

**ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN THE NORTHERN STATES
OF NIGERIA: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA (1987-2012)**

BY

**Vincent Emmanuel ACHI
B.S.T, PGDE, M.ED.
PHD/EDUC/04542/2010-2011
08034507788**

**DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION
FACULTY OF EDUCATION, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY
ZARIA-NIGERIA**

SEPTEMBER, 2015

**ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN THE NORTHERN STATES OF
NIGERIA: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA (1987-2012)**

BY

**Vincent Emmanuel, ACHI, B.S.T (ST. AUGUSTINE'S, JOS,
1999), PGDE (ABU, 2004) M.ED (ABU, 2009)
PHD/EDUC/04542/2010-2011**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF
POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY
ZARIA - NIGERIA**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE AWARD OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY
ZARIA - NIGERIA**

SEPTEMBER, 2015

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation entitled “ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN THE NORTHERN STATES OF NIGERIA: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA (1987-2012)” has been carried out by me in the Department of Arts and Social Science Education under the supervision of Dr. J. N. Kwasau, Rev. Fr. Prof. J. H. Mamman and Rev. Fr. Dr. P. B. Tanko. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this dissertation has previously been presented for another degree at any university.

Vincent Emmanuel ACHI
Name of Student

.....
Signature

.....
Date

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled “ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN THE NORTHERN STATES OF NIGERIA: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA (1987-2012)” by Vincent Emmanuel, Achi, meets the regulations governing the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) in Christian Religious Studies of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

.....
Dr. J. N. Kwasau
Chairman, Supervisory Committee

.....
Date

.....
Rev. Fr. Prof. J. H. Mamman
Member, Supervisory Committee

.....
Date

.....
Rev. Fr. Dr. Peter B. Tanko
Member, Supervisory Committee

.....
Date

.....
Prof. F.S.M. Koya
Head, Department of Education

.....
Date

.....
Prof. K. Bala
Dean, Postgraduate School

.....
Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All glory to God for the gift of life and the opportunity to undertake this study. Human words are not enough to express His guidance and protection.

Thanks to my supervisors; Dr. J. N. Kwasau, Rev. Fr. Prof. J. H. Mamman and Rev. Fr. Dr. P. B. Tanko for taking their time to read and correct this work. I appreciate their commitment to the work. I take responsibility for whatever errors there may be in the work.

I thank the lecturers of Christian Religious Studies; Fr. John Abashiya, Dr. S. E. Mijah, Dr. O. Bongontons, Dr. Mrs. N. Alagbu and Dr. E. Gana. Their contributions to the success of this work cannot be overemphasized.

I appreciate Dr. R. B. Bako and Rev. Fr. Dr. Dominic Oliagba. The pain they took to encourage and direct me is worthy of note.

In a special way, I thank the Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Zaria, His Lordship, Most Rev. Dr. George Jonathan Dodo. Granting me the permission to carry out this study marked the genesis of its success.

Also, I thank the Provost of Federal College of Education, Zaria, in the person of Dr. M.I. Maccido for granting me the permission to undertake this postgraduate study. I appreciate the support of my colleagues in the Department of CRS, F.C.E, Zaria.

Furthermore, I thank Mr. John Obemeata and his colleagues from the Institute for Agricultural Research, Dr./Mrs Gefu, Mrs. Ruth Bakura, Peter Ophir and Yusuf Dabo for their contribution to the success my studies. Also, I am grateful to all my friends for their moral support. Above all, I thank Associate Professor Sylvester Ngu for his fatherly guidance in the course of my studies.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents Mr. and Mrs. Emmanuel Nkom Achi and my late sisters-Agnes and Paschalina Nkom.

ABSTRACT

The study is an investigation into “Ethno-Religious Conflicts in the Northern States of Nigeria: The Role of the Media (1987-2012)”. Worrying enough is that, the ethno-religious conflicts are persistent and the attempt here is to examine what role the media is playing. The main objective of the study is to find out the role of the media in ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. In doing so, five specific objectives were stated. They seek information on the role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts, factors that influence the media to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts, effects of such conflicts, impact of media in curbing ethno-religious conflicts and the role of the media in building peace. In the study a sample survey design was used. A set of questionnaire and interview techniques were employed to collect research data. The researcher himself, with the help of nine research assistants conducted the study. A total number of 1,620 copies of the questionnaire were administered to ethno-religious groups in the three states that represented the nineteen northern states of Nigeria for the study. One thousand two hundred and four (1,204) copies of the questionnaire were returned. The data collected with the questionnaire was presented and analyzed using tables and the interview served as complementary data in the discussion. In the analysis of the data; age, religion, position in religion and status in the society were the demographic variables analyzed with frequencies and percentages. Also, the items raised in the study to answer the five research questions were analyzed with frequencies and percentages. The five hypotheses were tested with means, standard deviations, two-tailed t-test, and analysis of variance. The findings of the study were quite revealing. In the test of hypotheses one, three and five, the groups involved differed in opinion on the role of the media in

aggravating ethno-religious conflicts, the effects of such conflicts and the role of the media in peace-building. Hypotheses two and four showed no significant difference in opinion on the influences that make the role of the media to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts as well as the impact of the media in curbing them in the northern states of Nigeria. Conclusions from the study indicate that the media is a double-edged sword that can aggravate conflicts when used wrongly and can curb them and build peace when channeled to that course. Second, the effects of the conflicts aggravated by the role of the media are biting in different communities of the northern states of Nigeria. Finally, even though capable of building peace in the nation, the media has not done much in respect of the ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. The recommendations from the study suggest educational campaign on peace, dialogue, truth and reconciliation commission, incentives to media houses or journalists that are peace-oriented in their reportage, license for practicing journalists and courses on peace in the institutions of learning. These require the joint effort of traditional/religious leaders, media parishioners and the government.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

COVER PAGE.....	i
TITLE PAGE.....	ii
DECLARATION.....	iii
CERTIFICATION.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	v
DEDICATION.....	vi
ABSTRACT.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	7
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	11
1.4 Research Questions.....	12
1.5 Research Hypotheses.....	12
1.6 Basic Assumptions.....	13
1.7 Significance of the Study.....	14
1.8 Scope of the Study.....	15

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITARATURE

2.1 Introduction.....	16
2.2 Ethno-Religious Conflicts.....	16
2.3 Causes of Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria.....	19
2.4 The Media.....	27

2.5	The Media and Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria.....	29
2.5.1	The media reportage of ethno-religious conflicts.....	30
2.5.2	Maitatsine onslaught in the early 1980s.....	34
2.5.3	Kafanchan crises of 1987.....	34
2.5.4	Media war of 1987.....	36
2.5.5	Kano ethno-religious crisis of 1991.....	36
2.5.6	Tafawa Balewa civil disturbances of 1991.....	37
2.5.7	Zangon-Kataf civil disturbances of 1992.....	38
2.5.8	Kuteb/Chamba/Jukun crises of 1996.....	39
2.5.9	Conflicts on the introduction of the Sharia Legal System in 2000.....	39
2.5.10	Kaduna Sharia violent conflicts of 2000.....	43
2.5.11	Jos crises of 2001.....	46
2.5.12	Tiv/Jukun conflict of 2001.....	49
2.5.13	Kaduna Miss World conflict of 2002.....	50
2.5.14	Yelwa Shendam conflict of 2004.....	53
2.5.15	Boko Haram attacks and resultant reprisals from 2009-2012.....	54
2.6	The Media and Peace-Building.....	56
2.7	Empirical Studies.....	65
2.8	Summary.....	73

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1	Introduction.....	75
3.2	Research Design.....	75
3.3	Population.....	76

3.4	Sample and Sampling Procedure.....	77
3.4.1	Sample and sampling of the states in the North.....	77
3.4.2	Sample and sampling of the local governments.....	78
3.4.3	Sample and sampling of towns or villages/subjects for the study.....	79
3.5	Instrumentation.....	80
3.5.1	The questionnaire.....	80
3.5.2	The interview schedule.....	81
3.6	Pilot Study.....	82
3.7	Validity of the Instrument.....	83
3.8	Reliability of the Instrument.....	84
3.9	Method of Data Collection.....	84
3.10	Method of Data Analysis.....	85

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1	Introduction.....	86
4.2	Demographic Characteristics of Respondents.....	86
4.3	Role of the Media in Ethno-Religious Conflicts in the Northern States of Nigeria.....	89
4.4	Test of Null Hypotheses for the Study.....	111
4.5	Summary of Major Findings.....	118
4.6	Discussion.....	120

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1	Summary.....	128
5.2	Conclusion.....	132

5.3	Recommendations.....	133
5.4	Suggestions for Further Research.....	136
5.5	Contribution to Knowledge.....	137
REFERENCES.....		138

APPENDICES

Appendix I	Questionnaire.....	147
Appendix II	Interview Schedule.....	152
Appendix III	Interviewee Responses.....	153

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1	States and their population.....	76
Table 3.2	States sampled out for the study.....	78
Table 3.3	Sample of local government areas (LGA) for the study.....	79
Table 4.1	Classification of the respondents by their age ranges.....	86
Table 4.2	Classification of the respondents by their religion and state.....	87
Table 4.3	Classification of the respondents by their religious ranking.....	88
Table 4.4	Classification of the respondents by their statuses in the society.....	88
Table 4.5	Role of media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts.....	90
Table 4.6	Factors influencing the role of media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts.....	94
Table 4.7	Effects of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the role of media in the northern states of Nigeria.....	98
Table 4.8	Impact of the role of media in curbing ethno-religious conflicts.....	103
Table 4.9	Role of media in peace-building.....	108

Table 4.10	Two-sample t-test on role of media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts by status of the respondents.....	112
Table 4.11	Two-sample t-test on factors influencing the role of media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts by religious status respondents.....	113
Table 4.12	One-way analysis of variance on the effects of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the role of the media	113
Table 4.13	Mean scores on the effects of conflicts aggravated by the role of the media.....	114
Table 4.14	Result of Scheffe procedure on the mean scores by the different groups	115
Table 4.15	Summary of two-sample t-test result.....	115
Table 4.16	One-way analysis of variance on role of media in peace-building	116
Table 4.17	Mean scores by states on the role of the media in peace-building.....	117
Table 4.18	Result of Scheffe procedure on the mean scores by the different groups.....	117

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Nigeria as a polity is a creation of the British Colonial power. Before the advent of the British, the people in the geographical area called Nigeria were independent entities. These entities differ in language, race, tribe, religion, social belief and a host of others. Ethno-religious conflicts as we have today in Nigeria did not start automatically (Esogbue, 2008).

In the geographical area later designated as South Eastern Nigeria by the British, the ethnic conflicts in pre-colonial times were mostly centered on land. The people were farmers and land was the symbol of wealth and social standing (Ekeh, 1999). Today, land is still at the root of most crises in South Eastern Nigeria (Imobighe, 2008). In South Western Nigeria, the destruction of the Oyo Kingdom by the Jihad of Dan Fodio created a refugee problem that led to the ethnic conflicts between the Modakekes and the Ifes. The Modakekes migrated from Oyo to Ile-Ife in Oshun State. The Ooni of Ife created for them a separate settlement named 'Modakeke', after the cry of a nest of storks on a large tree near the site (Albert, 1999). The Modakekes served as war allies to the Ifes. Later, relations between the two communities became bad. Their first crisis occurred between 1835 and 1849 (Olayiwole and Okorie, 2010).

In pre-colonial northern Nigeria, the ethno-religious conflict that formed the bedrock to future clashes was the Jihad or religious war of Othman Dan Fodio. Dan Fodio, a Fulani man, conquered Hausa state and incorporated the people into the

Caliphate. The Jihad or religious war (1804 – 1810) ended with the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate (Pike, 2008).

The ethno-religious conflicts that have characterised the relations of the Hausa – Fulani and other ethnic groups particularly in the area designated today as the middle-belt stems from the Jihad expeditions. Consumed by economic interest, Jihad commanders embarked on slave raiding against the middle-belt groups (Maier, 2000). The people in some of the areas sometimes brought under Hausa-Fulani control had to go into capturing their neighbours for the Hausa-Fulani slave markets as tributes exacted upon them. Paying tributes in slaves means waging war with a neighbour. Thus, pre-colonial ethno-religious wars existed between the Hausa-Fulani slave-raiders and the non Muslim groups on the one hand and the inter-tribal wars among the non Muslim groups on the other (Turaki, 1993).

The British colonial legacy put in place structures of fearful future crises. In southern Nigeria, the colonial state exacerbated the contradictions already existing in these societies by supporting some ethnic groups over and against others. In the Aguleri and Umuleri crisis, records show that captain O'Connor, the district officer of the area in the 1930s engineered the problem by encouraging the Umuleri to make claims to the whole of the Oluocha land and promised to support them in this war (Ekeh, 1999).

On January 1, 1900, the British declared the northern Nigeria Protectorate at Lokoja. The British forged an alliance with the Sokoto Caliphate which controlled vast areas of northern Nigeria. This system known as “indirect rule”, secured the allegiance of the Caliphate to the British Empire which in return allowed the Caliphate to keep its authority over its subject peoples (IRIN, 2003). Placing the emirs at the head of native

authorities was a development that made the British resistance to assume an anti, Hausa-Fulani posture (Toure, 2003). The British used superior arms to suppress the people and protect the Hausa-Fulani, because they looked up to them to provide political and administrative control of the north (Turaki, 1993). From the report of the Willinks Commission in 1958, there were complaints from the northern minorities on distortion of administration and imposition of Muslim emirs whose rule has never been recognized by the people. However, the subordination exercise did not succeed in all the places in the north. That is why Benue/Plateau was designated as provinces (Turaki, 1993).

With the subordination of non Hausa/Islamic ethnic groups under the emirs, there was a lot of injustice in the administration of the north. Forced labour and taxation was imposed on the masses. In the native courts, justice was the privilege of the Hausa-Fulani folks against their non Hausa-Fulani counterparts (Toure, 2003). The people from non Hausa-Fulani (non Muslims) ethnic groups were denied education and job opportunities even in their own areas (Turaki, 1993). Their education and conversion to Christianity from 1937 to 1940s came through Christian mission schools. With Christian education, the people became awakened to the oppressive and autocratic rule of the Hausa-Fulani rulers. Their silence due to colonial subordination soon gave way to agitation for self rule and independence (Turaki, 1993). With the education of the non Hausa-Fulani ethnic groups and their conversion from traditional religion, Christian elements were already fighting a war of ideas with the colonial and Hausa-Fulani Islamic administration of the emirate.

The colonial administration even fanned ethnic prejudice by housing southern immigrants to the north in segregated living areas commonly known as Sabon Gari or

‘strangers quarters’. In northern Nigeria, colonial legacy created superior and inferior status between the Hausa-Fulani (largely Muslims) on the one hand and the non Hausa-Fulani (largely non Muslims) groups on the other. A development that prepared the stage for ethno-religious conflicts in the future (Obasanjo and Mabogunje, 1992).

The ethnic and religious chauvinism in the northern states continued after independence in 1960. The superior and inferior status created by the colonial powers between the Hausa-Fulani (Muslims) on the one hand and the non Hausa-Fulani (Non Muslims) groups on the other hand continued to manifest in their relationship in the region. However, by 1966, the military government introduced reforms that guaranteed employment and educational opportunities to the non Hausa-Fulani groups. District heads were appointed from the people and the powers of the emirs were reduced (Toure, 2003).

The discrimination of non Hausa-Fulani groups and the protests that ensued from it after the civil war in some parts of the northern states took an ethno-religious posture. A war of ideas between Christian elements and the colonial powers/Hausa-Fulani emirate during the colonial era was translated into violent conflicts between ethnic groups that are largely Christians and the Hausa-Fulani that are predominantly Muslims in the north. The 1987 ethno-religious crisis that started as a students’ riot in Kafanchan and later spread to other parts of Kaduna State was one of the early violent manifestations of the ethno-religious dichotomy in the northern states of Nigeria (Musa, 2002-2003). The point is that “the colonizer created and fuelled the ethno-religious inequalities” (Toure, 2003:71) that have gradually metamorphosed into the ethno-religious conflicts that are evident today between the ethnic groups that are largely Christians and the Hausa-Fulani that are predominantly Muslims. There seems to be a complete loss of friendship between

Hausa-Fulani Muslims and ethnic groups that are largely Christians. Attempts to end this ethno-religious divide often end in palliative measures.

The media is an instrument for transmitting information from one place to another. It plays a useful role in human society. Globally, the media has reduced the world into one family. Through the media, somebody can be in Nigeria and be a student of a university in America. Information about new trends and events is disseminated to all parts of the globe as quickly as possible. Through information dissemination, the media looks like a force that will unite the world by establishing one world government, culture and religion (Appleby, 2009).

The history of the media in Nigeria can be traced to the colonial times. Its origin predates the nationalist struggle for independence. The Nigerian press is a product of evolution from the early Christian missionary establishment in the South of the country. Between 1842 and 1885, the Church Missionary Society, the Baptist, Methodist and the Catholic Missions established their presence independent of one another in various locations, particularly in Abeokuta, Calabar and Onitsha. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) started the first newspaper in Abeokuta in order to spread Christianity to the local people in their own language. The newspaper was called 'Iwe Irohin'. Other newspapers in Yoruba as well as English language were later established mainly around Abeokuta and Ibadan. Most of these papers lasted for a little period of time. However, it is important to note that between 1850s and the late 1920s, the Christian press had started questioning the emergent colonialism and its multiple oppressive practices in Nigeria (Oyovbaire, 2001).

The media in Nigeria was significant during the struggle for independence by the founding fathers of Nigerian nationalism against British colonial rule and imperialism in the late 1920s and much more from about 1944. The media acquired a front seat and status as the mouthpiece of the anti-colonial struggle. In this role, the media and individual journalists suffered persecution from the colonial authorities (Oyovbaire, 2001).

After independence in 1960, the media continually increased in importance and significance in the country. From 1966 to the 90s, the media continually served as an instrument for the justification of every military coup and the establishment of the legitimacy of every regime (Jorre, 1972). It also served as a weapon for pro-democracy activists to protest against the activities of oppressive military administrations. A significant role played by the media after independence was its coverage of the Biafra war from 1966 to 1970. The media attention on the conflict led to an outpouring of international public outrage at the war's brutality (Achebe, 2012).

Many ethno-religious conflicts due to hostile relations created by the British between different ethnic and religious groups in Nigeria were exposed by the media. In the northern states of Nigeria, the Kafanchan riot of 1987, Hausa-Fulani and Kataf conflict of 1992 in Kaduna State, Jukun/Chamba and Kuteb, Jukun and Tiv of 1998/1999 in Taraba State (Isa, 2001), Sharia riots of 2000 in Kaduna, reprisal killings from the Kaduna mayhem of 2000 in Aba, Abia State, riots of 2000 in Damboa, Borno State, ethnic violence of 2001 in Nasarawa State, religious clash of 2001 in Jos, Plateau State, religious riot of 2001 in Kano, religious riot of 2001 in Benue State and religious riots of

2002 in Kaduna State and Abuja were reported by the media for possible government action (Olu-Adeyemi, 2007).

The media in Nigeria has increased in significance. It is the main source of information on ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. Today, the nation depends on the media for information on the violent killings of the Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal Jihad (Boko Haram) and the success of the security operatives in ending the conflict. Almost all the nineteen states of the North have had a fair share of the menace of the Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal Jihad violent activities (Ola,2012).

The media being an instrument for disseminating information has much to do in conflict situations. It is selected for this study because it is one of the organizations that plays a major role in the human society and particularly in conflict situations. It is hoped that this study on "ethno-religious conflicts: the role of the media" will build peace that will stand the test of time between ethno-religious groups in the northern states of Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Ethno-religious conflicts have given Nigeria the image of a nation with a regrettable past and a future difficult to predict. Ethnic and religious conflicts have caused so much damage in the nation. In the 1980s and 1990s clashes of Ife and Modakeke, businesses and economic institutions within the city suffered significant financial losses as a result of the violence. The curfew imposed in the area caused physical damage to the businesses as well as the loss of potential investors (Aregbesola,2011). During Obasanjo's civilian administration (he previously ruled

Nigeria from 1976 to 1979), more than ten thousand Nigerians perished in ethnic and religious disturbances (Onwudiwe,2004).

In northern Nigeria alone, ethno-religious conflicts have resulted in many casualties. The April and May 1991 riots of Bauchi claimed about 100 to 200 lives. Places of worship and property were destroyed (Odeh, 2014). In Nasarawa State, the Bassa and Igbirra conflict claimed thousands of lives and displaced over 100,000. Several villages were destroyed, while food production and other economic and commercial activities were also disrupted (Onwudiwe, 2004).

In Kaduna State, the 1987 Kafanchan crisis that spread to other parts of the state led to the death of about 425 people. Places of worship, hotels and residential houses were burnt. The Zangon-Kataf clash of 1992 claimed about 300 lives according to government report, while independent sources recorded more than 1000 persons (Odeh, 2014). The 1999 Hausa-Fulani and the indigenous groups conflict of Kafanchan claimed one hundred lives and property worth millions of naira were destroyed (Bagudu, 2003). The Kaduna Sharia conflict in 2000 displaced sixty-five thousand people of whom an estimated 75 per cent were children. In the 2000 Sharia conflict alone, an estimated number of 80 family members died in Kaduna, the majority of whom were women and children. An estimated number of 961 houses were destroyed and 67,288 people displaced (Gotan, 2008). Auta (n.d:1) captured the 2000 scenario when he observed that:

Charred and harked bodies of human beings littered all the nooks and crannies of Kaduna Metropolis. The wailing voices of defenseless law abiding members of the society who were either themselves caught in the cross-fire or were mourning the loss of the loved ones and/or those properties which they had spent their lifetime accumulating, particularly rent the air.

Though no official number of the dead was given, it was believed that about five thousand Nigerians were killed in this war of ethnic and religious zealotry (Onwudiwe, 2004).

An estimated number of 80 residential and educational buildings were destroyed during the 2000 Sharia riot, forcing the children to abandon their educational pursuit. Some children that lost their parents could not continue with their schooling (Gotan, 2008). Today in Kaduna, the clock has been turned back, and people now look for the safety of ethnic and religious enclaves when deciding where to live (Onwudiwe, 2004). The 2002 conflict following the Muslims protest against Nigeria's hosting of Miss World Beauty Contest in Kaduna claimed more than two hundred lives (Onwudiwe,2002).

In Plateau State, the 2001 Jos riot claimed at least 1,000 lives. About 700 people were killed in the Yelwa Shendam conflict of 2004. In 2008, at least 700 people died in another out break of violence in Jos. In 2010, another round of violence in Jos claimed about 1,000 lives. In the conflicts in Plateau State, about 220,000 people were displaced between 2001 and 2004; more than 10,000 after the 2008 conflict and about 18,000 after the 2010 clash (Krause, 2011). According to Onwudiwe (2004), no less than 350 human beings were roasted, massacred and delivered to their early graves in the Plateau State 9 May 2004 attacks (Onwudiwe, 2004). At least 1,000 people died in 2010 ethno-religious clashes in Plateau State (Ibukun, 2012). "Andronicus Adeyemo, an official with the Nigerian Red Cross said the conflict in Plateau state has displaced nearly 4,000 people" (Ibukun, 2012:1).

Today the ethno-religious conflict that seems to be threatening the survival of Nigeria as a nation is the violence unleashed on the people by the Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnah

Lidda'awati Wal Jihad (Boko Haram). In 2011, Boko Haram was responsible for at least 450 killings in Nigeria. Also in 2012, the group caused the death of over 620 people. Since the first few years of operation, more than 10,000 people have been killed (Akin, 2012).

Ethno-religious conflicts have resulted to a creeping proliferation of private militias, which is a threat to the corporate existence of the country, and for attracting the level of foreign investment needed to sustain economic growth. The cost in money and men has been staggering. In one year alone (2001-2), 750,000 Nigerians were displaced by violence. In the very first year of the transition to democracy (1999), there were, according to police records, two hundred communal clashes across the country and since then, many Nigerians have lost their lives in such clashes (Onwudiwe, 2004).

No month in 2004 escaped the kind of savagery that has come to mark ethno-religious crises in Nigeria. In February, about 117 people perished in violence, according to police reports. Even this figure is adjudged to be conservative: in March, the number of people killed was so high that officials prudently refused to divulge it (Ekpu in Onwudiwe, 2004). Human Rights Watch report calculates that inter-communal, political and sectarian violence have claimed the lives of more than 14,500 persons since the end of military rule in 1999 (Akin, 2012).

When we were in secondary school at St. Joseph's Minor Seminary, Basawa Zaria, it was aired on radio in 1987 that there was a conflict in Kafanchan and many Hausas/Muslims were killed. As the news was amplified by rumours, tempers were inflamed in Zaria. One faithful morning, we saw smoke in Samaru and Sabon Gari Zaria. Later on, some one came to the school to inform the students that many churches in Zaria

had been burnt in reaction to the conflict in Kafanchan. Towards noon time, some aggressive youths approached our school and set it on fire. We ran to the military barracks in Basawa and remained there for some days. The experience made some students to quit school, while others refused to come back to Zaria. All the students were not sure of the progress of their education.

The problem therefore is that many lives have been lost and places of worship burnt down, property destroyed and economic and educational activities sometimes halted due to ethno-religious conflicts. Sad enough is the persistence of ethno-religious conflicts. Attempts to ensure lasting peace have failed. The media as a source of information has much to do in these conflicts. It seems the state of ethno-religious conflicts is continuing because of its inability to properly play its role in the northern states of Nigeria. Thus, the concern of this study is to examine what role the media have played in either aggravating or halting the ethno-religious conflicts.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to establish the role of the media in ethno-religious conflicts in northern states of Nigeria. In doing so, the study has the following objectives it hopes to achieve.

1. Find out the role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.
2. Establish the factors that influence the media's role to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.
3. Examine the effects of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the role of the media in the northern states of Nigeria.

4. Establish the impact of the role played by the media in curbing the spread of ethnic and religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.
5. Establish the role of the media in building peace among ethno-religious communities in the northern states of Nigeria.

1.4 Research Questions

In view of the problem of the study, it is pertinent to ask some questions with the hope that the responses will offer possible solutions to the problem.

1. What role do the media play in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in northern states of Nigeria?
2. What are the factors that influence the media to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria?
3. What are the effects of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the role of the media in the northern states of Nigeria?
4. What is the impact of the role played by the media in curbing the spread of ethnic and religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria?
5. What role should the media play in building peace among ethno-religious communities in the northern states of Nigeria?

1.5 Research Hypotheses

To guide this study, the following hypotheses were formulated:

1. Traditional leaders and their members do not differ significantly in their opinions on the role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.

2. There is no significant difference in the opinion of religious leaders and their members in respect of the factors that influence the media to play the role of aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.
3. Christians, Muslims and followers of African Traditional Religion do not differ significantly in their opinions on the effects of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the role of media in the northern states of Nigeria.
4. Traditional leaders and their members do not differ significantly in their views on the impact of the role played by the media in curbing the spread of ethnic and religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.
5. There is no significant difference in the responses of respondents from the different states on the role of the media in peace-building among ethno-religious conflict communities in the northern states of Nigeria.

1.6 Basic Assumptions

1. Picturing the background and the problem of the study, it is possible to investigate the role of the media in ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.
2. It is possible to investigate the role of the media in ethno-religious conflicts with the aim of building peace through the use of questionnaire and interview method.
3. It is possible to obtain the co-operation of traditional and religious leaders and their members in the process of data collection.
4. It is assumed that in this part of the country, this study is the first of its kind.

1.7 Significance of the Study

It is believed that the findings from the study will make people realize how the media sometimes aggravate ethno-religious conflicts through its reporting of events. This will help them in the screening of the information the media produces.

The study will hopefully reduce money-making journalism and promote peace in the nation. The ability to market and make money from the sale of news items is not the only success of a media organization. Pursuing peace is a great achievement every media agency ought to envisage.

Recommendations from the study will help media practitioners to think of peace-enhancing journalism when reporting conflicts. Violence places people at the risk of losing their lives. The media practitioners are not left out in that regard. Therefore, a peace-driven journalism will serve a useful purpose.

It is hoped that the findings from the study will guide government and non governmental agencies of peace-building in the promotion of peaceful coexistence in an ethnic and religious pluralistic society like Nigeria. There can be no meaningful development in a place where violence has become an entrenched culture. Thus, the promotion of peace among communities is an urgent necessity and the media should not be left out in that exercise.

It is hoped that recommendations from the study will help the media agencies to organize and air programs that would heal the wound created in the relationship of communities due to past conflicts. Memories of past conflicts if not healed, can generate violence at the slightest provocation. It is believed that peace and reconciliation programs organized and aired by the media will go a long way to heal such memories.

Finally, the suggestions from the study will help the government organize and use the media to air programs that will sustain peace in the nation. Through the media, government can air programs that will promote continuous peace and make violence very unpopular.

1.8 Scope of the Study

The northern states of Nigeria constitute the scope of the study. The research is an attempt to study the role of the media in ethno-religious conflicts in order to build peace and enhance coexistence among communities in the northern states of Nigeria. The northern states of Nigeria seem to account for a large proportion of Nigeria's over 374 ethnic and linguistic groups. At independence in 1960, it became one of the three regions that formed the federation of Nigeria. As a result of the creation of states from 1967 to 1996, the region multiplied from one region between 1914 and 1966 to nineteen states (Bagudu,2003).

The states in northern Nigeria are more than those of the east and west put together, justifying it for the study on the basis of population. Finally, it will appear that the northern states of Nigeria have more immigrants from other regions than those from the north to the east and the west. Thus, the cosmopolitan nature of the northern states makes them suitable for a study that can be used for generalizations that will cover the whole of Nigeria.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.6 Introduction

In life, many things can be ignored, but not conflict. This is because it can lead to the break down of the society if not well handled. Ethno-religious conflicts have been the bane of Nigeria since independence in 1960. They have attracted the attention of many concerned Nigerians. This research is another attempt to study the phenomenon. This chapter focuses on the review of related literature under the following headings: the media, conflict, types of conflict, causes of conflict, conflicts fueled by the media in Nigeria, peace, peace-building techniques, conventional or traditional models, Christian, Islamic and African traditional models of conflict resolution and peace-building, the role of the media in peace-building and empirical studies.

2.2 Ethno-Religious Conflicts

Different expressions have been invoked by people to explain ethnicity. In Ladan (2010), an ethnic group is described as a community distinguishable from others on the basis of specific characteristics that include cultural, linguistic, physical and biological. Ethnicity has been a source of conflict in Nigeria. However, the characteristics of ethnicity in themselves do not spell out conflicts among different groups. The conflicts associated with ethnicity in Nigeria are caused by socio-economic imbalances or economics, which often translate into political terms. This is because the control of political machinery creates easy access to national wealth, not only for the individual in authority, but also for his immediate family members and ethnic group. “Generally speaking, ethnicity as a source of conflict results from long persistent periods of

domination and unfair treatment or unresolved socio-economic and political imbalances, injustices and inequities by the politically dominant ethnic group” (Ladan, 2010:3).

Religion on the other hand is the belief in God, the creator of the universe and all that is in it, to whom worship, homage, and obedience of man is due (Ladan, 2010). Religion does not create instability or destabilizing effects for a nation. On the contrary, it is a means of upholding justice and equity. It is an agent of stability, peace, love and unity of mankind. “Religion as a source of conflict is the result of religious intolerance, fanaticism, and politics. In Nigeria, the case has consistently been made that Nigerians are a religious people and whatever religion they practice, they all desire to live in peace and worship in peace” (Ladan, 2010:5).

The combination of ethnic and religious sentiments to produce clashes among different groups of people is that which is commonly referred to as ‘ethno-religious conflicts’. Many observers keep on questioning the why of ethno-religious conflicts in a richly blessed country like Nigeria. It is baffling to note that for the past twenty years, there has been a resurgence of ethnic and religious violence in the nation (Igbuzor, 2012). These ethno-religious conflicts according to Musa (2004) assumed a massive scale in 1980s and 90s. Today, the conflicts have devalued the social and cultural fabrics of the nation. However, Musa (2004) expressed no surprise on the menace of ethno-religious conflicts in the nation. He argued that Nigeria is a country with appropriate credentials for inter-communal conflicts. The diversity in language, religion, culture, history and even attitude which could serve as an enriching variety in a pluralistic society, are the factors he considered as yielding to a huge harvest of conflicts since independence.

Igbuzor (2012) declined seeing the ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria from the perspective of diversity as suggested by Musa (2004). In his opinion, it is instructive to note that this resurgence of ethno-religious conflicts coincided with the economic crises experienced in the country and the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). Igbuzor (2012) states that one common thread that runs through the writings of scholars is the argument that most ethnic clashes in Nigeria often have a religious dimension. He compiled a table of ethnic and religious crises from 1754 to 2002 and concluded that the crises give the impression that they were caused mainly by religious reasons even when the reasons go beyond religion to include political and economic factors.

Odiri (2012) traced the root of ethno-religious conflicts to the time of the amalgamation of Southern and Northern Nigeria in 1914. At independence, the problem of ethnicity was the first to be identified. It manifested itself in the North and South dichotomy. From the first civilian administration to successive military regimes, ethnicity has been one major issue that governments have grappled with. The creation of new states, introduction of symbols of unity, the national anthem, the introduction of the National Youth Service Corp and the quota system in the distribution of resources are some measures taken by government to cope with the problem of ethnicity. Importantly, Odiri (2012) noted that ethnic feud between the South and the North has assumed a religious dimension. Religion has been employed both in the South and North to rally for political support and as an instrument to deplete discrimination.

2.3 Causes of Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria

Ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria have been a disturbing hemorrhage. Many factors could be said to be responsible for these conflicts. Some of those given consideration are as follows:

Esugbue (2008:2) argued that the British policy and activities responsible for the hasty and random creation of Nigeria for her own self interest and gains is said to be the chief reason for the outbreak of the Nigeria civil war (1967-1970). In his words, “It would seem that the British in hurriedly putting the various ethnic-groups of more than 250 together did so in order to gather more natural resources for her British people and land overseas much to the neglect of the very nation (Nigeria)”. Journalist Alex Mitchell blames “involvement of the British, Dutch, French and Italian oil companies whose battle for the rich Nigerian oil fields started the civil war and kept it going” (Alex, 2011:544).

From the point of view of Adamu, through the indirect rule system, the emirs and chiefs appointed district and village heads for the ethnic groups. In some communities particularly in Southern Kaduna formerly known as Southern Zaria, the emir of Zaria was suspected of favouring Moslems. The people being largely Christians and animists considered that to be a grand plan to Islamize them. In his words, “this suspicion simmered and finally boiled over into the Zangon-Kataf violent clash in the eighties” (Adamu, 2002:5).

In the mid-1960s economic and political instability and ethnic friction characterized Nigerian public life. In the mostly Hausa north, resentment against the more prosperous, educated Igbo minority metamorphose to violence. “In September 1966, some 10,000 to 30,000 Igbo people were massacred in the Northern Region, and

perhaps 1,000,000 fled as refugees to the Igbo – dominated east. Non Igbos were then expelled from the Eastern Region” (Nigerian Biafra Secession, 1967-1970:1).

Adamu (2002) states that the creation of states and local governments in 1991 and 1996 pulled the tribes further apart. Tied to this was the creation of more local government areas in all the states. The immediate consequence was that new majority tribes emerged among the minority tribes. “Thus the Tiv in Benue and the Jukun in Taraba States became the new majorities in their respective states. When new majorities emerge, they drive new minorities crazy and fresh agitations for elbowroom on both sides inflame passion, giving rise to suspicion” (Adamu, 2002:5).

Furthermore, Adamu (2002) argued that democracy has unleashed personal freedom that some of us find ourselves unequipped to properly manage, leading to a heady expression of same. It may well be that under democracy, our right to have our say has been turned into a license to be right. It may be that the latent fissiparous forces now find a discordant expression and violent release in the country (Adamu, 2002).

Some of the worst violence in Nigeria have been between neighboring communities and ethnic groups over claims of land ownership. Land disputes have fuelled most of the inter-communal and inter-ethnic conflicts in the southern oil region, where land ownership attracts compensation payments and amenities from oil multinationals (IRIN, 2003). According to Ekeh (1999:1), “the question who owns the land? Is at the root of communal clashes in several theatres across the country today. The same question also explains the bloody fights between Umuleri and Aguleri communities.” According to Angaye (2003), most of the conflicts in the minority areas in the South and Middle Belt in Nigeria are caused partly by land and boundary disputes.

Desert encroachment leading to environmental degradation has been considered one of the problems in northern Nigeria. This problem has pushed mostly nomadic communities' southwards in search of pasture. As they enter lands controlled by settled farmers' communities, violent conflicts often erupt (IRIN, 2003).

Angaye (2003:2) argued that “the breakdown of such vehicles of social control as the family education, law, religion and the political system has increased ethnic and communal conflicts. The inability of many homes to make ends meet with the family income tends to increase immorality, broken, fatherless/motherless homes, divorces and drunkenness, leading to street fights.”

Rivalry between Muslims and Christians has also ignited violence in Nigeria, especially with regard to the adoption of strict Sharia (Islamic Law) by states in the predominantly Muslim north. Some Christians, who are the majority in the south, have perceived this as a threat of Islamization, and in flashpoints such as Kaduna in the north and Jos in central Nigeria. This has been a source of Christian –Muslim violence (IRIN, 2003). According to Johnson (2011), before 2009, Boko Haram did not aim to violently overthrow the government, but violence between Christians and Muslims made them take such a position.

Instead of building good characters, Angaye (2003) posits that some prosperity preachers are more interested in making quick money to mould blocks and build earthly mansions and buy luxurious cars, while their sheep followers who had been taught to expect their rewards in heaven see their leaders enjoying heaven on earth. The frustration drives them into feigned and fake religious fights and clashes to capture peoples' property in order to enjoy heaven on earth like their leaders.

Poverty is a disease that is abhorred by every individual. It pushes people into inventing different means of survival. In the face of widespread poverty, more and more people seek refuge in their faiths. “Political leaders have been quick to see this and have exploited it and the result includes violence, increased mutual suspicion and widening of existing divides” (IRIN, 2003:3).

The more the circulation of arms, the likelihood of more violence in the society. In Nigeria, one of the causes of communal conflicts according to Angaye (2003) is uncontrolled arms supply. He argued that uncontrolled arms supply has quickened the outbreak of conflicts and encouraged belligerents to keep on fighting rather than find peaceful settlement to disputes.

Isa (2001) argued that the increasing process of globalization and democratic project has brought about economic crisis and social injustice that have generated conflicts in the different parts of the world. In Nigeria, he states that individual groups have emerged under new ethnic chauvinism to pursue their objectives using all means including violence. That is why in a daily proportion, there is an increasing level of violence in the nation.

African elites are seen as the brain behind some conflicts in the continent. According to Ake,

Besieged by a multitude of hostile forces which their betrayal of the nationalist movement and their political repression had created, the African elite developed a siege mentality. They became so absorbed in the struggle for survival that they could not pay much attention to anything else especially development. More often than not, the things which they did to hang onto power became impediments to development too. Among other things, the manipulated ethnic and communal loyalties to elicit loyalty and establish common cause with some communities (Ake, 1996:16).

By doing that, the African elites divide the African societies into hostile camps, transforming ethnicity into a violent and destructive force in many communities as experienced in the Jukun/Chamba and Kuteb communal conflicts of Taraba State in Nigeria (Isa, 2001). Amiclar Cabral in Oyeniyi (2011:2) is quoted as saying that, “there are no real conflicts between the peoples of Africa. There are only conflicts between the elites”. Angaye (2003) opined that the failure of Nigerian leaders to establish good governments, forge national integration and promote economic progress has led to mass poverty and unemployment, and the resultant communal, ethnic, religious and class conflicts. On the same note, Oyeniyi (2012:5) quoted Ali Mazrui as saying that, “the resources of Nigeria under the civilian rule from 1979 were the private hunting ground of those in power and their supporters.” Roger Tangri in Oyeniyi (2011:5) maintained that, “conflicts arise not so much out of clashes of ideologies or programmes, but for profit – often for just an elite few, for the masses take little part in this part of conflict: nearly all tribal or ethnic conflicts are rooted in competition between individuals, for the scarce resources of wealth, state and power.”

According to Isa (2001:6), “institutional responses refer to that role played by the federal and state governments such as law enforcement agencies and the pattern adopted by such agencies of state in either managing conflict, resolving conflict or bringing it to a terminal end.” The state responses to ethnic conflicts in Nigeria have been ignoring the grievances that may lead to violence by groups and issuing of threats by law enforcement agencies to people who have expressed grievances for a long period of time (Alemika, 2000). Though Shawulu (2000) hinged on security inadequacy as a source of conflicts in Nigeria, he did indicate the agency responsible for the provision of the security in the

nation. In another perspective, the security provided by the government is even seen as being responsible for the violent turn of some of the ethno-religious grievances in the nation. According to Johnson (2011), harsh government treatment, which includes pervasive police brutality, is one of the issues that encouraged the radicalization of the Boko Haram activities.

Adamu (2002) opined that Christians largely led the movement for the Middle Belt region. In the struggle, the leaders felt that the Moslems in the region did not support them in their struggle. They also felt and claimed that the powers that be in the region punished the leaders and the supporters of the movement but rewarded those who were opposed to it. Thus, from the early years of the struggle, religion increasingly became a factor. The suspicion that particular ethnic groups such as the Hausa/Fulani and the Nupe were opposed to the struggle and that their alleged stand gained them a favoured status in the Northern Region created a latent division and animosity among the other tribes (Adamu, 2002).

Oyeniya (2012:5) argued that, “the most prevalent in the post-colonial Africa, communal conflicts seek the promotion of sub-national identities – a goal which can be achieved either through adequate representation, including the protection of minority rights, the granting of autonomy, or through outright secession.” Most of the ethnic militias in Nigeria are a product of the attempt to promote sub-national identities.

In the view of Adamu (2002), most of the inter-and intra-ethnic problems in Nigeria have been blamed on the divisive politics in our dear country because politics is a game of comparative opportunities. Comparative advantages in political opportunities

tend to give one group or tribe the opportunity to dominate other tribes or groups, resulting conflict arising from protest or agitation.

On a similar note, Musa (2004) argued that Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and religious nation. Each ethno-religious group has peculiar beliefs and values that could ignite anger and violence with religious overtones. For example, the Hausa-Fulani are very sensitive to their Islamic identity. Such sensitivities are often exploited by Nigerian political leaders when they want to divert the attention of people from the main issues of national development.

Further more, Ladan (2010) states that when politicians cannot mobilize their supporters on the basis of some ideological principles or other unifying principles, the resort to ethnicity becomes very attractive. Such an approach saves costs and gives the political claims of a group the seal of social justice, at least among its ethnic members.

Adamu (2002) argued that ethnic champions suppressed by the long years of military rule have emerged in this democratic dispensation. There is the proliferation of militant youth groups with the interests of the tribes and those who champion their ethnic political cause. Borrowing a leaf from the Odua People's Congress (OPC), other tribes and zones formed their ethnic champions for militant political crusades (Adamu, 2002). Also, Ladan (2010) opined that problems of everyday living and frustrations have aggravated the rumblings of ethnic nationalism in the world at large.

According to Pike (2008), "armed forces of the Emirate of Zazzau, based in present – day Zaria in north – Central Kaduna State, continued inter-mittent warfare and slave raiding in the southern half of contemporary Kaduna State, an area populated by some 15 Middle Belt minority ethnic groups" (Pike, 2008:1). The pains of this assault

though carried out in the past, is considered one of the issues responsible for the conflicts that have assumed a religious dimension between Christian and Muslim communities in the state.

Pike (2008) argued that indigenes see settlers as failing to commit or contribute to the community in either material or non material sense. In Kano State, the indigenes believe that settlers look down on the indigenous Kano population. To some extent, Muslims feel marginalized on their own turf, which fuels their sense of grievances against the southern settlers in their midst (Pike, 2008).

In Nigeria, religious sensitivities are threatening the survival of Nigeria as one nation. It is argued that religious passion could be fanned to its peak if the government is seen as taking side with one particular religion. In Maier's (2000:65) opinion, "religious passions were inflamed when Babangida attempted to register Nigeria as a full member of the Organization of Islamic Countries in 1986. The decision set the stage for Muslim – Christian clashes that rocked Kaduna, Bauchi, and Kano over the next several years."

Olu-Adeyemi (2007) posits that the persistent ethnic chauvinism exhibited by the military regimes had grave effects on the psyche of the various ethnic nationalities to an extent that even the groups that benefited lay claims to marginalization at any attempt to reverse the status quo. This is nonetheless the cause of the plethora of violent conflicts. A new dimension to the issue is the increasing recruitment of ethnic militia with reckless abandon. From the Odua People's Congress in Yoruba land to Arewa People's Congress in the North; the Bakassi boys in the East and the Egbesu in the South – South, agitations are rife and it is obvious that the nation state will face dire consequence (Olu-Adeyemi,

2007). Even though devoid of detailed explanation, Shawulu (2000) also blamed most of the ethno-religious conflicts in the nation on the military regimes.

2.4 The Media

Familiarity with the word ‘media’ makes it to be used without much concern about what it actually stands for. Providing a definition for the word media, Hornby (1995) defines it as the main ways that large numbers of people receive information and entertainment, which is television, radio, newspapers and the internet. Antigha (2005) states that it refers to those mechanisms through which mass communication is made possible. They include television, radio, newspapers, books, magazines, satellite and recently the internet. The media of mass communication in Nigeria are, “the print media which covers newspapers, books and magazine; and the electronic media which includes radio, television, internet and cinema” (Antigha, 2005:153). Mass communication in Nigeria has a positive and negative dimension in the society. The negative dimension will be discussed later under the topic ‘the media and ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. On the positive side, the following have been considered;

Reward or encouragement is one of the desires of man. To bring people together to struggle for the achievement of set objectives in life, there is the need for reward or encouragement. Since the media deals with the dissemination of information, it is considered an instrument of motivation and mass mobilization. In Nigeria, Antigha (2005) argued that during the struggle for independence and self determination in Nigeria, the nationalists made very effective use of the mass media to achieve the goal of independence. “The exploits of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Chief Obafemi Awolowo through their papers (West African Pilot, 1937 and Nigerian Tribune, 1949) are

instructive. In recent times, politicians, religious groups, pressure groups and even government have made extensive use of the media in pursuit of the twin objectives of motivation and mass mobilization” (Antigha, 2005:154-155). In Nigerian ethno-religious conflicts, the media can serve as a peace builder by bringing people together to dialogue for peaceful co-existence. Outstanding contributors to the peace effort could be given some rewards in form of gifts or titles for their effort.

Since independence in 1960, national integration has continued to be a nightmare in Nigeria (Ojukwu, 2005). Some observers are of the view that one of the basic needs of the country is national integration. The media is seen as an instrument for promoting national integration. Antigha (2005) argued that when the different NTA stations across the nation exchange programmes about their host communities, it is an attempt at national integration. Viewing of such programmes is educative and it reduces stereotypes and wrong perceptions of each other that could degenerate to a conflict (Antigha, 2005). If the wrong perceptions and stereotypes are reduced, the ethno-religious conflicts which they sometimes cause in one part of the nation or the other will be reduced.

This is done by uplifting the status of an issue by giving it larger headlines, front page report or featuring more lead stories on the subject. In the opinion of Antigha (2005), the “Print media coverage of the on-going national confabulation and the resource control issues are glaring examples. In like manner, the mass media may decide in their wisdom to give prominence and legitimacy to issues they consider right, but which might have negative consequences on the larger society. The continuous coverage of Ralph Uwazurike of MASSOB and his activities is an example” (Antigha, 2005:155).

On the ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria, the media in their papers and broadcast can give importance to the damaging effects of these crises and the need to live in peace.

Allowing all forms of information to be aired out in the media as news without screening them could generate more problems to a nation. This is where the function of gate-keeping becomes very necessary among media practitioners. Gate-keeping according to Antigha (2005) is the process by which news items traveling through channels gain clearance at certain checkpoints on the way (Antigha, 2005). Gate-keeping of conflict stories is very necessary for peace-building by the media in Nigeria. The gate-keeper is a person or organization that is involved in transferring information from one individual to another or through a mass medium (Antigha, 2005). Media gate-keeping could play a useful role in screening news items capable of fanning anger that can result to revenge in ethno-religious conflicts in the nation.

2.5 The Media and Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria

In Nigeria, religion and ethnicity are wedded together in such a way that it is difficult to separate them. This is more glaring in the arena of conflict. Salawu (2009) states that, due to the configuration of Nigeria as a nation, the strand of religion is usually intertwined with that of ethnicity. “The ethnicisation of religion is reflected in the fact that whenever there is a religious uprising, people from different parts of the country are always at each other’s neck” (Salawu, 2009:90).

The media as a social institution is involved in conflicts in the society either as a harbinger, channel of information and analysis of the conflicts or as part of the escalation or resolution of the conflicts (Salawu, 2009). The media is justified in reporting conflicts because it has the responsibility of recording events as they unfold, part of which is

conflict. In other words, conflict is part of reality and the media has the onus of portraying reality (Salawu, 2009). The provision of information about a conflict in the media is a step towards its resolution. An important point made by Ladan (2010) is his submission that communication plays a significant role in the determination of the phases of a conflict. It can push it in a constructive or destructive direction (Ladan, 2010).

2.5.1 The media reportage of ethno-religious conflicts

The media has its own way of increasing violence. It does that by the way it reports and presents pictures emerging from a conflict. Its emphasis in reporting has the capacity of generating more violence or not. In the words of Antigha (2005:157), “information and its management or mismanagement to a reasonable degree influences the course of conflicts.” It is not the information that increases the conflicts, but how it is reported. According to Edeani (1994), “in crisis situations when the routines have been disrupted and when people’s nerves and tempers also are likely to have been frayed, leading to a highly charged social atmosphere, the role of the mass media can easily be very decisive in helping to escalate the crisis or to assuage the tempers and bring the crisis under control” (Edeani, 1994:27). The media can inflame conflicts by one-sided reporting against parties to the conflict, outrightly calling for violence, or failing to bring a simmering conflict to the public domain for discussion, intervention or containment (Antigha, 2005:157).

In the opinion of Musa (2004), the mass media over the years have been charged with so many vices. There is lack of professionalism and promotion of sectionalism, sensationalism as well as speculative tendencies. There is often the distortion of truth with the intent of destroying a party in the dispute. Also, opinions are misrepresented,

sometimes reporting that of an individual as if it is the version of the group to which he or she belongs. Most at times, people are quoted out of context or the reports are from one side of the conflict, which could be misleading to the readers. Finally, the language used is pervaded by the doctrine of ethnic nationalism, dramatization of violence with a view to selling more copies of newspapers or magazines.

Salawu (2009) argued that the media does not create the conflict, but rather provide the climate for it to be triggered. That is, the mass media does not have the effect of goading people to violence. In all cases of religious violence in Nigeria, Salawu states that the religious leaders and other elite have always been the propelling forces. Furthermore, he posits that newspapers and other media's reports of conflicts are said to be contributory to the legitimating of conflict. To him, the media can act as an accomplice to genocide not only through its indifference but also through active collaboration. He noted that in every ethno-religious conflict, the positions of the media can significantly impact the outcome.

Ladan (2010) sees the incisive reporting of ethno-religious conflicts that aggravate them into violence rather than douse the tempers as a problem emerging from poorly trained journalists in the country. He posits that the accusation of journalism practice as being responsible for instigating more violence during inter-ethnic and religious clashes by provoking news reports cannot be discredited. This, to a large extent, is due to the fact that journalism in Nigeria is the profession in which you find people from different works of life working as journalists because they can write, speak and communicate well, particularly in English Language.

Liman (2012) maintained that one important way of assessing the relationship between different ethnic and religious groups and how they perceive each other in the country is through the media and its role in disseminating the news and how this either aggravates or lessens inter-group conflicts. He draws attention to conflicts fueled by online media, especially the editions of the print media. Liman (2012) states that the editions of online print media have opened up an avenue for Nigerians to voice their opinions on political and social issues. While the development is a welcome idea, Liman maintained that it is creating a worrying trend that does not augur well for the unity of the Nigerian nation. Since the opinions are not moderated by the online versions of the print media, some of them are very divisive and have a tendency to polarize rather than unite the many ethnic and religious groups in the country. He further argued that some of the comments we read in the online media are in some cases confrontational and insensitive. “From the replies to some of these comments, it is obvious that what is happening now is that ethnic and religious groups are retreating to their corners and strengthening their positions on any and all issues such as political, economic and social, seeing them from very narrow ethno-religious lenses” (Liman, 2012:1). Besides the comments in the online media, the news media do not exercise restraint in displaying the images of the victims of the conflicts currently engulfing the country. The images the media carry sometimes lean more towards sensationalism. In some cases, these images are those of past conflicts that are reproduced and captioned as those of current conflicts, all with the aim of inflaming the already tense situation in the country. “In one case, the images were those from a car accident but referenced as victims of the then ongoing conflict” (Liman, 2012:1).

Ladan holds the perspective that the media can inflame ethno-religious conflicts through the use of provocative or confrontational or derogatory remarks/language. “Media reports of conflict situations in Nigeria have hardly changed since the first republic. A lot of biases and prejudices, which of course can only cause more problems, are brought to bear on news reporting in different parts of the country” (Ladan, 2010:10-11). He argued further that the problem is compounded when the role of the media in a conflict situation is seen to be that of rumour mongering, distortion of truth, misrepresenting of one person’s opinion for that of a group to which he or she belongs, quoting people out of context, reporting from only one side of the conflict and thus misleading the readers to believe that only that perspective is available and right, use of language pervaded by the doctrine of ethnic nationalism, dramatization of conflict situations and heroization of violence with the view of selling more copies of their newspapers or magazines (Ladan, 2010).

Further more, Okoroafar, Okoro, Tayo and Sheba (2013) argued that a look at any of the daily newspapers, news from radio, television, or the internet in Nigeria sends enough signals that create national panic. Newspapers headlines such as, ‘SSS Uncovers Bomb Factory’, ‘The Abuja Satanic Bombing’, ‘UN House Attack: Nigeria on Trail of Al-Qaeda Agents’, Killers on the Rampage: As Robbers Massacre 90’, ‘Bombings Scare Foreign Investors’, Take Military Action against Kidnappers’, have been everyday news since 2010.

Basing their argument on findings by Pate (2003) and Kurawa (2000) on some conflicts reports from: *The Guardian*, 31/3/2000; *Tribune*, *The Guardian* 7/10/2001; *Punch* 10/9/2001; *The News*; vol. 17, October 29, 2001; *Sunday Tribune*, September

2001; *The Post Express*, 12/9/2001; and *This Day*, Monday, July 31, 2000; Doki and Buhari (2013) conclude that most of the motivating factors in reporting news are tribalism and the exploitation of religion. They observed that there are instances where a single inter-communal conflict widens into religious. While religious differences alone are not the basis for these violent conflicts, the media and parties in the conflict can use religion as the rallying point for tribal solidarity and propaganda purposes to attract support and assistance here and there in Nigeria. Nigeria has witnessed so many conflicts in its history.

2.5.2 Maitatsine onslaught in the early 1980s

The Matatsine conflict was an uprising that claimed many lives and property in Nigeria. In the conflict, Musa (2004) posits that about 4177 people perished. The Maitatsine onslaught is one of the conflicts considered to be reported with sentiments by some media organizations.

According to Ishaku (2002), during the Maitatsine crisis in the early 1980s, virtually all the media organizations based in the north and the middle belt condemned the group. This is probably because the group attacked both Muslims and Christians. Even at that, he observed that *New Nigeria* initial position was ambivalent. On the same note, Rodney (2005) observed that in the second republic, the press took openly partisan positions and failed to provide meaningful analysis of the (Maitatsine crisis) crisis.

2.5.3 Kafanchan crises of 1987

The Kafanchan debacle of 1987 ignited another round of violent clashes across the north of the country along ethno-religious divisions (Musa, 2004). The spread of the

conflict from Kafanchan to other parts of Kaduna State and beyond is not without the skewed reporting of the conflict in the media.

Commenting on the lopsided report of the Kafanchan 1987 riot by *“Today’s Challenge”*, Gaya (1997) said that much of the havoc most have been caused by ‘Muslims fundamentalists and extremists, who are using religion for very diabolical purposes, but the actions of the Christian community in the college were provocative. First, the banner of the gate into the campus which read ‘welcome to Jesus Campus’ was provocative. Second, the identity of Rev. Abubakar Bako, a Muslim convert to Christianity and his method of preaching was also provocative.

Gofwen (2004) posits that the defense of an ideological interest makes the media to be manipulated to fuel religious crisis in northern Nigeria. Making reference to the White Paper report of the 1987 Kafanchan crisis, he noted that “news of the crisis carried by the media was responsible for making people in other places within the state aware of what was happening in Kafanchan” (Gofwen, 2004:155). He argued that the conflict was exacerbated when Radio Nigeria, Kaduna kept on reporting in both English and Hausa that in Kafanchan, Christians had started killing Muslims, that Muslims had fled into hiding and that copies of the Holy Koran were being burnt in public.

Ishaku (2002) observed the part played by religious and ethnic sentiments in the media’s reporting of conflicts. He argued that some sections of the media in the north see the propagation of religious and ethnic sentiments as the purpose of their existence. Commenting on the Kafanchan 1987 riot, he states that the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, Kaduna (a.k.a Radio Kaduna) broadcast incendiary materials against Christians. Their broadcasts were instrumental to the spread of the riots beyond Kafanchan. In the

print media, *Standard* reported the agitation of the ethnic minorities of Southern Kaduna for self – determination. *New Nigeria* that missed the story rather reprimanded *Standard* for presenting a report capable of exacerbating the crisis, pretending to be ignorant of the broadcasting of Radio Kaduna which instigated the spread of the violence beyond Kafanchan. By the time the violence spread to Kaduna, *New Nigeria* was justifying the violence on the argument that Muslims were provoked to violence in Kafanchan (Ishaku, 2002).

2.5.4 Media war of 1987

Sad enough, lopsided reporting of conflicts led to a crisis among media practitioners. Ishaku (2002) described it as ‘media war’. In his words,

Soon enough a media war started between the *New Nigeria* and the *Nigeria Standard*. This culminated in the publication of a paid advert by the Council of Ulama in which Muslims in Nigeria were admonished to take up arms to defend their interests. It was outrage. *The Nigeria Standard* cried out in a front – page comment “stop them”. The *New Nigeria* had gone too far and unless the Federal Government which owns it intervened to stop religious extremists on the pay roll of the Newspaper, things would get out of hand. The *Standard* position was later confirmed that, “*New Nigeria* was being manipulated by certain interests to escalate the violence (Ishaku, 2002:237-238).

2.5.5 Kano ethno-religious crisis of 1991

Gaya (1997) argued that ‘*Today’s Challenge*’ report of the 1991 Kano religious riot presented the gory picture of the riot as it was unleashed by Moslems, overlooking the fear and insecurity created in the minds of Muslims by the elaborate advertisement of the crusade of Reighard Bonke by the Christian Association of Nigeria. According to him, “the chairman of the planning committee for the Reighard Bonke Crusade said ‘over 600,000 handbills and 16,000 large posters were produced. One of the posters read ‘capturing Kano for Christ. All in all, ten million naira was spent in the preparation for

the crusade” (Gaya,1997:52). He further argued that both Christians and Muslims fear proselytization of one group by the other. Thus, to invite the Rev. Bonke into Kano just after a Muslim fiery preacher from South Africa, Ahmed Deedat was refused coming to Nigeria was seen by at least, Moslems as unfair. In a similar note, Gofwen (2004) opined that the insensitive and inciting manner in which the media reported the visit of Bonke fueled the crisis that ensued in Kano in 1991.

2.5.6 Tafawa Balewa civil disturbances of 1991

The Tafawa Balewa disturbances that are rooted in the struggle for the self-determination of the Siyawa as against Hausa rule in Bauchi State have claimed lives, property and distorted the educational and economic activities of the state. In the clashes, it is argued that the media did not serve the people with enough information as it was expected. According to Bagudu (2003), the 1991 Tafawa Balewa civil disturbances got some media coverage just for a brief period of time. The period of the trial attracted media attention, which soon fizzled out. “The underlying reason was no doubt, the absence of a notable personality in the dock that would have attracted the media attention” (Bagudu, 2003:144).

On the 1999 Tafawa Balewa conflict, Ishaku (2002) observed that some newspapers distorted the facts. “The *Citizen Magazine* founded by erstwhile editors of the *New Nigeria* led by its former Managing Director, Mal. Mohammed Haruna, was now the undisputed defender of the northern status quo? After the outbreak of communal clashes in Tafawa Balewa, the *Citizen* reported that it was caused by the slaughtering of a pig at the public abattoir – an abomination to the Muslims” (Ishaku, 2002:235). In other words, the Christian majority provoked the disturbances; thus, down looking the long

struggle of the Seyawas and other ethnic minorities to self – determination as reported by the Nigerian Standard (Ishaku, 2002).

2.5.7 Zangon – Kataf civil disturbances of 1992

The Zangon-Kataf conflict is a mayhem that claimed many lives and property. According to Bagudu (2003), the Zangon – Kataf civil disturbances surpassed the trial of Ken Saro Wiwa and generated public interest because of the sensitive nature of the issues involved. There was the growing assertiveness of the minorities in the area. The conflict would have received little or no media attention if it were just the killing and destruction of property of ordinary people. The media response was largely due to the presence in the dock of a retired General, Zamani Lekwot, a one – time military administrator of the volatile Rivers State (Bagudu, 2003).

Doki and Buhari (2013) see the media attention given to the conflict from a different perspective. Arguing from the point of view of Yusuf (1994), they accused the African *Concord* and *TELL* magazine of biased, one-sided, false and inflammatory reporting of the Zangon-Kataf killings. According to their position, *TELL* in its February 4, 1994 issue thwarted attention from the evil committed by General Zamani Lekwot in which he was found guilty by the Federal Government Judicial Commission by reporting that many Nigerians see the convictions as a direct attack on the minority ethnic groups in the North in their age old fight against Hausa-Fulani hegemony. Further more, *Daily Times* in its front page of March 30, 1994, captioned a false story “Lekwot, others regain freedom” all with the intent of hurting the Hausa-Fulani who were the majority of the victims of the violence organized by the retired soldier and his cohorts. Unfortunately, Doki and Buhari could not see the mischief and miscarriage of justice in the trial of

Lekwot which is one of the characteristics of most military regimes. A similar kind of game played out in the condemnation of Ken Saro Wiwa and his colleagues in Ogoni land by the Abacha regime.

2.5.8 Kuteb/Chamba/Jukun crises of 1996

Taraba State is seen by some people as another axis of violence in Nigeria. It has been the host to the Kuteb/Jukun/Chamba conflicts. Even though many factors are considered as the cause of the Kuteb/Chamba/Jukun conflicts, Bagudu (2003) argued that the conflicts have been on the stool of the Ukwe Takum which became vacant with the death of the last Ukwe Takum in 1996. He states that the Kutebs elected one Mr. Albert Audu as the successor. However, since his election, all efforts to install him have failed.

Okwurumara (2003) focused on the role of the media in the Kuteb/Chamba/Jukun conflicts. According to him, in Taraba State, the scene of the Kuteb/Chamba/Jukun clashes, the interest of the media seems to be minimal in the conflict. The state government censored the quality and range of the news that came out of the state, especially the state-owned media. "Government owned-media in Nigeria, in most cases, protect government interests and people find it difficult to believe such media even when they report stories on government strategy for resolving conflicts" (Okwurumara, 2009:330). The private media also reported scantily on the fighting (Bagudu, 2003).

2.5.9 Conflicts on the introduction of the Sharia legal system in 2000

The Sharia issue had been a war in the media before its explosion into violence in 2000. After studying the *New Nigeria* newspaper, Kukah (1993) posited that the paper which served national interests during the Nigerian 1967-1970 civil war, later shifted its gaze to protecting ethno-religious interests. To bring out the bias of the management of

the paper, Kukah (1993) stated that, “the managing director (Mohammed Haruna) voiced out a northern and Islamic bias that the paper would continue to fight for the introduction of Sharia, the application of quota system or federal character in all spheres of national life” (Kukah, 1993:78). This position naturally pitched him against national interest and his editor (Innocent Oparadike), a southern Christian. Kukah (1993) submitted that the different positions of Oparadike and Haruna on issues such as the introduction of Sharia, Nigeria’ membership in the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) and the riots in Kaduna were among the events that led to their being sacked by the regime of Babangida.

Speaking on the controversy that greeted the introduction of the Sharia legal system in Zamfara State, Kurawa (2000) argued that the interests that influenced the media coverage of Sharia in Nigeria include secularists and fanatical Christians and secularists Muslims. A group he alleged to be echoing the values of Western-Christian civilization. “The strategies adopted by the anti-Islamic and anti-Sharia mass media are very similar to those adopted by their patrons in the Western-Christians who have consistently maintained their anti-Islamic position since the time of Raymond Ellul (d.1315 CE)” (Kurawa, 2000:325). That is, a propaganda that labels those who want a change in the society as fundamentalists. Kurawa (2000) labeled all Christian-controlled media as anti-Sharia, noting that *The Guardian* and *ThisDay* pretended to be neutral. On the other hand, he posits that, “most of the Muslim-owned papers have not necessarily been pro-Sharia: the *Concord* for example had not been supportive while *Weekly Trust* has remained on the fence” (Kurawa, 2000:326). The *New Nigeria* newspaper, in his assessment has been cautious while the *Triumph* has followed popular sentiment with

pro-Sharia stance similar to that of its community. “*Hotline* was never anti-Sharia, whose proprietor is Alhaji Hassan Sani Kontogora” (Kurawa, 2000:327)

On the electronic media, Kurawa (2000) accused it of being part of the anti-Sharia campaign. “At the forefront is the FRCN, headed by the Ex-Biafran propagandist, Eddie Iroh” (Kurawa, 2000:327). He viewed Hausa services of BBC, VOA and Radio Deutche Welle in Cologne as objective stations because they reported all sides of the Sharia crisis. Noting that “throughout the Sharia debate these services have been neutral, reporting the supporters and opponents of the Sharia” (Kurawa, 2000:329). Kurawa (2000) labeled Muslims that raised observation against the implementation of Sharia “agents of Western Christian civilization” (Kurawa, 2000:330).

On the same note, Yusuf (2002) observed that the media displayed deep-seated intolerance, lack of objectivity and divisive traits after Zamfara State announced its intention to implement Sharia. It denigrated Islam and labeled Sharia as a brutal, primitive, unconstitutional legal system. “Few Muslim views were reflected, fewer reports even bothered to state the constitutional provision on Sharia, examine the penal code which is the basis for Sharia law that has been in existence before Nigeria’s independence, or even read the new Zamfara Sharia law and educate the public” (Yusuf, 2002:257). She argued that “when HURILAWS, a Lagos-based human rights NGO visited Zamfara, it issued a report on its finding and noted the distortion of media accounts on Sharia” (Yusuf, 2002:258). The anti-Sharia press buried the observations and contents of the report in obscure pages of their newspapers. *ThisDay* 16/2/2000 news report entitled “Media Accounts on Sharia in Zamfara is Misleading” was buried on page 25. “It is to its credit that *Vanguard* newspapers, not known to be charitable towards

Islam or Muslims carried the HURILAWS report on its front page entitled: “Rights Group Flays Report on Sharia” *Vanguard* 16/2/200 page one to two” (Yusuf, 2002:258).

Speaking on the reporting of the Sharia crisis, Hottotuwa (2002) said that many media practitioners have allowed themselves to be drawn to propaganda, sensational and yellow journalism. The highlighting of sensationalism over moderation, action over reason and radical voices instead of temperate ones, leads to an exacerbation of conflicts (Hattotuwa, 2002). Commenting further on the Sharia crisis, Daniel (2005) observed that “the undue attention given to the politically-motivated Shari’a legal system in Zamfara and other states of northern Nigeria has led to a harvest of crises” (Daniel, 2005:172). A newspaper caption such as: ‘Fanatics take over Sharia enforcement’ (*Punch*, 2000) is not only biased but capable of precipitating violent religious conflict (Okwurumara, 2009). On a similar note, Salawu (2009) shared the sentiments of the editor of *Weekend Triumph* that most commentaries on Shari’a have been not only negative but utterly antagonistic and others are written with unlimited mischief.

The people of Northern Nigeria were known to be united and speak with one voice. But a division came in which relations among them were characterized with violent clashes. Kawu (2002) blamed the media for playing a role in dividing the people. He argued that, two issues have been exploited to divide and fuel conflicts in the north along ethno-religious lines by the media. The first is the implementation of Shari’a in the north. It has been used to create Muslim/Christian animosity in order to destroy the northern solidarity in Muslim majority and Christian minority areas of the north. Second, the media has exploited the agitation for the autonomy in the middle belt area of the north to tear the north apart and set communities against each other.

2.5.10 Kaduna Sharia violent conflicts of 2000

On the crisis that followed the introduction of the Sharia legal system in some states of the nation, Kurawa (2000) argued that,

Almost all the Christian dominated papers were biased against the Muslims in their reporting of the Kaduna carnage. In point of fact it was not journalism at work but religious propaganda. The *Weekly Trust* however did a professional job, giving equal coverage to Muslim and Christian views and reporting as accurately as possible. The *New Nigeria* even though a Federal establishment was also fair. The Hausa services of BBC, Radio Germany and VOA also reported as accurately as possible with equal coverage given to both Muslims and Christians. Being conscious of their listeners' feelings' they knew that if they were biased they would lose their audience, hence their professionalism. In stark contrast the BBC English service, the focus on Africa, Network Africa etc, were unashamedly anti-Sharia and pro-Western Christian Civilization. The CNN was also anti-Sharia (Kurawa, 2000:333).

On the violent clashes in Kaduna, Yusuf (2002) states that, the media's response to Sharia laid the foundation for the pogrom in the state. "While the Kaduna carnage had its roots in previous ethnic conflicts, the perpetrators of the mayhem were quick to cash in and exploit the Sharia issue to "deal" with and exterminate people they have since identified as enemies. The media encouraged them by giving them the forum to threaten and intimidate" (Yusuf, 2002:258). She noted that previous clashes between Southern Kaduna and Hausa-Fulani have been on allocation of resources, farmlands, market stalls and denial of power. The media overlooked those issues and "preferred to make mileage out of the Sharia which has not been approved for implementation in the State" (Yusuf, 2002:258-259).

In the perspective of Gofwen (2004), the undue publicity and reporting on the issues relating to the Sharia debate, starting from the composition of the committee by the House of Assembly, the representations and pro-Sharia visits from the various local governments and the insinuating news indicating that the House of Assembly and

government house had concluded plans to introduce Sharia sharpened awareness and created the tension that exploded into violent crisis. Arguing further on the Kaduna 2000 Sharia violent conflict, Rodney (2005) posits that “the Northern-based Moslem dominated newspapers defended the introduction of Sharia and blamed Christians for the Kaduna riots but the “Southern” based Christian-dominated press supported Christians fighting against Sharia which they said was the Islamization of Nigeria by Muslims” (Rodney, 2005:206).

From the Critical Discourse Analysis’ (CDA) point of view, Bello (2005) noted that another technique employed by news writers to exacerbate conflicts is use of language such as, “Of Claims, Beliefs and Allegations” (Bello, 2005:185). Using it, news writers put words in the mouths of subjects in such a manner that brings out the best of the situation while remaining simply as reporters. “The views of the characters are relayed through reporting clauses such as believes that, what he calls, claims to have etc. Whatever inflammatory or provocative language is used is not the opinion of the reporter or the paper” (Bello, 2005:185). For instance, in *The Guardian* of February 26, 2000, the reporter, having painted a gruesome picture of the Kaduna religious disturbances of the period, asked!! “at what point did the violence erupt?” (Bello, 2005:186). The reporter presented the opinion of the CAN chairman (Archbishop Benjamin Achigili) and the Police Commissioner as a story already authenticated. He used the word “said” for the views of the CAN chairman and “claims” for the Commissioner of Police, indicating some doubts on the opinion of the Commissioner. The reporter had made a choice of what he wanted his readers to believe, the opinion of CAN chairman.

Another language technique uncovered by Bello in the reporting of the February 26, 2000 Kaduna conflict is “sensationalism and sentimentality”. He argued that it is a form of news reporting that rouse emotions be they of fear, anger, hatred, sense of loss etc. *The Guardian* report of February 26, 2000 of the Kaduna mayhem brings to mind many questions. “One wonders whether this is a work of fiction or a factual/graphic narration of events as seen by the reporter. Was he reporting from a scene of carnage or seated on his armchair in the luxury/safety of a hotel/guest room, far away from the scene of the carnage? It is difficult to tell” (Bello, 2005:189).

On the spread of the Kaduna Sharia violent conflict to other states of the federation, Yusuf (2002) made it clear that irresponsible reporting of the Sharia crisis made it a bush fire that had the potential of spreading to other states. “State correspondents of newspapers sat in their homes to manufacture stories and later share this with their colleagues at the press centre. These became “eye witness accounts”, correspondents reports” filed from the “Kaduna warfront” and splashed callously on front pages of newspapers” (Yusuf, 2002:259). Media reports later confirmed to be rumours state that a luxury bus load of dead bodies of Igbos killed in Kaduna was conveyed to eastern states. It infuriated the easterners and led to the “Bakassi boys”, the Urchins of Aba retaliatory killing of all ethnic groups from the northern states. The “killings spread to Owerri, Umuahia, Okigwe, Uyo and other places in the East as the media continued to splash inciting statements by elected and unelected demagogues (certainly not leaders)” (Yusuf, 2002:259). In line with Yusuf’s position, Antigha (2005) argued that the reprisals in the South were blamed on the media for sensationally publishing details of the unfortunate incident. .

2.5.11 Jos crises of 2001

Jos, the capital of Plateau State was known to be one of the peaceful states in the federation before 2001. It was popularly described as the home of peace and tourism. Jos put on a new face in 2001 when an ethno-religious conflict broke out between Hausa-Fulani and other ethnic groups of Jos. The casualties of the conflict would have been less had it been the clash ended in Jos. But the crisis spread to South-Eastern states of Nigeria by way of reprisals. Ahmed (2002) blamed the reprisal attacks and their attending consequences on the media. He argued that *ThisDay* newspaper carried a report in its southern edition of Monday 10th September, 2001 that triggered a reprisal attack on Hausa-Fulani in the South-Eastern states; thus increasing the number of casualties from the conflict and making it difficult to be controlled (Ahmed, 2002).

Using the CDA to also critique the reporting of the Jos conflict, Bello (2005) voiced out the manipulation of language that was invoked in the reporting of a feud in *The Guardian* newspaper, in May 19th 2004.

....the immediate cause of the 2001 carnage was a slight misunderstanding between a Christian lady who was passing near a mosque in Eto-Baba, a Jos suburb, during Jummat prayers that fateful day. The lady was beaten up by some people. On hearing the news, her people mobilized and went to the site on a revenge mission (Bello, 2005:182).

He compared *The Guardian* story to that of *Tell* on the Shagamu crisis and opined that there is a drop in emphasis. In *Tell* the act is a taboo/sacrilege, while in Jos, a misunderstanding. In the Shagamu story, it is a prostitute, while in Jos, a lady that was only passing (freedom of movement as a right of any Nigerian) near a mosque. The killing in Shagamu is like an allegation while the beating in Jos is confirmed. The Hausas

in Shagamu were just claiming the prostitute as theirs, while the lady in Jos has been confirmed to have her own people who came to her defense (Bello, 2005).

Similarly, a BBC correspondent, Shola Odunfa tilted the encounter between President Obasanjo and the Chairman of the Plateau State Christian Association of Nigeria to give the impression that the pastor was on the defense and Obasanjo the aggressor. “The entire scenario portrays the president, on the one hand, as intimidating (“interrupted him”), threatening (“you are talking absolute nonsense, and don’t provoke me”), ill-mannered (“you are an idiot, a total idiot”) and immodest/haughty (I am a better Christian than you”), while the pastor is portrayed as nothing more than an aggrieved person shouting out his grievances and calling for justice” (Bello, 2005:183).

Further more, using the caption “Devils and Saints”, Bello (2005) argued that *The Guardian* of May 19th 2004 presents the genesis of the 2001 Jos crisis by portraying one group as ill-mannered and the other as innocent. The use of killings for the Muslims and shedding of blood for the Christians obscured the story. Killing is clear enough, while shedding of blood is vague. The reader is left in doubt whether Christians actually killed Muslims or just injured them (Bello, 2005).

Another unbalanced reporting/one-sided focus of the media as observed by Bello (2005) is a story written in the newspaper ‘*Gaskiya*’, following the aftermath of the 2001 Jos conflict. The story was on the Jama’atul Nasril Islam accusation of Plateau Radio Television (PRTV) of encouraging Christians to continue with violence. The story continued to cite the spoke person of the organization without any allusion to any voice from the government, PRTV authorities or even the Christians as to how they feel about the allegation (Bello, 2005).

Focusing on CNN, Esiemokhai (2010) states that as the chief propagandist of CNN, Christine reports on factual issues but often mixing her reportage with fictional imageries. In some cases, the reports jeopardize the national security of other states. For example, the reports about the Jos crises did not have to be repeatedly aired for effect. “Euro-American journalists, when reporting on Africa, seem to invoke for themselves, a special dispensation from journalistic responsibility, a kind of license to philander through the order of truth” (Esiemokhai, 2010:3).

Osin argued that during the uprisings in Jos and other parts of the state at different times, the stories were tilted to sound as if it were acts of genocide against the Muslim. In his words,

In Maiduguri, Bauchi, Yobe, Kano etc States where the Boko Haram people struck, the reportage was presented leaving out the attacks carried out on Christian’s places of worship. For instance the selective attack on places of Christian worship and the killing of the Pastors and forceful conversion of captured Christians to embrace Islam and join their evil jihad were not reported. The *Light Bearer*, a newspaper published by the COCIN Church later presented pictures of burnt places of worship, with charred remains of adherents that met their unfortunate death in the hands of these devils. Why was the media silent on that aspect? Was that a deliberate attempt to suppress the truth? Truth, like murder, will always come out, as they say. Acts of arson targeted at Christians properties and places of worship have been going on in the country systematically, e.g. in Zaria where 37 Churches were burnt in 1987, and several others cases in Kano, Bauchi, Jos and other places (Osin, 2011:2).

Studying the reporting of conflicts by the media in Nigeria, Bello argued that part of the problem Nigeria faces as a nation is that of having a very biased and sectional press. The press that supposes to stand above all forms of dichotomies that derail Nigeria is rather spearheading and setting the agenda for greater crises. Analyzing news items from the ‘*Sun*’ on the Jos conflict, Bello posits that,

Statistically while the story regarding the attack on the Eid ground consists of 555 words that of the attack on a family is 1231 words. In couching the headlines of

the two carnages, we have seen how emotionally charged words are used. The attack on the Eid reads simply “Sallah celebration 10 killed, many injured in Jos while that of an attack on a family appears more nuanced emotionally. Massacre: Family of 8 wiped out in Jos. Dad, Mum, 4 – month – old among those killed by gunmen in midnight attack. Soldiers get shoot – on – sight order (Bello, 2011:1).

The reporting of the murder of the family with the mention of the affected members attract more sympathies than the ten casually killed during the Eid Sallah Celebration as if they have no roots. Bello sees such a presentation of news as “skewed reporting” to satisfy an ideological framework of a paper and it is capable of fanning the embers of more clashes than curtailing them (Bello, 2011).

Murdock (2012) posits that the Jos crises started over disputes between farmers and nomadic cattle herders who need fields to graze their animals. The farmers involved in the conflict are generally Christians who are from the Berom, Anaguta and Afizere ethnic groups, while the herdsman are Muslim-Fulani. He argued that the news media is to be blamed for inflaming the rivalries by describing the conflict as a result of a Christian/Muslim divide and by publishing stories that convinced the local people that they are incompatible because they are from different religions.

2.5.12 Tiv/Jukun conflict of 2001

The Tiv and the Jukun are neighbours that have lived side by side right from pre-colonial times to date in Taraba State. Bagudu (2003) traced the origin of the Tiv/Jukun conflicts to between 1871 and 1903. He described the conflict as the longest civil war in Nigeria. The two ethnic groups initially enjoyed friendly relations before the claims of Ukari took a violent dimension (Bagudu, 2003). Their clashes have left behind painful scenes to be remembered. The Tiv/Jukun conflict is another clash that is said to have

received a lopsided reporting by the media. According to Rodney (2005), the newspapers starved readers of critical information on the crisis.

Much common in stories was frequency of words and phrases which tended to stereotyping of Tiv as 'brutal' and 'savage' people. Use of "Tiv militia", "rampaging Tiv militia" occurred in several stories in *Vanguard* and at least once each in both *The Guardian* and *Thisday*. Only *The Guardian* used "Jukun militia" once but it credited this to BBC reports. Usage of these words bended to prejudice the reading public particularly the army against the Tiv (Rodney, 2005:216).

Sympathetic words like "horrorful" injury to Tiv, "ethnic cleansing of Tiv", "annihilation of Tiv nationality" were not use to soothe the feelings and cushion the devastating impact of the attacks on the Tiv. The used of "19 energetic soldiers", "soldiers on legitimate peace mission", "rare breeds", "vulnerable slain soldiers" legitimized the action by the army and gave it tacit official support" (Rodney, 2005:216). This image of the Tiv falsely presented in the papers swelled up much anger in the military and provoked the most savage and brutal attacks against defenseless civilians (Rodney, 2005). The attack of the military claimed over 2000 lives (Bagudu, 2003).

2.5.13 Kaduna Miss World conflict of 2002

A conflict that later assumed an ethno-religious dimension and led to loss of lives and property is the clash that greeted the protest against the hosting of the Miss World Beauty Pageant in 2002. The conflict which led to the killing and maiming of people in Kaduna is blamed on the media by many people.

According to Antigha (2005), it was a product of poor judgment and insensitivity to the flimsy religious tolerance in Nigeria by the editorial staff of *ThisDay* newspaper, resulting to the religious riot of 2002. He said that publishing news items that made unpalatable remarks about Prophet Mohammed was a failure of the editorial staff of *ThisDay* in its function of gate-keeping. To prevent the conflict, he suggested that the

copy editor would have made sure that they did not pass through his/her gate to publish such a news story.

To give a good perspective of the conflict, Salawu (2009) posits that *ThisDay*, a Nigeria newspaper published a story written by one of its style writers. The story published in the November 16, 2002 issue of the newspaper was said to have been cynical of the Prophet Mohammed for it insinuated that if the Prophet had seen the beauty queens who converged in Nigeria for the Pageant, he would have admired them and taken some of them as wives. The story angered the Muslims into attacking Christians and churches (Salawu, 2009). The significant observation made by Salawu (2009) is the reaction of the media to the conflict. He states that depending on their locations and the ethnic origin of their owners, newspaper establishments had different views of the mayhem. While those based in the south and owned by southerners were critical of the reactions of the northern Muslims to the publication, their northern counterparts did not see much wrong in the action. The only issue they were critical of in the whole crisis was the irresponsible and insensitive journalism of *ThisDay* newspaper.

Analyzing the editorials of *New Tribune* of December 12 and 18, 2002 and *Alaroye Magazine* (a magazine published in Yoruba) of November 2002, Salawu (2009) brought out in clear terms the sentiments in the southern-based newspapers that differentiate them from those of the north. The papers though critical of the offensive article condemned the resultant riots and the 'fatwa' (death sentence) issued on Isioma Daniel, the author of the article by the Zamfara state government. Significantly, the papers indicate that there is a high level of incompatibility between the Hausas and other

tribes in the nation; thus making legitimate a call for the splitting of the nation along ethno-religious cleavages.

On the other hand, Salawu (2000) pointed out the fact that the newspapers from the north were not just critical of *ThisDay* and the offensive article, they justified the killings and arson on the insensitivity of the newspaper and its writer. Northern columnists who did not toe this hard line were heavily indicted by their fellow columnists of extreme view. A guest writer in *New Nigeria*, December 9, 2002 was ferocious in attack of Mohammed Haruna the editor of *Weekly Trust* and Deen Mohammed. He described them as “kidding” (Salawu, 2009). The editor of *Weekend Triumph*, a northern newspaper who also wrote on the Miss World-induced crisis accused some newspapers and writers from the south of not respecting the values of other people (Salawu, 2009). Pointing to the religious posture assumed by the northern-based newspapers and writers, Salawu (2009) citing a Nigerian Muslim contributor from Sweden as arguing in the *New Nigeria* of November 27, 2002 that Muslim writers have in the main, at least in the Nigerian newspapers been very careful in the way they represent Christianity in their writings. But writers like Isioma have through their exuberance caused untold hardship to innocent citizens by their expression and jaundiced analogies.

Doki and Buhari (2013) also frowned at the irresponsible journalism expressed by *ThisDay* newspaper on the debate about the Miss World Beauty Pageant. They argued that once someone chooses to write a column as a journalist, the column in which that person writes as a journalist must be free from libel, defamation, sedition and blasphemy. Also, it should be free of any of the offences considered liable for prosecution in the law courts, or likely to be rated unprofessional and unethical. According to them, the

blasphemy against Islam in *ThisDay* newspaper by Isioma Daniels at the heat of the debate for and against the aborted Miss World Beauty Pageant scheduled for Abuja in 2002 is a clear case of irresponsible journalism that deserves some punitive measures (Doki and Buhari, 2013).

The literature reviewed indicates that the Miss World conflict in 2002 metamorphous to violence due to a poor handling of the disagreement on the hosting of the beauty contest in Nigeria. The role of some media organizations in its reporting of the issues escalated the conflict. The article in *ThisDay* newspaper by Isioma Daniels was insensitive to the tense religious climate in the nation. The editor in chief of *ThisDay* newspaper failed in his role of gate-keeping by allowing such an article to be published in his paper. Thus, the media is expected to play the role of a peace-builder and not to fan angers during conflicts.

2.5.14 Yelwa Shendam conflict of 2004

Another conflict said to be characterized with skewed media reporting is the Yelwa Shendam ethno-religious clash of Plateau State. According to Bello, the correspondent in *Gaskiya*, reporting on the ambush on some Christians taking refuge in a Church in Yelwa, did not make any explicit reference to who was killing or being killed, as the whole report was replete with agent-less sentences and vague expressions. Nothing is known of either the assailants or the victims. Instead of using the word Church or Church of Christ in Nigeria, the reporter chose to use the acronym COCIN, which may not be clear to some people. “This could be seen as a deliberate tactic to hide identity and shift responsibility away from a favoured group” (Bello, 2005:192). This is a form of

reporting that is bias and capable of making one group feel disfavoured by the media. Such a role played by the media could inflame conflict.

2.5.15 Boko Haram attacks and resultant reprisals from 2009-2012

The most biting conflicts in the nation today are the Boko Haram attacks and their resultant reprisals. These conflicts have introduced suicide mission which is strange in the Nigerian records of conflicts. The endless attacks of the sect are said to be fueled by the media's obscure reporting of the events, making the struggle for a lasting peace a mirage. Oby (2012) argued that the mainstream media (MSM) has two strategies of obfuscating and minimizing Islam's role – strategies with which readers should become acquainted. This has appeared in recent reports dealing with the Jihad group, Boko Haram and its ongoing genocide in Nigeria's Christians. Boko Haram (Western Education is a sin) – acronym is different from the Arabic name for the organization which is "Sunnis for Dawa (Islamization) and Jihad". The Arabic name for the organization indicates that it is a full – throated terrorist organization dedicated to the overthrow of the secular government and establishment of Sharia law. The first mainstream media's strategy is to frame the conflict between Muslims and Christians in a way that blurs the line between persecutor and victim. For example, in a recent BBC report on one Boko Haram's many church attacks that left three Christians dead including a toddler; after stating the bare – bones facts in a couple of sentences, the report went on to describe how the bombing sparked a riot by Christian youths, with reports that at least two Muslims were killed in the violence. "The report goes on and on with a special section about "very angry" Christians" (Oby, 2012:2) without saying anything about the terror attacks on their churches, and the murder of their women and children, which were

the causes of their anger. The second MSM strategy involves dissembling over the Jihadis' motivation. "An AFP report" actually reported the facts about a Boko Haram church attack which killed three Christians, but then it concludes "violence blamed on Boko Haram, whose goals remain largely unclear, has since 2009 claimed more than 1,000 lives, including more than 300 this year, according to figures tallied by AFP and rights groups" (Oby, 2012:2). Although Boko Haram has been howling its straight forward goals for a decade – enforcing Sharia law and subjugating, if not eliminating Nigerian's Christians – the media with a straight face is claiming ignorance about these goals (similarly, the *New York Times* described Boko Haram's goals as "senseless" – even as the group continues justifying them on Islamic doctrinal grounds) (Oby, 2012).

Commenting on the Boko Haram onslaught in the country, Liman (2012) observed that the insensitivity of the media to issues in Nigeria has not helped in dousing them and there is a need for them to show more constraint in what they publish. "It is true that with the emergence of Boko Haram and its attacks on mainly Christian places of worship, there has been a greater religious awareness by all the major religions in the country both Christians and Muslims being pushed to the extreme spectrums of their religions but the media do not help when it do not moderate very insidious opinions" (Liman, 2012:1).

A practical example of the game of exacerbating violence by the media in Nigeria is Saidu's (2012) *Weekly Trust* report of the reprisal attack that followed the three suicide bomb attacks in different parts of Kaduna State on Sunday, June 17, 2012. He used an inflammatory caption which reads "Gonin Gora: 'Kaduna's Bermuda Triangle of sort.'" His report charged Gonin Gora residents of consistent killing of innocent travelers in the

name of reprisal attacks. He mentioned the names of some victims such as “Major Abdullahi and Major Ibrahim as victims of reprisal attacks at the 2000 Sharia riot and recommended sanctions on the community leaders of the area. He displayed the press bias condemned by Bello (2011). Even though his news item was very informative of the event that took place in ‘Gonin Gora’, Saidu (2012) did not give an in-depth story of the events that led to the reprisal attack. The church members attacked by the suicide bombers were as innocent as the travelers and had names that deserved to be mentioned if he was to present an impartial report.

2.6 The Media and Peace-Building

Peace is a concept that comes into usage only when its absence is felt. That is why the concept is commonly used to refer to “the absence of dissension, violence or war; the New Testament meaning of the Greek word for peace is Irene” (Ikejiani – Clark and Ani, 2009:3). It is a state of mind in concurrence with serenity: a state of harmony, tranquility, concord and a balance of equilibrium of powers. “Peace is the opposite of conflict; it abhors violence and war. Peace is also a state of justice, goodness and civil government” (Ikejiani – Clark and Ani, 2009:3)

Gbenda (2008) defined peace as a state of quiet, tranquility, calm and repose. It is freedom from disturbances, violence, or agitation. It also refers to absence or cessation of war. Peace is a state of agreement or friendliness among people living and working together. According to Daniel (2005), peace “simply means protecting the lives and properties of people from various forms of threat, be it internal or external” (Daniel, 2005:163). For the survival of any human society, peace is necessary just as the water we

drink. Its absence can spell doom to a people. That seems to be the predicament of Nigeria today.

The media being the major source of information can be of great help in conflict resolution. It is equipped not only to inform and educate the parties in conflict, but also to inform and educate governments, international organizations, ethnic, religious and national communities (Okwurumara, 2009). According to Ladan (2010), it is necessary to expose media practitioners to the importance and need for moderation, less sensationalism, integrity and professionalism with the aim of building and enhancing peace.

Doki and Buhari (2013) suggested peace journalism as the means of building peace by the media in Nigeria. They argued that peace journalism involves a broader, fairer and more accurate way of framing stories drawing on the insights of conflict analysis and transformation and giving voice to all parties with empathy and understanding. In Nigeria, they noted that peace journalism exists only among organizations interested in conflict resolution, management and transformation. To buttress their point, Doki and Buhari gave an outline of the program in Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Abuja and the Archdiocese of Ibadan. The subtopics include; Understanding conflict, violence, peace and the power of the media; Tools for conflict analysis; peace journalism models; doing peace journalism work; media as mediator; and peace theory. Importantly, they presented what could be said to be the commandments of the media in reporting a conflict. They include:

- a) Avoid reducing the number of actors to two.
- b) Avoid reducing attitudes to good versus evil.

- c) Avoid dehumanization and demonization of one individual or group.
- d) Avoid personifying the conflict and
- e) Avoid reducing explanatory factors to one.

Local media like the NTA can contribute to peace by restoring levels of trust and self-worth in a population on the brink of or emerging from violence (Bajraktari and Parajon, 2007). “The media role in conflict resolution encompasses a complex package of approaches aimed at positive reversal of the positions of the parties in conflict, their relationship and conditions that created the conflict” (Okwurumara, 2009:328). In conflict situations, adequate or inadequate management of information is a critical factor in the emergence, escalation or reduction of tension. The management of information determines the continuation and end of a conflict (Nwosu, 2004). Many observers in Nigeria are saying that for the media to restore peace in conflict times, it ought to take the following into consideration when reporting events:

The call for the media to be objective in reporting is not synonymous with suppression of truth by journalists in an attempt to prevent violent clashes. What is advocated as opined by Musa (2004) is that journalists should be unbiased in their coverage of conflicts. They should make sure they present all sides of a conflict with all the facts considered to be true and not taking side by what they write.

According to Okwurumara (2009), the media should adopt a neutral position when reporting issues in conflict so as to present a balanced, objective and accurate news stories. The news must also come from credible sources (Okwurumara, 2009). When the media maintain accuracy, impartiality and independence, it can have influence on peace-building (Howard, 2003).

The Nigerian media which have been accused of corruption must reposition itself by urging its practitioners to employ the ethics of the profession to the fullest and always carry out their functions in a fair, just, objective and constructive manner that can help to engender peace and unity in the country (Okoroafar, Okoro, Tayo and Sheba, 2013).

One effective form of conflict resolution is dialogue. The promotion of dialogue to arrest a conflict situation is considered one of the functions of the media in peace-building. According to Okwurumara (2009), the media must create the atmosphere of moderation and courtesy in which advocates of contrary views and interests can listen as well as talk to each other. Olorunyomi (2003) posits that the media in Nigeria is to create the enabling environment for dialogue within a particular context. It serves as a forum in which proponents and opponents are encouraged to express their views in an open and reasoned manner (Hattotuwa, 2002). Noting the merits of dialogue, Hattotuwa (2002) states that, “When the media bring the parties in a conflict to the table (dialogue), they (media) create the opportunity to clarify distorted perceptions of the opposition. In this way, the contending parties are made to see the other side of the contentious issues” (Okwurumara, 2009:330).

Misinformation can generate more anger, leading to the likelihood of more violence between belligerent parties. Okwurumara suggested an important method of checking misinformation by the media. It is through a technique known as gate-keeping. In his words “Media professionals equipped with the skill of gate-keeping and editing sieve through the chaff of convoluted stories” (Okwurumara, 2009:330). They should be able to expunge propaganda from issues and echo neutral views rather than the views of one party or those of government of the day. For example, “the role played by Radio

Kaduna to counter the Biafran propaganda endeared it to the Federal Government and the rest of Nigeria” (Kukah, 1993:89). This is done by constant visits to the region or community in conflict for assessment rather than reporting from a distance. The media practitioners are required to always be on ground for fact-finding and not to base their report on official reports by governments or transnational bodies. This removes haphazard reporting of conflict which may make a party in conflict to lose confidence in the media (Okwurumara, 2009).

Olorunyomi (2003) suggested an alternative method of handling misinformation that differs slightly from gate-keeping. He argued that journalists can come to see the misconception of the parties as a story in and of itself. By reporting this story they can encourage the parties to revise such views, moving closer to the prevention or resolution of a conflict in the process.

Transformation of a conflict situation is vital to the consolidation of a peace process. If the mentality of the belligerent parties is not transformed, the resurgence of a conflict is highly in sight. On the media as a transformer, Okwurumara (2009) argued that as a conflict intervener, the media should endeavour to report issues that tend to unite rather than those that are divisive. It can reshape the perception of conflicting parties by using language, headlines, images and quotes that are non partisan (Okwurumara, 2009).

It is argued by some people that the wrong interpretation of issues sometimes snowball a conflict into a violent clash. This is why the interpretation of a conflict situation by the media for the enhancement of peace becomes very important. According to Okwurumara (2009:331), “The media is to provide interpretive framework which may help the people to integrate abstract and scattered information into concrete meaning.”

By turning meaningless or obscure happenings into discernable events, news media tell the audiences how issues are connected to peoples' beliefs and interests.

It is believed that issues of conflict attract more sales of news stories than conflict resolution process. This assertion receives confirmation from Daniel (2005) when he said that, "conflict is the manure on which the Nigerian media grow" (Daniel, 2005:168). Commenting on the print media, Salawu (2009) added that conflict is a principal ingredient of much newspaper content since it is a central component in community life. Conflict is like the bread and butter of journalism (Salawu, 2009).

The media by its profit motives can fan the embers of disunity and acrimony which exacerbate conflict, particularly in a multi-ethnic society (Okwurumara, 2009). Sometimes it dramatizes by focusing on irreconcilable differences between parties in conflict. For instance, the showcase of extreme positions and inflammatory statements, violent or threatening acts and win-or-lose outcomes (Hans, 2008). An approach of this nature may appease the whims and caprices of journalists by generating profit from the sales of their news items. However, it may lead to unprecedented escalation of violent incidents (Okwurumara, 2009).

It is felt that most of the conflicts in Africa feed on ignorance of the actual issues. This is due to lack of information borne out of lack of education. Good education of belligerent parties can de-escalate a conflict and lead to peaceful settlement. According to Olorunyomi (2003:74), "simply changing the information environment in which the parties operate can have marked impact on the dynamics of conflict; it is particularly useful to promote appreciation of the complex factors impinging on the conflict situation and to create appreciation of and tolerance for the negotiation process itself."

In conflict resolution, once the confidence of the contending parties on each other is not restored, the chances of future violence due to mutual suspicion are high. One important function that the media should perform in conflict resolution is confidence-building. According to Olorunyomi (2003), “the media can help to reduce suspicion through their reporting of contested issues and increase trust through reporting of stories that suggest or illustrate that accommodation is possible” (Olorunyomi, 2003:74).

Every conflict is a child of a clash of interests. For an effective resolution of a conflict, the interests must be given attention. According to Olorunyomi (2003), in every conflict situation, there are interests behind the issues. Therefore, the journalist is to make an analysis of the underlying group interests. That is, they are to elucidate the motives, intentions, purposes and hidden agendas that motivate individuals and their actions (Olorunyomi, 2003).

Human emotions not expressed could be a source of inner or physical pain to a person. In terms of grievances, suppressing them can lead to an explosion of conflict in the society. However, the media could be of help in checkmating the escalation of grievances into violent explosions. In the words of Olorunyomi (2003:75),

Conflict may escalate or explode in part because the parties have no adequate outlets for expression of their grievances. Conflict can be fought out in the media rather than in the streets, and journalists, already prone to report conflict, could better serve their readers and viewers, as well as the cause of preventive diplomacy, by more fully understanding this role and perhaps pursuing it self-consciously.

To get conflicting parties to the negotiating table may be very difficult. The media can be of great help in that aspect. Olorunyomi (2003) argued that, “a media report can weaken a stronger party or strengthen a weaker party in the eyes of the publics, thereby

encouraging parties to negotiate when they otherwise might not have out of concern for the perception of their relative positions” (Olorunyomi, 2003:75).

Olorunyomi (2003) considers the act of framing and defining conflict as good journalism practised on the right occasions. He posits that the media can help frame the issues and interests in such a way that they become more susceptible to management. The media can be practically attentive to the concessions made by the parties, the common ground that exists between them and the solutions they have considered. If this is not done, the conflict can change its face to a clash between the negotiators and their constituencies (Olorunyomi, 2003).

Representatives of belligerent parties at negotiation always run the risk of losing their popularity in their constituencies because of the concession they have to make in the process of negotiation. To address such, Olorunyomi (2003) states that “the media can greatly facilitate the process of compromise by making it possible for negotiators to address their own publics through the media in order to explain their negotiating positions and build support for them” (Olorunyomi, 2003:76).

The main objective of conflict resolution is to find a solution to clashes between conflicting parties. According to Olorunyomi (2003), conflicts are prevented, resolved or managed when the parties at table consider possible solutions to grievances. He opined that journalists can play a role in this process by praising the parties for their proffered solutions.

It is felt that, through accurate and sincere reporting, the media can help in the resolution of a seemingly difficult conflict. Daniel (2005) argued that accuracy and sincerity gives credibility to a media organization. In carrying out professional

assignments, he encouraged journalists to report accurately and honestly. “Reporters in filing reports must be very sure of the accuracy of their reports” (Daniel, 2005:172). This is to avoid the damage that follows sensationalism or false reports.

Prevention is seen in some quarters to be the best method of conflict resolution. In it, a conflict issue is tackled before its escalation into violence. Conflict prevention by the media involves many techniques. According to Akpuru-Aja, (2009), conflict prevention is a “pro-active measure that depends on communication channels and intelligence coordination to control and manage a strained relationship before threats materialize as a conflict situation. It takes an advantage of early warning system (EWS) that is designed to detect and respond to early threats or conflict signs for preservation of norms and rules of peaceful co-existence” (Akpuru-Aja, 2009:15).

Furthermore, he argued that communication channels should serve as guides against misconception and misinterpretation of intention by the contending parties. “Usefully employing free flow of communication and information makes dialogue the supreme value (strategy) of conflict prevention. Parties are encouraged to bargain, negotiate and possibly make concessions and introduce remedies to avoid conflict reign” (Akpuru-Aja, 2005:15-16).

Akpuru-Aja (2005) posits that as nerves are getting charged for a violent clash between two contending parties, the losses and the gains of the conflict are hardly taken into consideration. In conflict prevention, one important thing the media ought to do is to help the parties appreciate the losses and gains in the realms of either conflict or peaceful co-existence. This will likely stop the conflict from assuming a violent dimension.

Daniel (2005) offered a practical guide to media practitioners on how to check the escalation of conflicts into violent clashes. He opined that sensational headlines with sometimes empty content should be replaced with warning signals given on impending clashes by professionals. This will reduce the animosity that will push contending parties into violent clashes and provide ample opportunity for dialogue.

Okoroafar, Okoro, Tayo and Sheba (2013) focused their concern on many measures the media can adopt in preventing conflicts. They suggested that the media are to air anti-religious programmes, sensitizing community/rural dwellers, reinforcing democratic principles, objective and constructive reportage, intensifying value re-orientation campaigns and providing information to relevant law enforcement agencies. It is time for the Nigerian media to refocus and reposition itself for the challenges of national security in Nigeria. The media has to become real and strong agent of messages and information that can adequately create enough awareness and understanding among the various peoples in Nigeria, such that can redirect the actions, attitudes and minds of our people towards peace, love and harmony. Specifically they posit that more of its programmes, advertisements and concepts should emphasize that religion is a practice that should be driven by conviction for peace, love and tranquility and not by compulsion for violence, fanaticism, bigotry and senseless destruction of life and property. The media should use its tools to enforce understanding, cooperation and harmony among all religions particularly Muslims and Christians in Nigeria.

2.7 Empirical Studies

Violent conflicts have claimed many lives and property in different countries and continents of the world. Apart from reports in newspapers, magazines and the electronic

media, energy have been channeled towards empirical studies with the aim of finding solutions to conflict situations. Some of the studies empirically done are hereby reviewed.

The mass media as a source of information in conflict matters plays an important role in its management, resolution and escalation. Edeani (1994) studied the Nigerian mass media' handling of conflict situation in the West African Sub-region. His study was based on content analysis of some Nigerian dailies and news magazines. His sample consisted of three Nigerian newspapers and three weekly news magazines. The newspapers included; Daily Times, National Concord and the Guardian; while the news magazines were; African Concord, News-watch and the African Guardian. These news dailies and magazines were selected because they were regarded as leaders in the print media in the country and thus expected to reflect the leadership in the coverage of conflicts. The researcher collected the data himself.

The study was a content analysis of news stories, editorials and commentaries. The result of Edeani's (1994) study indicates that the Nigerian newspapers and magazines give more attention to conflicts in Nigeria than other African countries. Sixty five per cent (65%) of the conflicts covered by the newspapers and magazines studied were from Nigeria. The study also revealed that the newspapers published more balanced stories (46%) over the unbalanced ones (33%). On the other hand, the news magazines published more unbalanced stories (51%) over the balanced ones (36%). Majority of the conflict stories in the news magazines were accounts of only one side in the conflict situation.

Worthy of note in Edeani's (1994) research findings is constructiveness in reporting conflicts. That is, the level of objectivity maintained and the effort to bring out

concrete suggestions for the resolution of the conflicts by the newspapers and magazines. The constructive stories were only 26% of the conflicts reported. Another important issue Edeani (1994) addressed is responsible reporting of conflict stories. Eighty per cent (80%) of the stories were found to be published in a responsible manner, while twelve per cent (12%) were sensational in tone as reflected in their texts or headlines.

While this study covers only the northern states of Nigeria, Edeani' (1994) scope was the West African Sub-region, which will be difficult to study with scientific methods within a limited period of time. Probably that is why he based his study on content analyses on some of the Nigerian dailies and magazines. Second, as this work focused on ethno-religious conflicts only, his study covered all conflicts without distinction, making it difficult for the media to know the exact types of conflicts that its bias is mostly expressed. Therefore, this study is limited to ethnic and religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria in order to gather scientific data on the role of the media.

Yohanna' (2004) study was on the conflicts that have characterized the relations of northern minorities in Southern Kaduna with the Hausa/Fulani major ethnic group, as well as the minorities with each other. These conflicts were a product of what he calls the national question, which concerns material living. He traced the root of communal conflicts in northern Nigeria to events prior to colonialism. Importantly, he indicated that out of economic advantages, the British colonial legacy fanned and harnessed contradictions from pre-colonial times between different communities to create ethnic conflicts that are still evident in our nation today.

Yohanna examined some specific conflicts in Kaduna State that include: Kasuwan Magani crisis of 1980, Gure-Kahugu disturbances of 1984, Kaduna State riots of 1987

and Zangon-Kataf conflict of 1992. He posits that relations were poorly managed and the aftermath was the upheaval and violence that ensued. Also, he used the Ikulu and Bajju (two minority groups in Kaduna State) conflict of 2001 as a suitable context for the national question. The conflict was motivated by economic forces, particularly the significance that Kamuru acquired due to the railway station that attracted so many people and made it an area booming with economic activities.

Yohanna fused the aims, objectives, scope and problems of the study together, leaving the reader with the difficulties of separating them. Unlike this study that focused on primary data, Yohanna largely depended on analysis of secondary data, making his study to look more like purely a literature review. While this study covered the northern states of Nigeria, Yohanna' concern was only on Southern Kaduna, a small sample for generalizations that will cover all the northern states of Nigeria. Yohanna seems to be bewitched by Karl Marx theory of class struggle that sees relations among human beings with the lenses of material things without viewing other factors like ethnic differences and religion.

Conflicts in Nigeria have a long history. Asiyambola (2007) studied the Ife-Modakake conflict, the oldest communal conflict in Nigeria. The issues addressed in the study are: the perception of the conflict, the attitudes towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons, social interaction among the people of the two communities and recollection of past violent conflicts.

He used a questionnaire to collect the information and supplemented it with a household survey which was characterized by face – to – face interviews. His sample consists of 195 households from the Ife community and likewise the Modakekes.

Important to the study is the sampling procedure. Asiyambola divided the Ife community into 28 localities, while the Modakeke into 15, after blocking off localities that were badly affected by the conflict. All the 15 cluster groups among the Modakeke were selected, while in Ife, a table of Random numbers was used to select the 15 groups. “The choice of the sample size is based on the consideration of many factors including cost, time, accuracy, and the fact that information relating to ethno-communal conflicts is still very sensitive in the two communities” (Asiyambola, 2007:6). Worthy of note in Asiyambola’ study is the method of data collection. Thirteen (13) copies of the questionnaire were administered in each locality (cluster group) selected for the study. “The households were randomly selected. Heads of households who were above 30 years in age and/or the spouse were interviewed. To free the study from gender bias, the interview was conducted in an alternate manner. Male/female head of household or wife preferably the first in a polygamous household. For security, 20 field assistants were employed and trained, 10 to each community.

He did the analysis of the data using simple frequencies and percentages. Correlation statistical technique was used to test the hypotheses. The result of Asiyambola shows a negative relationship between perception of the conflict and social interaction. The more people perceive the conflict, the less is there social interaction with the people of the other community. Second, the result indicates that there is a positive relationship between perception of the conflict and attitude towards violence/conflict/use of weapons. The more people perceive the conflict, the more their attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. Furthermore, the result shows a negative relationship between social interaction and attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons. The

more there is social interaction among the people of the two communities, the less is the attitude towards violence/conflicts/use of weapons (Asiyambola, 2007).

Even though he conducted a study on conflict similar to this research ethno-religious conflicts and the role of the media, Asiyambola (2007) limited his scope to just two communities in the Yoruba ethnic group of South Western Nigeria. Therefore, his findings cannot be used to make generalizations that can cut across other parts of Nigeria. Interestingly, he used questionnaire and interview to gather data, two important methods that will be used in the study, “Ethno-religious conflicts: the role of the media in the northern states of Nigeria.”

Nwogo’ (2010) research was on religious and ethnic conflicts in Nigeria, an issue similar to this study on ethno-religious conflicts and the role of the media. Her focus was on the effects of religious and ethnic conflicts on women and children in northern states of Nigeria. She used a set of questionnaire, which is a good instrument for scientific studies in education. She further carried out an interview to supplement the data from the questionnaire and to get the views of the illiterates that cannot answer the questions in the questionnaire. A further advantage of interview that she did not mention is that it brings out the feelings of the people towards the conflict situation.

The target population of Nwogo’ was all the women and children of the three geopolitical zones of the northern states. The three zones are made up of nineteen states. Nwogo (2010) used purposive sampling procedure to select the states that constituted her sample. This is because conflict is not normally distributed and only the states suitable for the purpose were picked. A random sampling procedure was employed to get the sample of the local governments, the women and the children for the study.

The methods of data collection and analyses to be used in this study are the same with those of Nwogo. She administered copies of the questionnaire with the help of research assistants. This is to make the study easier and to complete it within a particular time frame. Data was presented in tables. The demographic variables of the respondents were analyzed with percentages and frequencies on. The responses to the research questions were analyzed with percentages, frequencies, means and standard deviations. Five of the hypotheses were tested using t-test because of the involvement of two groups in the study. Hypothesis six was tested with one way analysis of variance. This is because more than two groups were involved in this section of the study.

Nwogo's study made some useful revelation that deserves attention. Economically, the study revealed that ethnic and religious conflicts have caused loss of property, resulting to high cost of living and low living standard of the people in the affected communities. "These are indicated in items 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7 of the table" (Nwogo, 2010:98). Disturbing are the physical effects caused by the conflicts on women and children. "In items 1 and 5, women and children often get killed during ethnic and religious conflicts because of their vulnerability and helplessness." Another effect of the conflicts is the social impact. The conflicts lead to the closure of many public places and the denial of the freedom of movement of women and children. "As indicated in item 5, this often leads to starvation of the family which in most cases affects the women and the children more". Regrettable is the psychological effect of the conflicts. They create mutual suspicion, leading to hostilities among members of communities. Loss of hope by the children who are casualties of these conflicts leads to poor performance in education. The conflicts introduce enmity that stands against inter-marriages.

Bongotons' (2011) dissertation entitled "The Role of Christian Religious Studies in the Promotion of Morals among Secondary School Students in Adamawa State" is an attempt to promote peace at the school level. The most important event leading to his study is the upsurge of conflicts from 1966 to 2010. The involvement of students in violent uprisings especially in Adamawa State is the immediate factor that motivated Bongotons' study.

Related to this study is the concept of peace discussed by Bongotons. Its centrality to learning activities of students in secondary schools as well as the survival of the society cannot be overemphasized. Even though seen from different vintage points by scholars, peace simply indicates the absence of hostilities. An antithetical concept to peace discussed by Bongotons is "conflict". He described conflict as a situation in which "the actions or beliefs of one or more members of a group are unacceptable to and hence are resisted by one or more members" (Bongotons, 2011:30). He discussed some conflicts in the nation right from 1960 to 2005. Some of the causes of such conflicts are political, economic and religious drives.

He focused on some youth groups that can easily be ignored in conflict resolution and peace-building. The first in this category is the Fellowship of Christian Students (F.C.S). Having traced the historical foundation of F.C.S, Bongotons indicates that the basic objective of the movement was the promotion of peaceful co-existence through in-depth study and knowledge of the Bible. The second group is the Boys/Girls Brigade. This movement by its very nature has as its members (boys and girls) mainly from primary and secondary schools. The objectives of its formation are to preach the gospel,

promote brotherly love among its members and unity of all Christian denominations. These objectives from Bogotons' point of view are embedded in the promotion of peace.

Important to this study is the survey design used by Bogotons. It is useful in assessing opinions of a population. He used two complementary instruments (questionnaire and interview) for his study, making his findings have a high level of reliability. Findings from the study revealed that the study of C.R.S helps in maintaining peace, increases spiritual growth of students, impacts good morals in students and hence, positive behaviour in the society.

Unlike this study on ethno-religious conflicts, conflict is not reflected in Bongoton's topic. The topic should have been more specific. He reviewed the literature as if developing a conference paper. He did not critique very well the arguments of the authors he reviewed in all the sections.

2.8 Summary

Chapter two discussed relevant literature to the study. The media as referring to all the organs of communication was the focus of the literature. It is seen as capable of curtailing or generating conflicts depending on the way it handles information. Conflict is seen as a crisis situation. Though a normal human situation, it could lead to growth or violence depending on how it is managed. The review also considered the media and its functions of motivation, gate-keeping, national integration and so on as necessary for the building and sustenance of peace. The historical roots and causes of ethno-religious conflicts such as colonial legacy, discrimination, crave for the creation of more states and so on were highlighted. The media as a partial umpire rather than a peace builder in its reportage of conflicts was examined. The literature sees the Kafanchan students' conflict,

the Tiv and Jukun/Chamba conflict, the Tafawa Balewa disturbances, the Sharia crises, the Jos clashes and many others in the nation as some conflicts aggravated by the media in different parts of the northern states of Nigeria. The literature gave attention to the peace-building functions of the media. They include: objectivity, creation of room for dialogue, countering of misinformation and many others. Literature on empirical studies was reviewed. Specifically, the Nigerian media' handling of conflicts in Africa was seen to be partial. Also there was a skewed reporting of the Ife-Modakeke conflict by the media, leading to more violence. It further gave a historical development of ethno-religious conflicts in northern Nigeria, using relations between minority groups and Hausa-Fulani in the southern part of Kaduna as the context. The effects of ethno-religious conflicts on women and children characterized by an increase in the number of widows and orphans and the level of poverty were discussed. Lastly, attention was given to peace-building through groups like F.C.S and Boys and Girls Brigades in the secondary schools. However, nothing much has been done on ethno-religious conflicts and the role of the media in northern states of Nigeria by means of empirical studies. Thus, this study sets out to correct ethno-religious groups through an empirical study of the role of the media in the northern states of Nigeria.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology to be used under the following: research design, population, sample and sampling procedure, instrumentation, validity and reliability of the instrument, pilot study, method of data collection and method of data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

Research design is the plan for a research project. It provides guidelines which direct the researcher toward solving the research problem. Research design varies depending on the nature of the problem (Akuezuluilo and Agu, 2002). The design used in this study was a descriptive research design. A descriptive design attempts to describe and explain conditions of the present by using many subjects and questionnaires (Carrol, 2013). It is a method that takes raw data and summarizes it in a usable form. In descriptive studies, no attempt is made to change behaviour or conditions. Things are measured as they are (Hopkins, 2008). A descriptive study is concerned with the collection of data for the purpose of describing and interpreting existing conditions (Ndagi, 1999).

The type of descriptive research design used in this study was sample survey. It is a design in which “a group of people or items is studied by collecting and analyzing data from only a few people or items considered to be representative of the entire group” (Akuezuluilo and Agu, 2002:52-53). In this study, questionnaire and interview were used

to collect data from large numbers of people using sample. The result of the sample was then used to make generalizations on the population (Ndagi, 1999).

3.3 Population

In research, the term population is given a special definition. It is used to include not just people, but also events, animals and objects that are members of the target of a study defined by the aims and objectives of the researcher (Akuezululo and Agu, 2002). The population for this study consists of all the people in the nineteen states of northern Nigeria. From the gazette of the human population census of 2007, the population of the states in the north is as follows:

Table 3.1 States and their Population

S/N	States	Population
1.	Adamawa	3,168,101
2.	Bauchi	4,653,066
3.	Benue	4,219,244
4.	Borno	4,151,193
5.	Gombe	2,353,879
6.	Jigawa	4,348,649
7.	Kaduna	6,066,562
8.	Kano	9,383,682
9.	Katsina	5,792,578
10.	Kebbi	3,238,628
11.	Kogi	3,278,487
12.	Kwara	2,371,089
13.	Nasarawa	1,863,275
14.	Niger	3,950,249
15.	Pateau	3,178,712
16.	Sokoto	3,696,999
17.	Taraba	2,300,736
18.	Yobe	2,321,591
19.	Zamfara	3,259,846
Total		73,596,566

(Gazette of the human population census of 2007)

Working with the result of the 2007 population census, the target population for this study comprises seventy three million, five hundred and ninety six thousand and five hundred and sixty six people (73,596,566). The target population consists of all the people the researcher wishes to limit the findings of his/her study to (Siegle, 2013).

3.4 Sample and Sampling Procedure

Studying the whole population within a specific period of time would be difficult, thus the need for a sample as a representation of the whole population. A “sample is a small subset of the population that has been chosen to be studied” (Lunsford and Lunsford, 1995:2). To get the sample for the study, purposive and random sampling techniques were used. The sampling for the study was carried out at three levels: state, local government and the subjects. The characteristics of interest to the researcher consist of conflicts that have an ethnic and religious coloration.

3.4.1 Sample and Sampling of the States in the North

Purposive sampling was employed to select three (3) states from the three geo-political zones of the north because ethno-religious conflicts are not normally distributed. Purposive sampling is characterized by the use of judgment and a deliberate effort to obtain representative samples by including typical areas or groups in the sample (Key, 1997). The researcher studied Bauchi from the North East geo-political zone, Kaduna from the North West and Plateau from the North Central geo-political zone. These states were selected based on purposive sampling procedure because they have had many conflicts that were ethno-religious in nature and therefore possessing the elements for the purpose of the study. Purposive sampling was used to select the states because in it, the researcher selects his sample to satisfy predetermined criteria. The states, therefore, were

hand-picked as the sample because they meet up the judgment of what the researcher wants as representative sample (Akuezuilo and Agu, 2002).

Table 3.2 States Sampled out for the Study

Geo-Political Zones	States in the Geo-Political Zone	States Selected
North East	Adamawa Bauchi Borno Gombe Taraba Yobe	Bauchi
North West	Jigawa Kaduna Kano Katsina Kebbi Sokoto Zamfara	Kaduna
North Central	Benue Kogi Kwara Nasarawa Niger Plateau	Plateau

3.4.2 Sample and Sampling of the Local Governments

There are sixty (60) Local Government Areas (LGAs) in all the three states to be selected for the study from the three geo-political zones of the north of Nigeria. Nine (9) LGAs were selected for the study using purposive sampling technique. They include Bauchi, Bogoro, Tafawa Balewa, Jema'a, Kaduna north, Kaduna south, Barkin Ladi, Jos north and Jos south. Since conflict is not normally distributed, their cosmopolitan nature and the series of ethno-religious crises witnessed in them in the past made them to have the characteristics needed in the study.

Table 3.3 Sample of Local Government Areas (LGAs) for the Study

State	Number of LGA	LGA for the Study
Bauchi	20	Bauchi Bogoro
Kaduna	23	Tafawa Balewa Jema'a Kaduna North Kaduna South
Plateau	17	Barkin Ladi Jos North Jos South

3.4.3 Sample and sampling of towns or villages/subjects for the study

The population for this study comprises seventy three million, five hundred and ninety six thousand and five hundred and sixty six people (73,596,566). In each local government area selected for the study, two towns or villages were sampled out for the study. The sampling procedure was purposive sampling because ethno-religious conflicts at the level of the villages are not normally distributed. The characteristics of interest were ethno-religious composition of the town and ethno-religious clashes in the past. In all, a total of eighteen towns or villages were selected for the study.

The population for this study comprises seventy three million, five hundred and ninety six thousand and five hundred and sixty six people (73,596,566). Morgan and Krejcie in Research Advisors (2006) suggested one thousand five hundred and thirty six subjects for a population of ten million (10,000,000) and one thousand five hundred and thirty seven for a population of one hundred million (100,000,000) subjects. Since the population is not up to a hundred million, the researcher decided to adopt one thousand

five hundred and thirty six (1,536) subjects as the sample for this study. A sample size of this magnitude will give a confidence level of ninety five per cent (95%) and the margin of error reduced to two point five per cent (2.5%) (The Research Advisors, 2006). However, the researcher increased the number of subjects to one thousand six hundred and twenty (1,620), so that ninety (90) subjects were studied from each of the eighteen towns or villages earmarked for the research. This was to give each village equal representation in the study.

3.5 Instrumentation

Every study needs some tools of operation for it to be successful. An instrument in research is the tool for the collection of data. In this study, a questionnaire was design as the instrument for the collection of research data on the role of the media in ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. The researcher constructed the instrument using the insight gained from the review of literature related to the study. The questionnaire was used to gather information from the literate subjects of the study. It is considered the appropriate instrument because it is a device for gathering information on people's opinions as demanded in this study (Hannan, 2007). Interview was used to gather data to complement that of the questionnaire.

3.5.1 The questionnaire

Questionnaires are straightforward written questions requiring an answer by ticking the appropriate box. They are very efficient ways of collecting facts (Hannan, 2007). The questionnaire used in collecting data on the role of the media in ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria consisted of two parts. Part one (1) required the bio-data of the subjects which include; age, religion, position in religion,

status in the society and state of origin. Part two (2) of the questionnaire contains the items that elicited the opinion of the subjects. It was divided into five sections (section A, B,C, D, E). Section “A” elicits opinion on the factors that make the media role to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. Section “B” seeks responses on the role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts. Section “C” focuses on the effects of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the role of the media. Section “D” dwells on the impact of the role played by the media in past ethno-religious conflicts. Finally, section “E” centers on the role of the media in building peace among ethno-religious groups in the northern states of Nigeria. The items in the questionnaire were scaled according to Likert scale as follows:

Strongly Agreed	(SA)	=	4 scores
Agreed	(A)	=	3 scores
Strongly Disagreed	(SD)	=	2 scores
Disagreed	(D)	=	1 score

A questionnaire scale in this way is very good in asking people to indicate how strongly they agree or disagree with a statement given (Hannan, 2007).

3.5.2 The Interview Schedule

Interview is a purposeful conversation in which one person asks prepared questions (interviewer) and another answers them (respondent) (Oatey, 1999). Structured interviews consist of oral questions rather than a written questionnaire in order to obtain a higher response rate. It was useful in getting information from the literate as well as the illiterate subjects of the study. Interview gathers data from those who may not be capable of correctly completing a complex questionnaire (Hannan, 2007).

Structured interview was used for the study. It was given due consideration because, in it, social cues such as voice, intonation and body language of the interviewee can give the interviewer extra information that can be added to the verbal answer of the interviewee on a question (Opdenakker, 2006). Interview enables the interviewer to establish a rapport with the interviewee. In it, the interviewer observes as well as listens, and asks more complex questions (Oatey, 1999).

There were two (2) parts in the schedule of interview. Part one (1) seeks the bio-data of the respondents such as; age, ethnic group, religion, position in religion, and state of the interviewee. Answers to part one (1) of the interview schedule helped in arranging, organizing and establishing patterns of difference from the data in part two (2) of the interview schedule.

Part two of the interview schedule consists of items designed to elicit verbal information (data) from the respondents. The items were a rephrase of those in the questionnaire to make them suitable for face-to-face question and answer interaction. Like the questionnaire, there were five sections (sections 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5) in the schedule of interview. In section one (1) to three (3), there was one main question with three (A to C) attached to it, while in sections four and five (4 and 5) one question was asked in each, totaling fourteen (14) questions in the schedule of interview on the role of the media in ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.

3.6 Pilot Study

Pilot study is the pre-testing or the trying out of a particular research instrument. It provides advance information on the possible difficulties, success and failure of a research project (Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001). Before going into the field, a pilot study

on the role of media in ethno-religious conflicts was conducted in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area of Kaduna State. It was conducted on a selected group of people. The choice of people in Zangon-Kataf was informed by their ethnic and religious diversity as well as their experience of ethno-religious crises in the past. The result was used in checking the comprehensiveness, wording, and the reliability and validity of the research instrument. Also the pilot study determined the effectiveness of the statistical and analytical processes (Simon, 2011).

The data collected from the respondents for the pilot study were statistically analyzed. A total of forty (40) respondents were selected and administered the copies of the questionnaire for the study. Thirty eight (38) copies of the questionnaire were returned and found useable. The statistical package for the social sciences (SPSS) (version 17) was used for the analyses of the pilot study (Spiegel, 1992). The options for the determinant of the reliability coefficient and internal consistency index used were Cronbach's Alpha, Spearman-Brown Coefficient and the Gutman Split-Half Coefficient. The result of the pilot study indicates a correlation coefficient (r) of 0.80. Therefore, the instrument is reliable and valid for the study.

3.7 Validity of the Instrument

Validity is the degree to which a test measures what it is purported to measure (Phelen and Wren, 2005). An instrument has validity when it measures what it is designed to measure (Policymaker's Primer on Education Research, 2004). Validity involves all the measures carried out to ensure the fitness of an instrument. The validation of the questionnaire was done by first seeking the input of the supervisors of the dissertation. Furthermore, it was submitted to an expert in statistics and measurement at

the Institute for Agricultural Research (IAR), Ahmadu Bello University, to vet. The issues given attention include clarity of language, the difficulty level of each item and the number of items included in the questionnaire. Finally, a pilot study was conducted and its result was used to further ascertain the validity of the questionnaire.

3.8 Reliability of the Instrument

Reliability is the extent to which results are consistent over time. A research instrument is reliable if it produces the same result under a similar condition (Golafshani, 2003). It is the degree to which an assessment tool produces stable and consistent results (Phelen and Wren, 2005-06). Reliability is used in education to find out whether a particular technique applied repeatedly to the same object will yield the same result each time (Ayodele, 2012).

The instrument has a reliability index (r) of 0.865 from Cronbach Alpha, 0.893 from Spearman-Brown equal length coefficient and 0.884 from Guttman Split-Half Coefficient. The internal consistency coefficient obtained from the thirty five (35) items in the instrument is 0.940. These observed reliability coefficients are approximately equal to one. This is consistent with Ugodulunwa and Ugwuanyi (1999) who posit that the reliability coefficient provides a reliable estimate for instruments or tests composed of professional competence on scales of interval measurement.

3.9 Method of Data Collection

The study was conducted by the researcher and with the help of research assistants. Nine (9) research assistants were selected to assist the researcher in the administration of copies of the questionnaire and carry out the interview in the three geo-political zones of northern Nigeria. The research assistants were properly instructed on

how to administer the questionnaire and carry out the interview before going into the field. Where there was language barrier because of the illiteracy of the interviewees, the services of interpreters were enlisted.

3.10 Method of Data Analysis

The data collected was analyzed with descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentages, means and standard deviations. The demographic characteristics of the respondents were described in frequencies and percentages; while the opinions on the role of the media in ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria, were measured in means and standard deviations.

The hypotheses were tested with inferential statistics. Hypotheses one and two were tested with two-tailed t-test because two groups were involved in the test. Hypotheses three, four and five were tested with analysis of variance (ANOVA) because the groups involved in the test were three. All the hypotheses were tested at 0.5 level of significance.

The responses tape-recorded in the interview from the respondents were transcribed and analyzed. However, most of the respondents declined the recording of their voices. This is because of the sensitive nature of ethno-religious conflicts and the fear of being victimized. Therefore, notes were written down as they spoke. The responses of the interviewees were not subject to statistical analysis. They were used when discussing the items from the questionnaire as supplementary data.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

Chapter four focuses on the presentation and analysis of the research data on ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria: the role of the media. The data was collected from respondents in states representing the three geo-political zones of the North. The data collected with the questionnaire was presented and analyzed in tables using frequencies and percentages. The information from the interview was used as complementary data in the analysis. In line with the research objectives, questions and hypotheses, the data was analyzed with means, frequencies, percentages, standard deviations, two sample t-test and analysis of variance (ANOVA) statistics. Finally, the research hypotheses were tested and the chapter ends with the discussion.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

This section presents the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents involved in the study. The socio-demographic characteristics selected along the expressed opinion on the ethno-religious crises were; age, state, religion, position in the religious affiliated body and status in the society of the respondents. Each of these variables was tabulated in frequencies and percentages by their respective states below.

Table 4.1: Classifications of the respondents by their age range

Age range(years)	Plateau		Kaduna		Bauchi		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Below 21	105	27.0	80	22.2	158	34.8	343	28.5
21 - 30	239	61.4	183	50.7	187	41.2	609	50.6
31 - 40	37	9.5	49	13.6	45	9.9	131	10.9
41 - 50	6	1.5	28	7.8	37	8.1	71	5.9
Above 50	2	0.5	21	5.8	27	5.9	50	4.2
Total	389	100.0	361	100.0	454	100.0	1204	100.0

The distribution of the respondents by their ages in table 4.1 indicates that youths were the dominant group. In Plateau State, those below 21 years were 105 or 27.0%, Kaduna 80 or 22.2% and Bauchi 158 or 34.8%. The total of this age range was 343 or 28.5%. In the age range of 21 to 30 years, 239 or 61.4% respondents came from Plateau, 183 or 50.7% from Kaduna and 187 or 41.2% from Bauchi respectively. In the total, the group accounted for 609 or 50.6%. This group is mostly involved in crises in their communities. The respondents who were between 31 and 40 years were relatively few. Those from Kaduna were 37 or 9.5%, Plateau 49 or 13.6% and Bauchi 45 or 9.9%. The overall representation of this group was 131 or 10.9% people. Respondents who were between 41 and 50 years from Plateau were 6 or 1.5%, Kaduna 28 or 7.8% and Bauchi 37 or 8.1%. The overall total of this age range was 71 or 5.9%. The age ranges above 50 years consist of 2 or 0.5% of the respondents from Plateau, 21 or 5.8 from Kaduna and 27 or 5.9 from Bauchi. The total of this group was 50 or 4.2 respondents.

Table 4.2: Classification of respondents by their religion and state

State	Islam		Christianity		African traditional religion		Total
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Plateau	43	11.1	344	88.4	2	0.5	389
Kaduna	90	24.9	270	74.8	1	0.3	361
Bauchi	286	63.0	161	35.5	7	1.5	454
Total	419	34.8	775	64.4	10	0.8	1,204

Table 4.2 reveals that 43 or 11.1% of the respondents from Plateau State were Muslims, 344 or 88.4% Christians and 2 or 0.5% members of African Traditional Religion (ATR). The total number of the respondents in Plateau was 389. In Kaduna State, 90 or 24.9% were Muslims, 270 or 74.8% were Christians and 1 or 0.3 was a member of ATR. The total number of respondents in the state was 361. In Bauchi State, 286 or 63.0 respondents were Muslims, 161 or 35.5% were Christians, 7 or 1.5 were members of

ATR. The total number of respondents in the state was 454 subjects. In the overall total, Muslims respondents were 419 or 34.8%, Christians 775 or 64.4% and members of ATR 10 or 0.8%, giving a sum total of 1,204 respondents. There were not many respondents associated with the African traditional religion as indicated in the table. Therefore many crises with religious undertones revolve round Islam and Christianity.

Table 4.3: Classifications of the respondents by their religious ranking

State	Religious leader		Members		Total
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Plateau	41	10.5	348	89.5	389
Kaduna	25	6.9	336	93.1	361
Bauchi	49	10.8	405	89.2	454
Total	115	9.6	1,089	90.4	1,204

As shown in table 4.3, 41 or 10.5% of the respondents from Plateau state were religious leaders and 348 or 89.5% were members, making a total of 389 respondents. In Kaduna State, 25 or 6.9% were religious leaders and 336 or 93.1% were members, totaling 361 respondents. In Bauchi State, 49 or 10.8% respondents were religious leaders and 405 or 89.2% were members, making a total of 454 respondents. In the overall total, 115 or 9.6% respondents were religious leaders and 1,089 or 90.4% were members.

Table 4.4: Classification of respondents by their statuses in the society

State	Traditional rulers		Members		Total
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Plateau	44	12.4	341	87.7	389
Kaduna	39	10.8	322	89.2	361
Bauchi	65	14.3	389	85.7	454
Total	148	12.7	1,052	87.4	1204

The table reveals that 44 or 12.4% respondents from Plateau State were traditional leaders and 341 or 87.7% were members, totaling 389 subjects. In Kaduna State, 39 or 10.8% were traditional leaders and 322 or 89.2% were members, making a total of 361 respondents. Bauchi State, 65 or 14.3% of the respondents were traditional leaders and

389 or 85.7% were members, totaling 454 respondents. In the sum total, traditional leaders were 148 or 12.7% respondents and members' 1,052 or 87.4% respondents. This distribution gives a good picture of people in a community because the leaders are always few when compared to their members.

4.3 Role of the Media in Ethno-Religious Conflicts in the Northern States of Nigeria

The main objective of this study is to investigate the role of the media in ethno-religious conflicts in northern states of Nigeria. To achieve this purpose, five specific objectives were stated and followed by five research questions. Out of one thousand six hundred and twenty (1,620) copies of the questionnaire administered for the collection of data in the three states earmarked for the study, one thousand two hundred and four (1,204) were retrieved and found useful for the study. The results of the data from the questionnaire are presented below following the analysis of the responses of the respondents. The percentage of the strongly agreed (SA) and agreed (A) are merged and analyzed together to show the responses of those who positively accepted a particular item in the questionnaire. Also, the percentage of strongly disagreed (SD) and disagreed (D) are put together to show the responses of those who rejected a particular item. The first specific objective was to find out the role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. This was investigated with the following research questions:

Research question one: What role do the media play in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in northern states of Nigeria?

The solution to this question was provided by looking at the use of words, the manner of presentation in front pages and headlines of newspapers and magazines, and pictures of

conflict scenes presented in the television to inflame crises among different groups or communities. These include exaggeration of casualties and continuous presentation in front pages of newspapers and headlines of television, pictures of conflict scenes among others. The opinions of the different groups are presented in Table 4.

Table 4.5: Role of media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts

Sn	Role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts	State	SA	A	D	SD	Total
			Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	
1	Reporting ethno-religious conflict stories by using a language that inflames tempers	Plateau	104(26.7)	162(41.6)	69(17.7)	54(13.9)	389
		Kaduna	118(32.7)	106(29.4)	89(24.7)	48(13.3)	361
		Bauchi	191(42.1)	110(24.2)	77(17.0)	76(16.7)	454
		Total	413(34.3)	378(31.4)	235(19.5)	178(14.8)	1,204
2	Continuous presentation in front pages of newspapers and headlines of television pictures of conflicts scenes to inflame anger	Plateau	103(26.5)	146(37.5)	91(23.4)	49(12.6)	389
		Kaduna	111(30.7)	112(31.0)	105(29.1)	33(9.1)	361
		Bauchi	143(31.5)	117(25.8)	124(27.3)	70(15.4)	454
		Total	357(29.7)	375(31.1)	320(26.6)	152(12.6)	1,204
3	Exaggeration of conflict stories	Plateau	146(37.5)	134(34.4)	62(15.9)	47(12.1)	389
		Kaduna	118(32.7)	110(30.5)	75(20.8)	58(16.1)	361
		Bauchi	167(36.8)	120(26.4)	87(19.2)	80(17.6)	454
		Total	431(35.8)	364(30.2)	224(18.6)	185(15.4)	1,204
4	Airing of provocative news	Plateau	87(22.4)	171(44.0)	82(21.1)	49(12.6)	389
		Kaduna	108(29.9)	132(36.6)	76(21.1)	45(12.5)	361
		Bauchi	121(26.7)	124(27.3)	109(24.0)	100(22.0)	454
		Total	316(26.2)	427(35.5)	267(22.2)	194(16.1)	1,204
5	Announcing death casualties according to their ethnic and religious affiliation	Plateau	120(30.8)	147(37.8)	74(19.0)	48(12.3)	389
		Kaduna	128(35.5)	102(28.3)	91(25.2)	40(11.1)	361
		Bauchi	172(37.9)	108(23.8)	105(23.1)	69(15.2)	454
		Total	420(34.9)	357(29.7)	270(22.4)	157(13.0)	1,204
6	Reporting of a particular conflict event over and over again	Plateau	85(21.9)	167(42.9)	91(23.4)	46(11.8)	389
		Kaduna	106(29.4)	105(29.1)	92(25.5)	58(16.1)	361
		Bauchi	137(30.2)	117(25.8)	119(26.2)	81(17.8)	454
		Total	328(27.2)	389(32.3)	302(25.1)	185(15.4)	1,204
7	Painting of one group in the conflict as evil while the other as innocent	Plateau	125(32.1)	124(31.9)	80(20.6)	60(15.4)	389
		Kaduna	142(39.3)	74(20.5)	87(24.1)	58(16.1)	361
		Bauchi	162(35.7)	86(18.9)	119(26.2)	87(19.2)	454
		Total	429(35.6)	284(23.6)	286(23.8)	205(17.0)	1,204
8	Reporting and publishing of comments from the public in online media without censorship	Plateau	107(27.5)	161(41.4)	70(18.0)	51(13.1)	389
		Kaduna	110(30.5)	111(30.7)	79(21.9)	61(16.9)	361
		Bauchi	143(31.5)	113(24.9)	131(28.9)	67(14.8)	454
		Total	360(29.9)	385(32.0)	280(23.3)	179(14.9)	1,204
9	Untrue reporting and publishing of conflict that is bias	Plateau	121(31.1)	143(36.8)	73(18.8)	52(13.4)	389
		Kaduna	116(32.1)	109(30.2)	81(22.4)	55(15.2)	361
		Bauchi	145(31.9)	117(25.8)	111(24.4)	81(17.8)	454
		Total	382(31.7)	369(30.6)	265(22.0)	188(15.6)	1,204

Table 4.5 is on the role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. Item 1 stated that the media aggravate ethno-religious conflicts by using a language that inflames tempers. The responses indicate that 68.3% from Plateau State, 62.1% from Kaduna and 66.3% from Bauchi agreed, while 37.9% from Plateau, 38.9% from Kaduna and 33.7% from Bauchi disagreed with the suggested item. This shows that the majority of the respondents from the three states were of the opinion that the media aggravate ethno-religious conflicts through the language that they use in reporting news items.

Item 2 focused on the use pictures of conflicts scenes to inflame anger. The table indicates that 64.0% respondents from Plateau, 61.7% Kaduna and 57.3% Bauchi expressed agreement, while 36% from Plateau, 30.2% Kaduna and 42.7% Bauchi expressed disagreement with the suggested item. Therefore, majority opinions suggest that the media inflames anger in its presentation of conflict scenes. This is done by continuous presentation of conflict scenes in front pages of newspapers and headlines of television.

Item 3 centered on exaggeration of conflict stories by the media. The responses indicated that 71.9% in Plateau, 63.2% Kaduna and 63.2% Bauchi expressed agreement, while 28.0% in Plateau, 36.9% Kaduna and 36.8% Bauchi expressed disagreement. Therefore, majority of the respondents were of the opinion that the media exaggerates conflict stories to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.

Item 4 dwelled on airing of provocative news. Agreement was indicated by 66.4% respondents from Plateau, 66.6% Kaduna and 54% Bauchi, while disagreement was indicated by 33.7% respondenta from Plateau, 33.6% Kaduna and 46.0% Bauchi States.

Thus, airing of provocative news by the media is another role seen by the majority of the respondents as aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.

Item 5 considered announcement of death casualties according to ethnic and religious affiliation. Those who confirmed the item were 68.6% in Plateau, 63.8% Kaduna and 61.7% Bauchi, while those that rejected it were 31.3% in Plateau, 36.3% Kaduna and 38.3% Bauchi makes the ethnic or religious group with the highest number of casualties to feel cheated. Plateau State respondents seem to champion this item more than Bauchi and Kaduna. Sometimes deliberate decisions are taken either on ethnic or religious grounds to give on the same coin or worst the damage suffered; thus, increasing the spread of a conflict. This seems to be the situation in the Kafanchan 1987 riot that later spread to other parts of Kaduna State (Item 5).

Item 6 is on reporting of a particular conflict event over and over again. The respondents that ticked the positive scores were 64.8% in Plateau, 58.5% Kaduna and 56.0% in Bauchi States. While those that ticked the negative score were 35.2% in Plateau, 41.6% Kaduna and 44.0% Bauchi States. The general view is that reporting of a particular conflict event over and over again is another means in which the media aggravates ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.

Item 7 is on the painting of one group in a conflict as evil while the other as innocent. Respondents that accepted the assertion were 64.0% in Plateau, 59.8% Kaduna and 54.6% Bauchi, while those that rejected it were 36.0% in Plateau 40.2% in Kaduna and 45.4% in Bauchi State. Painting of one group in a conflict as evil while the other as innocent is considered by the majority of the respondents as another role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts.

Item 8 draws attention to public comments in online media. The positive responses to the suggestion were 68.9% in Plateau, 61.2% Kaduna and 56.4% in Bauchi States, while the negative responses were 31.1% in Plateau, 38.8% Kaduna and 43.7% in Bauchi States. Reporting and publishing of comments from the public in online media without censorship is another role of the media considered by the majority of the respondents as aggravating ethno-religious conflicts. The internet is an electronic world of sharing information. In it, people react to conflict news items as they wish without taking into consideration the feelings of the aggrieved party. In doing so, angers are inflamed, leading to the spread of a particular conflict (Item 8).

Item 9 examined bias reporting of news items. Those who expressed acceptance of the stated item were 67.9% from Plateau, 62.3% Kaduna, 57.7% Bauchi States, while those that expressed their rejection were 32.2% from Plateau, 37.6% Kaduna and 42.2% in Bauchi States. Majority of the respondents from the three states sampled for the study stated that untrue reporting and publishing of conflict stories that are biased constitute another role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. Responses from Bauchi and Plateau States seem to favour this assertion than those from Kaduna. Falsification of facts and bias in reporting increases anger and exacerbates conflicts. A situation in which truth is avoided and falsehood championed by the media, the restoration of peace will be difficult (Item 9).

Research question two: What are the factors that influence the media to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria?

The establishment of the factors that influence the media's role to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria is the subject of investigation here. In Table 4.6, the associated factors investigated include, professionalism,

ideological inclination, ethnic and religious sentiments, marketing orientation, corruption and greed of the respective reporters or journalists/editors. The respondents from the three states are presented with their rating of the extent those factors influence media's role in the ethno-religious conflicts.

Table 4.6: Factors influencing the role of media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts

Sn	Factors that influence the media to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts	State	SA	A	D	SD	Total
			Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	
1	Lack of well-trained press men and women	Plateau	137(35.2)	160(41.1)	54(13.9)	38(9.8)	389
		Kaduna	186(51.5)	104(28.8)	32(8.9)	39(10.8)	361
		Bauchi	233(51.3)	120(26.4)	45(9.9)	56(12.3)	454
		Total	556(46.2)	384(31.9)	131(10.9)	133(11.0)	1,204
2	Influence of the ideology of a particular media house on its press men and women	Plateau	141(36.2)	191(49.1)	46(11.8)	11(2.8)	389
		Kaduna	121(33.5)	156(43.2)	56(15.5)	28(7.8)	361
		Bauchi	129(28.4)	191(42.1)	82(18.1)	52(11.5)	454
		Total	391(32.5)	538(44.7)	184(15.3)	91(7.6)	1,204
3	Solidarity of press men and women with their ethnic and religious groups even in reporting news	Plateau	130(33.4)	187(48.1)	51(13.1)	21(5.4)	389
		Kaduna	117(32.4)	177(49.0)	46(12.7)	21(5.8)	361
		Bauchi	168(37.0)	132(29.1)	91(20.0)	63(13.9)	454
		Total	415(34.5)	496(41.2)	188(15.6)	105(8.7)	1,204
4	The desire of the publishers to market their papers	Plateau	169(43.4)	152(39.1)	44(11.3)	24(6.2)	389
		Kaduna	167(46.3)	123(34.1)	46(12.7)	25(6.9)	361
		Bauchi	229(50.4)	129(28.4)	54(11.9)	42(9.3)	454
		Total	565(46.9)	404(33.6)	144(12.0)	91(7.6)	1,204
5	Corruption of journalist results in the distortion of information	Plateau	165(42.4)	169(43.4)	35(9.0)	20(5.1)	389
		Kaduna	176(48.8)	130(36.0)	26(7.2)	29(8.0)	361
		Bauchi	156(34.4)	149(32.8)	89(19.6)	60(13.2)	454
		Total	497(41.3)	448(37.2)	150(12.5)	109(9.1)	1,204
6	Violators of media ethics in reporting news go unpunished	Plateau	122(31.4)	194(49.9)	49(12.6)	24(6.2)	389
		Kaduna	146(40.4)	134(37.1)	43(11.9)	38(10.5)	361
		Bauchi	178(39.2)	135(29.7)	75(16.5)	66(14.5)	454
		Total	446(37.0)	463(38.5)	167(13.9)	128(10.6)	1,204
7	Some press men and women do not have and apply the knowledge of peace journalism in reporting information on conflicts	Plateau	118(30.3)	212(54.5)	46(11.8)	13(3.3)	389
		Kaduna	149(41.3)	151(41.8)	42(11.6)	19(5.3)	361
		Bauchi	164(36.1)	131(28.9)	101(22.2)	58(12.8)	454
		Total	431(35.8)	494(41.0)	189(15.7)	90(7.5)	1,204
8	Effort of publishers to win the love of politicians who manipulate ethnic and religious sentiments for political gains	Plateau	187(48.1)	144(37.0)	39(10.0)	19(4.9)	389
		Kaduna	191(52.9)	118(32.7)	25(6.9)	27(7.5)	361
		Bauchi	202(44.5)	128(28.2)	67(14.8)	57(12.6)	454
		Total	580(48.2)	390(32.4)	131(10.9)	103(8.6)	1,204

Table 4.6 presents data on the factors influencing the role of media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts. Item 1 on the table is on trained media men and women. The agreement opinion was expressed by 76.3% of the respondents from Plateau, 80.3% Kaduna and 77.7% Bauchi, while that of disagreement was expressed by 23.7% of the respondents from Plateau, 19.7% Kaduna and 22.2% in Bauchi States. Majority opinion of the respondents has it that lack of well-trained press men and women is a major factor influencing the media to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts in its reporting of conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. Some of the media reporters in the nation are not well trained journalists. Thus, they may not know how to be prudent in reporting conflict stories.

Item 2 pictured ideological inclination of a media house. It was confirmed by 85.3% of the respondents from Plateau, 76.7% Kaduna and 70.5% Bauchi, while objected by 14.6% of the respondents from Plateau, 23.3% Kaduna and 29.6% Bauchi. Most of the respondents considered ideological inclination of a media house as another factor that makes the media to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. When a media house insists on protecting its own ideology, then objective reporting of news by its journalists will be affected. This accusation has been labeled against some media houses in southern Nigeria as well as in the north.

Item 3 was on solidarity with ethnic and religious groups. Those who accepted the assertion were 81.5% in Plateau, 81.4% Kaduna and 66.1% in Bauchi States, while those who objected to it were 18.5% in Plateau, 18.5% Kaduna and 33.9% in Bauchi States. Most of the respondents felt that solidarity of press men and women with their ethnic and religious groups pushes the media into taking side. This factor comes into play when

press men and women manipulate a conflict story to the favour of their ethnic or religious group; thus, making the media to aggravate the conflict than curb it.

Item 4 focused on marketing of news. The respondents that indicated agreement to the suggestion were 82.5% in Plateau, 80.4% Kaduna and 78.8% in Bauchi States, while those that indicated disagreement were 17.5% in Plateau, 19.6% Kaduna and 21.2% in Bauchi States. The desire to market news is an urge considered by majority of the respondents to be influencing the media to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. Conflict news items seem to sell very well. Media practitioners rush into reporting conflict news for the sake of making gain. That is why some news items that are capable of inflaming tempers are not screened out; thus influencing the media to aggravate conflicts.

Item 5 centered on corruption of individual journalists. The respondents who approved the proposal were 85.8% in Plateau, 84.8% Kaduna and 67.2% in Bauchi States, while those that disapproved it were 14.1% in Plateau, 15.2% Kaduna and 32.8% in Bauchi States. Corruption of individual journalists who distorts information because of economic benefits is seen by the majority of the respondents as a factor that influences the media to play the role of aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. Corruption makes journalists to collect money in order to suppress the truth that they suppose to report.

Item 6 addressed policy on the practice of journalism. The responses indicated that 81.3% of respondents from Plateau, 77.5% Kaduna and 68.8% in Bauchi States accepted the suggestion, while 18.8% of them from Plateau, 22.4% Kaduna and 31.0% from Bauchi objected. Lack of policy on the practice of journalism in the country by

respective governments which allow violators of media ethics in reporting news to go unpunished is a major factor that the majority of the respondents across the three states earmarked for the study considered as influencing the media to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts.

Item 7 hinged on knowledge of peace journalism. The tabulated responses indicates that 84.8% from Plateau, 83.1% Kaduna and 65.0% from Bauchi accepted the assertion, while 15.1% from Plateau, 16.9% Kaduna and 35.0% from Bauchi States rejected it. Lack of knowledge on peace journalism is another factor the majority of the respondents considered as influencing the media to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. Journalists who are not knowledgeable on peace journalism often report conflict items in the same way like other issues; thus, making the media to inflame tempers.

Item 8 was on pleasing politicians. The rating indicated that 85.1% who positively scored the suggestion were from Plateau, 85.6% Kaduna and 72.7% from Bauchi States, while those that negatively scored it were 14.9% from Plateau, 14.4% Kaduna and 27.4% Bauchi respectively. The effort to win the love of politicians through the manipulation of ethnic and religious sentiments for political gains is viewed by most of the respondents as making the media to fuel ethno-religious conflicts. This reality comes to limelight when press men and women try to report conflict stories from ethnic and religious lenses to meet up of the mind set of a particular politician or the other.

Research question three: What are the effects of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the role of the media in the northern states of Nigeria?

The examination of the effects of ethno-religious conflicts fueled by the role of the media in northern states was carried out by looking at the level of casualties,

displacement of people, the disruption of economic and social activities and its effect on the social interaction between individuals and groups in the respective communities.

Table 4.7 presents the opinion of the respondents from the three states involved in the study.

Table 4.7: Effects of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the role of the media in the northern states of Nigeria

Sn	Effects of conflicts aggravated by the media	State	SA	A	D	SD	Total
			Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	
1	More death casualties	Plateau	188(48.3)	155(39.8)	31(8.0)	15(3.9)	389
		Kaduna	142(39.3)	131(36.3)	54(15.0)	34(9.4)	361
		Bauchi	227(50.0)	141(31.1)	59(13.0)	27(5.9)	454
		Total	557(46.3)	427(35.5)	144(12.0)	76(6.3)	1,204
2	Displacement of more people	Plateau	173(44.5)	176(45.2)	28(7.2)	12(3.1)	389
		Kaduna	119(33.0)	149(41.3)	61(16.9)	32(8.9)	361
		Bauchi	159(35.0)	155(34.1)	94(20.7)	46(10.1)	454
		Total	451(37.5)	480(39.9)	183(15.2)	90(7.5)	1,204
3	Disruption of economic activities	Plateau	182(46.8)	173(44.5)	20(5.1)	14(3.6)	389
		Kaduna	140(38.8)	140(38.8)	64(17.7)	17(4.7)	361
		Bauchi	189(41.6)	148(32.6)	78(17.2)	39(8.6)	454
		Total	511(42.4)	461(38.3)	162(13.5)	70(5.8)	1,204
4	Public places closed down	Plateau	158(40.6)	188(48.3)	30(7.7)	13(3.3)	389
		Kaduna	143(39.6)	119(33.0)	73(20.2)	26(7.2)	361
		Bauchi	139(30.6)	166(36.6)	93(20.5)	56(12.3)	454
		Total	440(36.5)	473(39.3)	196(16.3)	95(7.9)	1,204
5	Close down of educational activities	Plateau	158(40.6)	162(41.6)	47(12.1)	22(5.7)	389
		Kaduna	108(29.9)	142(39.3)	64(17.7)	47(13.0)	361
		Bauchi	187(41.2)	122(26.9)	90(19.8)	55(12.1)	454
		Total	453(37.6)	426(35.4)	201(16.7)	124(10.3)	1,204
6	Mutual suspicion between ethnic and religious groups	Plateau	184(47.3)	164(42.2)	27(6.9)	14(3.6)	389
		Kaduna	137(38.0)	154(42.7)	54(15.0)	16(4.4)	361
		Bauchi	166(36.6)	154(33.9)	80(17.6)	54(11.9)	454
		Total	487(40.4)	472(39.2)	161(13.4)	84(7.0)	1,204
7	Increase in militant activities	Plateau	149(38.3)	171(44.0)	43(11.1)	26(6.7)	389
		Kaduna	123(34.1)	117(32.4)	63(17.5)	58(16.1)	361
		Bauchi	176(38.8)	134(29.5)	94(20.7)	50(11.0)	454
		Total	448(37.2)	422(35.0)	200(16.6)	134(11.1)	1,204
8	Planned attacks on some media houses	Plateau	75(19.3)	198(50.9)	74(19.0)	42(10.8)	389
		Kaduna	105(29.1)	117(32.4)	68(18.8)	71(19.7)	361
		Bauchi	140(30.8)	109(24.0)	132(29.1)	73(16.1)	454
		Total	320(26.6)	424(35.2)	274(22.8)	186(15.4)	1,204
9	Increase in the number of women raped and abused	Plateau	114(29.3)	155(39.8)	75(19.3)	45(11.6)	389
		Kaduna	119(33.0)	85(23.5)	82(22.7)	75(20.8)	361
		Bauchi	164(36.1)	105(23.1)	111(24.4)	74(16.3)	454
		Total	397(33.0)	345(28.7)	268(22.3)	194(16.1)	1,204

Table 4.7 addresses the effects of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the role of the media. Item 1 centered on death casualties. In it, 88.1% of respondents from Plateau, 75.6% from Kaduna and 81.1% from Bauchi expressed agreement, while 11.9% of them from Plateau, 24.4% from Kaduna and 18.9% from Bauchi States respectively expressed disagreement with the suggested item. Among the effects of conflicts aggravated by the media is the high rate of death casualties. This opinion cuts across all the respondents from the three states involved in the study. Most of the ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states often lead to the death of so many people. Sometimes innocent children and travelers fall victims.

Item 2 dwelled on displacement of people. The responses indicated that 89.7% of the respondents from Plateau, 74.3% from Kaduna and 69.1% from Bauchi confirmed the suggestion, while 10.3% of them from Plateau, 25.8% from Kaduna and 30.8% from Bauchi rejected the suggestion. A major effect of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the role of the media in the rating of majority of the respondents is the displacement of more people. Often, the destruction of houses and property usually renders many people homeless; thus, adding to the number of displaced people in the nation.

Item 3 hinged on economic and social activities. The rating from the table indicates that 91.3% respondents from Plateau, 77.6% from Kaduna and 74.2% from Bauchi expressed agreement, while 8.7% from Plateau, 22.4% from Kaduna and 25.8% from Bauchi expressed disagreement with the stated item. Therefore, ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the media are seen by most of the respondents from the three states sampled out for the study as disrupting the economic and social activities of the individuals and the communities affected. Sometimes the shops in the market are burnt

down. People are often scared, thus they will not want to take the risk of going out for any reason at all. Also, the curfew often imposed by the government forbids and limit movement, making market activities difficult. This was the situation in many ethno-religious conflicts that assumed a violent dimension in most of the northern states of Nigeria.

Item 4 focused on the public place. The respondents indicated that 88.9% of the respondents from Plateau, 72.6% from Kaduna and 67.2% from Bauchi accepted the suggestion, while 11.0% of them from Plateau, 27.4% from Kaduna 32.8% from Bauchi rejected it. Comparing the positive and the negative rating, it is evident that the majority of the respondents indicated that the closure of public places is another effect of the ethno-religious conflicts. The closure becomes compulsory in order to obey the curfew often imposed to restore peace. Apart from that, those who operate such places most at times become scared of secret killings. As such, they will not risk their lives.

Item 5 dwelled on education. The responses to it indicate that 82.2% respondents from Plateau, 69.2% from Kaduna and 68.1% from Bauchi accepted the stated item, while 17.8% from Plateau 30.7% from Kaduna and 31.9% from Bauchi rejected the assertion. Thus, majority in the three states are of the view that ethno-religious conflicts usually lead to the closure of educational activities. As security measures, institutions of learning are often closed down. Besides that, parents will not like to risk the lives of their children. As such they will not send them to school until peace is restored.

Item 6 addressed the relationship of people from different ethnic and religious groups. Those that positively rated the item were 89.5% in Plateau, 80.7% in Kaduna and 70.5% in Bauchi, while those that rated negatively were 10.5% in Plateau, 19.4% in

Kaduna and 29.5% in Bauchi. Mutual suspicion between ethnic and religious groups is one of the effects of ethno-religious conflicts rated higher by respondents from the three states sampled for the study. This is manifested in lack of trust between people of different ethnic or religious groups. Mutual suspicion has led to settlements along religious or ethnic cleavages in some parts of the northern states of Nigeria.

Item 7 examined militant activities. From the responses, 82.3% of those that expressed agreement came from Plateau, 66.5% Kaduna and 68.3% Bauchi, while 17.8% of those that expressed disagreement came from Plateau, 33.6% Kaduna and 31.7 Bauchi. Most of the responses indicated that ethno-religious conflicts lead to an increase in militant activities. Every conflict often leaves behind pockets of militia comprising irate youths. At times, their job expires when peace is restored. Idleness sometimes makes them to embark on militant activities that are a bridge of peace in the nation.

Item 8 was on attacks on media houses. Agreement was indicated by 70.2% of respondents from Plateau, 61.5% Kaduna and 54.8% from Bauchi States respectively, while disagreement was indicated by 29.8% from Plateau, 38.5% Kaduna and 45.2% from Bauchi. Thus, the majority of the respondents across the three states confirmed the assertion that one notable effect of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the media is planned attacks on some media houses. Once a group identifies a media house as being bias in its reportage, it may declare it an enemy and plan to destroy it. Some media houses attacked by Boko Haram were seen as being bias and partisan in their reporting of the group's onslaught in the nation.

Item 9 was on rape and abuse of women. The rating indicated that 69.1% of the respondents that expressed agreement came from Plateau, 56.5% Kaduna and 59.2%

Bauchi, while 30.9% that expressed disagreement came from Bauchi, 43.5% Kaduna and 40.7% from Bauchi respectively. Another effect of ethno-religious conflicts brought out by the majority of the respondents is the increase in the number of women raped and abused. Most of the combatants take drugs that incline them to all forms of violence, including rape and abuse of women.

Research question four: What is the impact of the role played by the media in curbing the spread of ethnic and religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria?

The investigation here is aimed at establishing the impact of the media in curbing the spread of ethnic and religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. To answer the question on the impact of the media in curbing the spread of ethno-religious conflicts, reduction in escalation of the conflicts, reduction in the number of death casualties, bringing the conflicts under control, the calming of the tempers of conflicting parties, airing of peace messages through balanced reporting and facilitation of peace process were among the items assessed. Table 4.8 shows the opinions of the respondents on the impact made by the media in conflicts

Table 4.8: Impact of the Role of media in curbing ethno-religious conflicts

Sn	Impact of media in curbing ethno-religious conflicts	State	SA	A	D	SD	Total
			Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	
1	The reduction of the escalation of the conflicts	Plateau	45(11.6)	176(45.2)	124(31.9)	44(11.3)	389
		Kaduna	113(31.3)	121(33.5)	87(24.1)	40(11.1)	361
		Bauchi	193(42.5)	132(29.1)	68(15.0)	61(13.4)	454
		Total	351(29.2)	429(35.6)	279(23.2)	145(12.0)	1,204
2	Reduction in the number of death casualties	Plateau	45(11.6)	155(39.8)	128(32.9)	61(15.7)	389
		Kaduna	86(23.8)	116(32.1)	108(29.9)	51(14.1)	361
		Bauchi	118(26.0)	122(26.9)	115(25.3)	99(21.8)	454
		Total	249(20.7)	393(32.6)	351(29.2)	211(17.5)	1,204
3	Bringing the conflicts under control	Plateau	45(11.6)	173(44.5)	126(32.4)	45(11.6)	389
		Kaduna	95(26.3)	125(34.6)	91(25.2)	50(13.9)	361
		Bauchi	160(35.2)	121(26.7)	82(18.1)	91(20.0)	454
		Total	300(24.9)	419(34.8)	299(24.8)	186(15.4)	1,204
4	The calming of the tempers of conflicting parties	Plateau	40(10.3)	148(38.0)	142(36.5)	59(15.2)	389
		Kaduna	94(26.0)	139(38.5)	76(21.1)	52(14.4)	361
		Bauchi	132(29.1)	137(30.2)	86(18.9)	99(21.8)	454
		Total	266(22.1)	424(35.2)	304(25.2)	210(17.4)	1,204
5	The exposition of the causes of the conflicts for peace initiative	Plateau	72(18.5)	211(54.2)	68(17.5)	38(9.8)	389
		Kaduna	99(27.4)	149(41.3)	84(23.3)	29(8.0)	361
		Bauchi	146(32.2)	158(34.8)	76(16.7)	74(16.3)	454
		Total	317(26.3)	518(43.0)	228(18.9)	141(11.7)	1,204
6	Bringing about a prompt government action to check the spread of conflicts	Plateau	82(21.1)	193(49.6)	82(21.1)	32(8.2)	389
		Kaduna	90(24.9)	157(43.5)	64(17.7)	50(13.9)	361
		Bauchi	153(33.7)	142(31.3)	93(20.5)	66(14.5)	454
		Total	325(27.0)	492(40.9)	239(19.9)	148(12.3)	1,204
7	The exposition of cases of abuse of children and women by security operatives on peace mission	Plateau	91(23.4)	196(50.4)	67(17.2)	35(9.0)	389
		Kaduna	125(34.6)	135(37.4)	70(19.4)	31(8.6)	361
		Bauchi	141(31.1)	150(33.0)	93(20.5)	70(15.4)	454
		Total	357(29.7)	481(40.0)	230(19.1)	136(11.3)	1,204
8	The call for dialogue between ethnic and religious groups in conflicts	Plateau	97(24.9)	219(56.3)	48(12.3)	25(6.4)	389
		Kaduna	120(33.2)	160(44.3)	47(13.0)	34(9.4)	361
		Bauchi	152(33.5)	128(28.2)	108(23.8)	66(14.5)	454
		Total	369(30.6)	507(42.1)	203(16.9)	125(10.4)	1,204
9	The message of peace communicated by ethnic and religious leaders of their members through the media	Plateau	120(30.8)	212(54.5)	38(9.8)	19(4.9)	389
		Kaduna	146(40.4)	149(41.3)	41(11.4)	25(6.9)	361
		Bauchi	167(36.8)	142(31.3)	85(18.7)	60(13.2)	454
		Total	433(36.0)	503(41.8)	164(13.6)	104(8.6)	1,204
10	The countering of false information capable of fueling the conflicts	Plateau	74(19.0)	210(54.0)	72(18.5)	33(8.5)	389
		Kaduna	114(31.6)	138(38.2)	72(19.9)	37(10.2)	361
		Bauchi	149(32.8)	121(26.7)	122(26.9)	62(13.7)	454
		Total	337(28.0)	469(39.0)	266(22.1)	132(11.0)	1,204
11	The hosting and airing out of sittings of peace and reconciliation between ethnic and religious groups	Plateau	78(20.1)	222(57.1)	57(14.7)	32(8.2)	389
		Kaduna	118(32.7)	169(46.8)	52(14.4)	22(6.1)	361
		Bauchi	166(36.6)	143(31.5)	81(17.8)	64(14.1)	454
		Total	362(30.1)	534(44.4)	190(15.8)	118(9.8)	1,204

Table 4.8 addresses the impact of the media in curbing ethno-religious conflicts. Item 1 of it focused on reduction of the escalation of conflicts. The responses indicated that respondents who expressed agreement were 56.8% in Plateau, 64.8% in Kaduna and 71.6% in Bauchi, while those who expressed disagreement were 43.2% in Plateau, 35.2% in Kaduna and 28.4% in Bauchi. Majority of the respondents involved in the study opined that the media helps in the reduction of the escalation of the conflicts. However, this position was more highly contested in Plateau State than in Kaduna and Bauchi States. By providing information on the gray areas of ethno-religious conflicts, the media helps in the process of peace.

Item 2 was on the reduction of death casualties. The rating from the three state indicating that 51.4% of those who accepted the suggestion came from Plateau, 55.9% from Kaduna and 52.9% from Bauchi, while 48.6% who rejected it came from Plateau, 44.0% from Kaduna and 47% from Bauchi. Majority opinions suggest that the media impact in ethno-religious conflicts has led to a reduction in the number of death casualties. However, the opinion was highly contested. The difference in the opinions of respondents who accepted and rejected the view is not significant in all the three states slated for the studies.

Item 3 was on bringing conflicts under control. Those who positively ticked the suggestion were 56.1% in Plateau, 60.9% in Kaduna and 61.9% in Bauchi, while those who negatively ticked the suggestion were 44.0% in Plateau, 39.1% in Kaduna and 38.1% in Bauchi. It is the expressed view of the majority of the respondents that the media impact in ethno-religious conflicts has been felt in the bringing of the conflicts under control. However, the number of respondents that held the contrary opinion in

Bauchi, Plateau and Kaduna States cannot be ignored. This is to say that the media is yet to meet up the expectations of the people in the area of controlling ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.

Item 4 centered on calming of tempers. The respondents that agreed to the suggested item were 48.3% in Plateau, 64.5% in Kaduna and 59.3% in Bauchi, while those that disagreed with it were 51.5% in Plateau, 35.5% in Kaduna and 40.7% in Bauchi. The calming of the tempers of conflicting parties as an impact of the media in ethno-religious conflicts received the high rating of the respondents involved in the study. However, the objection to the view seems to be worthy of note. In Plateau State, the majority of the respondents did not see the media making this impact in the ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. This is to say that the media could be fanning tempers as well.

Item 5 examined the exposition of causes of conflicts. The rating indicated that agreement was expressed by 72.7% respondents in Plateau, 68.7% in Kaduna and 67.0% in Bauchi, while disagreement was expressed by 27.3% in Plateau, 31.3% in Kaduna and 33.0% from Bauchi. The exposition of the causes of the conflicts for peace initiative is considered an impact of the media in curbing ethno-religious conflicts by the majority of the respondents from the three states involved in the study. This is done through the provision of information to the public, the government and non governmental agencies of peace-building. However, the significant number of respondents that objected to this view indicates that the media is yet to achieve much in exposing the causes of ethno-religious conflicts for peace initiative in the northern states of Nigeria.

Item 6 analyzed prompt government response to the conflicts. In it, 70.7% of those who confirmed the suggestion came from Plateau, 68.4% Kaduna and 65.0% Bauchi, while 29.3% of those who objected to it came from Plateau, 31.6%, Kaduna and 35.0% Bauchi States respectively. Most of the respondents opined that the media impact is felt in bringing about a prompt government action to check the spread of ethno-religious conflicts. This is accomplished by indicating the areas of the conflicts that are gray and in need of immediate attention. The negative rating still shows that much is yet to be achieved by the media in this regard.

Item 7 dwelled on cases of abuse of children and women. The positive rating from Plateau was 73.8%, Kaduna 72.0% and 64.1% Bauchi, while the negative rating was 26.2% from Plateau, 28.0% Kaduna and 35.9% from Bauchi. The exposition of cases of abuse of children and women by security operatives on peace mission is considered an impact of the media in curbing ethno-religious conflicts by the majority of the respondents that were involved in the study. This is accomplished by inviting and having a media chat with some of the victims of such abuses. With cases of this nature exposed, the security agencies involved can carry out punitive measures on those that were involved. However, this impact was still contested by some of the respondents. It means there were cases that the media did not give attention at all.

Item 8 was on the call for dialogue between belligerent groups. Those from Plateau who accepted the suggested item were 81.2%, Kaduna 77.5% and Bauchi 61.7%, while those who objected from Plateau were 18.7%, Kaduna 22.4% and Bauchi 38.3% respectively. The call for dialogue between ethnic and religious groups in conflicts by the media was rated higher by the respondents involved in the study.

Item 9 examined the message of peace communicated through the media. The rating of the responses from the three states involved in the study indicated that 85.3% of agreement came from Plateau, 81.7% from Kaduna and 68.1% from Bauchi, while 14.7% disagreement from Plateau, 18.3%, Kaduna and 31.9% from Bauchi States respectively. Majority were of the opinion that the impact of the media in curbing ethno-religious conflicts was felt when messages of peace communicated by ethnic and religious leaders to their members in the media reduced the spread and escalation of the conflicts.

Item 10 was on countering of false information. Those who accepted the assertion were 73.0% in Plateau, 69.8% in Kaduna and 67.0% in Bauchi, while those who objected were 27.0% in Plateau, 30.1% in Kaduna and 33.1% in Bauchi States. Majority of the respondents held to the view that most of the peace initiatives were achieved through the media by their countering of false information capable of fueling conflicts.

Item 11 was on hosting and airing out session of peace and reconciliation. Respondents that accepted the stated item were 77.2% in Plateau, 79.5% in Kaduna and 68.1% in Bauchi, while those that objected were 22.9% in Plateau, 20.5% in Kaduna and 31.9% in Bauchi States. Most of the respondents across the three states were of the view that the impact of the role of the media in curbing ethno-religious conflict was felt through hosting and airing out of sittings of peace and reconciliation between ethnic and religious groups.

Research question five: What role should the media play in building peace among ethno-religious communities in the northern states of Nigeria?

The aim here is to establish what the role of the media should be in building peace among ethno-religious communities in the northern states of Nigeria. Among the issues examined with the views of respondents are; objective reporting of news items on

conflicts, raising public awareness on how ethnic and religious differences can be enriching in a multi-religious and ethnic society, professionalism in media practice among others. The items used to solicit the opinions of respondents are listed in Table 4.9 along with their responses from the three states.

Table 4.9: Role of media in peace-building

Sn	Expected role of media in building a peaceful society	State	SA	A	D	SD	Total
			Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	Freq.(%)	
1	Objective reporting of news items on conflicts	Plateau	207(53.2)	139(35.7)	20(5.1)	23(5.9)	389
		Kaduna	179(49.6)	138(38.2)	23(6.4)	21(5.8)	361
		Bauchi	246(54.2)	121(26.7)	24(5.3)	63(13.9)	454
		Total	632(52.5)	398(33.1)	67(5.6)	107(8.9)	1,204
2	Raise public awareness on how ethnic and religious differences can be an enriching variety	Plateau	207(53.2)	137(35.2)	19(4.9)	26(6.7)	389
		Kaduna	153(42.4)	136(37.7)	24(6.6)	48(13.3)	361
		Bauchi	189(41.6)	140(30.8)	63(13.9)	62(13.7)	454
		Total	549(45.6)	413(34.3)	106(8.8)	136(11.3)	1,204
3	Educate the public on the importance of peace	Plateau	267(68.6)	98(25.2)	5(1.3)	19(4.9)	389
		Kaduna	235(65.1)	94(26.0)	10(2.8)	22(6.1)	361
		Bauchi	227(50.0)	121(26.7)	39(8.6)	67(14.8)	454
		Total	729(60.5)	313(26.0)	54(4.5)	108(9.0)	1,204
4	Counter political statements that can inflame ethnic and religious tempers	Plateau	197(50.6)	124(31.9)	39(10.0)	29(7.5)	389
		Kaduna	152(42.1)	130(36.0)	44(12.2)	35(9.7)	361
		Bauchi	204(44.9)	126(27.8)	65(14.3)	59(13.0)	454
		Total	553(45.9)	380(31.6)	148(12.3)	123(10.2)	1,204
5	Air out programs that emphasize the unity of the country	Plateau	233(59.9)	124(31.9)	12(3.1)	20(5.1)	389
		Kaduna	199(55.1)	120(33.2)	10(2.8)	32(8.9)	361
		Bauchi	213(46.9)	135(29.7)	33(7.3)	73(16.1)	454
		Total	645(53.6)	379(31.5)	55(4.6)	125(10.4)	1,204
6	Train press men and women on peace journalism	Plateau	234(60.2)	120(30.8)	22(5.7)	13(3.3)	389
		Kaduna	213(59.0)	116(32.1)	12(3.3)	20(5.5)	361
		Bauchi	226(49.8)	113(24.9)	63(13.9)	52(11.5)	454
		Total	673(55.9)	349(29.0)	97(8.1)	85(7.1)	1,204
7	Censor public comments in online media that are capable of inflaming tempers	Plateau	179(46.0)	128(32.9)	42(10.8)	40(10.3)	389
		Kaduna	173(47.9)	136(37.7)	24(6.6)	28(7.8)	361
		Bauchi	193(42.5)	130(28.6)	70(15.4)	61(13.4)	454
		Total	545(45.3)	394(32.7)	136(11.3)	129(10.7)	1,204
8	Call for and moderate dialogue between ethnic and religious groups	Plateau	195(50.1)	151(38.8)	20(5.1)	23(5.9)	389
		Kaduna	176(48.8)	150(41.6)	17(4.7)	18(5.0)	361
		Bauchi	197(43.4)	139(30.6)	65(14.3)	53(11.7)	454
		Total	568(47.2)	440(36.5)	102(8.5)	94(7.8)	1,204
9	Make a propaganda against ethnic and religious violence in the nation	Plateau	181(46.5)	138(35.5)	28(7.2)	42(10.8)	389
		Kaduna	155(42.9)	141(39.1)	36(10.0)	29(8.0)	361
		Bauchi	192(42.3)	120(26.4)	85(18.7)	57(12.6)	454
		Total	528(43.9)	399(33.1)	149(12.4)	128(10.6)	1,204

Table 4.9 presents data on the role of the media in peace-building. Item 1 addressed objectivity in reporting of news. The respondents that accepted the stated item were 88.9% in Plateau, 87.8% in Kaduna and 80.9% in Bauchi, while those objected to it were 11.0% in Plateau, 12.2% in Kaduna and 19.2% in Bauchi. Majority of the respondents were of the view that the media ought to be objective in the reporting of news items on conflicts. This opinion cuts across respondents in all the three states slated for the study.

Item 2 centered on public awareness on richness of ethno-religious differences. The rating from the three states involved in the study showed that those who expressed agreement with the suggested item were 88.4% in Plateau, 80.1% in Kaduna and 72.4% in Bauchi, while those who expressed disagreement were 11.6% in Plateau, 19.9% in Kaduna and 27.6% in Bauchi. Majority of the respondent were of the opinion that it was the duty of the media to raise public awareness on how ethnic and religious differences can be an enriching factor in a society with multi-religious and ethnic groupings.

Item 3 focused on peace education of the public. Among the respondents that indicated acceptance, 99.2% were from Plateau, 91.1% from Kaduna and 76.7% from Bauchi, while those that objected to it were 6.2% from Plateau, 8.9% Kaduna and 23.4% from Bauchi States respectively. Majority of the respondents from the three states posited that the media can build peace by educating the people on the importance of peace for the development and progress of the society.

Item 4 assessed the political dimension of a conflict. In it, 82.5% of the respondents from Plateau expressed agreement, 78.1% from Kaduna and 72.7% from Bauchi, while those who expressed disagreement were 17.5% from Plateau, 21.9% from

Kaduna and 27.3% from Bauchi. Majority of the respondents opined that the media ought to counter political statements that are likely to inflame ethnic and religious sentiments and raise tempers among individuals in the communities.

Item 5 was on airing of programs that emphasize unity. The positive scores from Plateau were 91.8%, Kaduna 88.3% and Bauchi 76.6%, while the negative scores from Plateau were 8.2%, Kaduna 11.7 and Bauchi State was 23.4. Most of the respondents were of the view that the media can build and consolidate peace through airing of programs that emphasize the unity of communities and the country in general.

Item 6 gave attention to peace journalism. Agreement was expressed by 91.0% of the respondents in Plateau, 91.1% in Kaduna and 74.7% in Bauchi, while disagreement was expressed by 9.0% of respondents in Plateau, 8.8% in Kaduna and 25.4% in Bauchi State. Most of the respondents were of the view that there is a need to ensure that media practitioners are professionally-oriented. That is, media personnel should be trained on media ethics and peace journalism.

Item 7 examined censorship of public comments from the public in online media. Those that confirmed the item were 78.9% in Plateau, 85.6% in Kaduna and 71.1% in Bauchi, while those that objected to it were 21.1% in Plateau, 14.4% in Kaduna and 28.8% in Kaduna. Therefore, the majority of the respondents were of the opinion that there should be a form of censorship of public comments capable of inflaming ethnic and religious tempers in the online versions of the media.

Item 8 assessed dialogue between ethnic and religious groups. Those who expressed agreement to stated item were 88.9% in Plateau, 90.4% in Kaduna and 74.0% in Bauchi, while those who expressed disagreement were 11.0% in Plateau, 9.7% in

Kaduna and 26.0% in Bauchi. Most of the respondents, therefore, advocated that the media should call and moderate dialogue between ethnic and religious groups.

Item 9 elicited opinions on propaganda against ethnic and religious violence. The positive scores from Plateau were 82.0%, Kaduna 82.0% and Bauchi 68.7%, while the negative scores from Plateau were 18.0%, Kaduna 18.0% and Bauchi State 31.3% of the respondents. Most of the respondents were of the view that one of the ways the media can build and consolidate peace is by making propaganda against ethnic and religious violence.

4.4 Test of Null Hypotheses for the Study

The null hypotheses formulated to establish possible significant differences between the respondents on the investigated variables in relation to the role of the media in ethno-religious crises in the northern states are tested in this section.

Hypothesis I: Traditional leaders and their members do not differ significantly in their opinions on the role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in northern states of Nigeria.

This hypothesis was tested by computing the aggregate mean scores on analyzed items in Table 4.5 along with the classification of the respondents in Table 4.2. The religious leaders were, however, added to the traditional leaders because of the nature of some of the communities where such leaders played the role of religious and traditional leaders. This placed the independent variable in two categories of respondents (Traditional leaders and their members). The hypothesis was, therefore, tested with the two sample t-test procedure. A summary of the test is presented in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Two sample t-test on role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts by status of the respondents in the communities

Status in the communities	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	t-value	DF	P
Traditional ruler	152	2.9225	.76597	.06213	2.619	1202	.009
Member	1052	2.7459	.77869	.02401			

The result revealed that the two groups (Traditional leaders and their members) differed significantly in their view on the role of media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in northern states of Nigeria. The observed t-value (2.619) is higher than the critical value of 1.96 and the level of significance obtained in the test is 0.009 ($P < 05$). By this observation, there is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis. Therefore, traditional leaders and their members differ significantly in their opinions on the role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in northern states of Nigeria. The result of the test revealed that the traditional leaders were more apprehensive of the media's role of aggravating the ethno-religious conflicts in the states.

Hypothesis II: There is no significant difference in the opinion of religious leaders and their members in respect of the factors that influence the media to play the role of aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.

The factors influencing the media aggravation of ethno-religious crises in the reporting of news as assessed in Table 4.6 were used as the dependent variable in the hypothesis. The test was conducted with the two sample t-test procedure with the religious statuses of the respondents as the independent variable. The result of the test is summarized in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Two sample t-test on factors influencing the role of media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts by religious status of respondents

Status in religion	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	t-value	DF	P
Religious leader	115	3.0783	0.66813	0.06230	0.198	1,202	0.843
Member	1,089	3.0654	0.65850	0.01995			

The religious leaders were not significantly different from their members on the factors influencing media aggravation of ethno-religious crises. This is indicated with an observed t-value of 0.198 and a level of significance (P) of 0.843 ($P > 05$). This observation clearly means that there is no enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis. Therefore, there is no significant difference in the opinion of religious leaders and their members in respect of the factors that make the media play the role of aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. Hence, the null hypothesis is confirmed.

Hypothesis III: Christians, Muslims and followers of African Traditional Religion do not differ significantly in their opinions on the effects of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the role of the media in the northern states of Nigeria.

This hypothesis was tested with the one-way analysis of variance because of the multiple levels of the independent variable (religious affiliation) of the respondents. The effects of the aggravated conflicts as assessed in Table 4.7 constituted the dependent variable used in this hypothesis. The summary of the analysis of variance model is presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: One-way analysis of variance on effects of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the role of the media

Sources	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	8.279	2	4.140	9.505	0.000
Within Groups	523.063	1,201	0.436		
Total	531.342	1,203			

(F-critical=3.00, $P < 0.05$)

The religious groups were significantly different in their opinions on the effect of the aggravated conflicts by media in the northern states. The observed F-value (9.505) obtained for the test as indicated in the table is higher than the critical value of 3.00 at the same degree of freedom (2, 1201). The observed level of significance ($P=0.000$) for the test (0.000) is lower than the critical value ($P < 0.05$). These observations provide evidence to reject the null hypothesis. Therefore, Christians, Muslims and followers of African Traditional Religion differ significantly in their opinions on the effects of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the role of the media in the northern states of Nigeria. Table 4.13 presents the mean scores by the religious groups on the effects of the aggravated conflicts.

Table 4.13: Mean scores on the effect of conflicts aggravated by the role of the media

Religion	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Islam	419	2.82	0.796	0.039
Christianity	775	3.00	0.574	0.021
African traditional religion	10	3.07	0.618	0.195
Total	1,204	2.94	0.665	0.019

The mean scores in the table differed by each of the groups. The highest mean score as shown in the table is that of members of African Traditional Religion. This group rating of the effects of ethno-religious conflicts aggravated by the media was the highest. Next were members of Christianity. The Muslims had the lowest rating of the effects of the conflicts as indicated in the table. However, a post-hoc test was performed on the mean scores to determine the group that was significantly different from the others in opinion on the effects of the conflicts. The Scheffe procedure was used for this purpose. It is summarized in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Result of Scheffe procedure on the mean scores by the different groups

(I) Religion	(J) Religion	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Islam	Christianity	-.17249(*)	.04002	.000
	African traditional religion	-.24956(*)	.21117	.498
Christianity	Islam	.17249(*)	.04002	.000
	African traditional religion	-.07707	.21003	.935
African traditional religion	Islam	.24956(*)	.21117	.498
	Christianity	.07707	.21003	.935

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

The result revealed that the observed significant difference on the perceived effects of the aggravated conflicts by the media was between Christians and Muslims. Also, there was significant difference between Muslims and members of African traditional religion. But there was no observed significant difference between Christians and members of African Traditional Religion.

Hypothesis IV: Traditional leaders and their members do not differ significantly in their views on the impact of the role played by the media in curbing the spread of ethnic and religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.

The impact of the role of the media in reducing the level of ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states as assessed in Table 4.8 was used for the test of this hypothesis. The hypothesis was tested with the two sample t-test because of the two groups of respondents involved in the test. A summary of the test result is presented in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Summary of two sample t-test result

Status in the society	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	t-value	DF	P
Traditional ruler	152	2.8845	.71288	.05782	1.172	1202	.241
Member	1052	2.8107	.72688	.02241			

The test in the table did not show significant difference in opinion on the perceived impact of the media in reducing ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states. The observed t-value which is 1.172 is lower than the critical value of 1.96. The observed level of significance for the test is 0.241 ($P > 0.05$). There is no sufficient evidence to

reject the null hypothesis. Therefore, traditional leaders and their members do not differ significantly in their views on the impact of the role played by the media in curbing the spread of ethnic and religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.

Hypothesis V: There is no significant difference in the responses of respondents from the different states on the role of the media in peace-building among ethno-religious conflict communities in the northern states of Nigeria.

The opinions of the respondents on the role expected of the media towards the reduction of ethno-religious crises in the states as examined in Table 4.9 were used as the dependent variable for this test. The test was conducted using the one-way analysis of variance. The use of the analysis of variance was informed by the more than two groups of the independent variable (states) involved in the test. In Table 4.16, a summary of the ANOVA model is presented.

Table 4.16: One-way analysis of variance on role of the media in peace-building

Source	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	23.172	2	11.586	20.284	0.000
Within Groups	686.013	1,201	0.571		
Total	709.185	1,203			

(F-critical=3.00, P<0.05)

The result of the test as indicated in the table revealed that the groups differed significantly in opinion on the role of the media in peace-building among ethno-religious conflict communities in the northern states. This is deduced from the observed F-value of 20.284 and an observed level of significance (P) of 0.000 ($P < 0.05$). By these observations, there is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis. Therefore, there is significant difference in the responses of respondents from the different states on the role of the media in peace-building among ethno-religious conflict communities in the

northern states of Nigeria. Table 4.17 presents the mean scores of the respondents by their respective states on the variable.

Table 4.17: Mean scores by states on the role of the media in peace-building

State	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Plateau	389	3.3342	0.66406	0.03367
Kaduna	361	3.2548	0.68965	0.03630
Bauchi	454	3.0171	0.87104	0.04088
Total	1,204	3.1908	0.76780	0.02213

The table shows that respondents from Bauchi had the least mean score of 3.017 while Plateau State respondents had the highest mean rating of the role of the media in peace building among ethno-religious conflict communities in the northern states. They were closely followed by the respondents from Kaduna State. Basing the mean score on the four-point scale used in the study, all the respondents agreed that the media ought to be playing a positive role in reducing ethno-religious crises in the northern states. The observed significance in the test is, therefore, based on the degree of the rating by the respective respondents. The test for significant difference was conducted on the mean scores using the Scheffe procedure to determine the group (s) that was/were significantly different from the other/others as summarized in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18: Result of Scheffe procedure on the mean scores by the different groups

(I) State	(J) State	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Plateau	Kaduna	.07934	.05523	.357
	Bauchi	.31706(*)	.05222	.000
Kaduna	Plateau	-.07934	.05523	.357
	Bauchi	.23772(*)	.05330	.000
Bauchi	Plateau	-.31706(*)	.05222	.000
	Kaduna	-.23772(*)	.05330	.000

The mean difference is significant at the .05 level. The result revealed that the observed significant difference in the rating was between the respondents from Plateau and Bauchi States. Between respondents from Bauchi and Kaduna states, no significant difference

was observed and between those from Plateau and Kaduna, no significant difference was observed in their rating of the expected role of the media.

4.5 Summary of Major Findings

The data analyzed indicate that the media play a significant role in ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. Some specific revelations of the study worthy of note are summarized as follows:

- i. In Table 4.10, the mean score of the traditional rulers was 2.9225, while that of their members was 2.7459. The observed t-value (2.619) is higher than the critical value of 1.96 and the level of significance obtained in the test is 0.009 ($P < 05$). Thus, the result from the test of hypothesis one revealed that traditional rulers were more assertive than their members on the proposition that the media in its reportage of ethno-religious conflicts aggravates them in the northern states of Nigeria.
- ii. Table 4.11 indicated 3.0783 as the mean score of the religious leaders, while 3.0654 was that of the members. There is an observed t-value of 0.198 and a level of significance (P) of 0.843 ($P > 05$). Therefore, the result from the test of hypothesis two revealed that most religious leaders and their members were unanimous in stating that the influences that make the role of the media to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria are; solidarity with ethnic and religious groups, ignorance of the ethics of journalism, desire to sell news, effort to protect government interest and effort to meet the interest of a media house.

- iii. In Table 4.13, the mean score of Christians was 3.00, members of African Traditional Religion was 3.07 and that of Muslims was 2.82. The observed level of significance ($P=0.000$) for the test (0.000) is lower than the critical value ($P < 0.05$). Therefore, the result from the test of hypothesis three indicated that Christians and members of African Traditional Religion were more than the Muslims in stating that conflicts aggravated by the role of the media result in destruction of lives and property, displacement of persons, rape and abuse of women and children, and obstruction of educational, economic and social activities in the affected communities.
- iv. Furthermore, in Table 4.15, the mean showed that traditional leaders scored 2.8845, while their members scored 2.8107. The observed level of significance for the test is 0.241 ($P > 0.05$). Hence, hypothesis four revealed that most of the traditional leaders and their members share the same sentiments on the impact of the role of the media in curbing the spread of ethnic and religious conflicts in the northern States. It has helped to reduce the spread of some conflicts and brought belligerent groups to dialogue for the restoration of peace.
- v. Finally, Table 4.17 indicated a mean score of 3.3342 for Plateau State, 3.2548 for Kaduna and 3.0171 for Bauchi. The observed F-value is 20.284 and an observed level of significance (P) of 0.000 ($P < 0.05$). This shows that the result from the test of hypothesis five revealed significant difference in the opinions of respondents on the role of the media in peace-building. In all the states sampled for the study, most of the respondents were of the opinion that

the media has a role to play in peace-building. However, such sentiments were expressed more in Plateau, then Kaduna and lastly Bauchi.

4.6 Discussion

From the data collected and interview conducted, the role of the media could not be said to be in favour of harmonious living among ethno-religious groups that have experienced conflicts. From the one thousand, two hundred and four copies of the questionnaire retrieved from respondents in Bauchi, Kaduna and Plateau States, the perception is that the media usually aggravate ethno-religious conflicts. This opinion was re-echoed by respondents who participated in the interview. All those who participated in the interview have witnessed more than two ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states.

A total of five hypotheses were tested to determine possible differences in opinion on ethno-religious conflicts: the role of the media in the northern states of Nigeria. In the test of the first hypothesis, it was observed that there was a significant difference in opinion between the traditional leaders and their members on the role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. The null hypothesis was, therefore, rejected. But the mean scores by both groups indicated that the media usually contribute immensely to aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in the states. This discovery strengthens the assertion of Liman (2012) that some of the comments we read in some online versions are confrontational and insensitive. "From the replies to some of these comments, it is obvious that what is happening now is that ethnic and religious groups are retreating to their corners and strengthening their positions on any

and all issues such as political, economic and social, seeing them from very narrow ethno-religious lenses” (Liman, 2012:1).

In the interview conducted, the respondents were of the view that the images of charred bodies of people and destroyed property displayed on the television and front pages of newspapers/magazines aggravate conflicts in the northern states. Commenting on this kind of report witnessed from the press, one interviewee stated that “I felt bad and devastated. At the end, I felt like launching revenge” (Interviewee 1). The interviewees contended that some of the news reports directly or indirectly call for war. Reports of the 2011 post-election conflict called for an ethnic and religious war. “The impression the media gave us was that the election was rigged and manipulated. The news items were capable of causing war” (Interviewee 1). In Kafanchan, there was a report that was just false. “It was aimed at favoring one particular tribal group. I don’t want to mention it. If not for the security men, it could have been deadly” (Interviewee, 8). In Jos 2009 crisis, “so many were killed and property worth millions destroyed. I was called to calm down my people, the Muslims. While we were doing that, we heard on radio that the Police were mentioning an alarming figure of those killed. That infuriated the situation; we couldn’t control it any longer. Troops had to be deployed from other states to calm down the situation” (Interviewee 16). This was the impression of most of the interviewees on the role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts. For those who were in the country especially in northern Nigeria, the outcome was more or less a war situation. This confirmed Antigha (2005) position that the media can inflame conflicts by one-sided reporting against parties to the conflict, outrightly calling for violence, or failing to bring a simmering conflict to the public domain for discussion, intervention or containment.

Mentioning of the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation is one of the media gimmicks of aggravating ethno-religious conflicts, interviewees expressed. One of such reports “triggered violence, vengeance and so many unpleasant things” (Interviewee 7). The 2011 bomb blast in Zaria had casualties that cut across all religions and ethnic groups. But some of the media reports presented it in such a way that it engineered reprisal attacks on innocent Muslims by the Christian-dominated community of Gonin Gora, Kaduna and further reprisal on Christians by Muslims in other parts of Kaduna State as well (Interviewee 11). In the Fulanis and Birom conflict of Plateau, if the media reports indicate more Fulanis or Biroms were killed, more violence was steered (Interviewee 18). The reaction of the religious or ethnic group with the highest number of casualties will be “revenge” (Interviewee 1). There will be the move by the group who feel cheated to attack again (Interviewees 13, 14 and 15). This is the view of all the interviewees from the three states sampled for the study.

The findings from the test of hypothesis one voiced out the sentiments of Fisher (2006) that, the lecture of Pope Benedict XVI in 2006 attracted protest from Muslims all over the world because of inflammatory media reporting. Also, the findings are consistent with Okoroafar, Okoro, Tayo and Sheba’ (2013) submission that a look at any of the daily newspapers, news from radio, television, or the internet in Nigeria sends enough signals that create national panic. Newspaper headlines such as, ‘SSS Uncovers Bomb Factory’, ‘The Abuja Satanic Bombing’, ‘UN House Attack: Nigeria on Trail of Al-Qaeda Agents’, Killers on the Rampage: As Robbers Massacre 90’, ‘Bombings Scare Foreign Investors’, Take Military Action against Kidnappers’, are everyday news since 2010.

In hypothesis two, possible differences of opinion among the respondents on factors influencing bias reporting of news by the media was tested. The result of the hypothesis did not show significant difference in opinion between the religious leaders and their members in respect of the factors that influence the media to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. The null hypothesis was, therefore, retained. The mean scores of the groups compared indicated that some factors influence the media's lopsided reporting of conflict news items.

The interview indicated that monetary gains, ethnic and religious solidarity, effort to impress the government and meet the objectives of a media organization are some factors that influence the media to aggravate conflicts. Lamenting this ugly trend, some interviewees observed that, if the media is dominated by the Muslims, then you expect their interest to be the protection of the Muslims. If also by the Christians, the interest will be to protect the Christians (Interviewee 14). In the Jos crisis, if the reporter is a Birom or Christian, the Fulanis are in trouble, but if he is a Fulani man or a Muslim, "then God help the Biroms" (Interviewee 13). Commenting on particular news channels, it was observed that the "Aljazeera channel to me seem to be pro-Islamic. That is, it promotes any story that is linked to Islam and pays less attention to stories linked to Christians. The BBC Hausa service does the same. No balancing or objectivity. Things like that could bring chaos in the land" (Interviewee 17). Furthermore, it was posited that, "recently we were told some Fulani herdsmen were caught with arms and ammunitions in Kafanchan but the BBC reporter said the Fulani herdsmen were only caught with knives and that they were hunters. That was not true" (Interviewee 11). The interview report confirms Doki and Buhari's (2013) conclusion that most of the

motivating factors in reporting news are tribalism and the exploitation of religion. And also Musa (2004) opinion that there is often the distortion of truth with the intent of destroying a party in the dispute and the language used is pervaded by the doctrine of ethnic nationalism, dramatization of violence with a view to selling more copies of newspapers or magazines.

Hypothesis three tested the opinions of members of the different religious groups on the effects of media aggravating ethno-religious conflicts on individuals and communities. The result of the analysis of variance used for the test revealed significant difference in the opinion of the religious groups on the effects of the media-aggravated ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. The null hypothesis was, therefore, rejected. From the post-hoc test conducted on the mean scores, it was found out that Muslims had the least rating of the effects of such conflicts. Though the respondents differed significantly, the mean scores were at the level of agreement, which means that all the groups agreed that the media-aggravated conflicts have negative effects on communities and individuals. Among such effects are human deaths, displacement of people, stagnation of economic activities, obstruction of religious and educational activities, and a crack on human relationship.

In the interview, effects of the media-aggravated conflicts observed by the interviewees include; deaths, rape of women and displacement of people, closure of economic, religious and educational institutions and distrust leading to mutual suspicion have characterized the relationship of people. In the Yelwa Shendam 2004 crisis of Plateau State, women were captured and raped, and people slaughtered like chickens (Interviewee 14). The one that occurred “in Barkin Ladi two (2) months ago between the

Fulani herdsmen and the Birom people, deaths were recorded and people were displaced but I didn't hear of rape" (Interviewee 13). In Bauchi state, one of the respondents said that, "we all felt it. Nobody prays for that kind of a thing again. May Allah forbid" (Interviewee 2). The relationship of people in their communities is not cordial. "Right now, Kafanchan is divided into two in terms of residence, school and even market. Imagine some public schools here are presumably for Muslims alone and also some schools for Christians alone" (Interviewee 8). Confirming Onwudiwe' (2004) submission that in Kaduna, people now look for safety of ethnic and religious enclaves when deciding where to live.

Hypothesis four tested significant difference in views between traditional leaders and their members on the impact of the role played by the media in curbing the spread of ethnic and religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. The result of the test did not reveal significant difference between the two groups. The null hypothesis was therefore, accepted. From the analysis of the related data, it was observed that the two groups both agreed that the media usually help in curbing or reducing ethno-religious conflicts. However, the rating was not as high as the level to which the media aggravate such conflicts. The impact of the role of the media is felt in the reduction of the escalation of the conflicts, the exposition of the causes of conflicts for peace measures, exposition of cases of abuse of women and children, calling, hosting and airing dialogue sessions and calling for immediate government intervention.

From the interview, most of the respondents from the three states were of the opinion that the impact of the role played by the media in curbing ethno-religious conflicts was felt in the airing of programs and jingles that brought peace among

belligerent groups. The National Orientation Agency (NOA) “has often times used the media to air or publish programs aimed at fostering unity and peace” (Interviewee 2). “Like the PRTV, there is this program on peace and reconciliation sponsored by the European Union. That program is very appealing. So in as much as the media could inflame tempers, it can also be an agent of peace. Also Archbishop Ignatius Kaigama some years back wrote a book on peace and not war. I recommend that book for everyone” (Interviewee 13). This impact of the media in building peace was felt when the media acquired a front seat in the struggle for independence (Oyovbaire, 2001) and when the media reportage of the Biafra war led to an outpouring of international public outrage at the war’s brutality (Achebe, 2012).

Hypothesis five tested for significant difference in the opinions of respondents from the different states on the role of the media in peace-building among ethno-religious conflict communities in the northern states of Nigeria. This hypothesis was tested with the one-way analysis of variance. The result indicated that the respondents from the different states differed significantly on the expected role of the media in building a peaceful and harmonious society in the northern states. The null hypothesis was, therefore, rejected. From the post-hoc test conducted on the mean scores, it was found that respondents from Bauchi State differed significantly from their counterparts in Kaduna and Plateau States. The observed difference was not really on the role the media ought to play in bringing peace and harmony to the communities, but on the degree of rating measured.

Across the three states, the popular opinion from the interview was that the media has the ability of building peace among ethno-religious groups. This can be accomplished

through airing of programs and jingles that promote peace and unity. Also, it has to avoid being bias and one-sided in reporting conflict stories. “If the media harness its role, objectives and functions properly, then they can be agents of peace among the people. What kills the media is lack of objectivity and segregation” (Interviewee 6). Furthermore, “information is power. There is need to measure it before publication. If this is done, they can foster peace. So far, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) have been doing a great job through their programs of unity and peace. I recommend to all media an in-depth investigation before reportage” (Interviewee 16). Also, some of the interviewees were of the view that the media should direct their attention to poverty, religious extremism, unemployment, illiteracy and other such constraints in the society. Here, the findings reechoed the argument of Salawu, (2009) that, the media as a social institution is involved in conflicts in the society either as a harbinger, channel of information and analysis of the conflicts or as part of the escalation or resolution of the conflicts because it has the responsibility of recording events as they unfold, part of which is conflict.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Summary

Conflicts on ethnic and religious grounds have been a disturbing hemorrhage. Attempts to check the ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria often end up in offering palliative measures. This study has been another attempt to address the phenomenon. The study is divided into five chapters.

Chapter one examined the background to the study. In it, the media as the most effective source of information is seen from the positive perspective as a force that will unite the world by eliminating differences that divide people. On the negative side, the media has aggravated many conflicts in the world; among which are ethno-religious conflicts. The background traced ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria from pre-colonial, via the colonial era through the time of independence to contemporary times. Notable in the background, is the role of the media which was useful in the struggle for independence, condemnation of the ills of the military regimes and in cushioning some ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. The progression in ethno-religious conflicts with their consequences and the inability of the media to check their veracity and spread as its role constitute the problem of the study.

The general objective raised in the chapter was to find out the role of the media in ethno-religious conflicts. To achieve that, five specific objectives addressed issues such as; the role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts, factors influencing its role, the effects of the role, impact of the role in curbing conflicts and the role the media can play in peace-building were raised. In line with the specific objectives, five research

questions were raised to direct the thinking of the researcher as well as the study on ethno-religious conflicts: the role of the media in the northern states of Nigeria. Following the research questions were five hypotheses stated in the null form to ensure the objectivity of the study and free the researcher from bias and pre-conceived results. Also, five basic assumptions were raised to indicate the possibility of conducting the research through the use of questionnaire and interview and of getting the co-operation of the subjects.

The study is considered significant because it will educate people on the negative and positive role of the media, reduce commercial and enthrone peace journalism and promote the airing of peace-building programs in the media. The study sought the views of ethnic and religious leaders and their members from the northern states of Nigeria.

Chapter two discussed relevant literature related to the study. The media as referring to all the organs of communication was the focus of the literature. It is seen as capable of curtailing or generating conflicts depending on the way it handles information. Conflict is seen as a crisis situation. Though a normal human phenomenon, it could lead to growth or violence depending on how it is managed. Nigerian conflicts were typified into different categories. Foreign intervention and many other factors in the country are seen as the causes of ethno-religious conflicts in the nation. The review also considered riots on ethno-religious grounds in the northern states of Nigeria. Motivation and mass mobilization, national integration, conferral of status and so on are some specific functions of the media in peace-building. Also, conventional and religious peace-building techniques were reviewed. Objective reporting of news, countering of misinformation, the creation of room for dialogue and many others were considered the role of the media

in peace-building. Finally, literature on empirical studies was reviewed. Specifically, the Nigerian media' handling of conflicts in Africa was seen to be partial. The empirical studies revealed that there was a skewed reporting of some conflicts by the media, leading to more violence. Second, it indicated that the increase in the number of widows and orphans, poverty and so on were some effects of conflicts on women and children.

Chapter three focused on the methodology used in the study. A sample survey was the design used in the study because it involves collecting and analyzing data from representatives of an entire group. The target population for the study was seventy three million, five hundred and ninety six thousand, five hundred and sixty six (73,596,566) subjects. Since conflict is not normally distributed, purposive sampling procedure was used for the study. Three states (Bauchi, Kaduna and Plateau) from the three geo-political zones of the north were selected as the sample for the study. Nine local government areas and two towns in each of the local governments were also selected. In all, one thousand six hundred and twenty subjects constituted the sample for the study. Questionnaire and interview techniques were considered the appropriate instruments because of their usefulness in getting the opinions of literate and illiterate subjects. The pilot study conducted using the questionnaire indicated a correlation coefficient (r) of 0.80, implying that the instrument is reliable and valid. The input of supervisors and statisticians further strengthened the reliability and validity of the questionnaire and schedule of interview. Data was collected by the researcher and his research assistants. Finally, the data was analyzed with frequencies, percentages and standard deviations and the hypotheses tested with t-test independent samples and analysis of variance (ANOVA) statistics. The face-to-face interview was used as complementary data in the discussion.

Chapter four was the presentation of data from the study. In it, one thousand two hundred and four (1,204) copies of the questionnaire were retrieved, presented and analyzed using the “statistical package for social sciences” (SPSS). The demographic variables were analyzed with the use of descriptive statistics of frequencies and percentages. The variables considered were the age, religion, position in religion, status in the society and state of the subjects for the study. The frequency and percentage of respondents were presented in tables. In addressing the research questions, the data indicated that the media aggravate ethno-religious conflicts by being one-sided in its reporting of conflicts. Factors such as ethnic and religious sentiments, money and many others influence the media to aggravate conflicts. Human deaths, displacement of people, closure of different institutions and many others are some effects of the conflicts unveiled. The impact of the role played by the media in curbing conflicts was also identified. The study indicated that the media by its role in human society can be an instrument for peace-building in the nation. Five null hypotheses raised in chapter one were tested with means, standard deviations, two-tailed t-test and analysis of variance (ANOVA) statistics. Hypotheses one, three and five indicate significant difference in the views of the subjects of the study. Therefore, the null hypotheses were rejected. On the other hand, hypotheses two and four did not reveal significant difference in the opinions of the subjects of the study. This means that the null hypotheses were retained.

The findings summarized in chapter four indicated that due to certain influences, the media aggravated ethno-religious conflicts, resulting to destruction of lives and property, displacement of persons and so on. Also, the media has helped to reduce the spread of some conflicts, as such; it can serve as a useful instrument for peace-building.

Finally, chapter four ends with the discussion following the data that was presented and analyzed and the information from the interviewees. In it, it was declared that the media aggravate conflicts through the display of images of charred bodies of people, mentioning of the names of victims according to their ethnic and religious cleavages and so on. The discussion contends that the influences that make the media aggravate ethno-religious conflicts include monetary gains, solidarity with an ethnic or religious group, injustice, favoritism, disrespect for one another, effort to protect one's job and so on. It further states that the effects of media aggravated ethno-religious conflicts include increase in deaths, cases of rape of women, displacement of people, closure of schools and markets and mutual suspicion of each other. The impact of the media in curbing ethno-religious conflicts was felt in the peace programs and jingles it aired in some of the past conflicts. Finally, the discussion noted that the media can play the role of peace-building in ethno-religious conflicts by airing peace jingles, avoiding bias reporting of news and ensuring objectivity in its addressing of conflict issues.

5.2. Conclusions

From the analysis of the data and the test of hypotheses in this study, it is pertinent to make the following conclusions:

1. The media is a double-edge sword with the side of aggravating conflicts sharper than the side of curbing and reducing conflicts in the northern states. The media play a significant role in the determination of the phases of a conflict. It can push it in a constructive or destructive direction (Ladan, 2010).
2. The media aggravate issues of ethno-religious conflicts through sentimental and bias reporting thereby making some of them to assume a violent

dimension in the northern states of the country. Of particular emphasis is the online media. Most of its editions have opened up an avenue for Nigerians to voice their opinions on political and social issues. While the development is a welcome idea, it is creating a worrying trend that does not augur well for the unity of the nation. Since the opinions are not moderated by the online versions of the print media, some of them are very divisive and have a tendency to polarize rather than unite the many ethnic and religious groups in the country (Liman, 2012).

3. The media as a social institution is involved in conflicts in the society. As a harbinger channel of information and analysis of conflicts, it has the responsibility of recording events as they unfold. In doing so, it can contribute to conflict resolution and peace-building by airing peace messages from traditional and religious leaders, as well as peace-oriented programs and jingles (Salawu, 2009).
4. The effects of media-aggravated conflicts are high in most of the communities in the northern states of Nigeria. These include loss of lives and property, displacement of people, disruption of economic, educational, social activities and many others.
5. It was discovered that the media has not done enough in bringing about peace in the northern states of Nigeria.

Recommendations

Having seen from the study that the media is a double-edged sword that can either aggravate ethno-religious conflicts or build peace among ethnic and religious groups in

its reporting of conflict stories, the following recommendations are made as a way forward:

- 1 The positive responses to the questionnaire showed that many people are aware of the role of the media in aggravating ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria. Traditional leaders should educate their subjects more on the false propaganda that can come from the media to incite and aggravate conflicts for selfish reasons. This will make the people to be critical of news items presented in the press and slow in conceiving revenge because of outrageous media propaganda.
- 2 Religious leaders play a significant role in the society. They should enlighten their members and at the same time come together through dialogue to change the structural influences such as economic gains, solidarity with an ethnic or religious group, effort to please the government and many others that make the media to aggravate ethno-religious conflicts. This will hopefully bring about peace consolidation just as the church did in Nicaragua in Central America (Chavez, 2001).
- 3 The effects of ethno-religious conflicts on individuals were acknowledged by all the religious groups (Islam, Christianity and African Traditional Religion) recognized in Nigeria. A truth and reconciliation commission should be established in the northern states of Nigeria. It should be captained by ethnic and religious leaders. The mandate of the commission should be to identify the victims of past ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria and their fate and suggest measures of reparation. This is the procedure that

saved South Africa from being split into warring factions (Gruchy, 1997). Furthermore, the commission should provide opportunities for those living with the hurt of the effect of such conflicts to tell their story. “It is the encounter of telling, hearing, understanding that the reconciliation process can begin” (Vincencio, 1997:38) and lasting peace will be realized without any act of vengeance. The bringing together of the presumed transgressors and the families of the victims to create a human space for listening, admitting faults and pardoning as done in Chile in 1983 will help a lot to restore the lost friendship between ethnic and religious groups in the northern states of Nigeria (Aldunate, 1997).

- 4 The impact of the role of the media in curbing the spread of ethnic and religious conflicts was acknowledged by traditional leaders and their members. This role played by the media should be enhanced by government and non governmental agencies of peace-building by offering yearly or quarterly prizes to media houses and individual journalists considered to be objective and peace-oriented in reporting ethno-religious conflicts. Such incentives will motivate and steer other media houses to strive towards peace-oriented reportage of news items on conflicts.
- 5 The study revealed that across the three states sampled for the study, the media is seen as capable of being an agent of peace-building. Government should emphasize on professionalism in the practice of journalism. This should be done by granting licenses to journalist just like medical doctors, lawyers and teachers. This will help to reduce the abuse of the profession that

is sometimes manifested in the provocative reportage of news items on ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.

6 The three religious groups (Islam, Christianity and African Traditional Religion) in Nigeria should embark on educational campaign in condemnation of media reporting that fuel ethno-religious conflicts and in support of peace-oriented journalism. This was the strategy employed in Columbia to stop the conflict that ravaged the country from 1991 to 2000 (Gaviria, 2002).

7 Since media-aggravated ethno-religious conflicts have effects on education and the life of the society in general, courses on peace in an ethnic and religiously pluralistic society like Nigeria should be introduced to students in the institutions of learning. Also, peace-building centers should be raised in the institutions of learning, ward, local and state government levels. Government should train resource persons on dialogue, reconciliation, peace-building and consolidation to manage those centers. Matters of ethno-religious differences aired in an inflammatory tone by the media can be directed to such centers for peaceful resolution (Hartmann and Monteiro, 2001).

5.4 Suggestions for Further Research

1 Further studies can be done on models of peace-building in the Nigerian multi-ethnic and religious culture. These models can be very useful in the resolution of conflicts between ethno-religious groups in the northern states of Nigeria.

2 This study focused on the northern states of Nigeria represented by Bauchi, Kaduna and Plateau States. It may be of academic and national interest to

study the role of media in the formation of Boko Haram in the northern states of Nigeria.

- 3 Finally, it will be of interest to study the role of journalists in religious matters.

5.5 Contribution to Knowledge

- i. The study has raised awareness of the fact that the media in its reportage can commit the worst brutalities by aggravating ethno-religious conflicts. This was noted when the media was seen to have aggravated some ethno-religious conflicts by being sensational and one-sided in its reportage.
- ii. This study has shown that the media exert a higher influence on the people through its reportage of ethno-religious conflicts. Thus, media practitioners are considered as major stakeholders in dialogue for the resolution of ethno-religious conflicts.
- iii. The study has also raised awareness to the rich resources for peace-building buried in the media. If peace journalism is practised according to its rules, the media will play a preventive role in ethno-religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria.

References

- Achebe, C. (2012). *There was a Country. A personal history of Biafra*. London: Penguin Books.
- Adamu, A.A. (2002). *Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria*.
<http://www.abdullahiadamu.net/speeches/2ethnic.htm>. Retrieved 14/08/2012.
- Ahmed, G. (2002). The Role of the Nigerian State in Promoting Ethnic Conflict and the Writer in Nigeria. In: *Mass Media and National Development*. Kano: Mubin Publishers.
- Ake, C. (1996). *The Marginalization of Africa (notes on a productive confusion)*. Lagos: Center for Advanced Social Science, monograph Malthouse.
- Akin, O. (2012). Boko Haram and the State of the Union. *Punch Nigeria Limited*.
<File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Boko%20Haram%20the%20state%20of%20t..>
Retrieved 8/08/2012.
- Akpuru, Aja. A. (2009). Basic Concepts of Conflict. *Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria: A Reader*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Akuezuilo, E.O. & Agu, N. (2002). *Research and Statistics in Education and Social Science: Methods and Applications*. Abba: Nuel Centi Publishers and Academic Press Ltd.
- Albert, I. O. (1999). Ife-Modakeke Crisis. *Community Conflicts in Nigeria: Management, Resolution and Transformation*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Aldunate, J.S.J. (1997). The Christian Ministry of Reconciliation in Chile. *The Reconciliation of Peoples. Challenges to the Churches*. New York: Orbis Books.
- Alemika, E. O. (2000). A Sociological Analysis of Ethnic & Religious Conflicts in the Middle Belt of Nigeria. *Ethnic and Religious Rights*. Kaduna: Human Rights Monitor.
- Alex, M. (2011). *Come the Revolution – A Memoir*. Australia: New South Publishing.
- Aloysius-Michaels, O. (2009). Conflict Analysis. *Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Angaye, G. (2003). *Causes and Cures of Conflicts in Nigeria*.
<File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Causes%20and%20Cures%of%20Conflicts..>
Retrieved 30/08/2012.

- Antigha, T.O. (2005). *The Media and Conflicts in Nigeria. Crisis and Conflict Management in Nigeria since 1980*. Kaduna: Nigeria Defense Academy.
- Appleby, R.S. (2009). *Globalization, Religious Change and the Common Good*. <http://www.religionconflictpeace.org/article/religion-policy>.
- Aregbesola, O. (2011). *Ethnic Crises in Africa: Tthe Hidden Costs of the Ife/Modakeke War*. Mhtml:file://C:/Users/user/Documents/Ethnic Crises in Africa, the Hidden Costs of th... Retrieved 8/08/2012.
- Asiyambola, A.R. (2007). *Urban-Ethno Communal Conflicts in Africa: Nigeria*. E-mail:siyrami@yahoo.com or demisyra@hotmail.com.
- Auta, M. (n.d). *Southern Kaduna: A People Misunderstood*. Kaduna: Roja Production Co.
- Ayodele, O.J. (2012). Validity and Reliability Issues in Educational Research. *Journal of Educational and Social Research*. www.mcser.org/images/stories/.../jesr.../oluwatoye_jaine_ayodele.pdf. Retrieved 06/09/2013.
- Bagudu, N. (2003). *Identity, Political Religiously & Communal Violence in Nigeria: Implications*. Jos: League for Human Rights.
- Bajraktari, Y. & Parajon, C. (2007). *Peace Briefing*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- Bello, B. M. (2005). When the Pen is Deadlier than the Sword: A Critical Analysis of Journalistic Prose in Times of Crises in Nigeria. *Crisis & Conflict Management in Nigeria since 1980*. Kaduna: Nigeria Defense Academy.
- Bello, U. (2011). *The Sun's Phenomenal Bias in Reporting the Jos Crises*. <http://saharareporters.com/article/suns-phenomenal-bias-reporting-jos-crises-umar-bello>. Retrieved 14/08/2012.
- Bongotons, O. I. (2011). *The Role of Christian Religious Studies in the Promotion of Morals among Secondary Schools Students in Adamawa State*. A Dissertation Submitted to the Postgraduate School, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Carrol, S. (2013). *Types of Research Designs you can use for your Dissertation*. <File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Research%20Designs.htm>. Retrieved, 19/03/2013.
- Chavez, R.G.D. (2001). The Role of the Church in the Resolution of Conflict and in Peace building in Central America. *Peace, Fruit of Reconciliation*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications.

- Daniel, A. A. (2005). *The Nigerian Press and the Political Economy of Urban Crisis. Crisis and Conflict Management in Nigeria since 1980*. Kaduna: Nigeria Defense Academy.
- Doki, A. M. & Buhari, Y. (2013). Embracing Peace Journalism in Stopping Violence Provoking-News in Nigerian Media. *Nigerian Journal of Religion & Society*. Kaduna: Good Shepherd Major Seminary.
- Eaton, C.G. (2002-2007). *The Concept of Justice in Islam*. <File:///C:/Documents>. Date printed, 6/27/2007.
- Edeani, D.O. (1994). Nigerian Mass Media Handling of Conflict Situations in the West African Sub-Region. *African Media Review*. African Council for Communication Education.
<https://www.nigeria/mass/media/handling.of.conflict/situations>. Retrieved 14/08/2012.
- Ekeh, R. C. (1999). *Nigeria: Aguleri – Umuleri Conflict – The Theatre of Fratricidal War*. Mhtml:file://C:/Users/user/Documents/ECCP. Retrieved 18/06/2012.
- Esiemokhai, E. O. (2010). *National Security in Nigeria*.
<file:///C:/Users/user/Documents/NATIONAL%20SECURITY%20IN%20NIGERIA>
[A](#). Retrieved 27/4/2013.
- Esogbue, E. (2008). *The Nigerian Civil War and Factors that made the War Inevitable*. <File:///C:/Users/Documents/The%20Nigerian%20Civil%20and%20Factors>. Retrieved 18/06/2012.
- Fisher, I. (2006). Pope Benedict, in Inflammatory speech, assails all: Secularism, Jihad, Islam and the Prophet Muhammad. *New York Times*.
<File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Pope%20Benedict,%20inflammatory%20speech>. Retrieved June 12, 2013.
- Gaviria, H.F.H. (2001). *The Catholic Church and Peace Building by Citizens. Peace, Fruit of Reconciliation*. Nairobi : Pauline's Publications.
- Gaya, M. A. B. (1997). The Press and Religious Politics in Nigeria: The Role of Today's Challenge. *Jos Studies*. Vol. 7, No. 1. Jos: St. Augustine's Major Seminary.
- Gbenda, J.S. (2008). Peace and Essential Article of Belief in African Religion. *Religious Violence and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria*. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers.
- Gofwen, R.I. (2004). *Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria and Nation Building*. Kaduna: Human Rights Monitor.

- Golafshani, N. (2003). *Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research*. <http://www.nova.edu/ssw/QR/QR8-4>. Retrieved 06/09/2013.
- Gotan, T.C. (2008). Nigeria's Religious Conflicts: A Call for a Dialogue of Life. *Religious Violence and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria*. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers.
- Gruchy, J.W. (1997). The Dialectic of Reconciliation. Church and Transition to Democracy in South Africa. *The Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenges to the Churches*. New York: Orbis Books.
- Hannan, A. (2007). *Questionnaire in Education Research*. Plymouth: Faculty of Education, University of Plymouth. <File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/using>. Retrieved 06/05/2013.
- Hannan, A (2007). *Interviews in Education Research* . Plymouth: Faculty of Education, University of Plymouth. <File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/using>. Retrieved 06/05/2013.
- Hans, V.V.(2008). *Better Media, Less Conflict*. Netherlands: European Centre for Conflict Prevention. <Http://www.gpac.net>. Retrieved 06/05/2013
- Hartmann, J. & Monteiro, E. (2001). The Church and National Reconciliation in Mozambique. *Peace, Fruit of Reconciliation*. Pauline's Nairobi : Publications.
- Hattotuwa, S. (2002). The Role of the Media in Peace Process. Paper written for 14th world congress of Environmental journalists organ, Sri Lanka.
- Hokoro, A. M. (2011). *African Traditional Methods in Tanzania: A Case Study of the Wamakua, Wamwera, Wamakonde and Wayao*. <http://cecore.org/paper/tanzania.html> Retrieved 8/27/2011.
- Hornby, A. S. (1995). *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary*. Students Edition. London: Oxford University.
- Howard, R. (2003). *The Media's Role in War and Peace Building (online)* . <http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers>. Retrieved 06/05/2013
- Ibukun, Y. (2012). Sect attack Claim Complicates Nigeria Crisis. http://www.elpasotimes.com/nationworld/ci_2106786/sect-attack-claim-complicates. Retrieved 14/08/2012.
- Igbuzor, O. (2012). *Nigeria's Experience in Managing the Challenges of Ethnic and Religious Diversity through Constitutional Provisions*. <http://www.enburma.net/index.php/feature/54-feature/166-Nigeria>. Retrieved 5/7/2013.

- Ikejiani, C. M. & Ani, C. (2009). *The Concept of Peace. Peace Studies & Conflict Resolution in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- IRIN/In-Depth:Nigeria: A History of Conflicts/Nigeria/Governance (2003).
<File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Irin%20%20NIGERIA>. Retrieved 18/06/2012.
- Isa, M. K. (2001). *The State and Institutional Response to Jukun/Chamba and Kuteb Communal Conflicts of Takum Local Government, Taraba State*.
<File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/MOST%20Ethno-Net%20publication%20Africa%20>. Retrieved 18/06/2012.
- Ishaku, J. (2002). *The Media and Ethno-Religious Conflicts in the Middle Belt of Nigeria. Ethno-Religious Conflicts & Democracy in Nigeria: Challenges*. Kaduna: Human Rights Monitor.
- Johnson, T. (2011). *Boko Haram*. <http://www.cfr.org/africa/boko-haram/p25739>. Retrieved 14/08/2012.
- Jorre, J. (1972). *The Nigerian Civil War*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Kawu, I. M. (2002). *Media in Conflict Resolution. Mass Media and National Development*. Kano: Mubin Publishers.
- Key, J.P. (1997). Reliability and Validity. In: *Research Design in Occupational Education*. <File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Reliability.htm>. Retrieved, 19/03/2013.
- Key, J.P. (1997). *Research Design in Occupational Education*.
<File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Sampling.htm>. Retrieved, 19/03/2013.
- Krause, J. (2011). *A Deadly Cycle: Ethno-Religious Conflict in Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria. Geneva Declaration*. www.genevadeclaration.org. Retrieved 14/10/2014.
- Kukah, M. H. (1993). *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Kurawa, I.A. (2000). *Shariah and the Press in Nigeria: Islam vs Western Christian Civilization*. Kano: Pyramid Media Ltd.
- Ladan, M. T. (2010). *Constitutionalism and the Challenges of Ethnic and Religious Diversity in Nigeria:- Which way forward for Peace*. A Paper presented at a 2-Day National Stakeholders Conference for Peace in Nigeria. Blogsite:- <http://mtladan.blogspot.com>. Retrieved 5/7/2013.
- Liman, B. M. (2012). *The Media and Conflict in Nigeria*. <http://www.nigeriaintel.com>.

- Retrieved 5/7/2013.
- Lunsford, T.R. & Lunsford, B.R. (1995). *Research ForumThe Research Sample*. [File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Research%20Forum](file:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Research%20Forum). Retrieved, 19/03/2013.
- Maier, K. (2000). *This House has fallen, Nigeria in Crisis*. Britain: Penguin Books.
- Murdock, H. (2012). *Untangling Ethnic and Religious Violence in Nigeria's Middle Belt*: <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/africa/nigeria/12>. Retrieved 5/7/2013.
- Musa, S. (2004). *Nigeria's Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Perspective*. *Conflict Resolution Journalism*. <http://www.cerj.org/13207/13901.html>. Retrieved 5/7/2013.
- Ndagi, J.O. (1999). *Essentials of Research Methodology for Educators*. Ibadan: University Press Plc.
- Nigeria Biafra Seccession 1967-1970. <file:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Nigeria%20Biafra%20Seccession%20Cures%20Conflicts>. Retrieved 18/06/2012.
- Nwogo, A. (2010). *Effects of Religious and Ethnic Conflicts on Women and Children in Northern States of Nigeria*. A Dissertation submitted to the Post-graduate School, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria-Nigeria.
- Nwosu, I. (2004). *Conflict Management, Communication and Mass Media: A Conceptual Theoretical and Introductory Analysis*. *Communication Media and Conflict Management*: Prime Targets Ltd.
- Oatey, A. (1999). *The Strengths & Limitations of Interviews as a Research Technique for Studying Television Viewers*. [File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Strengths and limitaions of interviws.htm](file:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Strengths_and_limitaions_of_interviws.htm). Retrieved, 6/05/2013.
- Obasanjo, O. & Mabogunje, A. (1992). *Element of Democracy*. Abeokuta: African Leadership.
- Oby, I. R. (2012). *How the Media Whitewashes Muslim Persecution of Christians*. [File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/How%20the%20media%20whitewashes%20Muslim](file:///C:/Users/user/Documents/How%20the%20media%20whitewashes%20Muslim). Retrieved 8/08/2012.
- Oddih, M. (2009). *Globalisation & Socio-Political Conflicts in Nigeria*. *Peace Studies & Conflict Resolution in Nigeria: A Reader*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Odeh, L. E. (n.d). *Historical Analysis of Ethno-Religious Violence in Nigeria*. In: *The Relevance of Religion in Contemporary Society*.

- <https://unilorin.edu.ng/.../Odeh%20Historical%20Analysis%20of%20Eth..>
Retrieved 15th October, 2014.
- Odiri, O. C. (2012). Ethno-Religious Conflicts & its Implications for Constitutional Democracy in Nigeria: The Threat of the Boko Haram Sect. *Sokoto Journal of the Social Sciences*. Vol.2. Sokoto: Faculty of Social Sciences, Usmanu Danfodio University, Sokoto.
- Ojukwu, E.O. (2005). *Because I am Involved*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Okoroafor, E., Okoro, J., Tayo, G. & Shebna, U. (2013). The Media, National Security and Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria. Unpublished Paper. School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Federal Polytechnic Nekede Owerri, Nigeria.
- Okwurumara, A.D. (2009). The Role of the Media on Issues of Peace and Conflict. *Peace Studies & Conflict Resolution in Nigeria: A Reader*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Ola, T. (2012, August 1). Boko Haram Issues Fresh Warning. *Daily Sun*. PP.2.
- Olayiwola, S. & Okorie, N. (2010). Integrated Education: An Instrument for Resolving Ife-Modakeke Conflict in Osun State, Nigeria. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*. Vol.2, No. 2,953-965. Retrieved 18/06/2012.
- Olu, A. (2007). *Ethno-Religious Conflicts and the Travails of National Integration in Nigeria's fourth Republic*. <File:///C:/User/user/Documents/Ethno-religious%20Conflicts.htm>. Retrieved 18/06/2012.
- Olorunyomi, D. (2003). The media and the management of ethno-national differences. *Urban violence, ethnic militias and the challenge of democratic consolidation in Nigeria*. Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited.
- Onwudiwe, E. (2004). *Communal Violence and the Future of Nigeria*. Mhtml:file:///C:/Users/user/Documents/communal Violence and the future of Nigeria. Retrieved 6/06/2012.
- Opendakker, R. (2006). *Advantages and Disadvantages of four Interview Techniques in Qualitative Research*. <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs064118>. Retrieved, 06/05/2013.
- Osin, B. (2011). Boko Haram Movement and its Deadly Impact. *Nigerian Times*. April 5. <file:///C:/Users/user/Documents/> Ethnic crises in Africa, the Hidden Cost. Retrieved 8/8/2012.
- Oyovbaire, S. (2001). The Media and the Democratic Process in Nigeria. *The Guardian Online*. <http://www.nguardiannews.com>. Retrieved 10/06/2013.

- Oyovbaire, S. (2005). *Pluralism & the Media. Report of Workshop on Media and Democracy*. Abuja, May 21-23. NPC.
- Oyeniya, A. (2012). *Conflicts and Violence in Africa: Causes, Sources and Types*. Mhtml:file:///C:/Users/user/Document/TRANSCEND MEDIA SERVICE. Retrieved 18/6/2012.
- Phelen, C. & Wren, J. (2005-06). *Exploring Reliability in Academic Assessment*. www.uni.edu.chfasoa.reliabilityandvalidity.html. Retrieved 06/09/2013.
- Pike, J. (2008). *Nigeria Christian/Muslim Conflict*. [File:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Nigeria%20Christian%20Muslim%20Conflict](file:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Nigeria%20Christian%20Muslim%20Conflict). Retrieved 6/06/2012.
- A Policymaker's Primer on Education Research (2004). *Data-Collection Considerations*. www.ecs.org/.../educationissues/research/.../consideration_datacollection... Retrieved 06/09/2013.
- Rodney, C. (2005). *The Media and Conflicts in Nigeria: Attribution Bias in Press Coverage of the Tiv-Jukun Crisis, 2001. Crisis and Conflict Management in Nigeria since 1980*. Vol. 1. Kaduna: Nigeria Defense Academy.
- Saidu, I. (2012). *Gonin Gora: Kaduna's Bermuda Triangle of Sort*. *Weekly Trust*. 30 June, 2012. mhtml:file:///C:/Users/user/Documents. Retrieved 0/08/2012.
- Salawu, A. (2009). *Media Narrative Construction of Ethno-religious Conflicts in Nigeria*. South: University of Fort Hare. E-mail:salauabiodun@yahoo.com. Retrieved 5/7/2013.
- Shawulu, R. (2000). *The Socio-Economic and Political Context of Ethnic and Religious Crises in Nigeria. Impact of Religious and Ethnic Conflicts on Women & Children in Northern Nigeria*. Kaduna: Human Rights Monitor.
- Siegle, D. (2013). *Principles and Methods in Educational Research*. <file:///C:/Users/user/Documents/Sampling%20.%20Educational%20Research%20>. Retrieved 19/03/2013.
- Simon, M. K. (2011). *Conducting Pilot Studies in Dissertation and Scholarly Research: Recipes for Success (2011 ed)*. Seattle WA:Dissertation Success, LLC. <http://dissertationrecipes.com/>. Retrieved 06/09/2013.
- Spiegel, M. (1992). *Synthesizing Evaluation Perspectives, Practices and Evidences*, Proceedings of the American Evaluation Association: 92 Extension Evaluation Topical Interest Group, Seattle WA, 27-37.

- Teijlingen, E.R. & Hundley, V. (2001). The Importance of Pilot Studies. *Social Research Update*. United Kingdom: University of Surrey.
- Toure, K.T. (2003). *Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State*. Kaduna : Human Rights Monitor.
- Turaki, Y. (1993). *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria: A Social Ethical Analysis of Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria*. Jos: ECWA Headquarters.
- The Research Advisors (2006). *Sample Size Table*. (<http://research-advisors.com/>). Retrieved, 19/03/2013.
- Ugodulunwa, C.A. & Ugwuanyi, L. (1999). *Understanding Educational Evaluation*. Jos: Fab Education Books.
- Vincencio-Villa, C. (1997). *Telling One Another Stories. Toward a Theology of Reconciliation*. The Reconciliation of Peoples. Challenges to the Churches. New York: Orbis Books.
- Yohanna, S. (2004). *The National Question, Ethnic Minorities and Conflicts in Southern Kaduna State, 1902-1999*. A Dissertation submitted to the Post-graduate School, University of Jos, Nigeria.
- Yusuf, H. B. (2002). Mass Media and Constitutional Democracy: The Nigerian Experience. *Ethno-Religious Conflicts and Democracy in Nigeria: Challenges*. Kaduna: Human Rights Monitor.

APPENDIX I

**Department of Arts and
Social Science Education
Faculty of Education
ABU, Zaria.**

QUESTIONNAIRE ON ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN THE NORTHERN STATES OF NIGERIA: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA (1987-2012)

Dear Respondent,

The researcher is carrying out a study on ‘Ethno-Religious conflicts: The role of the media’. He is conducting this research in northern states of Nigeria. He is asking for your assistance to kindly fill this questionnaire as honestly as possible.

Please do not write your name on the questionnaire. Be assured that your response will be treated with confidentiality and will be used strictly for the purpose.

Achi Vincent Emmanuel

PART 1
PERSONAL DATA

INSTRUCTION

Please tick () in the box that applies to you

- | | | |
|----|--|-----|
| 1. | Your age: Below 25 years | () |
| | 21 – 30 years | () |
| | 31 – 40 years | () |
| | 41-50 years | () |
| | 51 years and above | () |
| 3. | Your religion: Islam | () |
| | Christianity | () |
| | African Traditional Religion | () |
| 4. | Your position in your religion: Religious leader | () |
| | Member | () |
| 5. | Your status in the society: | |
| | i. Religious leader | () |
| | ii. Traditional ruler | () |
| | iii. Member | () |

PART 2

INSTRUCTION

Please tick () the appropriate column that suits your assessment. The keys to the columns are as follows:

Strongly agree: SA

Agree: A

Disagree D

Strongly disagree SD

SECTION A

The media aggravates ethnic and religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria through the following:

		SA	A
DA	D		

1. Reporting ethno-religious conflict stories by using a language that inflames tempers
2. Continuous presentation in front pages of news

- papers and headlines of television pictures of conflict scenes to inflame anger
3. Exaggeration of conflict stories
 4. Airing of provocative news
 5. Announcing death casualties according to their ethnic and religious affiliation
 6. Reporting of a particular conflict event over and over again
 7. Painting of one group in the conflict as evil while the other as innocent
 8. Reporting and publishing of comments from the public in online media without censorship
 9. Untrue reporting and publishing of conflict that is bias

Any other suggestion

.....

.....

SECTION B

The following factors influence negative reporting of ethnic and religious conflicts

	SA	A	DA
D			
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			

Any other suggestion

.....
.....

SECTION C

Effects of the role of the media on ethno-religious conflicts

More conflicts due to sensational report can lead to;

SA A DA

D

1. More death casualties
2. Displacement of more people
3. Disruption of economic activities
4. public places closed down
5. Closed down of educational activities
6. Mutual suspicion between ethnic and religious groups
7. Increase in militant activities
8. Planned attacks on some media houses
9. Increase in the number of women raped and abused

Any suggestion

.....
.....

SECTION D

The impact of the role played by the media in past ethnic and religious conflicts was felt in:

SA A DA D

1. The reduction of the escalation of the conflicts
2. Reeducation of the number of death casualties

3. The calming of the tempers of conflicting parties
4. The exposition of the causes of the conflicts for peace initiative
5. Bringing about a prompt government action to check the spread of the conflicts

6. The exposition of cases of abuse of children and women by security operatives on peace mission
7. The call for dialogue between ethnic and religious groups in conflict
8. The message of peace communicated by ethnic and religious leaders to their members through the media
9. The countering of false information capable of fueling the conflicts
10. The hosting and airing of sittings of peace and reconciliation between ethnic and religious groups

Any other observation

.....

.....

SECTION E

By the following functions, the media can build peace among ethnic and religious communities in the northern states of Nigeria

SA A DA D

1. Objective reporting of news items on conflicts
2. Raise public awareness on how ethnic and religious differences can be an enriching variety
3. Educate the public on the importance of peace
4. Counter political statements that can inflame ethnic and religious tempers
5. Air programs that emphasize the unity of the country
6. Train press men and women on peace journalism
7. Censor public comments in online media that are capable of inflaming tempers
8. Call for and moderate dialogue between ethnic and religious groups
9. Make a propaganda against ethnic and religious violence in the nation

What other ways can peace be built through the media?

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE ROLE OF MEDIA IN ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN NORTHERN STATES OF NIGERIA

Introduction: this interview is designed to collect data that will complement data from the questionnaire.

Preliminaries

1. What is your age?
2. Are you a Christian, Muslim or member of African Traditional Religion?
3. What is the name of your tribe?
4. Which state do you come from?

Main Interview Questions

1. Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?
 - a. How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of newspapers/magazines?
 - b. Have you listened, read or watched a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?
 - c. Have you listened, read or watched a news report that mentioned the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?
2. Have you noticed any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?
 - a) What do you think could be the reason for that?
3. Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting?
 - a) Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?
 - b) How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?
 - c) What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

4. In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?
5. From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the northern states of Nigeria?

General/Conclusion

1. What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the northern states of Nigeria?
2. How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

**APPENDIX III
INTERVIEWEES RESPONSES**

INTERVIEWEE 1

Age - 40

Religion– Muslim

Tribe – Hausa

State – Bauchi

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men

Answers

Yes it is very possible

I felt bad and devastating. At the end, i felt like launching a revenge.

Yes, especially the 2011 elections. The impression the media gave was that the election was rigged and manipulated. The news items were capable of causing war.

Like I said, revenge is imminent but may Allah forbid.

and women?

What do you think could be the reason for that?

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting? Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

Yes I have severally

It could be done for financial gains, to take side with religion and fear of dominance.

Yes, the 2011 post-election violence.

Many deaths and displacement of persons were recorded. But I am not sure of any case of rape.

A lot; markets, places of worship, and schools were closed down. It was terrible. One has to start all over again.

The relationship has been that of suspicion, distrust and lack of cooperation. Though we are gradually uniting insha Allah.

Yes the media can, if they can air or publish that which can promote peace and unity and avoid being one sided. It will go along way.

Yes like I said if the media is objective and could avoid being bias.

Number one, poverty, religious extremism, unemployment, marginalization, illiteracy and favoritism.

If what I have mentioned is tackled. Thank you.

INTERVIEWEE 2

Age-55

Religion – Islam

Tribe – Hausa

State – Bauchi

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers

To me no

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

Of course you feel bad and dumb founded

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

No

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

I have heard or listened to such reports but we can't underestimate the media since they give us information.

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

Yes, take for example a particular crisis may occur and instead of being objective, they could over blow the situation or reduce the number of casualties and destruction that can be fatal.

What do you think could be the reason for that?

So many things may be responsible. Some

of these media houses may be private but have great romance with the government to attract patronage and favour. Some media houses involved in all these should be sanctioned appropriately to serve as a deterrent to others.

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting? Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

Not at all

The things you mentioned are bound to happen. Like the case in Jos, Maiduguri, Benue ie the Tiv/Fulani crisis etc. No crisis occurs without those negative tendencies. It is usually unfortunate.

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

Yes when it happens, education, economic and other things are always in shambles. When it happened in Bauchi, we all felt it. Nobody prays for that kind of a thing again. May Allah forbid.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

It may not be very cordial as a matter of fact. But it calls for a greater understanding between various religious leaders and groups. I have always been looking forward to seeing such scenario.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

They have aired or reported programs that brought peace among communities and groups. E.g., the national orientation agency (NOA) has often times used the media to air or publish programs aimed at fostering unity and peace.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Like I said earlier, through airing or publishing of programs to caution people on violence.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Politics, especially “the do or die politics”, illiteracy, abuse of religion, unemployment, poverty and greed.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

The only way conflicts can be stopped in the North is to curb all the above mention vices. Otherwise, it will be a tall dream. Thank you.

INTERVIEWEE 3

Age–50

Religion – Christianity

Tribe – Siyawa

State – Bauchi

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers

I don’t think. Most times they play on the side of government so as to down play the situation.

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

I feel bad especially when lives and loses are involved.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

Yes it makes people feel bad. Some reports actually incite people’s conscience and the effect cannot be over-emphasized.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims? – Yes, people get angered.

It is natural but the media have always been down playing it. Religious leaders should always caution their people on possible negative reaction.

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

I wouldn't know whether a report is bias or not. If you are not an eye witness, you may not know the true picture. You only see or believe what you read, hear or view in the media.

What do you think could be the reason for that?

Possibly looking for favour, not wanting to endanger one's job and due to personal gains or market strategy.

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting?

I can't say non – that I know. Like the crisis in Bauchi in 1991, some of us saw it and even experienced it.

Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

Those things are obvious in crisis situation. In Bauchi during the crisis there were cases of rape, killings and displacement of people like you asked. Since then Bauchi has never come back to its original shape. Everything went comatose.

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

It affected most people. There have been a lot of people migrating or leaving Bauchi since then. It has affected investment in the North. Schools have suffered decline in population as some are even closed down. This is really a set back.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

The relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups nowadays have been that of suspicion, difficulty in trusting one another, people living in fear. So we need to bring back that cordial relationship for development to strive.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

During the wars, what happened was spontaneous. But the media helped in calming down the situation through the way

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

it reported her stories. We actually need them in promoting peace.

When they are sincere in their reportage we would build confidence in them. People these days have lost confidence in the media due to false reports. If they are sincere, they can foster peace.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Politics that is the “I must win syndrome”. Also poverty, illiteracy and unemployment. All these should be tackled headlong.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

Government should put aside interest and embark on people oriented programs that have direct bearing on the people. By so doing, poverty, unemployment and illiteracy would be a thing of the past. Some of us observe that people who always say Nigeria is my country are those whose pockets are full, living well, not the poor. May God help us.

INTERVIEWEE 4

Age–35

Religion – Islam

Tribe – Bajara

State – Bauchi

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers

I don't patronize the media but I feel it is possible

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

With what I saw in the past, it was a very bad one and disheartening.

Have you listen, read or watch a news

report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

With the way the people react to news papers and television reports, it shows that the media truly have power. It is just that some of us have lost confidence in the media due to its bias.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

Naturally they people concerned would feel demonized. That is why the media should be shun. Bias and sentiments should be avoided in order to prevent conflict escalation.

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

Yes, that is why we are angry with the media. If a news paper house, radio or television is owned by a particular person from another religion not affected, they may still say otherwise, thereby giving false reports to mislead the people. The media need to check those things.

What do you think could be the reason for that?

Obviously sometimes to attract buyer-ship, favour from those in power and fame at the detriment of the people.

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting? Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

Non I can remember

What do you expect in a crisis situation? All what you mentioned are things that happen during crisis

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

A very good example is Maiduguri in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states where a state of emergency is being declared due to the activities of the Boko Haram. Everything in those three states is crumbled. I don't need to list them. It is very unfortunate.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

Our relationship has not been cordial. But we pray that oneness and unity will come back. In other places, the oneness is there.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

You see the media that can give false reports that could cause chaos can still bring peace by doing the right things and avoiding sentiments.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Yes it can by reporting stories that could foster peace and unity among the different religions and tribes. If these can be reported, all the time it will continue to echo in people's minds.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Lack of unity, illiteracy, lack of respect for one's religion. For example, a Mosque was burnt during a particular crisis in Bauchi by some angry Christians; they claimed that they were not allowed to build their church in the area. So why should a Mosque exist there? If we were to respect our beliefs, that couldn't have happened. This is one of the things that instigate violence.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

Simple let's respect one another's beliefs like I said earlier. That could go along way. Thank you.

INTERVIEWEE 5

Age—42

Religion – Christianity

Tribe – Tapshin

State – Bauchi

Questions

Is it possible that the media

Answers

aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events? How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

It is very possible

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

It is usually sad, from my experience. People could be emotional in trying to narrate the cause of the conflict.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

I think the media has to be objective and disallow sentiments and religion to overcome its aims and objectives.

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women? What do you think could be the reason for that?

Reactions abound when one particular tribe or religion is exploited during crisis and the other religion seems to be getting the recognition. Most times, some people may feel marginalized or may feel they are treated as second class citizens. It is always sad.

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting? Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

Yes severally

Possibly to attract favour and patronage from the high and mighty without minding the outcome.

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

Yes

Yes Mostly killings and displacement of people.

The effects abound. Most times, schools are

closed down, markets shot down, you have to trek a long distance to buy something and that you know could hinder development.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

Living a suspicious life and lack of trust on one another

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

The media may have their short comings but could help in promoting peace when the air programs that could promote peace, also getting the views of the N.G.Os and agencies.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

The media can be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups base on the dimension they take. If the media can work objectively and put religion, tribe and sentiments aside that could help.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

People would say poverty and illiteracy. But to me is all about empowerment of the youths. If youths are not empowered, they will definitely depend on someone. So whatever that person tells them they will

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

The conflicts can simply be stopped when we reduce poverty, illiteracy and greed.

INTERVIEWEE 6

Age-48

Religion – Christianity

Tribe – Tapshin

State – Bauchi

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers

It is very possible because most times when

these things happen it is what the media tells you that you digest. So you cannot underestimate them.

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

It is always sympathetic, it is inhuman to see or hear your fellow human being killed or murdered in cold blood.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

Yes. Like a situation where it will be reported that over one hundred killed, whereas only fifty or where the number killed is being exaggerated. Also, where it is Christians or Muslims dominated, the other religion may inflate figures. This can cause problems.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

Reports of violence or crisis presented in a bias way could aggravate the situation. So the media should always report without bias and help in cooling down nerves instead of aggravating conflicts.

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

Yes I have. That is why sometimes I find it difficult to read some news papers. I don't want to mention names but if I must, newspapers like "Daily trust" have Northern agenda or even the Islamic religion at heart. The paper tends to promote their affairs. So let the media disassociate itself from sectional reportage and all will be well.

What do you think could be the reason for that?

The reason could be that of hatred and lack of respect for one another.

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of

inflammatory media reporting?

Yes

Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

The one in Bauchi which occurred in 1991, there were so many deaths, rape and displacement of people

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

What do you expect? The economy in Bauchi then crumbled, schools closed etc. The effects cannot be overemphasized.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

Frankly, there is no good relationship between Muslims and Christians in the state. If love is being mentioned, it is only with the lips and not in our hearts. We don't live freely let alone embracing one another as one. Formerly, it was not like that. So we must work towards keeping sentiments aside to move forward.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

Basically, they could help in organizing, publishing or airing seminars, workshops aimed at fostering peace among the two faith adherents. I advise them never to relent.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

If the media harness its role, objectives and functions properly, then they can be agents of peace amongst the people. What kills the media is lack of objectivity, segregation. They ought to be neutral.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

I think is lack of education. If some one is not enlightened that person can be harmful. Secondly poverty. There is too much dependence on the rich so much so that whatever they say, it is final whether good

or bad. So if these two can be tackled, at least, it will reduce the tension.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

First the conflict can be stopped by us respecting one another's religions. People should be enlightened about their religion because it is ignorance that will make you call your brother from another religion names. So two key things are respect and religion and poverty eradication. Thank you,

INTERVIEWEE 7

Age—40

Religion – Christianity

Tribe – Kanikon

State – Kaduna

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers

Yes it is possible

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

Naturally one will feel bad. We are human

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

Yes like the Zongon Kataf crisis of 1992. I was reported by a Hausa section of Radio Kaduna that so many Hausas were killed and as such, the people of Southern Kaduna should be held responsible. That was inflammatory. At the end, some of the prominent Southern Kaduna people were sentenced to death but was later averted by the Military regime.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

It triggered violence, vengeance and so many unpleasant things.

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

Yes. For example, the last crisis in Kafanchan, one Nura Mohammed Rimgim of BBC Hausa service without verification reported that the Fulani herds men caught during the crisis were hunters because he is a Muslim? What kinds of hunter will harbour AK 47 riffle and other sophisticated weapons?

What do you think could be the reason for that?

It is obvious Religion, money and selfish interest

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting?

Yes like I said earlier, the Zangon Kataf crisis. Immediately, people heard that, it triggered the crisis.

Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

I didn't hear of rape but there were a lot of deaths and displacement of people.

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

Usually in a serious crisis situation like that, there is a lot of setback due to destructions and curfew. People have to start life afresh. It is saddening. What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today? – I can say the relationship is building but it is not easy over the years. It has not really being cordial because of past events.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

The media has tried but they should always try to come to the grass root, organize workshops, seminars, have interaction in order to know what is bordering people before reporting. It will go a long way.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in

the Northern states of Nigeria?

Yes it can, like I said earlier.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Injustice, poor educational nature and poverty.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

If all what I mentioned is tackled headlong, I remember Peter Touch once said “Every one talks peace but no one talks of justice and equal right.

INTERVIEWEE 8

Age-28

Religion – Christianity

Tribe – Kagoma

State – Kaduna

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers

Yes it is possible judging by the way the media men report.

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

Well as a human being, you feel bad especially when the bodies involved are those you know; you will feel cheated as well. That can trigger violence.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

Yes I have, precisely in Kafanchan. I saw a report that was just false. It was aimed at favoring one particular tribal group. I don't want to mention it. If not for the security men, it could have been deadly.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number

of the victims?

One will feel cheated and what comes to mind literally is vengeance. The media too aggravates such reports, imagine when a particular tribe or religion involved in a clash in Kafanchan, we know what happened and who was killed, but at the end, it was reported otherwise. So there are things that bring violence.

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

Yes severally

What do you think could be the reason for that?

It could be due to religious sentiments like I said earlier, favoritism and financial inducement or reward.

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting?

Yes, a very good example is the post election violence in 2011. The election was conducted peacefully. But as soon as the results were announced on radio, television and newspapers, the crisis started. Some of the reports were false and stage-managed.

Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

So many deaths and displacements of people but didn't hear about rape of women.

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

It did affected educational and economic activities. Schools and markets were shut down; some shops in the market were burnt down. As a result, some of the parents withdrew their wards and later some left town never to return again.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

Hmmm! Not cordial. Right now, Kafanchan is divided into two in terms of residence, school and even market. Imagine some public schools here are presumably for Muslims alone and also some schools for Christian alone. Even the markets. So it is bad.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you

have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

The media has tried in creating an avenue for peace through its program. Example, the justice and peace, development commission (JDPC) of the Catholic Church has also been doing a great job.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Yes it can, when crisis occurs. Government sets up committee for dialogue and peace. It is the media that is used to disseminate its activities. So the media can be used to foster peace.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Main causes of ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria could be religious differences, bad leadership, corruption, marginalization and so many others. Imagine some body telling you that when you kill you go to heaven and several virgins await you. So if that kind of person grows with such orientation you expect violence from him/her.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

Simple, to keep aside what I have mentioned.

INTERVIEWEE 9

Age-38

Religion – Christianity

Tribe – Igbo

State – Kaduna

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers

Yes

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front

pages of news papers/magazines?

It is very painful. Like the 2011 election crisis, I lost my friend. I told him to run but he was adamant. Later, I saw his body on the street close to Kaduna Polytechnic main Campus. It remains unforgettable.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

Yes it is bad and disheartening. No religion preaches violence, every religion preaches peace. But unfortunately some media men and women seem to be sponsored.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

They will definitely think of retaliation, they will also harbor bitterness and violence.

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women? What do you think could be the reason for that?

Yes, severally

It could be due to religious differences, favoritism, financial ground and political differences.

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting? Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

None I can remember

I know in crisis situation deaths, rapes and displacement of people abound.

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

Yes, the last crisis I witnessed, the markets and schools were closed for some time due to curfew and even the religious places of worship. People no longer come to church because they are afraid. So in a nutshell, crisis slows down everything.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

There has not been any genuine cordial

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

relationship as a matter of fact. And it has been hatred, lack of trust and suspicion.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

The media has tried in publishing several interviews and peace jingles aimed at bringing peace and unity in the society.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Yes, they should just be objective in their reportage and avoid favoritism. It will go a long way.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

Land tussle, religious differences/fanaticism, lack of truth, corruption, poverty, unemployment and marginalization.

There should be genuine dialogue, curbing of religious fanaticism, and create an avenue for employment.

INTERVIEWEE 10

Age-44

Religion – Islam

Tribe – Hausa

State – Kaduna

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers

Yes, it is very possible

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

It is a bitter experience you will not pray for. You feel like relocating because you know violence is imminent.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you

have to say about such reports?

I have not but it is just possible because media is information and information is power

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

Yes I have, like here in kaduna North, there was some misconception when the 2011 post election violence occurred on the people mostly affected. What comes to mind is vengeance and possible violence.

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

Severally, the media sometimes contribute in overheating the polity. One wonders.

What do you think could be the reason for that?

Obviously, religious sentiments by the media organization or reporter involved, and it is also mostly financial inducement or what some media men call “Brown envelope”

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting?

Yes, when you see a report like 200 Muslims killed or majority of the kidnapped or abducted girls of Chibok are Christians what do you think comes to mind? Retaliation and all sorts of evil thoughts, may Allah forbid.

Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

Of course when crisis occurs, deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people abound.

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

Like the case of the 2011 post election violence, everything came on hold for a very long time. It slowed down everything.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

We have been trying to combat any wrong

impression between us the Muslims and the Christians. Though it is not easy because of our religious differences but it is achievable. The major problem is lack of trust and suspicion.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

What I can say that I have observed is the publishing and airing of programs that could promote peace and unity in addition to jingles on peace and reconciliation.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Yes, it can if it is sincere and objective in her reportage that's all.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

So many things like religious differences, marginalization and poverty.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

If the three key things I have mentioned are tackled, it will end conflicts in Nigeria.

INTERVIEWEE 11

Age-56

Religion – Christianity

Tribe – Adara

State – Kaduna

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers

To some extent yes. Through falsification of figures of victims to favour the other. The outcome can be deadly.

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

It feels disturbing and very bad

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for

an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

None I can remember

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

Yes I can, for example the bomb blast in Zaria where so many people were killed. At the end, there was a reprisal attack in Gonin Gora Kaduna and other parts of Kaduna.

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

Yes. Recently we were told some Fulani herdsmen were caught with arms and ammunitions in Kafanchan but the BBC reporter said the Fulani herdsmen were only caught with knives and that they were hunters. That was not true.

What do you think could be the reason for that?

Well it could be due to favouritism and mostly religious factor.

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting?

Yes, like the bomb-blast in Zaria I said earlier. There was wrong reportage which misled the people.

Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

Of course there were deaths and destructions especially the bomb-blast and the reprisal attacks.

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

It did, because at that moment everybody panicked. Schools and markets were shut down. Fear of the unknown you may say.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

You know better, what do you observe? It is not cordial. We don't see ourselves as one only. But we are trying to embrace peace and dialogue.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do

in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

The media has tried to sensitize people on the need for peace through publishing and airing of talks and jingles aimed at promoting peace, reconciliation and unity.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Yes; by being objective in her reportage.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Bad leadership, corruption, religious fanaticism and poverty.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

If our leaders can be truthful by being true leaders.

INTERVIEWEE 12

Age-68

Religion – Islam

Tribe – Fulani

State – Kaduna

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers

Yes, it is possible when the reports are bias. That is when they tend to favour one side. For example when a report is not objective.

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

When such images are displayed or seen, it provokes the anger of people and call for revenge. It is bad and disheartening.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

Yes, like the 2011 post election violence this started on Sunday. We got the report through the media and there were so many falsifications.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

Ordinarily, such things could be provocative whether true or false. The issue if forgiveness is often difficult.

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

It is very common. A typical example was when Boko Haram attacked Marowa chiefdom, the media was silent about it but when it involve sokoto, the minister of defense and the service chiefs were summoned. There is bias in the media everywhere.

What do you think could be the reason for that?

It is just trying to paint the picture of dominance, marginalization, financial constraint and sometimes used by some people in power.

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting?

Yes; a typical example is the 2011 post election violence. The way it was reported ignited the crisis.

Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

There were deaths, displacement of people and destruction but I didn't hear of rape.

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

It brought a kind of stoppage to schools, businesses closed, people relocated. It took a long time. It development was really drastic.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

To me, it is not very cordial. There is usually tension, suspicion, lack of trust; the relationship has been that of cat and dog. But Insha Allah we are building up that strong relationship we use to have.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do

in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

Yes, the media has also made some efforts in bringing peace and reconciliation through publishing of programs discouraging violence.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

The media can. That is supposed to be the role of the media. Let them be objective and truthful. If they are objective and avoid stories that inflame tempers, then it will help and they would have gone a long way to solve the problem.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

It is difficult to pinpoint exactly what causes conflict. But I know things like; religious fanaticism, lack of proper enlightenment on the part of followers and leaders, politics, poverty, unemployment, and marginalization.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

The only way is, if Christians and Muslims pursue peace, forget their differences, and tackle the things I mentioned earlier, it will go a long way. Thanks for giving me the opportunity.

INTERVIEWEE 13

Age-60

Religion – Christianity

Tribe – Birom

State – Plateau

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers

Yes

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

Yes it shows how bad people are. To a large

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

What do you think could be the reason for that?

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting?

Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

extent, people would want to revenge

Yes like when I was in the Military, I went to Rwanda for peace keeping and there was this media channel that was busy reporting how people were killed instead of consulting the Military. It really foiled our mission and we ended up taking more time than we thought we will take to end the crisis.

Yes, naturally the other side would feel bad and would want to attack those concerned. So, I advice the media to be mindful of what it reports. Let them not rely on hear say but should verify before reporting.

Yes, like in Plateau during the crisis in Barkin Ladi, it was reported that the Fulani were killed more than the Biroms, which was not true.

Favouritism; it depends on who is reporting. If he is a Fulani man, then God help the Biroms or even a Muslim, you know what to expect. So there is lack of objectivity in some media organizations.

None in Nigeria I can remember, except the one in Rwanda I told you earlier.

It is possible; what do you expect in crisis situations. For example the one that occurred in Barkin Ladi two (2) months ago between the Fulani herdsmen and the Birom people. Deaths were recorded and people were displaced but I didn't hear of rape.

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

Normally when such crisis occurs, schools and markets are always closed. It affects everything. And that could bring a set back in development.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

The relationship to the best of my knowledge is estranged. No trust, suspicion when meetings are called involving the two communities. The other party will not want to attend thinking they could be attacked. In fact it happened I was there when the state commissioner of police invited both communities but one (I don't want to mention names) didn't show up for reasons best known to them.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

Yes, like the PRTV, there is this program on peace and reconciliation sponsored by the European Union. That program is very appealing. So in as much as the media could inflame tempers, it can also be an agent of peace. Also Archbishop Ignatius Kaigama some years back wrote a book on peace and not war. I recommend that book for everyone.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

The media is the only hope. It depends on what it brings out whether positive or negative.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

I think lack of objectivity of the media. Imagine BBC, CNN and other foreign media already dividing us as Muslim North and Christian South. Who told them? That assertion is condemnable. Secondly,

religious fanaticism, poverty, unemployment, injustice and illiteracy.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

Employment should be provided for our teeming unemployed youths. People should be literate to know some of the basic norms of the society. There should be a deliberate policy to force people to go to school and religious leaders should be constructive in what they say so as not to overheat the polity.

INTERVIEWEE 14

Age—41

Religion – Islam

Tribe – Fulani

State – Plateau

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers
They do seriously.

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

Yes I feel sad indeed

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

Yes

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

One will feel bad and the parties involved would want to revenge

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

Seriously yes

What do you think could be the reason for that?

It depends on the media and their interest. If

it is those dominated by the Muslims, then you expect their interest to be the protection of the Muslims. If also they are dominated by the Christians, the interest will be to protect the Christians.

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting?

Yes; like a media cartooning Prophet Mohammed in a compromising way, of course that brought violence.

Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

There were so many deaths and displacement of persons in that region. I can't remember the place right now. Secondly, the crisis in Yelwa Shendam in 2004. Women were captured and raped, people slaughtered like chickens

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

It has really interfered. The school calendar has to change, the markets were affected. It slowed down everything.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

The relationship has not been very cordial like before. The communities are just trying to bring back that mutual relationship. Some of us are into conflict resolution, trying so hard to align the two communities.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

Yes; it can through Radio and Television jingles on peace, unity and dialogue, emphasizing that without which there will be no development.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

It can be if well trained on peace and conflict. That could help.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern

states of Nigeria?

Ignorance, poverty, religious fanaticism, politics and injustice.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

If all the above mentioned vices are tackled headlong.

INTERVIEWEE 15

Age-50

Religion – Islam

Tribe – Hausa/Fulani

State – Plateau

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers

I will say yes

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

I find it distressing and sometimes wonder whether those displaying such have sympathy

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

In as much as the media would want to report happenings that occur, they try as much as possible to verify properly and balance its stories before reporting. It is important to avoid unnecessary tension. They should avoid sensational headlines as much as possible.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

I have seen on Television. Of course it incites violence which could raise defensive reactions, and aggressive response.

Have you notice any bias in the reporting

of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

Yes; well I believe every news paper, Radio and Television station have its house style but they should try to be objective. They shouldn't let their opinion become news whether one is a Christian or Muslim. Like in Canada, lack of objectivity in the media is not taken likely.

What do you think could be the reason for that?

I think it is human nature. Nobody knows everything.

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting?

No; but it is very possible, the media is powerful.

Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

That is what you expect in crisis situation like the one in Plateau some years back. We heard of such cases.

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

It distracts everything economic and education and so on like you mentioned

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

That of suspicion and there will be no love and trust. It is normal.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

Objectivity is the key word. The media can create a wrong impression and could also foster peace.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Yes, it depends on how they present their story. It could either bring peace or could be inflammatory.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

I have been in Nigeria so I will simply say

youth unemployment, corruption and politicization of identity.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

There should be good leadership. Christians should live like Christians and Muslims should live like Muslims. This is enough to end Nigeria's problems.

INTERVIEWEE 16

Age—Adult

Religion — Christianity

Tribe — Birom

State — Plateau

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

Have you notice any bias in the reporting

Answers

To some extent yes

You feel bad naturally. It goes to the fact that we are human except one who is heartless

Yes I have, I advice caution should be taken by media practitioners, especially verifying a story before reporting. They should just be professional.

Yes I have, naturally you expect a reprisal or vengeance. It is usually going that at the end, calls for another war. That is why I advise the media to be mindful on how they report.

of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

What do you think could be the reason for that?

Certainly I have.

The reason could be personal interest, religion and recognition. Take for example Aljazeera channel to me seems to be pro-Islam. That is they promote any story that is linked to Islam and pay less attention to stories linked to Christians. It is bad. Also the BBC Hausa service does same. No balancing or objectivity. Things like that could bring chaos in the land.

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting?

Yes it happened within my domain where a serving senator was killed in an area and the media over blew the whole thing giving a wrong impression about how it happened. The report they gave ignited the anger of the people. It took the intervention of the military to calm down the situation. So the media should always stand on facts not hear say.

Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

Yes there were deaths, displacement of people but I am not sure there were cases of rape

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

It actually affected so many things. Some of the residence left and never returned. Schools in the area were closed for a long time. Property destroyed and markets closed temporarily.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

It is too bad. The ethnic and religious groups today don't see one another as one. There is great suspicion and no trust. It means they still harbour grievances. That is what happens when communities fight.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

The media has tried to reach out to the

people, educating them on the need to live in peace and unity through airing of programs that promote such.

From your personal assessment, can the media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Yes they can. In fact they have a great chance. Like I said earlier, if they air programs aimed at promoting peace and also getting views of personalities from the communities involved aired, it would go a long way.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

So many things like poverty, injustice, marginalization, politics and unemployment.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

If the above mentioned are tackled headlong.

INTERVIEWEE 17

Age-36

Religion – Christianity

Tribe – Igbo

State – Imo but born and brought in Plateau

Questions

Is it possible that the media aggravates ethnic and religious conflict through the way it reports the events?

Answers

Yes

How do you feel about images of charred bodies of people you know and destroyed property worth millions displayed in the television and front pages of news papers/magazines?

It is not good. Like the case in Jos during the crisis, people were killed. Such things steer up emotions and pave way for reaction.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that directly or indirectly calls for an ethnic or religious war? What do you have to say about such reports?

I would not say I have, but sometimes people are gullible with what they read, watch or listen to in the news papers, television and radio. They tend to believe it whether it is true or not.

Have you listen, read or watch a news report that mentions the victims of a conflict according to their religious or ethnic affiliation? What do you think will be the reaction of the religious or tribal group that has the highest number of the victims?

Yes it would attract an attack for revenge. Like the Fulani and Birom crisis. If the report that Fulanis are killed more, it could steer up violence. So the media have to be careful so as not to cause panic in the land.

Have you notice any bias in the reporting of news on ethnic and religious conflicts by press men and women?

Yes

What do you think could be the reason for that?

It could be as a result of the policy setting up the media organization and also economic factors. You know what I mean. Lastly, ownership affiliation.

Do you know any ethnic or religious conflict that occurred because of inflammatory media reporting?

Yes, like in Jos, there was a reprisal attack due to what they heard on the death of a serving senator. The media heated up everything.

Were there many deaths, cases of rape of women and displacement of people? Can you expatiate please?

Yes there were deaths.

How did this interfere with the educational and economic activities during the period of the conflict and there after?

Generally crisis affects educational and economic activities.

What is the relationship between the different ethnic and religious groups that were involved in that clash today?

The different communities are now divided. Christians and Muslims don't see themselves as one entity. There is great distrust and suspicion as well as doubt.

In the ethnic or religious conflicts you have experienced, what did the media do in bringing about peace between the fighting communities?

Yes it can by getting people to talk on the need to live in peace and harmony, air jingles and programs on religious enlightenment so as to check fanaticism.

From your personal assessment, can the

media be an agent of building peace between ethnic and religious groups in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Yes like the social responsibility role of the media, promotion of peace journalism. They should look at reports that promote peace and unity. When they report, they should add some elements of peace.

General/Conclusion

What in your opinion do you think is responsible for the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Northern states of Nigeria?

Religion, injustice, marginalization, poverty, illiteracy, corruption, culture of impunity, ethnic discrimination and unemployment.

How can these conflicts be stopped in the North?

Inclusive dialogue with a view to addressing the root causes of violence, and all the above mentioned should be addressed..