, in the last decade, have plagued Nigeria and currently threaten to tear communities and ethnic groups apart. The state of insecurity in Nigeria today is such that it is not an overstatement to conclude that the Nigerian nation is under heavy siege. In Kaduna, Kano and Jos, Plateau State for example, the spirit of oneness, peace and unity among the various group that have been living together for decade has varnished as the residential patterns now took the form of 'we' versus 'them'. The situation has become most critical, consequent upon the apparent helplessness of the security agencies to stem the tide of the crisis. Falola (1998) asserts that when the country won its independence in 1960, the most destabilizing factor was ethnicity. Religion has also been identified as another factor. As Soola (2009) opines, the current spate of crime and violence in Nigeria dates back to the end of the Nigerian civil war in 1970 when arms began to filter through into unauthorised hands.

Egwu (2013) asserts that Ethnicity and religion are real and are identities that people are willing to die for. Though meant to draw man closer to his creator as well as serve as channel for communication, the role of religion as a way of communing with God has been greatly abused in Nigeria. It is exploited and manipulated by those who can use them to cause problem meanwhile, religion is a double-edged sword that can create, acquiesce or fuel fights against injustice. Soola (2009) posits that:

The violent ethno-religious conflict situation was exacerbated by prolonged military interregnum, its brute force and the violence that characterised it. The sacredness, with which human life used to be held until the early 1970s, was soon thrown to the winds by miscreants and other criminals. The situation was further compounded by Nigerian media's romance with

foreign films which were generously laced with crime, violence and sex. The Nigerian home video, currently in vogue, is not better in that it thrives on similar themes – crimes, violence and sex.

Baran (2004) posits that the media holds a selective mirror of the society where images are not portrayed equally because some things may appear bigger than they truly are; some may appear smaller while, some may disappear altogether. By referring to mirror as being selective, Baran (2004) actually meant the biases and irresponsibility in Media reportage of various societal issues of which ethnic and religion are part of. However, no matter how selective media's image could be, one way of keeping in touch with our contemporary world is still through the media. It constitutes a major pillar that shapes, nurtures and builds the society. Its traditional roles to inform, educate and entertain the public are so crucial that societies can hardly progress meaningfully without the media. This is why it is said that the media is the "watchdog of the society" meaning that the media exist as organ of information sourcing and dissemination, educational promotion, surveillance, social enlightenment and mobilization (Ekeanyanwu, 2007). Thomas Jefferson, the third American President while, underscoring the importance of the Press in the society in one of his speeches cited by Nwabueze and Ebeze (2013:862) asserts that "... Were it left for me to choose whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without government, I shall not hesitate a moment to choose the latter". In a similar view De-Gaulle, the President of France as cited by Orhewere and Kur (2004: 58) once asked President John F. Kennedy of US; "How can you control your country if you do not control television?" De-Gaulle here referred to Television likewise the Newspaper as mass medium. In over one hundred and fifty years of its existence in Nigeria the Press has become an integral part of the history, evolution and management of peaceful coexistence among the various groups.

Described as one of the most vibrant in Africa, the Press in Nigeria contributed to the decolonization process and the promotion of nationalism (Coleman, 1971: 133–187; Omu, 1974: 521–539; Olukotun, 2003: 229–246) and politics (Sklar & Whitaker, 1964: 597–654; Agbaje, 1992).

Nonetheless, the media in Nigeria have since independence formed a pattern of ethnic affiliations, reflecting the ethno-religious politics of the country (Akintayo and Isola, 2012). While most of them at their inception professed laudable editorial policies and ideologies which often gave the impression that the collective good of the country and the well-beings of its citizens were the primary purposes for their establishment unfortunately, this was not so because soon after the attainment of Nigeria's Independence in 1960, the political interests of each political zone permeated the vision and activities of media organizations. This is a tendency often dictated by the geographical location (South-Western and Northern Press) of media organisations or the ethnic origins of media owners. As Akintayo and Isola ((2012) posited, that this socio-historical context of the mass media in Nigeria appears to have a large influence on media representation of the ethnic and politics, and their armed groups. Thus, the origin of each of the non-state armed groups such as MEND, MOSSOP, OPC, EGBESU etc, and Boko Haram sect tend to determine how each medium report, reflect and frame their activities. Hence, the argument that the Nigerian Newspaper influences opinion about other people's ethnic and religion by carefully selecting issues and events that fit into their frames and leaving out those that do not.

Conflict, by its nature, holds a forceful attraction for the mass media. According to Owens-Ibie (2002:32) "the media are naturally attracted to conflict." Conflict is also hard to talk

about without engaging the emotions of the discussants. This is due largely to the humanitarian implications, especially when conflict gets violent; presenting an objective and balanced report therefore becomes a tortuous, almost impossible task (Eti, 2009). The principles of reporting are put to sever test when your nation goes to war (Kate Adie as cited by Allan & Zelizer, 2004). Often, journalism is in a fix, caught between staying true to the principles of reporting and responding adequately to the urgent realities of conflict or war. Allan and Zelizer (2004:3) aptly stated thus: “confronted with the often horrific realities of conflict, any belief that the journalist can remain distant, remote, or unaffected by what is happening ‘tends to go out the window’ in a hurry”. By its very constitution, proprietorship, mode of operation and sustenance, Nigerian Newspaper is akin to being a little sensational, gossipy, and manipulative in the treatment of stories, just for them to stay in the market. This is evidenced by their screaming headlines, scandal and gossip stories, and in some cases, pedestrian use of language (Eti, 2009). Since it is unfashionable in the journalistic turf to report events and issues in such a manner as may be seen to be expressly biased, imbalance and irresponsible, there is the need to develop measures by which to raise the credibility of Nigerian Newspapers, define a mode of operation for her and position her to effectively articulate the issues inherent in the Nigerian ethno-religious crises. Among the roles of the mass media in society – surveillance, interpretation, linkage, transmission of values and entertainment (Dominick, 2002), the first two are critical to conflict reporting in Nigeria. In its surveillance function, the Press plays the role of an observer, which is “a necessary component for enforcing economic, political, cultural and even moral stability” in the polity (Mu’azu, 2002:47). In this role, the media highlight aspects of society – events, people and issues – which they gather as information and report as news. Eti (2009) posits that most news information are immediately consumable that are hinged on material culture as well, there are

also abstract issues that pertain to ‘argument’ or are ‘entropic’ – complex and requiring interpretation. This according to him, demands the need for the interpretation function of the mass media, which is fulfilled by editorials, commentaries and opinion articles. In fulfilling this essential responsibility to the Nigerian society, how the journalist provide adequate, truthful, balanced, objective and socially responsible coverage of a conflict situation without escalation becomes the question to be urgently answered. This study therefore, seeks to distill the sentiments and perspectives of various scholars on the subject and suggests ways of reporting the various shades and emerging trends in Nigerian ethno-religious conflicts; and defines an effective role for the mass media, especially the Newspaper, as a critical component of interventions towards conflict prevention and resolution journalism in Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The outbreaks of ethno-religious violence have become rampant across Nigerian cities. Hence, the different development plans being put in place by Federal government towards sustaining the nation have yielded little or no results. Since the early 1980s till date, Nigeria has witnessed series of such crises. Abdullahi and Saka (2007) observed that:

after about thirty years of military dictatorship, Nigeria found herself again in the mainstream of democratic governance while this development was seen by some stakeholders as an avenue to explore the dividends and goodies of democracy others saw it as an opportunity to express grievances the outcome of which is the occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflicts.

Not less than one hundred politically, ethnically and religiously motivated conflicts have occurred in Nigeria since the re-emergence of democracy in May 1999 (Abdullahi and Saka, 2007). This figure keeps soaring at every little misunderstanding among the various ethnic and religious groups across the country. In its effort to contain this, the Nigerian National Assembly

on February 17, 2011 passed the Anti-Terrorism Bill into Act. Even with this in place, long term peace has continued to elude the nation, particularly the northern part. Worth of mentioning are the Jos indigene/settler crisis, the Southern Kaduna-Fulani cattle rustlers crisis, Offa- Erinle communal dispute in Kwara State, Benue-Fulani herdsmen crisis, etc, or the Boko Haram insurgency which keeps reigning a carnival of terror, and given bitter suffering food and drink to residence of North-Eastern, North-eastern States of Borno, Yobe and, Plateau, Kano, Kogi, Niger, Kaduna, Sokoto, and Abuja (FCT). The wanton destruction of properties and killing of innocent souls, bombing of private, public, religious and government properties which have become the order of the day has increased the fear of insecurity among the residents in that part of the country. The worrisome nature of this ugly incidence has re-awakened calls by concerned Nigerians for a Sovereign National Conference implying, that the fabric of unity and harmonious relationship among the various ethnic groups has been seriously attacked.

The public has the right to know hence Nigerian consumers of media products, like their counterparts in other cultures, are insatiably interested in, and are at times shocked and fascinated by how Newspapers report ethno-religious crises. Surely, the media have to perform it's surveillance function by giving the people the right information needed to live, warn them about dangers to their environment and, be the watch-dogs of the society. However, the media's dysfunctions with regards to ethno-religious crisis make people think that the world is unsafe for living. Truth is the cornerstone of journalism as such; most people believe that what the media present to them is absolute truth. The pictures about events in the world presented by mass media are therefore seen as authentic. As the mirror of the society it is obvious, that certain sections of the media have taken sides in reporting of events in the recurring crises by subtly promoting certain ethnic and religious ideologies over others thereby; fanning the embers of

misunderstanding between different ethnic and religious groups. This has the capacity to cause more harm than good. Best (1996) is of the opinion that the Nigerian Press was partially responsible for the Nigeria's thirty month civil war that resulted into loss of lives and property, also, Yusuf (2002) observed that the manner in which the Nigerian press reported the Sharia crises was mostly responsible for exacerbating the tension and conflicts of the Sharia crises in the Northern part of the country. In the same vein Orhewere (2004), in his study of *some selected Nigerian newspapers coverage of the Tiv-Jukun conflict in the middle belt* found, that the newspapers were partly the causal agents of the conflict. In view of the aforementioned, it is pertinent, to know how the newspapers, have fared in their coverage of Nigerian ethno-religious crisis.

1.3 Research Questions

To achieve the above objectives, the following questions were asked and answered at the end of the study:

- 1 What is the level of prominence accorded to coverage of ethno-religious crisis by Nigerian Newspapers?
- 2 To what extent have Nigerian Newspapers reflected balance in their reportage of ethno-religious crises?
- 3 Have Newspapers been objective in their reportage of ethno-religious conflicts?
- 4 To what level ownership do influence coverage of ethno-religious crises

1.4 Aim of the Study

The general aim of this study is to assess the role of Nigerian Newspapers in the coverage of ethno-religious violence which has been a threat to socio-economic development and national

security. Hence, this study is set out to investigate how Nigerian Newspapers report various Ethno-Religious crisis.

The specific objectives are to find:

1. The level of prominence accorded to coverage of ethno-religious crisis by Nigerian Newspapers;
2. The extent at which they reflect balance in their reportage of ethno-religious crisis and;
3. If they have been objective in their reportage of Nigerian ethno-religious conflicts
4. The level at which ownership influence reflected in the coverage of Nigerian ethno-religious crises

1.5 Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study is to analyze the content of some selected Nigerian Newspapers such as *Sun*, *Tribune* and the *Daily Trust* with regards to how they have covered Nigerian ethno-religious conflicts. This study becomes significant because the Nigerian media as the watch-dog of the society found itself in the midst of ethnic and religious divide. It is significant because it will show a research finding that will be used to set reporting standard in conflict journalism for Nigerian journalists. It will be a useful reference material for students, academics and communication professionals in general.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

This study examined only private Nigerian Newspapers. This is because as at the time of the study government newspapers were not published regularly. As at the time of the study was

carried out, there are about fifty (50) regularly published private newspapers in Nigeria, out of which about thirty (30) of them are classified by Newspapers in Nigeria.com (2014) as ‘major’ Newspapers. For convenience sake, the researcher randomly selected *Sun*, *Tribune* and *Daily Trust* from the thirty (30) major Newspapers; which were used for the study. It is believed that the three papers represented the divergent views from north and south poles of the Country. The content analysis covered all stories on Jos Crisis and Boko Haram Insurgence in Northern Nigeria from October 2010 to December 31, 2012 which was reported by the selected papers. Citing examples Ali, Bagaji, Etila; Ogbadu and Sule (2012) posit that:

Nigeria has been engulfed in uncountable religious crises, among which are; Bulunkutu (Maiduguri), 1984, in Jimeta (Yola), and 1985 in Bauchi, (Isichei, 1987. 194-208; Ibrahim, 1997. 511-512; Adesoji, 2010. 96-97). Following the Maitatsine crises, there was the Kano metropolitan riot of October 1982, the Ilorin riot of March 1986, the nationwide crisis over Nigeria’s membership in the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in January/February 1986, the Zangon-Kataf, Kafanchan, Kaduna, Zaria and Funtua religious riots of March 1987, the Kaduna Polytechnic riot of March 1988, the acrimonious, nationwide debate on Sharia law at the Constituent Assembly in October/November 1988, the Bayero University crisis of 1989, the Bauchi and Katsina riots of March/April 1991, the Kano riot of October 1991, the Zangon-Kataf riot of May 1992, the Kano civil disturbance of December 1991 and the Jos crisis of April 1994.

And between 1999 and 2012 many ethno-religious hostilities were reported these includes; the recurring Jos crises of 2001, 2002, 2004, 2008 to 2012, and the Boko Haram crises between 1992 and 2012 (Omipidan, 2009a. 5 6; Akaeze, 2009; Adesoji, 2010; Danjibo, 2009).

Considering the nature and frequency of occurrence of these crises which Ozohu-Suleiman (2013) agrees, can be a complex phenomenon to research or deal with if its perceptual

relativity is not properly understood and taken into account, it is humanly impossible to examine all in this study hence, this research scope was limited to how Nigerian Newspapers reported the Boko Haram insurgency and Jos crises between 2010 and 2012. As Muhammed (2012) opines Boko Haram is one of the many indices of insurgencies in the country. Thus given the ferocity and frequency of the crises, the socio-economic, security and political stability of the country is constantly under threat (Ali et al, 2012). As a result, the researcher felt that the study is of utmost important for a better media practice vis-a-viz its social responsibility and ‘watch dog’ functions of the Media.

1.7 Operational Definition of Key Terms:

Balance: This study considers a story as balanced when all the sides involved in a conflict are given a hearing.

BH: This was used in the study to denote Boko Haram sect, the insurgent Islamic group that believed in total Islamisation of northern Nigeria

Conflict/Crisis: The term conflict/crisis as used in this study means contest or dispute involving two or more interests or parties, which results in a clash, dispute, or violence (Edeani, 1994). It must be sufficiently serious enough to threaten the peace and stability of a whole country.

Coverage: Coverage’ in this study means the publication of news, editorials, and commentaries. Coverage is being measured in frequencies however, and reporting and coverage were used interchangeably in this study

Ethnicity: Ethnic group refers to a group of people who share the same culture and race including language, religion, history or custom (Akinbade, 2004). Nigeria has more than 250 ethnic groups such as Yoruba, Ijaw, Ibo, Hausa, Urhobo, Fulani, Kanuri, Efik and Tiv, etc.

Ethno-Religious: Ibrahim (2005) describes ethno-religious conflict as the ‘disputes arising from ethnic and religious differences. Therefore the meaning of ethno-religious adopted in this study goes in line with that of Ibrahim (2005)’

Insurgence: The act of fighting against the government of own nation by a group of people such as the BH Islamists group

NBC: Nigeria Broadcasting Commission. It is regulatory body saddled with the responsibility of ensuring quality broadcast contents. It has the power to sanction members who refused to comply with the ethic broadcasting.

NPPAN: Newspaper Proprietors Association of Nigeria

NPC: Nigerian Press Council. It is a body saddled with the responsibility of monitoring and regulating Newspaper contents.

Responsible: Edeani (1994) defines responsible coverage as any coverage which exhibits evidence of fairness, balance, and the absence of sensationalism. To him, this is the mark of a truly independent and socially responsible medium of mass communication. This study therefore, adopts this definition as its meaning of being ‘responsible.’ The variable is also measured in frequency.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Conflicts: Conceptual Clarification

Politics is all about power relations and allocation of economic resources for political gains within a body polity hence, the political process therefore, has always been characterised by conflicts, counter-conflicts, ethnic rivalries and deep-rooted animosity between the political players and their support base (Ekeanyanwu, 2011). Dunmoye (2012) posits that, a conflict is a form of socialization that is common to all social systems. It is an unavoidable aspect of everyday life (Ozohu-Suleiman, 2013). Weber (1969) asserts that conflict cannot be excluded from social life. That is, it is a sine-qua-non for the survival of a social system and it is a 'social disease' that even peace, is nothing more than a change in the form of conflict. Social conflict occurs when attitudes are turned into actions. Social systems require disharmony as well as harmony, dissociation as well as association, conflict as well as cooperation (Dunmoye, 2012) hence, human interaction or dependence makes conflicts inevitable phenomena in societies and when incomparable goals are pursued simultaneously either by individual, groups, communities or States, conflict is said to exist; it is perennial and an ingredient towards the actualizations of individual and group objective (Marx, 1937).

Throughout the course of history, conflict has contributed to societal socialization. And it is only when violence replaces norms, compromises and consensus in the resolution of conflict that it becomes dysfunctiona (Dunmoye, 2012). This study is anchored on such violent conflicts since; they threaten national security, raise tempers and build barriers to communal understanding needed for any type or level of development. In Nigeria since independence, available records have shown that conflicts have always been characterized with violence due to competition for socio-economic and political power among the various groups this, has made Nigeria one of the most volatile countries in the world and has greatly impeded on development processes.

2.2 Background to Violent Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria

Ethnic and religious issues are part of the most recurring issues in Nigeria's body politics, the issues have permeated the landscape since the colonial period and till the present time there seems to be no solution in sight to the accompanying conflicts of ethnic rivalry and religious intolerance in the country. Following the Berlin Agreement of 1885 Nigeria became an official colony of the British but granted it political independence on 1st October 1960 after much struggle. The struggle for decolonization was delayed in Nigeria because there was lack of cooperation between diverse groups in southern and northern Nigeria (Aderinto and Akinwale, 2012). The struggle was more pronounced in western Nigeria which became the centre of mobilization and campaign against colonialism since 1934. As part of the instruments designed by the Nigerian elite for the realization of the struggle, Aderinto and Akinwale emphasized that:

The Lagos Youth Movement (LYM) was established and it served as a driving force for the actualization of the goal of socio-economic development of the Nigerian society. The Movement embraced membership from different parts of Nigeria hence was renamed the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) in 1936. The NYM confronted the colonial government with demands for quality education and placement of Nigerians in senior civil service positions. Sometimes later, some groups of people defected from the NYM in the 1940s according to available record, and the incidence was followed by emergence of different ethnic associations which metamorphosed into political parties such as the Action Group (AG) in western Nigeria, the Northern People Congress (NPC) in northern Nigeria and the National Council of the Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) in eastern Nigeria. Unfortunately, before the independence was granted the colonial administrators had planted many seeds of crisis in Nigeria.

The political parties so formed could not help matters as they then constituted a major framework for decolonization, although each party also reinforced ethnic consciousness in its

domain thereby, making it possible for Nigerians to develop a sense of divided loyalties, partly to the nation and partly to ethnic or religious groups. It was in this context that the goal of nation building and national integration was frustrated in Nigeria, as different groups have developed ability to mobilize their members in order to resist crisis of governance in Nigeria (Aderinto and Akinwale, Ibid). Worse still, the emergent political leaders in Nigeria could not reach a consensus on the need for political independence, it was learnt that the outbreak of ‘the Kano Riot’ of 16th-19th May 1953, which led to the death and destruction of many people and property respectively was premised on this reason. The riot was followed by many political crises in the 1960s and 1970s especially as a result of perceived manipulations during national population census and elections. Worthy of note here, is that elections in Nigeria are significant not only on the political level, but also in the area of economics (Hazen and Horner, 2007). Thus the series of manipulation of the election results spurred crisis in the 1960s which paved way for military coups and counter-coups. In Nigeria today, the dominant ethnic groups treat the minority ethnic groups with suspicion and different religious worldview clash at the slightest provocation. Institutional efforts made to satiate these tendencies since independence in 1960 has proved inadequate and has not yielded the desired result.

2.2.1 The Jos Crisis

Plateau State is one of the thirty-six constituent states of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and according to the 2006 census has a population of 3.1 million people (Higazi, 2011). It is a majority Christian state within northern Nigeria. Northern Nigeria as a whole has a majority Muslim population but there are also large numbers of Christians living there, both in the far north (all of the main cities have Christian areas, mainly in “new” neighbourhoods – established during the colonial period called *Sabon Garis*) and in the middle-belt, which is mainly Christian

but still considered part of the north. Plateau State is located in the north-central zone and forms part of the middle-belt, a geopolitical idea which demographically consists mainly of national minorities most of them now Christian within the old Northern Region. Plateau State takes its name from the high plateau which dominates the state's topography (Higazi, 2011). The social development of plateau peoples and the historical position of the Plateau in relation to the rest of what is now northern Nigeria are somewhat distinctive, partly due to the terrain and the tremendous ethno-linguistic diversity of the area. There are dozens of languages spoken in Plateau State, marking it out from the predominantly Hausa-speaking areas further north but, being the regional *lingua franca* of northern Nigeria; Hausa is also widely spoken on the Plateau. A reaction against this in some areas has resulted in a cultural resurgence that is encouraging the replacement of Hausa placed names and ethnonyms with indigenous ones, and to a lesser extent the use of indigenous languages rather than Hausa. Higazi (2011) is of the view that the sense of difference on the Plateau is clear in social attitudes, politics, and patterns of life, and has affected trajectories of contemporary conflict in Plateau State, with mobilisation around ethnicity and ideas of indignity being of major importance.

Plateau State is currently the main site of ethnic and religious violence in northern Nigeria. The past decade has seen recurrent crises across the state, in urban and rural areas. Thousands of lives have been lost in these violent conflicts, there has been extensive damage to property, and the development prospects of the state have been set back. The violence has mainly been along religious lines, between Muslims and Christians, but ethnicity also has a central role in the conflicts and there are considerable political interests at stake. Jos, the state capital and a major northern city with a population of some one million inhabitants, is the epicenter of much of the insecurity in Plateau State and has been the site of some of the worst of the violence.

Episodes of mass killing and destruction have occurred in Jos in 2001, 2002, 2008 and 2010. The violence has also affected other parts of the high plateau, in rural areas outside of Jos – particularly in 2001-2 and 2010, when hundreds of people were killed in villages, in their fields, or while tending cattle. There have been massacres in the old mining settlements on the plateau, notably in 2001 and 2010. In rural areas there has also been widespread violence between Berom farmers and Fulani pastoralists. This is generally framed as a conflict over land, but contrary to media reports, many of those involved tend not to think the conflict is about a struggle for grazing land or farmland (Higazi, 2011). In some areas valuable dry-season farmland has changed hands, with Hausa and Fulani farmers being forced off the land (Blench, 2004). But much of the violence appears to be politically inspired and xenophobic rather than arising out of competition for land – as the killings in the old mining settlements suggest.

As Higazi (2011) observed, the violence in Plateau State began after two decades of increasing collective violence in other parts of northern Nigeria, the worst of which occurred in Kano, Kaduna and Bauchi States. Plateau State was largely peaceful during this period, 1980-2000. The first episode of mass violence in Jos since the anti-Igbo pogroms in 1966 occurred in 2001 (Danfulani & Fwatshak, 2002; Higazi, 2007). Higazi (2011) links the timing and extent of the violence to the political shifts that occurred after the transition from military to civilian rule in Nigeria in 1999 and the impact this had on inter-group relations in Plateau State. The various interventions by the state and federal governments and the army and police have failed to prevent the violence, and there has been a lack of serious political dialogue to try and resolve it. As a consequence of a decade of intermittent violence, sophisticated weapons are now widely available in Plateau State and this does not bode well for the security of the population. One of the features of the violence in 2010 was the increased use of guns compared to previous riots in

Jos (Higazi, 2011). Though the presence of the military has calmed down the situation, the conflict has neither been resolved into peaceful conflict resolution. In fact, there seems to be a lack of clarity on the causes of the conflicts. Some say it is religious; others see land interests at play, while some others believe that the distinction between indigenes and settlers and their implications lie at the heart of the conflict. What is clear is that both Muslim and Christian communities have suffered great losses, not least the estimated 17,000 displaced people in Plateau State, according to the Red Cross (Hawley, 2010). However, the cause of such tensions has not been allowed sufficient explanation; this further complicates the search for policy solutions.

2.2.2 Boko Haram Insurgence

Boko Haram is an Islamic sect based largely in the north-eastern part of Nigeria. At the initial stage of its growth, the sect was entrenched in Borno, Yobe, Katsina, Kaduna, Bauchi, Gombe and Kano states, but now has covered more states and is advancing its frontiers to other parts of the country. Although, the group has come to be popularly known as Boko Haram, meaning ‘western education is sacrilegious’ it is not clear whether the group actually called itself by this name. Abimbola (2011) asserts that the group has been identified by different names such as Yusufuya sect, JamaatulTakfurWalHyraAhluSunna, Khawaarji, and so on but it seems to approve JamaatuAlhlissunnahLidda'awatiwal Jihad (Olunifesi, 2012) which means in Arabic “People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet’s Teachings and Jihad”. The emergence and growth of the Boko Haram sect has been attributed mainly to social malaise and absence of effective engagement of the nation’s youths. In an editorial, *The Guardian* newspaper noted that Boko Haram has a social root. It is largely populated by young and often educated but unemployed believers who are, in the circumstance, restless and disenchanted with a life of

idleness and hopelessness (Ekueme and Obayi, 2012). They are therefore, a ready and willing audience for a preacher who, pooh-poohing western education as valueless in this life and in the life to come, hence, calls on his followers to reject it. This is the meaning and import of Boko Haram (*The Guardian*, 11/02/2011).

Abimbola (2011:20) posits that, the group came into existence in the 1960s but only started to draw attention in 2002 when Mohammed Yusuf became its leader. In 2004, it moved to Kanamma, Yobe state where it set up a base called 'Afghanistan' from where it attacked nearby police stations, killing police officers. Farouk (2012) reported that Boko Haram insurgency only believed in the Quranic verse which states that "Anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors" hence its belief in Total islamization of Nigeria under the sharia law which has always been the motive behind various religious riots in Northern Nigeria. Its brushes with security operatives came to a climax in 2009 when the police, acting on the orders of the then President of Nigeria, Umaru Musa Yar'Adua to flush out the group, engaged them in gun battle that lasted some days. This led to the extra-judicial murder of Mohammed Yusuf by the police. In 2011, the sect regrouped and started its bloody campaign in the country and has not looked back since then. Since the killing of its leader, the sect has waged a relentless war against the government and all perceived enemies of Islam. Though Boko Haram as a sect began quite a long time ago, it became a threat around the year 2002 (Olunifesi, 2012). Since 2009, Boko Haram has been waging almost daily war on Nigeria northern territory especially against the police and military targets and media houses (Adetoro, 2012).

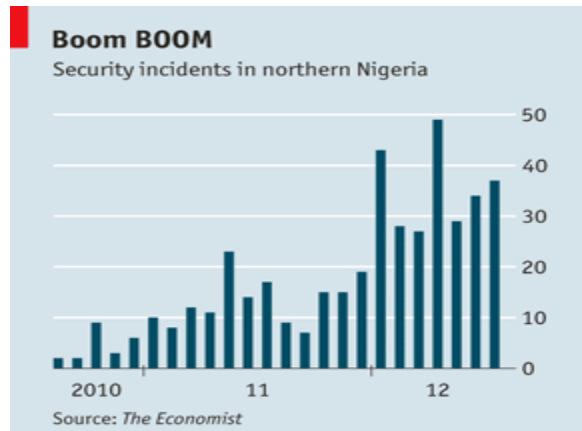
The Economists (2012) asserts that two grievances continued to drive BH Insurgence. The first was the indiscriminate killing of its members which in return, made its leaders

encourage members to target people and institutions that have harmed it: policemen, the military, government officials, prison guards, clerics and journalists who speak out against it. Its members have twice attacked *This Day*, a newspaper close to the government. During September the group felled at least 20 mobile-phone towers belonging to telecom companies that facilitate government surveillance. Boko Haram's other big grievance is economic inequality. It blames the government at every level for corruption and greed. Today, Boko Haram carnage has paled all the preceding religious crises and their accompanying orgies of destruction into insignificance. Using a combination of rifle attacks (AK-47 primarily) Sometimes also, they ride on bicycles with rifles to attack innocent citizens and law enforcement agencies and they are also engage in suicide bombings thus, the sect has successfully attacked very important targets. The most ruinous of these include: 1) Nigeria police headquarters in Abuja; 2) United Nations Building in Abuja; 3) St. Theresa's Catholic Church Madalla, near Abuja; 4) Potiskum Cattle market, Yobe state, 5) Bayero University Kano; three Churches in Kaduna, among many others. Their insurgencies had so far claimed more than 3,000 lives with properties worth millions of naira destroyed. Owing to both Jos crisis and the Boko Haram insurgence, the level of insecurity in the country has also soared up as can be seen in the chart below.

2.2.3 Level of Insecurity in Northern Nigeria

The chart below speaks volume about the low level of security of lives and property in Northern Nigeria. A study conducted by the Economics in 2012 in chart shows that the rate of insecurity of lives and properties has risen to 50% this is much alarming and demands urgent attention from all the stakeholders.

Security Situation in Northern Nigeria between 2010 and 2012



2.3 Media Reportage of Crisis: The Nigerian Perspective

The press remains an important institution all over the world. In the performance of its public watchdog role, the press serves as a behavioural regulatory agent on the activities of government and its functionaries (Kolawole, 1998). Therefore, the relationship between the mass media and democracy is acknowledged to be more than incidental (Donsbach, 1995; Schudson, 1997). Adesoji and Hahn (2011) concur that the mass media are functional contributors to the evolution of democracy and democratic ideals they equally believe, that democracy sustains and nurtures the power of the mass media. For over one hundred and fifty years of existence in Nigeria the press has become an integral part of the country's history and evolution. It has been described as one of the most vibrant in Africa, the press in Nigeria contributed to the decolonization process and the promotion of nationalism (Coleman, 1971: 133–187; Omu, 1974: 521–539; Olukotun, 2003: 229–246) and politics (Sklar & Whitaker, 1964: 597–654; Agbaje, 1992). In addition, its appraisal of the evolution, growth and travails of the Nigerian nation (Bamiduro, 1983: 107–125; Adebaniwi, 2002: 143–156) as well as its examination of the impact of authoritarian regimes on press development and performance (Bourgault, 1995; Thompson,

1997) are remarkable. Given that the existence and functioning of a vibrant civil society is central to a functional democracy, the role of the newspapers as significant players that define the public sphere and ensure plurality in the perception of national and local issues would be appreciated. This position was shared by Pate (2009) according to him:

Part of the problem with the media is that it uses inflammatory, misleading and sensational headlines to attract sales. According to him the media “demonises certain ethnic, religious or political groups in an already divided and tensed society, it uses cartoons to malign a community, group or individual. The media use unrepresentative pictures in its stories above all; it can be un-objective and clearly biased in reporting against some groups, individuals or communities.

To this end, it is expected that the media be objective, transparent, believable and credible for it play the watch-dog role effectively. By and large, as a watch-dog of the society the media is expected to disseminate information and report news (news about various ethno-religious conflicts inclusive) in a way that will enable the general public generate their own views. As Gambo (2006) noted, the yardstick for measuring the quality of the performance of media organizations and journalists substantially is by the quality of information that is, how objective, accurate, fair, balanced and complete this is. Thus, any reporting standard that is less than this cannot be accepted from Nigerian Mass Media broadcast, or print. Like other segments of the society, media reflects the population of the people hence; a multiplicity of media voices can be found in Nigeria because of the diversity of the population and the history preceding its independence. This has been posing a lot of challenges to crisis reporting Nigeria because the media are said to be polarized along this divide hence scholars (Kukah, Spero etc.) see it crisis

escalation-oriented Media as a result, quite a number of times it has become either victim or vested parties in conflict situations.

The role of the media in reporting various ethno-religious crisis in Nigeria has been variously examined by scholars such as (Kukah, 1993; Pate, 2009; Spero 2010 and Etaghene 2010; Kogah and Nwadiaro, 2011etc,) and it has been said that the media which ought to be a neutral ‘umpire’ on social issues have helped to fuel Nigerian crises through it reports. Kukah (1993) asserts that the media has penchant for exaggerating details of religious violence and thereby fuelling their intensity. Adisa (2012) concurs that traditional journalism has penchant for promotion and sensationalism of conflict and war. This media character constituted the gravamen in the 1987 Kafanchan religious disturbances (Kukah, 1993). Other scholars such as Spero (2010) and Etaghene (2010) corroborated they posited that the media do fan the embers of ethno-religious violence by their provocative and emotive reports. In like manner Abdul Qaqa, erstwhile spokesperson for Boko Haram Sect, in an interview with Vanguard Newspaper Journalists sometimes 2012, indicted the media for misrepresenting, misinforming and giving bias reports to the world about the sect’s objectives. According to these critics, the media is believed to be doing this through its technology of communication.

It has however been argued that the proliferation of media technology has made it easy for some of these emotive reports and gory images to be transported far and wide thereby, generating intense hatred between belligerents and causing reprisal attacks in a cycle of violence as witnessed in Kaduna sometimes 2012. It has also been argued that the media does this through its sensational headlines. Pate (2009) vindicated this position according to him:

Part of the problem with the media is that it uses inflammatory, misleading and sensational headlines

to attract sales, the media “demonises certain ethnic, religious or political groups in an already divided and tensed society, it uses cartoons to malign a community, group or individual. The media use unrepresentative pictures in its stories above all; it can be un-objective and clearly biased in reporting against some groups, individuals or communities.

Be this as it may, Adisa (2012) opines that these allegations are not peculiar to Nigerian Media alone, across the globe, media have been used as tools to inflame grievances and accelerate the escalation towards violent conflicts. In Rwanda, radio was used to lay the groundwork for genocide. In Serbia, television was manipulated to whip up ethnic tensions prior to civil war. In the former Soviet Republic of Georgia, territorial disputes were aggravated by the media (Forges: 1999) and even recently, many critics of the US war in Iraq concluded that if elite media had not backed President George Bush, it would have been difficult for the US to leave for Iraq. In Thailand, media was identified as the main energizer for the Red shirt demonstrators in a three months conflict that ended violently last year. The social media, generally believed to be the sign of impending good governance, nonetheless, were recognized as the motivator of the ravaging Middle East conflict and protest for change of leadership (Adisa, 2012).

2.4 Newspaper Reportage of some Nigerian Ethno-Religious Crisis

The mass media have a lot of influence on politics through the presentation of politically crucial information to huge heterogeneous, transitory and anonymous audiences. The press all over the globe is regarded as a political instrument and in advanced societies such as USA, England, Britain to name but a few, the mass media are actually an integral part of political life, serving for most people as their major and only link with the government and providing for them the information which they require to make political judgment on the basis of their political

attitudes. Also in every society including Nigeria, the mass media plays important roles hence no government can do without it. In addition to providing information about the political process, the mass media can confer status and legitimacy on political leaders and issues; this is regarded as status conferral function. The mass media can also set the political agenda for the society by deciding what political topics the people talk about. The agenda setting function of the mass media according to Umechukwu (2001) is an important aspect of the institutional linkage between the mass media and politics. The agenda to be set determines how the news story is to be frame. Hence, the decisions made by media professionals determine what information becomes available to the media audiences and what remains unavailable. By putting stories into perspective and interpreting them (amount of news framing), media personnel assign meaning to information and indicate the values by which it ought to be judged.

Given the plethora of ethno-religious conflicts that dotted the Nigerian landscape before and since the restoration of civilian rule in May 1999 and the heap of complaints from some observers that journalists are biased, sensational, pre-occupied with commercial gains, unpatriotic when reporting conflicts among others; Adisa (Ibid) maintains that these allegations are not peculiar to Nigeria because across the globe, media have been used as tools to inflame grievances and accelerate the escalation towards violent conflicts. For instance in Rwanda, radio was used to lay the groundwork for genocide. In Serbia, television was manipulated to whip up ethnic tensions prior to civil war. In the former Soviet Republic of Georgia, territorial disputes were aggravated by the media (Forges: 1999) and even recently, many critics of the US war in Iraq concluded that if elite media had not backed President George Bush, it would have been difficult for the US to leave for Iraq. In Thailand, media was identified as the main energizer for the 'Red Shirt' demonstrators in a three months conflict that ended violently in 2011; more so,

though generally believed to be the sign of impending good governance, nonetheless, social media were recognized as the motivator of the ravaging Middle East conflicts and protests for change of leaders; This research is to add to such knowledge.

Gupte (2012) reasoned that the *Maitatsine* (a Cameroonian religious leader and self-appointed Prophet) risings in Nigeria between 1980 and 1985, suggest that militant Islam in northern Nigeria has been the cause of subsequent conflicts. But while the government pointed to the presence of non-Nigerian militants in ascribing violence to a foreign conspiracy the Nigerian press, referred to those involved as ‘fanatics’. Burgis (2010) cited in Kogah and Nwadiaro (2011) posits that media reports on religious crises in northern Nigeria and the middle belt have in the past highlighted the confusion over the causes of such events in a country divided along ethnic, religious, and cultural lines. As a result while some foreign media alluded to poverty and corruption as decisive factors for conflicts, others put the continued conflicts down to sectarianism (Nossiter, 2010). Citing the case of the 2010 riots, Kogah and Nwadiaro noted that much of the media coverage tended to blame the clashes on the political vacuum created by the absence of the President, Umaru Musa Yar’Adua in 2009. According to them, the media do not explain adequately the causes of localized violence. As such they were of the view that these issues were not sufficiently represented in the media. Regarding Media coverage of Jos crisis and the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria which of recent have been subjected to criticism by media scholars, media critics have faulted the media’s coverage pattern of the 2010 crisis. Such scholars include Major General Saleh Maina, GOC 3 Division who expressed his disappointment says “I was very disappointed that some part of the print media misconstrued, misunderstood, misrepresented and misinformed the public and was apportioning blame on the military” After a fresh round of violence on March 16, between Fulani herders and Jos-area

villagers. The Archbishop of Jos, Ignatius Ayau Kaigama, reiterated that the attacks do not constitute a clash between Christians and Muslims. But the international press has misrepresented the situation and is “trying to throw fuel on the fire” by igniting sectarian hatred. Some newspapers including the *Independence* alluded to poverty and corruption as decisive factors, others, particularly the *Times* and the *Telegraph* put the continued conflicts down to ‘sectarianism’. The *Guardian* makes no reference to the conflict, which is tantamount to lack of or inadequate coverage. The *BBC* in its handling of events has cited various figures of the Christian and Muslim dead, according to the prominence of sources used on the ground (Adisa, 2012).

In a Book chapter on *Religious Conflict in Nigeria*, Alani Seriki affirms the provocative nature of some newspaper publications. He opines that it is primarily those that malign or ridicule Prophet Muhammad that caused the most trouble. Prophet Muhammad according to him was described as an epileptic prophet in an article which appeared in the *Sunday Standard* (a Plateau State newspaper which based in Jos) of February 28, 1988 (Seriki 1993). And the Katsina riots between March and April 1991 stemmed from the actions of some enraged Muslims in connection with a newspaper report. Yakubu Yahaya, follower of Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, the national Shi'ite religious leader, led thousands of supporters to burn down the *Daily Times* office after an article appeared in *Fun Times* (a publication of the government-run *Daily Times*) in December 1990 suggesting that the Prophet Muhammad had an "affair with a woman of easy virtue" and then married her (Hackett and Rosalind,....). Bidmos (1993:21f) lent credence referring to a news headline “stormed the whole nation like a thunderbolt” According to him, it was a press report in the early 1980s concerning an alleged government subvention of ten million Naira to build the central Mosque in Abuja, the new federal capital which in Bimos

view, sounded as though the Christians were being snubbed whereas in reality they had received an equivalent sum, but were still in negotiations about how to build such an ecumenical center. To complicate the issue, the press was reluctant to publish government explanations of the matter as compared to their earlier damaging speculations.

Based on these observations, the Nigerian media has been criticised for fanning the various ethno-religious conflicts in the Northern part of the country with its biased reporting and coverage. The religious clashes between the Muslim and Christian population in Kaduna and in other parts of the North in 2007 was seemingly triggered by an article written by an intern of the Leadership newspaper who by trying playing with flowery words, wrote that if Prophet Muhammed were alive he would not have resisted the temptation of wooing one of the participants in the Beauty Pageant slated to hold in Abuja that year. The single event led to years of violent ethnic and religious fighting between the groups, sometimes sporadic other times widespread. Like many other ethnic and religious conflicts elsewhere in Nigeria, the one in Jos, Plateau as alleged by media scholars (Kukah, 2010, Spero, 2010, Etaghene, 2010 etc.) was sparked off by provocative news reports. The conflict was complicated by local politics and the involvement of the military in petty quarrels with the residents of the area. But the media depicted the conflict as a religious war. In this case, the media's depiction of the conflict had a significant impact on shaping and inflaming the peoples' opinion.

Acknowledging this Bidmos (1993) points to the uneven reporting of the Kaduna State riots of 1987; He claims that there was too much emphasis on the Muslim backlash rather than on the initial provocation by Christians in Kafanchan. He also referred to a case of fictitious reporting involving a purported crash landing of a plane in Jeddah in 1990 and a Nigerian drug-

smuggling ring in Saudi Arabia. On a similar note Kukah (1993) reacting to a report put out by a Kaduna-based magazine in December 1987 which says all Christians had been released from jail following the riots, supported the view that the release was a miscarriage of justice. Kukah (1979) described these as “spurious allegations determined to mislead the Tribunal or create confusion”. Impliedly, accusing fingers are now being pointed to the newspaper bias in the reporting of Nigeria ethnic and religious conflicts.

2.4.1 Challenges facing Conflict Reporters in Nigeria

Crisis reporters in Nigeria are being faced with numerous challenges raging from religion, ethnicity, culture, time, ownership interest, unprofessionalism, etc. These have equally been blamed for the bias in reportage of ethnic and religious issues in Nigerian Newspapers. That the Journalists are part of the society they report is a known fact and; it is expected that this surely will reflect in their reports. On the aforementioned challenges Asemah and Edegoh (2012: 122-123) succinctly explain that when you have crisis between two different religious groups, you are likely to favour the religion you belong to with your stories so, religion can make a reporter to be biased because the reporters are also members of these religions and naturally, they are bound to write in favour of the group or religion they belong to. On ethnicity according to them, crisis occurs between people of different ethnic groups hence, the journalist is also bound to write in favour of his own ethnic group. For example, if the crisis is between the Igbos and Yorubas, the Igbo journalist will write to favour his ethnic group while the Yoruba journalist will also write to favour his ethnic group. Same applies to journalists of Hausa origin; Eti (2009) calls this ‘identity formation’. Other forms of challenges being faced by crisis reporters are as follows:

(a) Nature of Conflict:

The nature of conflict constitutes a bane to balance and objective reporting. Conflict, especially when it gets violent, affects the editor's judgment of news value (Eti, 2009). Violent conflict has an inherent capacity to invade the newsroom. As earlier noted, what ultimately gets into print are the manifest behaviours of the participants in the conflict. Niblock (2005: 75) noted that the selection of one story against another is determined by the 'intrinsic newsworthiness of the story' and that is a function of 'just how eye-catching and attention-grabbing the event depicted will be on the page'. By such value judgment, the news media establishes a 'culture of fear' which they perpetuate by portraying 'a vast array of threats' (Waisbord, 2002). Hence, such value judgment of news is not beneficial to effective solution-oriented conflict discourse because it leaves out important perspectives that could lead to conflict resolution giving priority to gory behavioural aspects (Eti, 2009). Eti (2009) asserts, that such portrayal presents and shapes a negative perception of risk among members of the news audience, and creates a sense of helplessness when it does not cover aspects the communicate hope and a solution.

(b) Reliance on the Group (Opinion) Leader for Information:

When crisis happens, the journalist may not be able to get first hand information hence; they rely on the leaders of the group, either religious or ethnic group. The leader may not give the correct version of the event and this may make the reporter to give incorrect reports. To this effect Udomisor (2002) posits, that in building their sources, reporters are likely to meet 'personalities with manipulative tendencies' and in such circumstance, the reporter needs deep insight and tact in articulating conflict issues.

(c) The Culture of the Environment:

Another challenge conflict reporters do face is the prevailing culture of the land where it operates. Siebert, Peterson and Schramm as cited by Agbese (2006:17) posted the long sustained view that “the media takes on the forms and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates.” Udomisor (2002: 91) refers to this as ‘environmental factor.’ He reasons that a poor democratic structure characterized by bribery, looting and embezzlement of public funds, a situation that media practitioners are sufficiently acquainted with and are effectively positioned to participate in, will have a telling effect on the practice of objective journalism. Also, a journalist will write to favour his region (section) when there is crisis. This explains why the media in the West promote the interest of the Westerners while those in the North always promote the interests of the Northerners. This is so because the press is only a reflection of the society in which it operates (Eti, 2009).

(d) Time Factor:

Crucial to the practice of balanced and objective journalism is the factor of time because Journalism by nature is a profession constrained for time. The often crushing demand to beat deadlines makes it practically impossible for conflict reporters to treat conflict stories exhaustively. More so, Tunstall (2002) has stated, that a revolution in the quantity, spread and sophistication of fast agency news means that today’s journalist, and not least political journalists, now have a radically different core supply of hard news. By implications, much of what comes in from the wires are materials that represent the dominant voice. The local journalist may therefore be swimming against the tide to find materials from a local angle so as to create the balance (Eti, 2009). And news agencies may provide hard news content of such enormous volume as may drown the less-dominant voice in the arena of public discourse.

(e) Ownership Interest:

The media owner may dictate what the journalist should report about the crisis. And the journalist who does not want to be sacked will comply with the dictates and directives of the owner. This mostly happens where the interests of the owner are affected.

(f) Special Liking for One Party of the Crisis:

It is very natural and human that people have special liking for certain people and hate others. When dealing with two people or parties, you may like one than the other. Journalists are also human beings hence; they favour some people with their reports during crisis to the detriment of others.

(g) Unprofessionalism:

Crisis reports are biased because, most journalists who act as crisis reporters are not trained in the field of journalism. They therefore, do not know the essentials of crisis reporting. However, the future of conflict reporting in Nigerian Newspapers will be determined by which roles journalists choose for themselves such as “cheerleader” or “watchdog”, “fear-monger” or “evidence-based reporter”, part of the solution or part of the problem.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

To understand how the mass media, particularly the Newspaper, could play meaningful role in combating Ethno-Religious motivated violence in Nigeria requires theoretical explanation. Communication theories explain the likely effect of mass communication process in the society. This study could be located in several of such communication theories but was situated in ‘Framing’ Theory of the Media.

2.5.1 Framing Theory

The concept of framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition, but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic. Propounded by Erving Goffman in 1974 in his book, *Framing Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*; its basis is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning. It assumes that the media draws the public attention to certain topics, it decides what people think about, and the journalists select the topics. Thus, a frame refers to the way media and media gate keepers organise and present the events and issues they cover and the way audiences interpret what they are provided (Asemah, 2011). Scheufele and Tewksburg (2007) posited that the way a news item is presented can have an influence on how it is interpreted and understood by the audience. Hence Media framing suggests that the way information is packaged and presented can define problems and issues and provide coherence and meaning for communication receivers (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987; Valkenburg et al., 1999) because, manifest content is given meaning and coherence through framing (Gamson, 1990), a process that plays itself out through the use of various textual devices (Entman, 1993). The framing theory examines the idea about how people use expectations to make sense of everyday life (Baran and Davis, 2009)). Entman (1993) also explains how framing process proceeds thus:

Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text... Texts can make bits of information more salient by placement or repetition, or by associating them with culturally familiar symbols (Entman, 1993).

Framing is “an analytic technique,” which is central in the organization of events and issues (Endres, 2004, p. 8). It may increase issue and or event salience through the selection of specific

facts and omission of others from news stories: “By means of activation of certain constructs, news can encourage particular “trains of thought” which citizens may make use of in subsequent judgments” (de Vreese, 2004, p. 36). To frame bias is to present facts, but couched in a way that gives an inaccurate impression, or one skewed toward a certain viewpoint.

News frame activates certain inferences, ideas, judgment and contrasts concerning issues and policies. In framing, news stories are presented with an imposing banner to get public attention and sympathy or tucked inside the newspaper for an interested reader to find. Framing of news, for example, may suggest norms of class, ethnicity and gender (Harry, 2004); encourage or discourage media literacy among young people (Buckingham & Bragg, 2004; Livingstone & Bovill, 2001); offer context to adults (Kuypers, 1997). This is why Media frames are regarded as theoretically related to factors influencing how journalists frame issues: “social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists” (Scheufele, 2000, p. 307). Park and Deshapriya (Ibid) posit that in constructing these frames, journalists think through (a) how did we cover this conflict in the past? (b) What is the most newsworthy part of the conflict? (c) Who are the good guys? The ways in which journalists answer these questions are closely tied to the cultural base of the news medium (Wolfsfeld). Entman (1993) argues in line with this according to him:

Media can legitimate one side in a conflict by displaying news about it more noticeably. Placing articles on the front page, for example, assigns a certain level of importance to a story and shows a newspaper’s concern for it. Within a story, placing information higher up (in the headline, or the lead paragraph, for example) signals its importance.

Tuchman (1978) observes that a frame is needed to organize otherwise fragmentary items of experience or information thus, it is crucial to media presentation and projection of conflicting groups. Available literatures have shown that Journalists when reporting an event in the media decide which angle of and what to report or leave out within the frame of a particular story or event. They decide what facts to include and which ones to leave out; determine to include or leave out certain context of an event, decide the manner of situating facts within the story and how they want the public to interpret the facts that are being presented. The journalists are also part of the society they report about thus, there is the tendency that they become sympathetic to one side hence; it is almost impossible for them to be totally objective in their reports. According to Alao and Umom (2012), that is why the coverage of a religious motivated group as Boko Haram might not be totally free from reporter's biases (which sometimes are unintended) that will affect framing. In a nut-shell, ownership interests in the media are taken into consideration when a story is being presented to the public such that the writer will be careful not to offend what is perceived as political, religion, social or economic interests of the owners or shareholders of the media organisations. Supporting this Akintayo and Isola (2012) argued that when it comes to the presentation and projection of non-state armed or militia groups in Nigeria, it is not unlikely that framing processes will take into consideration the political and ethnic affiliation of media owners in relation to the origin and sphere of influence of such armed groups. Even when the reporter has a different ethnic background, he may be expected and in fact, positioned to frame stories concerning non-state armed groups in manners that will suite the corporate interests of the media employers. In this study, more attention is given to how news information about ethno-religious crisis is framed in Nigerian newspapers.

2.5.2 Framing Theory a Critique

Framing involves selection and salience. Frame defines problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgment and proffer solutions (Entman, 1993). The Media use frames to construct a story that can be understood by their audience. Framing is most often a product of self-censorship, which is very common among journalists and reporters. It is sometimes done to meet operational norms in Media organisations in order to conform and remain relevant to the organisation. It is done to conform to the culture, house style and corporate policies of the media house laid down by the employers of the editorial team. Although Framing does not always imply a lack of fairness or balance in coverage, scholars have argued that certain frames can be used to unfairly characterize people or events or express support for people or events. Media make one side's perspective more prominent than another by allowing it to voice itself more. More specifically, framing encourages quoting one side consistently more often than another side which can serve to legitimate the perspective of the more regularly quoted side. It may deprive the public of certain facts that are crucial to the understanding of the context of the emergence of ethno-religious conflicts (Akintayo and Isola, 2012); In the process of framing stories crucial facts about them are withheld or information that may contribute to saving lives or averting violence in the society are left out (Agbaje, 1992). As Tuchman () succinctly puts it, the mass media limits frames within which public issues are debated and so narrow the available political alternatives. But as noted above, framing is an unavoidable part of human communication. We find it in the media as events are presented in certain ways; we find it in politics as politicians attempt to characterize events as one thing or another; and we find it in negotiating when one side tries to move another towards a desired outcome. More so as far as Mass Media is concerned the power is not so much about telling people what to think (framing), but rather to tell people what to think about (McCombs and Shaw, 1972).

Media observers (Kukah, 1993; Spero, 2010; Pate, 2009 etc) have argued Nigerian media (Newspaper) at one time or the other, has influenced ethno-religious conflicts such as the Niger-delta militancy, Jos crisis and the Boko Haram insurgency in the North-east to mention but a few, this was believed to have been done through biased coverage and the choice of media frames such as the language, slant, pictures, the choice of part of speech, such as metaphor used in reporting them including stereotype (the bad or the good ones) of other groups involved in the conflict. This could have a significant effect of fuelling the conflicts (Park and Deshapriya, Ibid). Therefore, this theory is suitable for the topic under investigation.

2.5.3 Gap in Literature

The review of the literature provides that in terms of the study focus on newspapers in Nigeria's ethno-religious public sphere, studies that unraveled a holistic view and comparison of Newspaper Coverage of ethno-religious crises such as the Boko Haram Insurgence and Jos crisis in a single research work are uncommon. This provides a lacuna which this research hopes to fill.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology used for the study which comprises of the followings: Research Design, Types and Sources of data, Content Universe, Sampling Technique, Technique of data gathering, Instrument of data collection, Coder reliability and; Method of data presentation and Analysis.

3.2. Research Design

The study focuses on how ethno-religious conflict such as Jos crisis and Boko Haram insurgence were reported in Nigerian Newspapers. Given the nature of the study, it is considered suitable to use a research method that will ensure adequate access to information on how these conflicts were reported in Nigerian newspapers hence, the study adopted a **Mixed Method Research** otherwise known as **Triangulation** for the purpose of collecting data in order to answer the various Research Questions set to guide the conduct of the research work. In social science, triangulation is defined as the mixing of data or methods so that diverse viewpoints cast light upon a topic (Olsen, 2004). Bryman (2008) describes it as the use of more than one approach to the investigation of a research question in order to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings. Highlighting the important of triangulation Bryman (2001) notes that the combination of different methodologies will generally tend to have a leading strategy for starting out the research, and a follow-up strategy for rounding out and widening the enquiry. Thus, the study adopted both content analysis and in-depth interview methods to elicit information that were found useful for reporting ethno-religious conflicts with particular reference to northern Nigeria

3.3 Types and Sources of Data

Two types of data were used for this study namely: primary and secondary data. The primary data were gotten from Content analysis of three newspapers selected for the study and, In-depth interview (IDI) conducted on crisis reporters from each of the newspapers. This was

done in order to elicit data directly from respondents who are believed to be knowledgeable enough on the topic under investigation. The secondary data on the other hand, were gotten through the use of documents which have direct bearing with the topic.

3.4 Content Universe

All stories which related to Jos and Boko Haram conflicts which occurred in the Northern part of the country and published in the form of news stories, articles/features, editorial, interviews and, or pictures which appeared on front page, inside, and back pages in all the editions of the three selected newspapers the *Tribune* and *Sun*, *Daily Trust* coded. 259, 225 and 317 amounting to a total of 801 stories reported on ethno-religious conflicts in 195, 184 and 163 which also amount to a total of 542 editions of all the Newspapers put together between April 12, 2010 and December 31, 2012 were content analyzed therefore, 801 stories from 542 editions of the three Nigerian Newspapers were content analysed; this served as the content universe for the study. The three Newspapers selected for the study were privately owned because publication of government owned Newspapers in the country was not stable as at the time of the study. The selected newspapers are published in English language. The selection of only English language newspapers was informed by the fact that they are widely read in Nigeria than their counterparts (Vernacular newspapers) which have limited readership coverage. Their readers encompass elite groups who not only influence government policies but are themselves think-thank in policy formulation and execution. The Newspapers were also selected base on availability, and their wide range of coverage of both national and local ethno-religious issues. The *Sun* publisher is from the South-East geo-political region, the *Tribune* publisher is from the South-West geo-political zone while the *Daily Trust* is from the North geo-political zone. The reason behind this

selection is to determine the extent to which the nationalities of the publishers influenced editorial policies and quality of reportage.

3.5 Sampling Technique

The study employed mix method of sampling technique these are, simple random and purposive sampling to select the sample used for the study. The out of the 30 ‘major’ newspapers numbered 1-30 three *Sun*, *Tribune* and *Daily Trust* were picked at random, the random picking was repeated three times to select each of the papers used for the content analysis. Having done this, six journalists were then selected for the IDI using the purposive sampling technique. Purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sampling methods where respondents are selected on condition that they meet certain criteria thus; it tends to represent a section of the population that meets specific objective prescribed by the researcher. It gives researchers liberty to judge, select or rejects a respondent on the basis that the respondent meets or fails to meet the purpose of the study (Nwodu, 2006). Though purposive sampling like other non-probability samples is said to be prone to high incidence of error, Ikeagwu (1998) expatiates on its merit thus:

The basic assumption behind purposive sampling is that with good judgment and an appropriate strategy one can Handpick the cases to be included in the sample and thus develop samples that are satisfactory in relation to one’s need.

Khan (1999) asserts that generally, there are two reasons for using non-probability samples: 1) for convenience and 2) for ensuring that a particular number of people meet certain criteria. Therefore, the researcher employed the method based on the fact that every member of the population will be represented and, it will address the objective set out at the beginning of the study. Nworgu (1991) supports this as he posits thus:

In purposive sampling, specific elements, which satisfy some predetermined criteria, are selected. Although the criteria to be used are usually a matter of the researcher's judgment, he exercises this judgment in relation to what he thinks will constitute a representative sample with respect to the research purpose.

3.6 Technique of Data Gathering

Mixed methods of data gathering namely: Content Analysis and In-depth interview (IDI) were used to gather data for the study. The content analysis was employed because the events to be study are documented and are manifest also, it will enable the researcher to quantify the number of times a specific incidence related to the research topic occurred in the Newspapers. The In-depth interview was used to enable the researcher get direct information from the respondents. Six conflict reporters two from each of the newspapers used for the study were selected for the IDI. One of them was first identified, he identified the second which **snow-balled** into the third, fourth, fifth and the sixth journalist; this takes care of the qualitative aspect of the research. The choice of the reporters was informed by the fact that they are experienced in conflict reporting hence, they are expected to provide useful information about the topic under investigation which is expected to meet the research objectives.

3.7 Content Categorisation/Unit of Analysis

3.7.1 Content Category

The content categories used in this study are as follows:

Crisis Types: Where did the media situate the conflict, *religious, ethnicity*, a mixture of ethnic and religion (*ethno-religious*), *sectarian, political* or *Others* (crime, arm robbery etc)

Story Size: Story Size here means the space allocated for presentation of each story on ethno-religious conflict by each newspaper they ranged as follows: Full, Half, Quarter, One eighth and, *others* (between one eighth and infinity)

Illustration: Illustration here refers to graphics used in story presentation by the sampled newspapers these include *Pictures* (colour and black and white), *Cartoons*, *Charts* and, *Texts*

Page Placement: The part of the newspaper such as *Front*, *Inside* or *Back* pages where the story appeared or is located. Page placement and story size were used in the study to measure prominence.

Direction/Slant: *Positive* (story written in favour of a particular course), *Neutral* (story written not to favour or disfavor a particular course of action) and *Negative* (story written to condemn a known course of action). The three variables can be used to determine media bias to a particular struggle.

Story Source: This has to do with the question of who sponsored or filed-in the story. In this study *Staff writer* is referred to as permanent staff, *News Agency of Nigeria* (NAN), *Staff writer/News Agency* (joint report) and *other News Agencies* as various *Story Sources*

3.7.2 Unit of Analysis

The Units of Analysis used in this study are *Straight News*, *Feature/Article*, *Editorial*, *Interviews*, *Opinion/Column*, or *Letters* frequently used in story presentation by the selected Newspapers.

3.8 Instrument of Data Collection

The Coding Sheet and In-depth Interview Schedule were employed as instruments to collect the data used for this study. The coding sheet was used to collect quantitative data from

the content analyzed Newspapers, this served as the main instrument for the study while; the interview schedule was used to elicit information from respondents to in-depth interviews, this served as the complementary instrument. The two instruments were corrected and validated through a peer review with the researcher's supervisors before being used to collect the data for the study.

3.8.1 Coding Sheet

The process of assigning numbers to content categories is called **coding**. According to Nwodu (2006:88) "assigning numbers to content categories helps researchers to organize data according to their homogeneous subset as they are being collected" The researcher employed coding sheet because it is essential to social science researchers. It makes quantification and subsequent measurability-cum-analysis of highly quantitative data possible. Coding sheet facilitates coding as well as guide the coders; Meanwhile, Nwodu (2006) warns that coding can only be effective if the content categories of a unit of analysis are mutually exclusive, exhaustive and appropriate.

3.8.2 In-depth Interview Schedule

The interview schedule is a list of questions drawn the research questions to elicit relevant information from respondents and it contains a few structured questions in order not to bore the respondents with too many questions. According to Hocking and Stacks (1999:205) "in-depth interviews are conducted with minimal questions". This method addressed all the research objectives stated at beginning of the study. The respondents used for the in-depth interview are conflict reporters from the three selected Newspapers used for the study. These classes of reporters were chosen based on their experience in conflict reporting.

3.8.3 Coder Reliability

Two trained coders excluding the researcher who served as the moderator reviewed the coding form prior to the commencement of coding. The two coders were recruited among the post-graduate students in the Department of Mass Communication, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria. The two coders agreed on 41 as coding decision after which each of them selected 25 news items from Jos crisis and 25 from Boko Haram insurgency. The coding covered *News*, *Feature*, *Editorial*, *Opinion* and *Letters*. Coder reliability co-efficient, was then manually determined using Holsti (1969)'s reliability formula:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N1+n1}$$

Where, M= total items agreed upon

N1= total items coder *i* selected

*n*1= total items coder *j* selected

$$\text{Thus: } \frac{2*41}{50+50}$$

$$= 82/100 = 0.82$$

Therefore, inter-coder reliability = 0.82

3.9 Methods of Data Presentation and Analysis

The data collected for the study was presented using different methods of data presentation and analysis. For example, the variables of the quantitative data generated 542 editions of the three Newspapers were presented using simple frequency and percentage tables. Parts of the results were cross tabulated and were also presented in charts. On the other hand, narrative and thematic analysis approaches were used to present and analyzed the qualitative data

gathered from respondents through in-depth interviews. This was used to align with the result gotten from quantitative data during discussion of findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

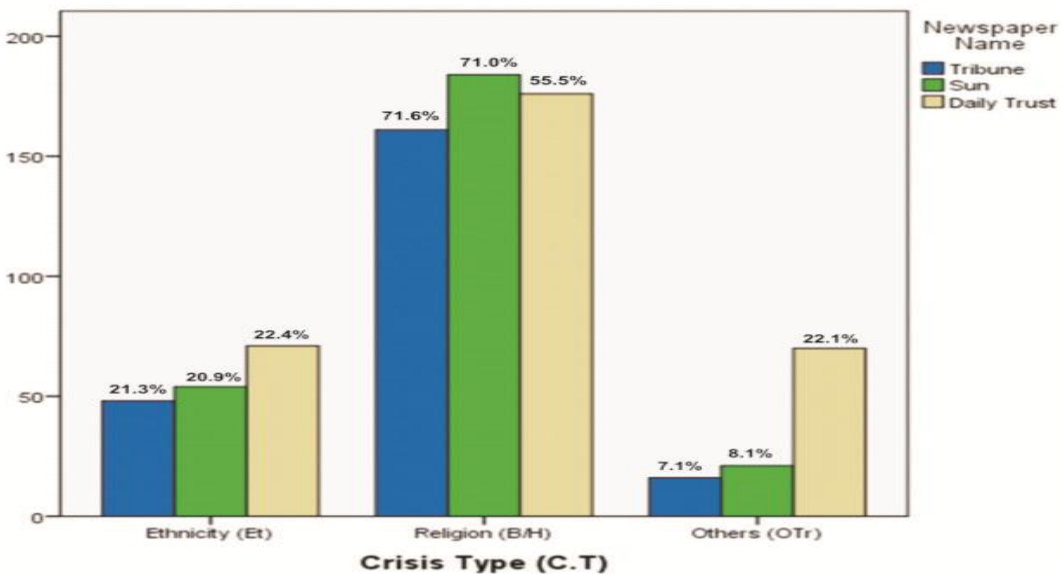
This presents and discusses the data collected from the field for the research topic: *An Analysis of the Reportage of Jos Crisis and Boko Haram Insurgence by Selected Newspapers*.

The presentation and analysis were done in both quantitative and qualitative ways.

4.2 Presentation of Quantitative Data generated to measure objectives 1, 2, 3 and 4

The quantitative data generated from content analysis to answer research questions using measurement variables such as Crisis Type, Story Form, Story Size, Page Placement, Illustration, Story Direction/Slant and; Story Source were presented as counted by the SPSS 20.0 tool, using Unit Analysis and Charts as follows:

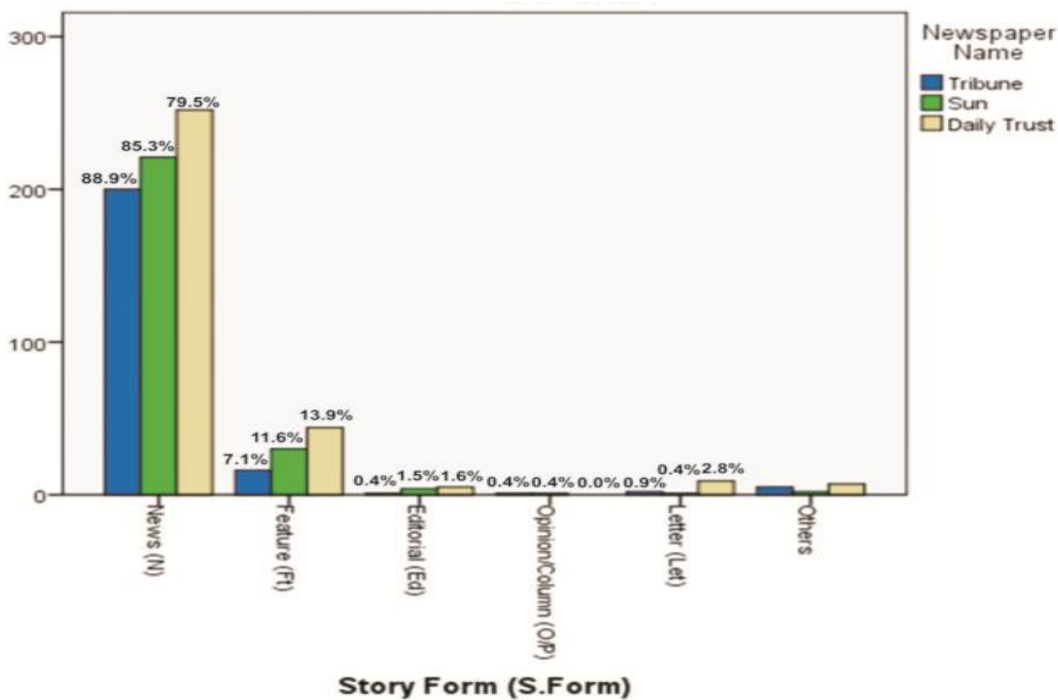
Figure 4.1



Source: Field Survey (2010-2012)

As shown in figure 4.1 above, *Daily Trust* sees the crisis (55.5%), *Sun* (71.0%) and *Tribune* (71.6%) respectively as Religious motivated. During the research period, the selected Newspapers situated the crisis majorly in *religion* rather than *ethnicity* or *other* type of crisis. This implies that religion is determinant of peaceful co-existence or otherwise depending on how it is being handled by the stakeholders. However, the study was carried out in the northern part of Nigeria, *Daily Trust* is northern based and it reported more stories on the crisis than *Sun* and *Tribune*. As well, its reporters can readily identify crisis situations and cover it promptly because of the proximity to the point of the crisis more so; the conflicts have more direct implications for its existence and operation than *Sun* and *Tribune* newspapers. This corroborates Edeani (1994) who opines; that newspapers owned by publishers living in the localities involved in the conflicts do report more stories on the conflicts than did those which had their publishers living outside those localities.

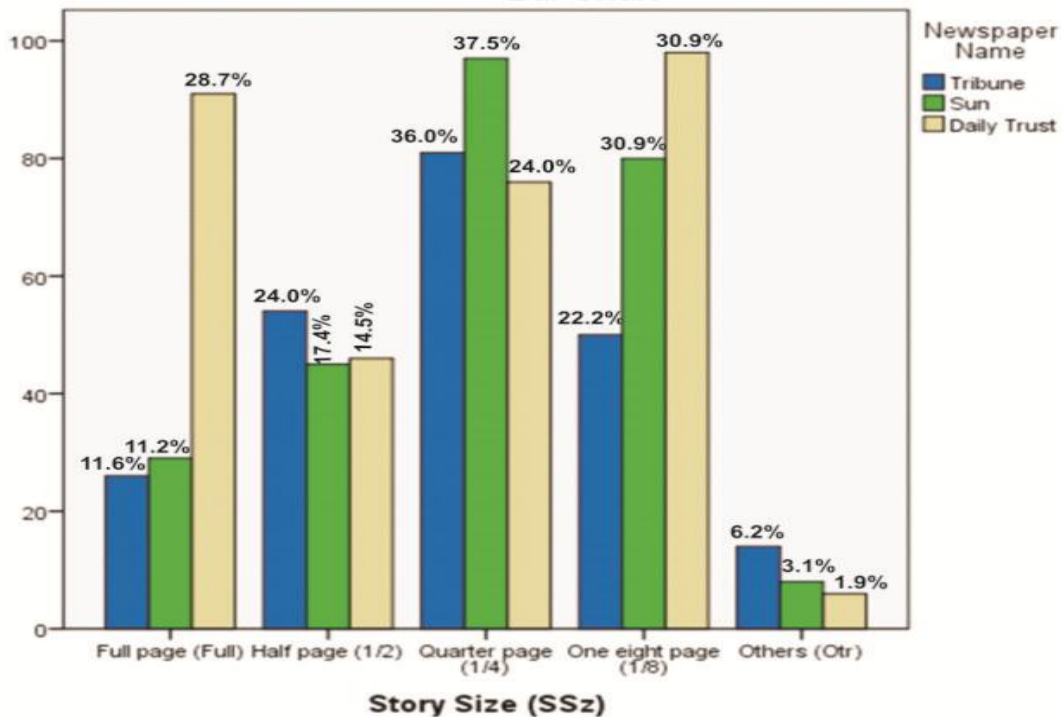
Figure 4.2



Source: Field Survey (2010-2012)

In figure 4.2 above, during the research period, *Straight News* was employed by the three sampled Newspapers as ‘major form’ of story presentation. It could be inferred that the Newspapers were more interested in on-the-spot news rather than news analysis. It could be because *straight news* is the first means by which the public is informed of the happenings in and around them while, the details are given later in the form of *feature*, *Editorial*, *Interview*, *opinions* and *others*. By implication, readers are instantaneously denied comprehensive detail and analysis of the event which is of important in their understanding of the real issue and, decision making process.

Figure 4.3

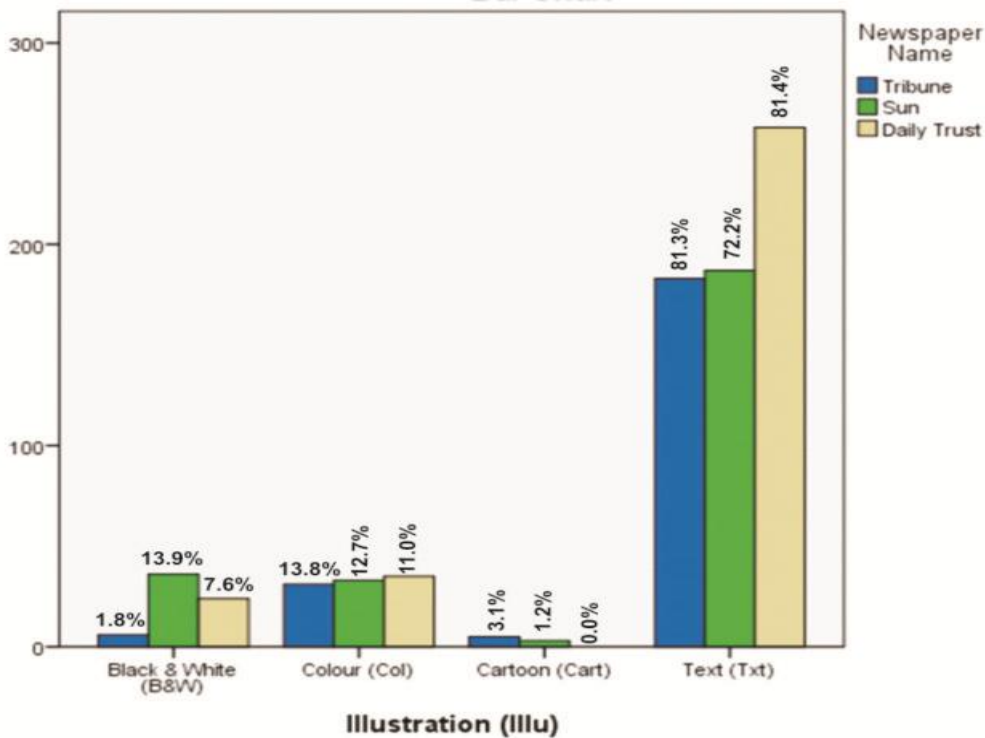


Source: Field Survey (2010-2012)

As demonstrated in the figure 4.3 above, the three Newspapers presented most of their stories in *quarter* and *One-eighth* followed by *Half* and *Full* size pages. While, *Daily Trust*

published more stories in ‘full’ pages than *Sun* and *Nigerian Tribune*. The inference to be drawn from here is that economy of space is a common feature to the three Newspaper Organisations probably, because of the volume of news items competing for the news-holes. On volume of news coverage, it can also be inferred that Journalists in *Daily trust* have more time to research on the topic than *Sun* and *Tribune* respectively, because of their proximity to the scene of the event. By implication, *Daily Trust* will likely present more balanced stories than its other counterparts.

Figure 4.4

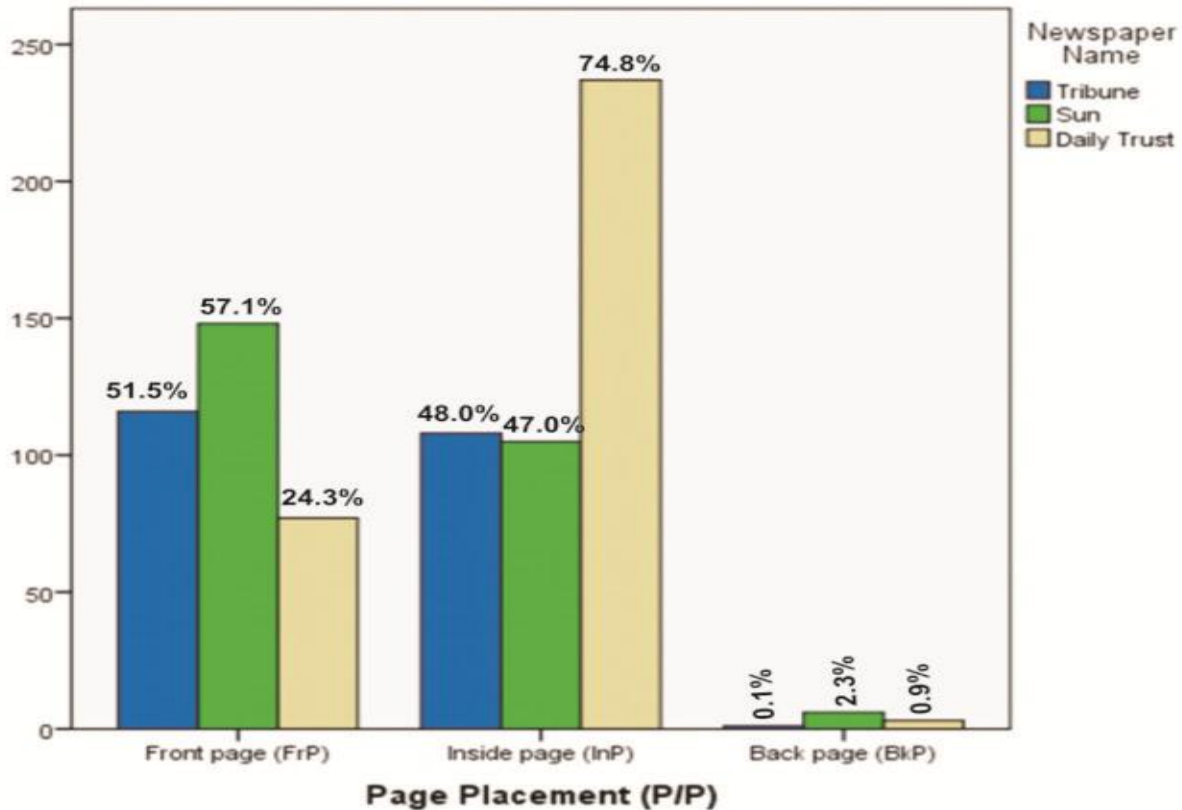


Source: Field Survey (2010-2012)

In Figure 4.4 above, *Text* form was employed for story presentation by the three Newspapers. It was followed by *Pictures* and *Charts*. This shows that the newspapers de-emphasised use of pictures probably, to avoid escalation of crisis or reprisal attacks but, embraced the use of *Text* coupling it with minimal *Pictures* so as to make the information more

salient. Entman (1993) submits that by associating *Text* with culturally familiar symbols, information are made salient. By implication, the readers may not be able to fully comprehend some vital aspect of the story which illustration such as picture ought to have helped explained.

Figure 4.5

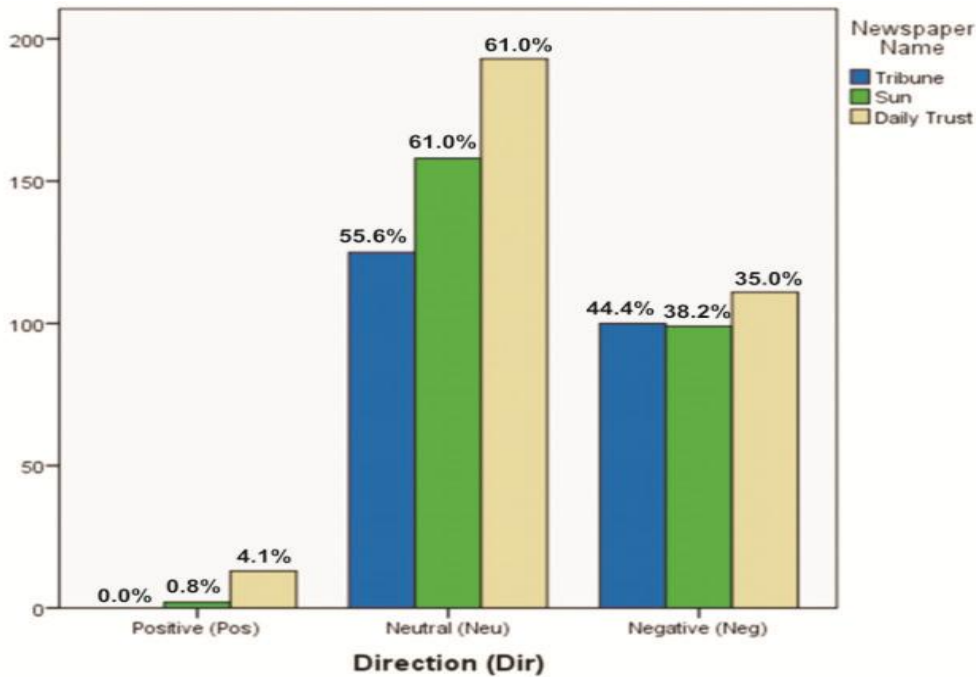


Source: Field Survey (2010-2012)

Figure 4.5 above shows that the three Newspapers place their stories in *Front*, *Inside* and *Back* pages. The figure also reveals that *Daily Trust* tucked more stories *Inside* showing that it is conflict sensitive while, *Sun* and *Tribune* placed more stories in *front* page. The three Newspapers placed infinitesimal stories at the *back* page as graphical emphasis. It shows here that much prominence was accorded to reportage of the crisis. Stories placed in such conspicuous position by implication, has the tendencies to attract attention from the public at the same time, to snowball the crisis into reprisal attacks, or spark of ways for conflict resolution.

With this form of story presentation could be said that the three Newspapers are aware of the need for peace and stability in the country. This is an indication that the papers are to some extent socially responsible.

Figure 4.6

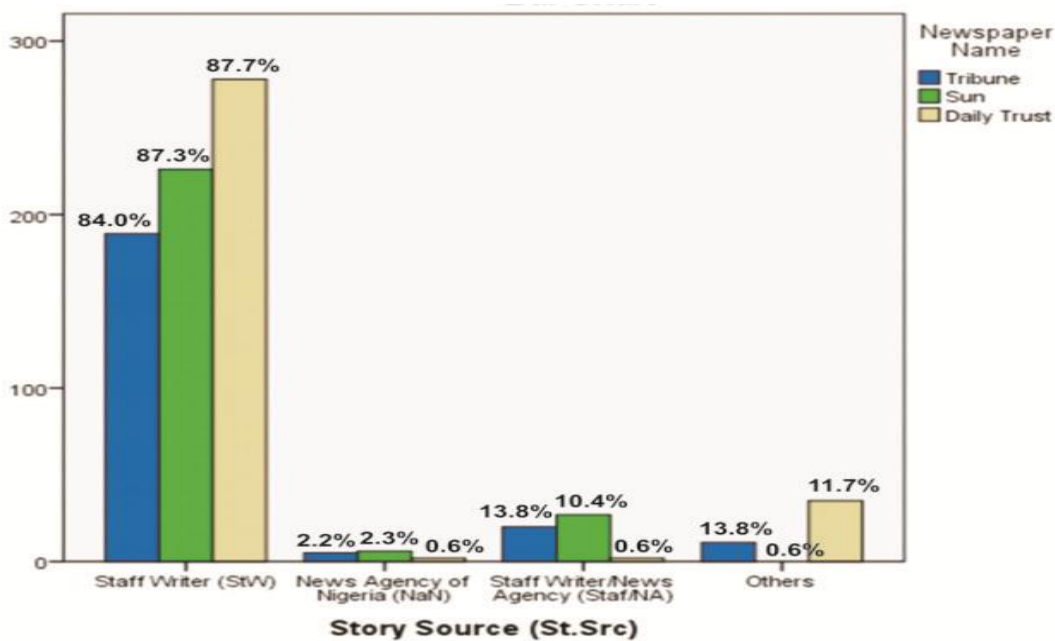


Source: Field Survey (2010-2012)

In the Figure 4.6 above, the three Newspapers tried to condemn (*Negative*) crisis in its entire ramification regardless of the reason put forward to favour it. They were also *Neutral* in most of their reports though the level of neutrality of each newspapers varies. This portends that the papers tried as much as possible to detach themselves from the conflicts. *Daily Trust* was minimally *Positive* in some of its stories. The reason for the different positions could be informed by the fact, that the issues were controversial in nature. Herman and Chomsky (1988) contends, that Traditional newspapers are contented with normal reportage of news and sometimes analysis, and mostly refrain from being committed to or taking any position in

controversial public matters. Thus depending on locations and ethnic origin of their owners, newspaper establishments had different views of the conflicts. Also, in every communal or ethnic conflict, the positions of the media can significantly impact the outcome (Olorunyomi, 2007). This also points towards a conflict sensitive and responsible coverage of the crisis within the study period by the selected Newspapers.

Figure 4.7



Source: Field Survey (2010-2012)

Figure 4.7 above revealed that though *Tribune* had a few of stories written by both *Staff/News Agencies* while the *Sun* and *Daily Trust* have infinitesimal respectively, the major source of stories for the three national Newspapers throughout the research period was *Staff writers*. The reason for this could be because the Journalists are Nigerians who are familiar with the culture and traditions of the location of the events hence; they are expected by their organisations to have minimal challenges at reporting on the subject matter. Staff Writers are journalists employed on permanent basis by the Media organizations.

4.4 Discussion of Major Findings from both Content analysis and In-depth Interviews

Having analyzed the selected newspapers (*The Sun*, *Tribune* and *Daily Trust*) for the period under review (April 2010-Dec 31, 2012), a series of findings were made which required detailed discussion along the lines of empirical and theoretical framework to critically answer the research questions that drove this study.

In the study, the three Nigerian National Newspapers confirmed the cause of major crisis in the study area to religion and ethnicity (ethno-religious). By implication religiously motivated violence has plagued the country more than any other security challenge. This corroborates with Falola (1998)'s position that when the country won its independence in 1960, the most destabilizing factor was ethnicity and that religion has also been identified as another factor. It also brings to bear Egwu (2013)'s postulation that:

There is an overlap of religion and ethnicity without clear boundary. Because ethnicity and religions are real and are identities that people are willing to die for; they cannot be dismissed hence, it is exploited and manipulated by those who can use them to cause problem, and religion is a double-edged sword that can create, acquiesce or fuel fights against injustice.

“Conflict is the bread and butter of journalism; it makes Newspaper sells” (Media Development, 1996:2) hence, it is frequently reported by Nigerian Newspapers. This corroborates with an In-depth Interview response which says:

Well, when it comes to conflict reporting I would say my write-ups are seldom rejected by my editor. Unless if it does not contain much violence. Nowadays, I have come to notice that most Newspapers Organisations in Nigeria usually are interested more in reports concerning violence, and readers also tend to buy the Newspapers based on the quantity of violence reports in the papers rather than other socio-economic or political issues. So, say for instance I sent a report based on politics by 12.00 noon and if at 4pm a crisis or violence

occurred at a particular place and it resulted to the death of say 15 people, if confirm and compiled the report then forward it to my base say 6.00 pm I would not be surprised that I will get a by-line for it even before the first report. So I can say that most Newspapers give more priority to violence related reports (Conflict Reporter, Daily Trust Newspaper).

Impliedly, Newspapers through the various ways it frames issues could legitimate conflict because; news' and other media's reports of conflict are contributory to the legitimating of conflict (Nnaemeka, 1976).

In the study, the *major form* Newspapers present the two crises was determined by the analysis on figure 2. Here, findings revealed that the selected Newspapers present most of their stories on the crises in straight *News* form with minimal *Feature* and low consideration for *Editorial Comment*, *Opinion/Column* and *Letters*. This means, that Newspapers present their stories first in *news* form to provide the gist of the crisis to readers then, do the analysis of the events at a later time. This answers Research Question One: In what major forms does Nigerian Newspapers Report Ethno-Religious Crisis?

The issue of story *prominence* is usually a function of many factors, among which are the perceived importance of the particular story and the availability of other important stories. The front pages of newspapers and magazines are used to attract attention to what editors perceive are the most important stories, with the hope of persuading readers to buy copies of the publications (Edeani, 1994). In this study however, story *Prominence* were measured using story size and page placement. That is, *full*, *half*, *quarter* and *one eight* pages respectively are important. Articles are placed on the front page to connote a certain level of importance and show the degree of the newspaper's concern for it (Entman, 1993). Thus, *front page* is more

important followed by *back* and *inside* pages respectively. As shown in figure 4.5, with *Sun* and *Tribune* respectively taking the lead, an aggregate of 42.6% of ethno-religious conflict stories appeared on the *front* pages. Though all the publications shared in giving this level of emphasis, the level is however, low (9.6%) in *Daily Trust*. The result indicates that the sampled newspapers sufficiently gave *prominence* to the two conflicts within the study period. This is consistent with previous studies such as (Shapiro and Schofield, 1986; and Edeani, 1994) which posits that influential newspapers with a wider audience tend to accord *front page* treatment to events occurring far beyond their immediate locations.

It also supports a response to an In-depth Interview question: why is it that most of your reports on crisis ran from front page to through inside page? The respondent answered thus:

Yes in most cases, even if there are more important issues that have to do with politics and other socio-economic reports, no matter how small your report on violence is or seems, it must be promoted even at the top corner of the front page of the Newspaper. Like the current Nyayan crisis, it is prominently featured on our paper including pictures and even though other papers put it that way, the Sun Newspaper does it with style (Conflict Reporter, Sun Newspaper).

Though this may corroborates other postulations as shown above, the danger in placing much of ethno-religious conflict stories in *front* page as was the case with *Sun* and *Tribune*, is that it will give the conflicts unnecessary publicity capable of exacerbating the psychological tension of the crises and also, some newspapers may go a bit sensational in their reports of the conflicts thereby, making timely resolution of the conflicts rather too long; *Daily Trust* had (74.8%) its stories tucked *Inside*; it deferred from *Sun* and *Tribune*. It tends to down play the psychological effects of the crises probably because it is located in the North the centre of the crises and, there is the need for it to protect its economic base. This shows a clear difference in reporting style

though, there could a hidden intention for such decision nonetheless, it could be said that the paper is more conflict sensitive and practice socially responsible journalism than *Sun* and *Tribune* Newspapers respectively.

Findings also showed that 1/4 (97.3%) and 1/8 (84.0%) were the most popularly used sizes for reports followed by Half and Full sizes respectively. The preference by the Newspapers to publish majorly in these sizes (quarter and one-eighth) could be associated to the quest for economy of space. This shows that news consumerism the order of the day in Newspaper industry. Impliedly, the principle of balanced, accuracy and fair reporting has therefore, been sacrificed on the altar of profit making. One other important lesson to be learnt here is that unless a detail analysis of the event is given, the readers may likely make a premature judgment of the issue at hand. This is in contradiction to ethic of the profession as Nigeria Code (1998) section 2, sub-section 1 demands, 'the public has the right to know. But factual, accurate, balanced and fair reporting is the ultimate objective of good journalism and the basis of earning public trust and confidence'. According to an In-depth Interview response:

Actually the consumers would like to get the details I should also add that getting details is subjective and it depends on the publishers because some might give a report in a lengthy manner while others will do so for peculiar reasons and give the report as brief as possible. Most importantly, going by the ethics some papers may not be able to bring out some details but decide to give out just limited information. For instance, instead of publishing the names of victims of a crisis, the paper may just give their occupations. This is usually done to prevent public reactions or deaths for instance say, someone with high blood pressure found out that his loved one was a victim of a crisis might just get into complications that might lead to his death (Conflict Reporter, Tribune Newspaper).

Also the research finding indicates that *Daily Trust* had 28.7% of its stories published in *Full* pages. As a northern based newspaper, it is expected that *Daily Trust* will enjoy some proximity advantages over *Sun* (11.6%) and *Tribune* (11.2%) respectively because they are published in South-Western Nigeria. The home advantage could also aide the quantum of reports the paper will published on the topic under investigation. By implication, in terms of balancing, *Daily Trust* is likely to present more balanced stories than that of *Sun* and *Tribune* newspapers respectively baring, the direct implications (positive or otherwise) of the effects of the crisis. This supports another In-depth Interview response thus:

Actually if I may be truthful, the reports are never the same for all Newspapers. In fact, I usually notice either exaggeration or what I could call sensationalism. These are mostly the two factors that determine the reportage from both axes of the Media. To be very candid, those within the northern (Kaduna-Abuja) axis are very close to the setting of the action and perhaps, their reporters are even close to the scene of event as regards the present insurgency. Therefore, the reports from the Kaduna-Abuja axis normally reflect the actual situation because of the proximity. Unfortunately from the other axis, you sometimes find cooked-up stories either to sell the papers, increase pay or to trigger reactions (Conflict Reporter, Tribune Newspaper).

On whether the three Nigerian newspapers have been socially responsible in their coverage of the crises, responsibility was measured in terms of Media practices geared towards de-escalation of conflicts such as, unintentional placing of stories inside pages, de-emphasising use of evocative pictures etc, so as to allow for a short time peaceful resolution of the crisis. Here, findings showed, that the Newspapers mostly were *neutral* (59.4%), *negative* (38.7%) and very low *positive* (1.9%) in their presentation of stories on the conflicts. The stories were written in *Text* form (78.4%) with *minimal* (21.6%) consideration for use of *pictures* (black and white, colour and cartoon) hence, the editors of the three newspapers tried as much to make the

message salient. Entman (1993) is of the opinion that, *Texts* can make bits of information more salient if they are associated with culturally familiar symbols. It also corroborates In-depth Interview poser - Going through some editions of your Newspaper it was discovered that you buttress your stories with much pictures both black and white, and colour what could you adduced as the reason for this? Response:

Yes we always buttress our stories with pictures because our Organisation placed much priority on it. I remember when I filed a report on conflict sometimes ago my editor refused to publish it. He demanded that I should look for pictures to back the story. The next day I was fortunate to get a picture of the mass burial of some victims I sent it and without delay my report was published. So we always use pictures to buttress our stories...Like the current Nyayan crisis, it is prominently featured on our paper including pictures and even though other papers put it that way, *the Sun* Newspaper does it with style. Recently, we were directed not to send pictures of dead bodies, but the dailies cannot just stop the reporting of violence without pictures (Conflict Reporter, Sun Newspaper).

However, an evocative picture in conflict reporting no matter the reason does not augur well for peaceful resolution of conflicts. Pictures of victims of violent conflicts especially, the blurred ones could mislead readers; any gory image shown could snowball into escalation of the conflict and it could create a wrong impression in the minds of the members of the public on efforts made by the government at checkmating the crisis. Such practice is unethical because it offends public taste. After all, a journalist should promote universal principles of human rights, democracy, justice, equity, peace and national understanding, and, enhance national unity and public good (Nigeria Code, 1998 section 12 and 11). The In-depth Interview response below supports this position. According to the respondent:

Yes it is, it is wrong for a reporter to show pictures of what happened in a public situation because firstly, it

may trigger more reactions. Ethically it is wrong and not the best. Secondly, even the authority would frown at that because it may not be in line with the set standard so one just has to be careful when reporting such sensitive issues that have to do with ethnic and/or religion because as Journalists we have responsibilities to our society (Conflict Reporter, Tribune).

The deduction that could be made from this finding is that Nigerian newspapers should strive to be socially responsible when presenting information on ethno-religious crisis to the public.

On the objective which sought to know whether ownership of Media do influence reportage of ethno-religious crisis, ownership influence which was measure in terms of story *direction/slant* of reports and the posers to the crisis reporters who served as the interviewees, did not directly show such influence. Findings revealed some level of indirect influence in the way some Newspapers caption their headlines. The respondents also agreed that to some level ownership do influence reports but, different views were held as to what extent. This is also unethical because, decisions concerning the content of news should be the responsibility of a professional journalist (Nigeria Code, 1998 section 1). According to respondent one:

Well, I must say that I am lucky to be working with an Organisation that does not influence the content of the news. This is because apart from the ethics guiding Journalism practice such as to ensure that your report is balanced, confirmed and putting the nation first, there are still some specific house style and policies one has to abide with. Although, I do not know of other Newspapers but in my Organisation, we have some policies such as, not to quote headlines, but quote reports and stories. In fact, the proprietor of the *Sun* Newspaper is a politician, a former governor of Abia State and a member of the ruling party the PDP, but I have seen a lot of issues or stories against his party and even reports that give prominence to opposition party, yet he does not complain. From that I can say that the ownership of the newspaper is usually an issue may be because the proprietor does not have time for such.

However, what we have is a competition for space so we are always given deadlines to submit stories else it will not be published (Conflict Reporter, Sun Newspaper).

Another respondent lent credence as:

Well, I must confess that I work with an Organisation that is doing everything possible to see that it allows Journalism to take its rightful place. In fact, where I work, we hardly tamper with any report. If need be, then it might be to edit a report that has much error or that is too lengthy because of limited space for it to be published without necessarily manipulating or attempting to change the content. This is highly against our standard of practice (Conflict Reporter, Daily Sun).

When confronted with similar question such as - since you started your career in crisis reporting, have you ever had any of your reports turned down by your editor and what was the reason? The respondent answered:

Yes you know as a reporter your job is to write the story and send it to your head office. The head office has the discretion to both read and publish your reports. However, there are times I sent my reports and they were not being used for some unknown reasons. Sometimes may be as a result of space or may be to protect the interest of the nation (Conflict Reporter, Tribune Newspaper).

This corresponds with an opinion of another respondent which states:

Well, I have had a couple of my reports not published because in most cases the interest of some groups is bound to be protected so as not to bring up or trigger public reactions. I remember when a crisis erupted over land ownership in a village with seven districts and the head of a major said he has inherited the land in question from his father, but the others refused to accept it as a fact. We went over to interview the parties involved and found out that the land had been sold to one Fulani man. If you should further analyze such report, you will notice some elements of interest might further be exaggerated, omitted or manipulated; and if it

does not favour the publisher's interest it would not see the light of the day (Conflict Reporter, Daily Trust).

The response also aligned with the research findings. During the study period, *Tribune* had (0.0%) story written in support (*Positive*) of the course advanced for the violent crisis, *Sun* had (0.8%) while *Daily Trust*, had (4.1%). *Sun* and *Tribune* are Southern-Western based Newspapers hence, it may be inferred that geographical affiliation is the reason for their disfavourable positions therefore; the difference in the editorial decision shows an element of ownership consideration. This vindicates Gambo (2006)'s assertion that the Mass Media, tend to reinforce either the positions favourable to their proprietors or those of the region in which they are geo-politically located. It aligns Akintayo and Isola (2012) whose posit, that the socio-historical context and geographical locations of the mass media in Nigeria do have a large influence on media representation of the ethnic and politics, and their armed groups. Of course, this also, contradicts the new code of ethics on editorial independence which states that "decisions concerning the content of news should be the responsibility of a professional journalist" (Code of Ethics for Nigerian Journalists, 1998).

The research also found out that *Staff writer*, among other story sources was the major means used by the three newspapers. The danger here lies in the fact, that stories from a single source can be subjective and lack comprehensiveness because, Journalists are part of the society they report hence, the tendencies are there for them to write in favour of their own ethnic or religious group. For example, if the crisis is between the Igbos and Yorubas, the Igbo journalist will write to favour his ethnic group while the Yoruba journalist will also write to favour his ethnic group; same applies to journalists of Hausa origin. This also corresponds with In-depth Interview response which says:

It is very difficult for one to say that one's religion or tribe will not influence his report and I can't really remember such scenario, but I can confidently say that all reporters including me have interests. I am a Moslem and I was as a matter of fact, a Moslem before becoming a Journalist. I can also say that I was born as a Yoruba and these can go a long way to influence my reportage. For instance if my religion is portrayed in a very bad manner, I might utter some details in my report therefore, religion and ethnicity do influence news reports (Conflict Reporter, Sun Newspaper).

Since, sources of the reports and story slant also determine the level of framing in the reports (Entman, 1993), the deduction that could be made here, is that the level of objectivity in the report will definitely be hampered thereby, bringing credibility of the reports to question because, information sourcing is part of the larger framing process (Entman, 1993).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The study looked at Coverage of Jos Crisis and Boko Haram Insurgence by Selected Newspapers with the key objectives to find: the level of prominence the papers accorded to coverage of the crises, the extent at which they reflect balance and; if they have been objective and socially responsible in their coverage of the crises. Using content analysis, data were gathered on the topic from three Newspapers *Tribune*, *Sun*, and *Daily Trust* between 2010 and 2012. To achieve the study objectives, the data gathered was then analysed using SPSS 2.0. It also used IDI to collection information from six crisis reporters spread across the three Newspapers. Therefore, based on the review of related and relevant documents, content analysis and the In-depth Interview, the findings indicate that Nigerian conflicts are caused majorly by religion and ethnicity (ethno-religious) followed by *Other* forms of crises. The study found out also that the three Newspapers used *News* form more than *feature*, *editorial*, *letter*, *Opinion/column*. On Page placement and story size/length as measures of *prominence*, the findings indicated that most of the stories were placed in *Inside* closely followed by *Front* and *Back* pages respectively. Hence, the study summarises, that though the Newspapers need to do more in terms of balance, they however, accorded high prominence to the crises understudy; they also strived to be socially responsible in their coverage of the crises between the research periods.

5.2 Conclusion

The Nigerian Press particularly, the newspapers appear to contribute to the shaping of the kind of society where it operates. Act, as motivator of the people to rise above their differences, and also act, even as a conciliator for the warring parties. Consequent upon this, it must ensure that escalation of crisis is prevented through its reportage as it is the only medium upon which every member of the society got their information.

This study looked at how some selected Nigerian Newspapers covered Jos crisis and Boko Haram Insurgence between 2010 and 2012. Findings revealed that crisis are caused majorly by religion and ethnicity. The way newspaper do frame its stories helped in fuelling some of the crises and, that though the media tend to be socially responsible during crisis, ownership of media to some extent do influence coverage of some of the crisis. Nigerian newspapers do give high level of *prominence* to coverage of ethno-religious conflicts by according *front* page attention to stories; proximity to the location of crises from Newspapers' base may affect the level of coverage and balance in the reportage of the conflicts. Ethics of journalism are complied with on equal basis media practitioners hence; some Newspapers do ensure balance in their reportage on a given topic than others. As a result, Newspapers should strive always to provide readers with compressive information about events. Therefore, considering the closeness of the conflict and readers, the newspaper cannot but be more guarded in ensuring that a high level of responsibility coupled with balanced reportage is prioritised in the coverage of conflicts. The study however concludes, that Nigerian media is responsible in its presentation of information on Jos crisis and Boko Haram Insurgence to the public but, the absolute amount of coverage and the quality of reporting need substantial improvement.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the research findings the study therefore, recommends as follows:

1 Media practitioners should constantly bear in mind their professional ethics under the umbrella of media code of conduct. This would help check-mate unnecessary coverage of ethnicity or religious crisis.

3 Media practitioners as agenda-setters through the way they frame stories should promote the basic doctrines of peace, universal brotherhood, justice, human rights, patience, tolerance and equity.

4 As watch-dogs (the Fourth Estate of the realm) mass media practitioners should promote transparent democratic governance in their reporting by bringing to the public view, political and religious leaders who fan the embers of hatred and destructive ethnic and religious activities.

5 Media professionals should always check the influence of religion, ethnicity and ownership sentiments in the discharge of their responsibilities;

6 All regulating bodies and unions such as NBC, NPC, NPAN, NUJ, Nigerian Press Organisation and Nigerian Guild of Editors etc, should ensure that Media practitioners and Journalists comply strictly to professional ethics in order to checkmate malpractices in conflict reporting; the NPC in particular should be empowered to take full responsibility of overseeing newspaper contents in Nigeria.

7 All Schools of Journalism and those offering Mass Communication should endeavour to incorporate conflict reporting in their curricula to help intending Journalists understand the concept better.

5.4 Limitation to the Study

The study period (October 14, 2010 to December 31, 2012) is short also; the sample frame of the study is small for a detailed content analysis of how the sampled newspapers report the two selected Nigerian ethno-religious crisis. That the study excluded magazine, broadcast and neo-media is also another obvious limitation hence, the study findings cannot be generalised.

5.5 Contribution to knowledge

The study has contributed to the existing knowledge in that it has provided an insight into the level and quality of coverage of ethno-religious conflict situations in northern Nigeria by the three sampled newspapers which, are expected to set standard of performance for other Nigerian newspaper to follow.

5.6 Suggestions for Further Studies

Ethno-Religious crises, particularly the focus of this study are still on-going phenomena. This study then suggests that studies which include magazine and broadcast media with bigger sample and larger time frame be objectively content analysed on same topic- *An Analysis of the reportage of Jos Crisis and Boko Haram Insurgence by Selected Newspapers.*

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APPENDIX TWO

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. How long have you been reporting on crisis as a beat?
2. Did you choose to report this beat or your organisation assigned you to it?
3. How often have your reports been turned down by your editor?
4. What have being the reason adduced for turning down your reports?
5. It was observed that most of your reports on ethno-religious conflicts do run from front to inside pages of your Newspaper, what could say are the reasons for this placement pattern?
6. When you allocate 1/4 and 1/8 space for conflict stories in your Newspaper, do think your readers would have gotten enough details of the issue for them to take informed decisions?
7. It was observed that you used more of pictures in buttressing your stories on conflicts, how do take care of the negative implication that this decision may have on the society?
8. What do you have to say about your proprietor, culture and location of your organisation affecting your reportage of the conflict the way you witnessed it?
9. If for one reason or the other your story was turned down, what will you do to avoid future occurrence of such?

APPENDIX THREE

Some selected Headlines from the Sampled Newspapers

Date	Newspaper	Captions
<p>Dec. 5, 2011</p> <p>13,</p> <p>24,</p> <p>26,</p> <p>29,</p>	<p>Daily Trust</p>	<p>100 gunmen raid Azare- Bomb Police bases, Banks, kill many</p> <p>10 killed in Kaduna blast</p> <p>Inset: A cover page colour picture of rescue teams and sympathizers at the scene of the explosion</p> <p>Blasts rock Maiduguri, Damaturu, Potiskum</p> <p>Suicide bombers spoil Christmas</p> <p>. 28 killed near Abuja</p> <p>. SSS HQ hit in Yobe</p> <p>.Boko Haram claims responsibility</p> <p>Inset: colour picture of Soldiers at St. Theresa Catholic Church, Madalla</p> <p>Islamic school bombed in Delta</p>
<p>Sept. 6, 2012</p> <p>23,</p>	<p>Daily Trust</p>	<p>Gunmen destroy MTN, Airtel Masts in Kano, Borno</p> <p>. Attackers also detonated an explosives in front of a cell phone tower in Bauchi</p> <p>Inset: colour picture of razed MTN Office</p> <p>24- Hour curfew on Damaturu</p> <p>. JTF kills 4 Boko Haram suspects in Maiduguri, Arrests 25 in Yobe</p>

		<p>. Raids underground Armoury</p> <p>Thousands Protest in Kano Over Anti-Islam Film</p> <p>Inset: Cover page colour picture of Protesters burning Obama’s effigy and American Flag</p>
Dec. 8, 2011	Tribune	<p>Terrorists bomb Kaduna</p> <p>. 12 killed, scores injured</p> <p>Inset: 1/4 page colour picture showing the scene of explosion with policemen and sympathizers</p>
21,		<p>Bomb blast in Kaduna, Yobe- Boko Haram plots against Southern Churches –CAN cries out</p> <p>. 5 killed in fresh Kaduna attack</p>
27,		<p>Boko Haram: Fear of more attacks on Churches</p> <p>Inset: 1/4 page colour picture of sympathizers and a woman displaying a one-yr-old baby killed in the St. Theresa, Madalla bomb blast</p>
31,		<p>Again, Boko Haram Bombs Mosque</p> <p>. 4 dead, thousands flee Homes</p> <p>. Threatens More Attacks Jan.</p> <p>How I narrowly Escaped Death</p> <p>. Says 13-yr-old who lost parents, siblings, in Xmas Day Bombing</p> <p>Inset: 1/4 page colour picture showing scene of explosion and a soberly looking teenager</p>
Sept. 7, 2012	Tribune	<p>16 killed as gunmen attack Yobe, Taraba, Borno</p> <p>. Burn 24 base stations of Airtel, Glo, Etisalat</p> <p>. Attacks Corps Members</p>

		. IGP Orders 24-hour Surveillance
9,		Gunmen attack Telecom facilities in Jos . Tie Security Guard Inset: Colour picture of a man tied to an Electric Pole
24,		3 worshippers killed in Bauchi bomb attack . As terrorists attack Church Inset: Colour picture of victims being conveyed in an Ambulance
Dec. 4, 2011	Sun	After brutal murder of groom at wedding, Boko Haram vows..... WE WILL KILL 9 MORE
18,	Jos: Bomb blast at football viewing Centre kills 3, injure 14 We'll bomb Jos at Xmas - New Muslim Group . Targets ECWA, RCCG, Winners . 3 killed in dawn attack
24,		XMAS MASSACRE . Mopol Commander, assistant, 50 Others killed as Boko Haram , Security Operatives gun battle continues in Damaturu . 11 killed in Multiple explosions, shooting in Maiduguri . Residents flee
26,		It's black Christmas, as Catholic morning mass ends inMASS MURDER . 35 killed as Boko Haram bombs Church in Madalla, Niger . 3 suicide bombers, 4 Policemen die in related blast

		Inset: Colour cover page montage showing burning Cars, sympathizers and women crying
Sept. 2, 2012	Sun	Bomb blast in Borno . 5 dead, 2 Soldiers injured
9,		<u>Boko Harm</u> North's economy slumps . Southerners flee to Abuja, Rivers, Bayelsa Inset: Black & White picture of men in Mask holding sophisticated rifles
10,		Boko Haram burns Mass Transit Bus . Borno civil servants shun offices
17,		Boko Haram wipes out family in Kano . Civil Defence officer, wife, kid fell victim
19,		OUTRAGEOUS . Boko Haram fights back, kills Attorney-General, LG chairman, Ex-prison CG in Borno, Bauchi, Adamawa
23,		ANTI-US PROTEST HITS KANO . Obama's effigy, American Flag burnt

Source: Field work (2011-2012)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: Code Sheet:

Newspaper:

Edition:

Date:

ITEMS	Media coverage of Nigerian Ethno-Religious Conflicts															
	Crisis Type				Page Placement				Size and Length				Illustration/Graphics			
	Ethnic (Jos)	Religion (BH)	Border Dispute	Others	Front	Inside	Middle	Back	Full page	Half page	One quarter	One Eight	Text	B&W	Col	Cartoon
News Stories																
Articles/Features																
Interviews																
Cartoons/ Picture																
Editorials																

Items	Media Coverage of Nigerian Ethno-Religious Conflicts													
	Gender Focus				Locality		Direction/Slant			Story Source				
	Males	Females	Child ren	Both	Urban	Rural	Positi ve	Neutr al	Nega tive	NAN	News Agency	Staff Reporters	Governme nt	NGOs
News Stories														
Articles/Features														
Interviews														
Cartoons/Picture														
Editorials														
Total														

Keys: ET= Ethnicity, RG= Religion, TT= Total, BD= Bold, MM= Medium, OT= Others, VC= Very Clear, CL= Clear, BL = Blur, VH = Very High, MD = Moderate, VL = Very Low, FB = Favourable, NT = Neutral, UF= Unfavourable