

**AUDIENCE PERCEPTION OF MEDIA COVERAGE AND MANAGEMENT OF THE
2011 POST ELECTION VIOLENCE IN KADUNA STATE**

BY

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**BEING A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES,
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis entitled: *Audience Perception of Media Coverage and Management of the 2011 Post Election Violence in Kaduna State* was written by me in the Department of Theatre and Performing Arts, under the Supervision of Prof. Oga Steve Abah and Prof. Emmy Idegu. The information derived from the literature were adequately and dully acknowledged in the text and the list of references provided. No part of this work has been presented for another Degree or Diploma in this or any institution.

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CERTIFICATION

This thesis titled: AUDIENCE PERCEPTION OF THE MEDIA COVERAGE AND MANAGEMENT OF THE 2011 POST ELECTIONS VIOLENCE IN KADUNA STATE by the researcher Al-kasim Yahaya Kajuru meets the regulation governing the award of the Degree of Masters of Art (M.A) in Development Communication of the Ahmadu Bello University Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Almighty Allah (SWT) My Creator and Sustainer, my Parents, my Wife, my daughter and all the innocent citizens who lost their lives in various conflicts in Kaduna State (May the Good Lord have Mercy on their departed souls).

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ABSTRACT

The media can be used as an instrument to build as well as to destroy the human society. This study has tried to establish the inherent nature of conflict and crises in human society as well as the significant role of media and communication in forming and shaping individual or group perception of events or issues, enhancing human interaction and also looked at the nature of violence to the well being of humanity. Vital roles of the media and the various conflict management apparatus like arbitration, collaboration, mediation, negotiation and reconciliation among other measures put in place to avert or control violent conflict in Kaduna state have been highlighted. The study is limited to only four local government areas of Kaduna state and examines the perception of the audience, elicits essential information that enhance better understanding of role of media in conflict management and reconciliation. The survey method was used and the instruments for data collection were the questionnaire and in-depth interview. The sampling methods considered for this study are purposive (non probability) sample in the selection of study population and accidental or convenience sampling in the selection of respondents because of the sensitivity of the problem under study. The study focuses on objectives that centred on investigating the perception of the audience on the roles of media in conflicts as well as in managing and resolving the post election conflict in Kaduna State. The study provides necessary information on the causes and effects of conflicts to the society and how the media can assist in the proper management of conflict before, during or after elections. Some causes of conflicts are looked into and solutions as well as suggestion on the possible ways of controlling and mitigating the effects of such conflicts were proffered. The study concludes, that there is need to enhance the performance of media in the process of conflict management and reconciliation so as to enable a peaceful common future for all citizens.

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ABBREVIATIONS/DEFINITION OF TERMS

ACN - Action Congress of Nigeria

ANPP- All Nigerian Peoples' Party

BBC- British Broadcasting Corporation

CAN- Christians Association of Nigeria

CNN- Cable News Network

CSW- Christian Solidarity Worldwide

CPC- Congress for Progressive change

DW- Dutch Welle

IDPs- Internally Displaced Persons

IMC– Interfaith Mediation Centre

INEC – Independent National Electoral Commission

IMS- International Media Support

ISAI- Institute for the Studies on Free Flow of Information Jakarta, Indonesia.

JNI- Jama'atu Nasrul Islam

KPC- Kaduna Peace Committee

KPD- Kaduna Peace Declaration

FRCN- Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria

KSMC-Kaduna State Media Corporation

MICA- Movement for Islamic Culture and Awareness

NTA-Nigerian Television Authority

NYSC- National Youths Service Corp

PDP- People Democratic Party

UNESCO- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

VOA- Voice of America

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Development in all its ramifications is a product of peace. Society without unity, peace and understanding between and among its inhabitants cannot boast of development. Peace is integral and very central to the development of any nation. Development is simply an increase, improvement, and growth for the better. Development is a self-generating and self-sustaining phenomenon. Therefore, development is conceived in human term as the maximum satisfaction of basic human needs of adequate and decent food, water, electricity, shelter, education, modern social infrastructural facilities (Development administration, 1998, Yunusa & Okene, 2008).

The word ‘media’ comes from the plural of the Latin word medium and it is used as a collective noun to refer to television, radio, newspapers, magazines, films, the international networks (internet) etc. The media, in both specific and general terms (the Newspapers, Television, Magazine, radio, social media and the internet as a whole) has always played and is still playing very prominent role in national growth and development. Media helps to develop societies by gradually changing and making them to become more advance, greater, stronger, larger, successful and impressive entities.

Apparently, media exert a powerful influence on its audience, their actions and inactions; also exert same on the perceptions of the world around them. The role of the media is to report and disseminate authenticated and objective information. This information must be factual, accurate and balanced and fair representation of divergent views, to allow the audience or larger public to make well-informed choices (Coffman et. al, 2006) and judgment. The media plays a wide range of roles in our lives. Some of these roles are constructive and some are destructive.

Media is often described as a double-edged sword. When employed positively, media can become an instrument of conflict resolution and a catalyst for peaceful change. However, when employed as a means to propagate intolerance and hatred, and to incite violence, media becomes a negative force among efforts to foster peace (Coffman et. al, 2006). It has remained an indisputable fact that the mass media or media of mass communication are among, if not the most effective and powerful means of disseminating information all over the world. Countries that are seen to be powerful or developed are perceived as such, largely owing, among other things, to the powerful media they possess and control (Bello, 2005:177).

Media owners and professionals decide what they think the public or some target audience want to see and hear. A common journalistic principle is: "If it bleeds, it leads." That means violent conflict will be headline news, not news of cross-cultural dialogue and understanding. The media mostly covers conflict, not peace building. This tendency to cover conflict and violence distorts reality and leads many people to think that conflict is pervasive and peace is abnormal. History has shown that the media can incite people toward violence. Hitler used the media to create an entire worldview of hatred for Jews, homosexuals, and other minority groups. Rwanda's radio RTLM urged listeners to pick up machetes and take to the streets to kill what they called 'the cockroaches.' Broadcasters in the Balkans polarized local communities to the point where violence became an acceptable tool for addressing grievances. The media's impact on the escalation of conflict is more widely recognized than the media's impact on peace building (Bratic and Schirch, 2007).

Journalism does not need justification for its existence. Its service to society is justification in itself. Journalism can not only help to distribute information but also counter hate-speech and create an environment of balanced opinions, and information equilibrium. For

the media it can be problematic to find a balance between preventing harm caused by speech and protecting individual expression. Being able to find this balance however is important especially in conflict situations. Responsible journalism does not just re-publish press releases but is truly concerned with a truthful, balanced and fair account of events ([Kuusik](#), 2010). In order to achieve this journalists have to stay clear of judgemental representations and describe reality without embellishment. If democracy is to work properly, society needs access to news and information; analysis of the status quo, debate, practical information and exchange as well as entertainment are needed and provided by the media ([Kuusik](#), 2010).

Experience has shown that mass media in Nigeria since independence have dissipated much of its energies in creating political dichotomy among diverse ethnic nationalities rather than building consensus, broadening policy dialogue, raising aspirations, setting agenda as well as widening the horizon of the membership of Nigeria society. The facts remains that, most media operators, proprietors and practitioners in Nigeria have not only grossly mislead, misdirected and misapplied media resources but have also failed to bring the good potentials offered by the mass media to bear on national development (Okoye, 2009:321). Whatever the society in which the media operates, certain basic factors are responsible in the way they influence changes and development. Every medium has a message, it has a target audience, it aims at influencing changes and decisions, and it also influences attitudes, perceptions and general behaviour.

A professional and vigorous media is a very central component for stable plural democracies. As the fourth-estate of the realm; the media acts as agenda setter, gatekeeper, peace promoter, watchdog, policy maker, diplomat and the guardian of interest. Revealing abuses of state authority and defending the democratic rights of citizens. In this regard, it is assumed that

strong and well-grounded democracies are less prone or vulnerable to conflict (ISAI/ IMS, 2004:9). Thus, conflict is the source of a vigorous and dynamic society. A society without stress, internal tension, rivalries, disputes, or discords seems to be unimaginative, uncreative, and unproductive (Nwanko & Nzelibe, 1990:253).

Conflict is an inescapable factor in human life. According to Imoh (2008:33) it is neither a positive nor a negative phenomenon. It exists in various forms and intensities between persons, groups, and nations. The complex and heterogeneous nature of individual attitudes, behaviours, and perceptions precipitates the human inability to coexist without conflict. Conflict may be either beneficial or destructive to the people and communities involved. But whatever the outcome of a conflict, the process assumes a dynamic path which, in retrospect, provides avenues to knowledge enrichment and experience acquisition for dealing with future events (Nwanko & Nzelibe, 1990:253). According to a recent finding, “at least one fifth of humanity lives in countries experiencing significant violence, political conflict, insecurity and societal fragility. Such conditions form a major obstacle to development, with lasting implications for societal well-being. No country affected by violence or fragility has achieved a single MDG target. Countries with major violence have poverty rates more than 20 percentage points higher than the average” (Preis and Mustea, 2013:2).

Conflicts do occur at various levels and in various forms. According to Adeyanju (2004:70), these levels include intrapersonal, interpersonal, intra group, inter group, intra organizational, inter organizational. On the basis of their causes and effects, conflicts may be classified as communal, institutional, ethnic, family, gender, intergenerational, interpersonal, intra and inter group, labour, armed, environmental, technological and personality. Conflict can be seen as positive because it can lead to positive result, changes or decisions that lead to

improved relationships between two conflicting entities or parties involve in the conflict. Many scholars and researchers agreed that conflict is a severe form of crisis (Gusau, 2005:17), and looking from the realist lens inter-group or intra- state, conflicts are inevitable. This is essentially because the state is made up of groups that are defined by, among other variables, ethnicity, religion, politics, class, socio-economic problems and aspirations. These groups, as in the case of this study are heterogeneous with competing and consequentially, conflicting interests and values. Besides, society is dynamic and changes -weather economic, political or social- all these are major sources of conflict (Gusau, 2005:17).

It is therefore widely accepted today that conflict has the capability of being functional or dysfunctional, constructive or destructive depending on its nature and intensity (Imoh, 2008:33). Much would therefore depend on how we perceive and manage conflict in any group, Society or setting even within the individual. The more modern view of conflict is inevitable; we must learn to expect it anytime and to develop conflict management capacities that will help us to always benefit from positive and functional aspects of conflict and control to the negative or dysfunctional aspects of the phenomenon. Conflict can be violent or non-violent. A non-violent conflict is described as competition, and in common language, violence, or the lack of violence, differentiates conflict from competition. A conflict may move through different stages; from a non-violent conflict in its initial stage, into a violent conflict.

Elections involve a set of activities leading to the selection of one or more persons out of many to serve in positions of authority in a society. Political scientists and development theorists link free, fair and credible elections to democratic governance, peace and development. In brief, they argue that free, fair and credible elections provide the basis for the emergence of democratic, accountable and legitimate governments with the capacity to initiate and implement

clearly articulated development programmes (Orji & Ozodi, 2012). Again, they claim that free, fair and credible elections empower the electorate to hold the government accountable and to demand strong credentials and feasible development agenda from prospective government officials. In other words, free, fair and credible elections bestow on governments the legitimate authority to, on one hand, initiate and implement policies; while on the other hand, they empower the citizens to hold governments accountable for their actions and/or inactions. Credible elections are, therefore, *sine qua non* for democratic governance, political stability and national development (Orji & Ozodi, 2012).

Danladi and Mohammed (2012:144) expressed that post-election violence is increasingly becoming a trend in Africa, with deadly consequences. The deadly ethnic violence that erupted in Kenya in the aftermath of 2007 elections and the elections crisis that almost divided the already volatile Ivory Coast and the post-elections crisis in Guinea Conakry and of recent the post-election violence that rocked the northern parts of Nigeria left thousands dead and properties worth millions of dollars destroyed. Election rigging, lack of trust between the electorate and political leaders, the partiality of the judiciary and the law enforcement agencies, particularly the police, and above all, the role of the media before, during and after the elections are some of the identified factors that fuel the violence.

Since 1999, elections have become more regular in Nigeria. Between 1999 and 2011, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) conducted four consecutive general elections. Elections in Nigeria were characterized by both psychological and physical violence (Alemika, 2011). Generally, violence involves the threat or use of physical force with the intention of injuring, killing and intimidating another person. It also involves destruction of property with a view to inflicting emotional or psychological injury and economic loss on

another person. One of the major benefits of democracy is that it inhibits collective violence by providing mechanisms for non-violent competition for power and resolution of conflicts. Observance of the rule of law and respect for the courts are, however, necessary if this benefit is to be realised. Where citizens and government officials ignore the rule of law or disobey court orders, anarchy and violence are precipitated (Alemika, 2011).

According to Kukah, (2003), politics in Nigeria has been essential one of very keen competition among the elites of the various ethnic and regional grouping in Nigeria. And in our area of study, the situation has been made more complex due to some reasons. One of the reasons lies in the lack of cultural, religious or ethnic homogeneity in the regions, a fact which has affected the relations of the inter-ethnic elites in the regions. These among other reasons combined to make the North a hot bed for communal strife. Ethnicity and religion play an important role in politics in Nigeria, as in almost all other countries of the world, there is no actual empirical evidence from Nigerian elections, which justify the way Nigerian politics is misrepresented as being almost entirely a matter of ethnic and regional solidarity and conflicts.

This view is a misrepresentation of the political realities of Nigeria and serves as a basis for the campaign against the corporate existence of the country, and the chronic crippling of the social, political and economic development of its people (Usman, 2000:80). The negative and devastating impact of conflict in Kaduna and other northern states have been very enormous and cut across social, cultural, economic and political spheres. Those grouping around ethnic blocs to fight their battles with, in the contest for power and wealth within the Nigerian elite, are manipulating religion to use as a basis for a sort of non-ethnic ethnicity in which Muslims and Christians are reduced to ethnic identities. Unfortunately, none of these two religions preaches violence.

In the conflict of 2011 as soon as election results began to trickle in from the April 16, presidential election and early figures indicated that the PDP candidate Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was on his way to win the presidential election with a wide margin, riots broke out in several northern states. Worst affected were Kaduna, Kano, Bauchi, where many people were killed or injured: the houses of many top and middle level PDP chieftains were torched and many cars and offices were burnt. Other amazing aspect of the riots was the houses of some prominent traditional rulers were attacked in Kano and Kaduna. At some points the riots became inter-communal, with the burning of many churches in Kano, Funtua, Zaria and Kaduna, quickly followed by ‘reprisal’ attacks in southern Kaduna state that led to the death of an estimated 500 people (Jega, 2011:10). This violence is being characterized by issues such as greed, ignorance, illiteracy, manipulation, poverty, selfishness, unemployment, etc. which if not properly checked will continue to endanger the political atmosphere of Nigeria.

Violence and carnages could be said not to be strange occurrences in the north for the last four decades, but the 2011 presidential election was very different as the first region-wide riot over a “strictly” political matter. It was alleged that the ruling PDP rigged the ballots, that INEC collaborated with PDP, that computers rigged up some election figures, that some states returned outrageous results of voter turnout, etc. The bottom line according to Jega (2011:10) however, was that most far northerners voted in the presidential election, for the congress for progressive change (CPC) candidate General Mahammadu Buhari, who unfortunately was not declared winner of the election. The post election violence in some states particularly Kaduna State is a sad reminder of how intolerance can trigger off the web of violence. In that crisis alone, up to a thousand people were believed to have been killed, and properties worth millions destroyed. However, many of the women and children that survived the onslaught have been turn into

refugees in their own country and abandoned in the state of hopelessness (Shehu, 2011:30). That incident reminded many of some of the memorable episode of violence that the North had witnessed in recent times. They included marginalize riots in the Kafanchan, the famous Zangon Kataf conflict, the Shariah riots, the miss world crises among others.

Mass media are by themselves social structure or vehicle for conflict resolution. Inter and intra-ethnic conflicts are inevitable in Nigeria because of Nigeria's social structure, is inherently prone to generate conflict from diverse ethnic-cultural interest and goals and from the political and economic necessities of survival, as communication is at the heart of all social intercourse. As a result of their ability to reach and influence large numbers of people, the media carries immense power in shaping course of a conflict. Although many examples of media's negative contribution to the violent conflict exist, fair and acute journalism and media content that builds confidence and counteracts misperceptions may have a potential in both conflict prevention and transformation (Melone, 2004).

Journalism can play a role in escalating conflicts, which also demonstrates the potential for positive purposes. The media have the power to defuse tensions before they even reach a critical point and keep a critical eye on government, opposition and society. Apart from international media covering conflicts, local media are a recognized part of society with the ability to accelerate and magnify fears or reduce them. By supplying credible information and reaching a large audience, the media help in managing conflicts and promoting democratic principles. In the aftermath of a conflict, reconciliation and societal development can be encouraged as well.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Kaduna state is one of the 36 states of Nigeria, highly heterogeneous consisting of various tribal/ ethnic groups. The state has over the years come under the obstruction of ethno-religious crises. The nature of political disorders/competition in Nigeria has reached the stage of mass participation among the bulk of Nigerians who are not literate in the acquisition of education, but that does not mean they are by any means of no political weight. This frequent occurrence of ethno-religious crises has remained a source of concern to the government and the citizenry.

According to Abah, Okwori, and Alubo (2009), Kaduna experienced 24 Muslim-Christian conflicts between 1977 and 2002. The conflicts of 2000 were particularly bitter, resulting from an attempt to introduce *Sharia* law as a governing principle in the state.

Discussing the role of media in the Nigerian society, Usman (1999:131) laments that:

Matters happening somewhere are instantly brought to people's knowledge; unfortunately, along with this achievement is the high degree of abuse of the media for propaganda purposes. It is quite expensive to own and run them. Many of the foreign media are set up primarily for purpose other than money making. It is not purely to inform, educate and entertain as we are often made to believe. The international have become the convenient vehicles for image projection and propagation of hidden agenda often coated in music and fine news delivery. To achieve their objectives the foreign media have to collaborate with their Nigerian counterparts who are not so refined and go about in a crude manner. They see nothing good in the country. They thrive on false alarm and character assassination. News presentation is laced with comments contrary to journalistic tradition. They have therefore, been rightly described as the junk or gutter press.

Nigeria is currently at the receiving end of the destructive activities of the international media channels and their domestic agents. In spite of everything, we take pride in the acclaiming of the Nigerian press as being the freest in Africa and indeed among the freest in the world. As in many countries the bottom line of romance with press freedom is national stability, we are not

alone in this game Usman (1999:131) added. It is only a matter of sophistication in approach and degree of self censorship.

The media has often been accused of being bias or taking sides in reporting sensitive issue like conflict (Bello, 2005; Antigha, 2005; CSW, 2004, 2008; IMS/ISAI, 2004; Kurawa, 2006; Kurfi, 2008; Jimoh, 2008; Okoye, 2009). Some even allege that the media is being recruited in conflict situations to blow trumpets, ignite or precipitate violence among peace loving people or communities and most times these types of accusations come from the conflict parties who think and expect the media to be their mouthpiece or instrument of propaganda.

The accusations are always borne out of misperception as well as misconception of the role of the media in the society. There is also the lack of sufficient and accurate, independent and balanced coverage by the media in the society. The lack of professionalism in the media has seemingly fuelled rumours and misperception in conflict times with often disastrous consequences. This research seeks to identify the crucial role media can play in preventing or reducing conflict in our society. Religious leaders, conflict and peace mediators or managers have for too long neglected the role the media can play in society before, during and after any violent conflict by exposing to the society the risk of such conflicts which are often avoidable and their pains mitigate able. There is a serious need for re-awakening in Nigeria on insecurity due to careless, inconsiderate and insensitive role of media in our society.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to examine the perception of the audience on the possible role of the media in supporting peace process, building trust and harmony in conflict effected communities. The study is set to find out if the role of the media in conflict management

is dependent on the independence, balance, fairness and ability of the media to effectively communicate objectively and professionally to both the Government and the general public.

The specific objectives for this study are therefore:-

- a. To find out the extent of audience exposure to media messages on conflict management and reconciliation.
- b. To determine the perception of general audience on the role of media in conflict management and reconciliation.
- c. To investigate the extent to which both local and foreign media of communication impact on conflict, peace and reconciliation.
- d. To examine the perception of pressmen, religious leaders, peace and conflicts practitioners on the role of the media in conflict management and the implication of such conflicts to security and national development.
- e. To provide recommendations on the best media practice(s) during any violent conflict.

1.4 Research Questions

The aim and objectives will be achieved through the use of the following research questions.

- a. What is the extent of audience exposure to media messages on conflict management and reconciliation?
- b. What has been the general audience perception of the role of media in conflict management and reconciliation?
- c. What is the impact of local and foreign media of communication on conflict, peace and Reconciliation?

- d. How do pressmen, religious leaders, peace and conflict practitioners perceive the role of the media during conflicts management and what could the implication of such conflict to security and national development?

1.5 Research Hypothesis

Ho1. There is no significant relationship between audience exposure to media messages and conflict management / reconciliation.

Ho2. There is no significant relationship between audience perception of media and conflict management and reconciliation.

Ho3. Media of communication play no significant role in conflict prevention, peace building and national development.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study is significant because it exposes the value of communication on our social, economic and political life and provides information for managing conflicts in our societies. Media contents on conflicts management is hoped to influence positive social behaviour change in the interaction and attitude of individuals or groups in any given society by trying to influence positive societal values and development. The perception of the media and its content/ messages is a prerequisite to achieving peace and conflict reconciliation.

This study examines the roles of the media, before, during and after the 2011 Presidential elections and is hoped to contribute to body of literature on audience, perception, communication, media, conflict study and conflict management, electoral process and also election violence because it explored the positive and negative roles of media in election process, democracy and national development.

One of the significance of this study is that it will provoke further researches or studies on communication, perception and media in the field of peace building, conflict resolution and reconciliation by exploring the underlying causes and effects of such conflict and at the same time serve as a reference point in terms of awareness of literature and theories that support genuine media and conflict management practice, its experiment and where we are presently.

This Research also exposes the grave and negative implication of violent political, ethno-religious and socio-economic conflicts on security and national development. It will also add to the existing body of knowledge on perception of communication and their possible influences on attitudes and behaviour change.

1.7 Scope of the Study

Obviously, the topic is very wide in its scope; therefore, analysis was limited only to perception study of the audience on the role media in conflict management and reconciliation in the given area, Kaduna state. Media is a very broad term which cannot easily be discussed in any given research of this nature with limited time and scope. This study focuses on the perception of audience of mass media messages (readers, listeners and viewers of national and international Newspapers, Radio and Television stations) on conflict management and reconciliation as it relates to Nigeria in general and Kaduna State in particular.

The attempt by various media to report conflict in an objective, balanced and unbiased manner was examined. However, due to the limited time and resources only issues relating to the subject were discussed. This study focus primarily on the perception of the audience on the role of media of communication in conflict management and reconciliation, the types of messages communicated during conflicts, and the reaction of audience to such messages during and after the 2011 post elections in Kaduna State.

The survey was carried out in about six months and was limited only to Kaduna State and covers only Three (3) cosmopolitan and one (1) semi urban local governments of the state. They include Kaduna North, Kaduna South, Sabon Gari, and Kachia Local Governments Areas, one from each of the three senatorial districts while in Kaduna central senatorial district two were selected because it is the centre and at the same a flashpoint of all conflicts in the state. Both primary and secondary data are used for the study. The data are both qualitative and quantitative, based on questionnaires and structured in depth interview with media practitioners, peace and conflict mediators, religious and community leaders. The study is supported by empirical sources and statistics of studies conducted by different people in different places and at different times.

1.8 Justification for the Study

The world has shrunk and no doubt we are in the global village as was earlier predicted by Marshall McLuhan in the 1960s. It is interesting to note that beyond the ordinary value of information, democracy cannot thrive without free and independent media of communication to provide checks and balances to institutions and governments at all levels. Likewise, the media cannot be effective in maintaining peace and preventing conflict if they are not responsible by being free from all sorts of sensationalism, propaganda and biases in their coverage of events or situations. In post conflict situations and peace building, reconciliation is a key component, a key element in preventing the recurrence of violent conflict. Recognizing the importance of the emerging conflict prevention paradigm, this study examines the utility of reconciliation processes in areas of latent or potential conflict for preventing conflict manifestation.

Since independence in 1960, Nigeria has witnessed several ethnic and religious disturbances, which are so devastating and have resulted in colossal loss of lives and massive

destruction of property. Recently, after 2011 general elections some states were terribly affected by political cum religious violence. These have ravaged the societal wellbeing of Nigeria and the study was necessitated, as it focus more on finding and suggesting long-term and feasible solutions for conflict management and reconciliation.

1.9 Definitions of Terms

Audience: Audience includes all those who are actually reached by particular media content or media 'channels'. Audience can be defined according to the relevant media and content or in terms of their social composition, location or time. The audience can exist as an imagined 'target' or intended group of receivers. Media audiences are not fixed entities and may only be known after the event as statistical abstractions (e.g. 'the rating'), with a known probability of recurrence.

Conflict management: this refers to intervention or efforts towards preventing the escalation and negative effects, especially violent ones, of on-going conflicts. These conflicts will then are reduced, curtailed, downgraded, coped with, especially since conflict are hardly completely resolved.

Conflict: Spanler and Burgess (2005:1) States that conflict" involve deep- rooted moral or value differences, high-stake distributional questions, such as who dominate whom, fundamental human psychological needs for identity, security and recognition are often an issue as well, adding that "people will not compromise fundamental values".

Media effect: is the consequences or outcomes of the working of, or exposure to mass media, whether with intention or not. They can be sought at different level of social analysis. There are many types of effect, but it is usual to distinguish at least between effects that are behavioral, attitudinal (or affective) and cognitive.

Media messages: persuasive messages targeted at various groups through communication forms.

Media: The media includes all the media organizations, such as television, radio, and newspapers that provide news and information for the public, or audience.

Mitigation: Conflict is considered as part of human nature that we are all likely to live with throughout our lifetime, as individuals and as groups. The word mitigation is derived from the verb mitigate. The ordinary dictionary meaning of the word mitigates means to moderate (a quality or condition) in force or intensity.

Perception: De Vito (1986) defined perception as "the process of becoming aware of objects or events from the senses".

Prevention: "Prevention is better than cure" is a popular adage. The word *prevention*, derived from the root word prevent, is to keep something from happening or occurring altogether, especially by taking precautionary actions.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

A substantial amount of available literatures were reviewed for the study. Several definitions have been given to media of communication. The media is taken to refer to both the print (newspapers, journals or magazines) and the electronic (television, radio, C.D, internet and mobile phones) media. Pressmen, journalists, media men, media practitioners or experts were used interchangeably.

Development is a multidimensional concept, and the links and relative priorities among its various dimensions are debated. In economic terms, development is often understood as sustained high growth rates or the transformation of agrarian economies into industrialized systems of production. Social development is typically taken to mean poverty reduction and improvement in education and health.

Development and communication are two terms heavily loaded with different conceptions and a richness of uses and functions shaped by their various theoretical underpinnings. Such richness often leads to ambiguities and a lack of clarity that affects the field of development communication. The wide range of interpretations of key terminologies and the rapid evolution of some concepts have led to inconsistencies in the way basic terms are understood and used. As far as its definitions are concerned, they usually consist of general statements (Kaul, 2011:2). Thus, the communication media, in the context of development, are generally used to support development initiatives by the dissemination of messages that encourage the public to support development-oriented projects (Kaul, 2011:2). Schramm (1964) argues that, the media entice people to change. However, media can only do so much when it

comes to influencing people in making major attitudinal change. He discusses campaigns on agriculture, health, literacy and formal education using mass media (Schramm, 1964).

The news media thrive on conflict. This according to Gilboa (2009:97), the lead story for most news programmes is typically the most recent and extreme crime or disaster. Conflict attracts viewers, listeners, and readers to the media; the greater the conflict the greater the audience, and large audiences are imperative to the financial success of media outlets. Therefore, it is often in the media's interest to not only report conflict, but to play it up, making it seem more intense than it really is. Long-term, on-going conflict-resolution processes such as mediation are not dramatic and are often difficult to understand and report, especially since the proceedings are almost always closed to the media. Thus, conflict resolution stories are easily pushed aside in favour of the most recent, the most colourful, and the most shocking aspects of a conflict. Groups that understand this dynamic can cater to it in order to gain media attention.

2.2 Roles of the Media in our Contemporary World

A. Media as the Fourth Estate of the Realm

The Fourth Estate is a phrase which refers to the profession of Journalism. The phrase according to Carlyle,(1905p:349) was attributed to Edmund Burke when he said that “there were Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters’ Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important than they all...”

It was therefore derived from the old English idea of three Estates: the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal and the House of Commons. The notion that the media is the Fourth Estate rests on the idea that the media’s function is to act as a guardian of public interest, and as a watchdog on the activities of government. Burke asserted that the power of the press was at least equal to that of the other three “estates of the realm” –lords, commons and clergy. It became a

conventional term for journalists in their role as reporters of and watchdog of government (McQuail, 2005:555). The media are therefore important components of the checks and balances that form part of modern democracy. Only through the media can the governing communicate with the governed or rulers to the ruled in any mass sense.

The media as the fourth estate of the realm after the executive, legislature and judiciary, can therefore be seen as an arm of government charged with the constitutional responsibilities of educating, informing and entertaining the public. In their role of the Fourth Estate, the media guarantee the accountability of government officials and defend public interests. In modern interpretation of the Fourth Estate, the media are seen as the fourth “power” which checks and counterbalances the “powers” of executive, legislature and judiciary.

B. Media as Information Provider and Interpreter

Information according to McQuail (2005:558) in a broad sense is the content (messages) of all meaningful communication. This includes opinions as well as reports about the facts of the world. The media provide people with important information about their environment (e.g. political, cultural, social issues) and respond to more imminent problems (weather, traffic, natural catastrophes, etc.). At least in part, people make decisions about whether to choose political leaders to vote for in elections, and judge other groups in society based on the media. The media interpret events beyond our physical realm and help us make sense of them. With the improvement of technologies and the advancement of new media such as the internet, media plays an increasingly more prominent role in our daily communication, interactions and entertainment.

C. Media as Agenda Setter

Agenda setting is a process of media influence (intended or unintended) by which the related importance of news events, issues or personages in the public minds are affected by the order of presentation (or relative silence) in news reports. It is assumed that the more the attention given to a topic by the media, the greater is the importance attributed to it by the news audience (Mc Quail, 2005:548). The media influence is not on the direction of opinion but only on what people think about. This concept according to Mc Quail is been mainly applied especially to political communication and elections campaign (2005:548).

This function is one of the most important of the media. It is defined as the process whereby the media determine what we think and worry about. The effect of agenda-setting is epitomized in the famous Cohen's(1963) quote that the press "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about." McCombs and Shaw (1977:5) pointed out that, there is abundant evidence that editors and broadcasters play an important role as they go through their tasks in deciding and publicizing news. The concept of agenda setting is for the press to selectively choose what we see or hear in the media.

D. Media as Gatekeeper

Gate keeping is the controlling of a strategic portion of a channel, so as to have the power of decision over whether whatever is flowing through that channel will enter the group or not. In other words, it involves a series of checkpoints that the news has to pass through before it gets to the public. Through this process many people have to decide whether or not the news is to be seen or heard.

Gate keeping according to McQuail (2005:556) is a general term for the role of the initial selection and later editorial processing of events reports in news organizations. News media have to decide what ‘events’ to admit through the ‘gates’ of the media on the grounds of their news ‘worthiness’ and other criteria. Gatekeepers of the media are message filters, and they include reporters, writers, editors, commentators, producers, presenters, directors, proprietors and even government officials. The concept involves every aspect of message selection, handling and control.

The media sets agenda, filters issues and tries to maintain a balance of views. Media like to portray themselves as ‘accurate, balanced and fair,’ even when they privately seek to promote a particular ideological interest or set of ideas and limit the public’s exposure to a wide array of information.

E. Media as Watchdog

Closely linked to the gate keeping role of the media is their watchdog role. The media are traditionally the watchdog of democracy, which is also linked to their status as the fourth estate. The key assumption of the media as watchdog is that they speak for the people, represent the interests of the people, and serve as checks on the government. In today’s politics and society at large, media is essential to the safeguarding transparency of democratic processes. This is often called its ‘watchdog’ role. Transparency is required on many levels including for access to information; accountability and legitimacy of individuals, institutions and processes themselves; and for rightful participation and public debate (<http://indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com>).

The media acts as a third party ‘watchdog’ that provide feedback to the public on local problems. Media can bring hidden stories out into the public. Investigative reports can surface public problems.

Analyzing the role of media, Schuepp (2000:6) identifies the responsibilities of a watchdog, thus:

- (i) A watchdog has to protect his owner, give him security and react to possible outside interference with the rights of his owner.
- (ii) The watchdog has to know his loyalties therefore the media have to be loyal to the society, because they are the watchdog of society and not of government.
- (iii) Anybody who threatens democracy, freedom of speech, the basic rights of the people, should be attacked by the watchdog.

According to Kovach (1998), watchdog journalism at its best helps alert a community to changing circumstances affecting their lives. He further notes that the watchdog role goes beyond a simple journalism of witness: ...embedded in each watchdog story are the elements of disclosure and judgment, which often point to victims and wrongdoers. By probing below and beyond surface information, by challenging assumptions and assertions, the reporting invites a civic judgment (Kovach, 1998).

F. Media as Public Educator

Media educates through the transmission of voter information in an electoral process. This might be through direct negotiation with Electoral Bodies and NGOs for broadcast of educational material. It also happens indirectly. For example, when media report on an electoral event, details such as the location of voting sites, the necessity of voter registration, how the count will be conducted, and so forth, may be provided to the audience. This is one reason why it is very important for the electoral body (INEC) to be communicating frequently with all media, providing them with the necessary facts and figures to ensure accurate reporting (www.aceproject.org/1998-2014).

Media also play an important analytical role, which enhances their ability to play their other roles, as watchdogs, forums for debate, and so on. For example, if media simply re-post or re-broadcast an electoral body (INEC or SIEC) press release, transmission of information to the electorate may still warrant useful, but lacking in scope and context. Without analysis of the press release in relation to on the ground events, results, or opposing opinions, for example, the information received by the media audience is one-dimensional. In ensuring that the public has the level of informational detail required to make informed choices or action, media utilize various tools of analysis (www.aceproject.org/1998-2014).

2.3 Conflict, Social Change and the Human Society

The word conflict has its origin from the 15th century Latin word “conflictus”, being the past participle of “confligie”, which basically means to strike together”, or fight, or confrontation among parties whose means or ends are incompatible. However, modern usage, “conflict” has been broadened to assume multi-disciplinary dimension, cutting across the fields of English language, politics, military, psychology, sociology, administration and literature (Antigba, 2005:147).

Although conflict is a normal part of organization life, providing numerous opportunities for growth through improved understanding of the insight, there is a tendency to view conflict as a negative experience caused by difficult circumstances. According to Best (2004), conflict is defined as the pursuit of incompatible interest and goals by different groups. He advances further that it is an inevitable part of human existence which manifested itself in form of incompatibility of objectives.

Consensus is achieved by scholars that conflict is an inevitable part or process of social life. It is a continuing reality of social existence. Necessarily, conflict involves two or more

parties that have, or perceive incompatibility in either interests and or values, or in strategy of achieving the ends desire (Akpuru-Aja, 2007 in Thomas 2011:28). From the beginning of time and society, the efforts of men have been directed towards attempts at making society a congenial place to live, where everyman is free to pursue his life ambition under the rule of law, thereby making it possible for people to have a good life. Good life on its own, conjures a measure of confusion in terms of what it means to different people. In spite of man's efforts to achieve a type of sanity that is capable of making the world a comfortable place to live, bumps, crevices and puddles are found everywhere. These destruction are caused by actions as well as inactions of men and which are of different magnitudes, if not properly managed, could snowball into severe misunderstandings, hostilities, skirmishes, conflicts and end up ultimately in wars with their devastating consequences on lives and property, good governance, prosperity, growth and development (Ekeli, 2008:336).

Man as a gregarious animal is naturally predisposed to live in groups, communities and societies. From the cradle to the Stone Age, man had sought to live and interrelate with fellow men. This gregarious instinct in man finds its expression in association of man with woman to form a family; also in association of man with fellow man to institute social order within clans, villages and communities. Furthermore, with the progressive development of productive forces and consolidated refinement of the relations of production, this gregarious instinct in man expanded and found fullest expression in the revolutionalization of the communication instruments. Thus, man as a social animal expresses both individual and group solidarity, which constantly interrelate to produce a given social order within a given social environment (Thomas, 2011:29).

The history of human society is a process of tension and conflicts. Social change is not a smooth orderly progression, which gradually unfolds in harmonious evolution, instead a society proceeds from contradictions built into it, which are source of tension and ultimately the source of open conflicts and radical change (Kurfi, 2008:392). Many social scientists hold that periods of change—be it economic growth or decline, political transitions, or social innovation—are associated with conflict. Existing institutions come under pressure and may be unable to control or integrate new forces, demands, and collective actors. Change is likely to be uneven and to create a sense of relative deprivation, injustice, and threat among the losers.

Ekeli, (2008:336) maintains that “as long as people live on the face of the earth, there are bound to be one form of conflict or the other, and in so far as there are conflicts, people must make efforts to resolve such conflicts if they cannot be avoided, because often times, conflict might be a necessary step in the dynamic march of society from one stage to another in its development” (2008:336).

Kurfi, (2008:392) argues that:

Conflict brings about change in the sense that it prevents the ossification of social system by exerting pressure for innovation and creativity; it also prevent habitual accommodations from freezing into rigid mold and hence progressively impoverishing the ability to react creatively to novel circumstances.

The clash of values and interest, the tension between what is and what some groups or individuals feel ought to be the conflict between vested groups and new strata demanding their share of wealth, power and status are all productive of social vitality (2008:392). Conflict is generally understood to mean tension between opposing views, interests, or wills. Conflicts may or may not involve violence, even if we allow for the many meanings of ‘violence’. The most obvious and common sense meaning conflict is physical violence.

2.3.1 Communication, Conflict and Development

Conflict is the opposite of development—Conflict is development in reverse. According to a report of World Bank Researchers on civil wars, the study concluded that when development succeeds, countries become safer; when development fails, countries experience greater risk of being caught in a conflict trap (Collier et al. 2003). At first glance, this seems persuasive. Wars and other forms of conflicts destroy lives, property, and the environment. As such, it is ‘development in reverse’. Most recent conflicts, moreover, have taken place in poor countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Western Europe and North America—by most accounts the richest and most developed countries in the world—have experienced very little war since World War II. The Balkan wars in the 1990s appeared to many as a shock, a gust from a past it was assumed Europe had left behind. On closer examination, however, the picture is not so simple. Violence may set back ‘development’, but it also may sweep away older structures and make way for change.

From the earliest history of human existence, conflicts have been a recurrent development. This situation is largely so because the factors that precipitated conflicts in any conceivable manifestation are inherent in man. However, suffice it to say that the interaction between man and his environment has tendered to have an impact on the manifestation of conflicts. In other words, development refines and defines conflicts. This explains why in the advanced societies of North America and Western Europe, primordial issues like religion, ethnicity and indigene settler syndrome have been largely overcome (Antigha, 2005:156).

Today, there is a general consensus that media can play a significant role in conflict situations, not only in provoking hate and killing, but also in promoting conflict resolution, management and reconciliation. Theoretically, conflict and peace share the same platform in media discourses, since reporting conflict also means finding alternative constructive solutions.

The nature of the post election crisis in Kaduna State is captured in Goodhand & Humle's (1999) definition of conflict. The authors define conflict as a struggle between individuals or collectives, over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the conflicting parties are to assert their values or claims over those of others (1999:13). The post election crisis more or less emerged from a struggle for power, with each party pursuing an agenda that would bring it closer to controlling resources. On the other hand, the authors see peace-building as a promotion of institutional and socio-economic measures to address the underlying causes of conflict.

The digitization of the news industry, which has led to a compression of time and space, means we see news images of demonstrations, riots or coups within minutes of these occurring in the streets of major towns and cities. These images not only inform global audiences, but may instigate further campaigns of violence at home. As a result, the media's reporting of a conflict became central to the unfolding of the conflict itself. While technology has reduced the tyranny of distance, the commercial realities of news gathering have also affected the reporting of conflicts (Harris, 2004). Reliable, accurate and objective media, whether mainstream, alternative or traditional /non conventional can both help to prevent and resolve conflict through the automatic functions of responsibly disseminating information, acquiring knowledge and furthering awareness, promoting participatory and transparent governance, and also address perceive grievances.

2.4 Media, Conflict and National Development

Media's role in national development can be analyzed from political, economic and social perspectives. In the political sphere, media's role can be found in the areas of democracy and good governance, political transparency, foreign policy, human rights, war on terrorism, and

public relations. In the economic sphere, media can play their role in the areas of economic policy and growth, economic empowerment, business and investment, (<http://indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com>). In the social sphere, media's role cover social issues, such as corruption, criminal violence, communal conflicts, prostitution, war on drugs, population control, education, food security, and public health (especially on Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), Bird Flu virus, Cholera, Lassa fever, elephantiasis, Severe Acute Respiration Syndrome (SARS) and recently Ebola Viral Disease.

Any analysis of media roles in conflict management must address both the traditional media (newspapers, television, and radio) and the new media (Internet). Evolutions in communication technologies have created global news networks and various online social networks. Global news networks can broadcast live from almost any place in the world to any other place. For media to effectively assist in addressing conflict, it is essential that the root cause(s), patterns of violence and current dynamics are clearly comprehensive, and specialized approach upon which assessment of issues should be ideally based. More so, conflict should be considered as circular rather than linear, with the various stages of pre, mid-conflict, and post conflict overlapping one another without any necessary preset course (IMS/ ISAI, 2004:8). The media perform a wide range of functions depending on the society the media may operate in (Antigha, 2005:154). For instance, the Nigerian media inform, educate and entertain the citizenry. Beyond these elementary functions, the media also perform critical social and political roles like motivation and mass mobilization, integration, status conferral and Agenda settings.

Effects of media on conflict can be viewed in terms of negative repercussion that inadvertent or overt propagandistic or one sided reporting may have in terms of fuelling tension and provoking conflicts, conversely, the media may potentially have a positive impact if based

upon basic professional standards, combined with diverse access to information, reasonable financial resources and adherence to ethical codes. Such media can contribute to societal orientation and reconciliation; alter misrepresentation and broader understanding of the causes and consequences of conflict (IMS/ ISAI, 2004:9). The primary role of the media in conflict management and resolution is to report and disseminate objective information. Media plays a key role in fostering trust and unity, among conflict parties unlike any other source of information or communication.

Media increasingly has the ability to reach, inform, and shape the opinions of government and its citizens. The media role in conflict situation cannot be ignored; firstly, the issues are usually of a nature transcending the inter-personal level and often the easiest link between the parties involved are the media. Secondly, the media have almost limitless access to the parties in conflict. Thirdly, the media have a duty to survey the environment and correlative events in different segments of society if they are to function properly (Ashong, 2004:125).

i. Effects of Conflicts on Media

The negative effects of violent conflict on media are well known. In conflict developing situations it is the freedom of expression and the impartiality of the media that are often the initial victims. Conflict generating propaganda in the media (in the case of the government or independent media) can serve to provoke or escalate violence and is also often a convenient occasion for the authorities to break down on press freedom and freedom of expression. Conflict also erodes media environment and undermines the economic viability of the market places (ISAI/IMS, 2004:9).

The effects of the media on conflict and Vice-versa are dependent on the context in which the interactions take place. Such contextual factors dictate the role and scope of media to

influence the root causes, patterns of violence and current/future dynamics of conflict (ISAI/IMS, 2004:10). Media and journalism can be a great assistance in conflict management and peace building. However, the power they have is also limited, as they will never be able to eliminate armed conflicts altogether. The media can be a good tool in a healthy and functioning environment but more is needed than ethical and responsible reporting to ensure lasting peace and safety. The safety of media personnel and property is paramount to safeguarding democratic processes. Attacks on journalists and media outlets harm more than just the individuals targeted; attacks have a ripple effect throughout the entire media community, and where the media acts as a public mouthpiece, silencing the media means silencing the public. Attacks on media take many forms. Journalists may be explicitly censored through withdrawal of licenses, publishing bans, imprisonment, and other means. They may also feel pressured to increase self-censorship by adjusting the content of coverage, or by choosing not to cover events or issues entirely.

Journalism is a dangerous occupation. Elections can be dangerous for journalists, and tense and sometimes violent campaigns or announcement of results can expose those trying to report accurately and honestly. Violence directed at journalists and media can take many forms, including arrests, beatings, rape, and murder. Violence and manipulation also come in the form of attacks against family members, arson or destruction of offices or equipment, confiscation of equipment, and attacks on sources of information. Female journalists face somewhat different security situations in many contexts, and are at higher risk of sexual violence. Journalists face threat of unintentionally exposing valuable and sensitive information by way of third party access to computers, memory drives, telephones and so forth. In addition to surveillance of text messages, emails and phone calls, perpetrators of attacks (government or otherwise) use malware

(downloaded through fake links or attachments in emails for example) to track the victim's activities and enable the attackers to identify sources or conspirators (<http://en.rsf.org/>).

The role of the media is twofold: on the one hand, the media report and reflect on pressing issues and can help to question established concepts and ideas. On the other hand, they can be used for propaganda purposes and instead of revealing truths, try to cover things up and by this curtail people's freedom and right to information (Kuusik, 2010). Regardless, the potential of the media in conflict and post-conflict situations remains a net positive, and has been sadly underutilized.

2.5 Negative Roles of Media to Development

Specific to conflict, media and national development, certain factors are inimical to the role of media. These factors include incitement and hate speeches, corruption, sensationalism, and propaganda, selective and bias coverage, among others. These factors are discussed accordingly below.

(a) Hate Speeches and killings: History has shown that the media can be used to incite violence. This can be illustrated with the example of the roles played by various media actors in the Great Lakes region which consisted of two newspapers, *The Crossroads* (Tutsi) and *The Witness* (Hutu); Radio Rutomoramgingo (anti-Tutsi in DRC); Radio Candid (anti-Tutsi); Radio Television Libre de Mille Collins (Hutu); and *Kangura*, a pro-Hutu newspaper. The media can play a critical role in exacerbating Conflict or consolidating peace. On the one hand, they can incite violence or distribute biased information. At the extreme there is *hatemedia*, which can directly incite a population toward genocide or ethnic cleansing, as did Radio Mille Collines in Rwanda in 1994 and Bosnian-Serbian media during the early 1990s. On the other hand, they can be a powerful tool in peace-building and democratic development by denouncing abuses, holding

the powerful accountable, providing information and serving as an outlet for different opinions and perspectives. At its best, it is the safeguard of democratic governance because it means accurate and balanced reporting, which fairly represents a diverse range of views sufficient for the public to make well-informed choices. Without reliable news and information, people in conflict and post-conflict zones are forced to rely on rumors, and rumors invariably spread distrust and stereotypes, which in turn fuels the war (Peinado, (2006:9).

The *Kagura* newspapers and the Radio, Television Libredes Milled Collines (RTLTM) (One Thousand Hills Free Radio and Television) which broadcast from July 8, 1993 to July 31, 1994 in the Rwandan Genocide. According to the Human Rights Watch, In the thirteen weeks after April 6, 1994, at least half a million people perished in the Rwandan genocide, perhaps as many as three quarters of the Tutsi population. At the same time, thousands of Hutu were slain because they opposed the killing campaign and the force directing it or forces directing them. The killers struck with a speed and devastation that suggested an aberrant force of nature, "people gone mad," said some observers. "...But this genocide was not an uncontrollable outburst of rage by a people consumed by" ancient tribal hatreds." Nor was it the preordained result of the impersonal forces of poverty and overpopulation. This genocide resulted from the deliberate choice of modern elite(s) to foster hatred and fear to keep itself in power" (Danladi and Mohammad, 2012:145-147). Again, according to the Human Rights Watch, prior to the 1990 genocide the newspaper *Kagura* became one of the most potent voices of hate which poured venom on the Tutsi. Other newspapers and journals with considerable support from government and businessmen linked to government joined in the manufacture of hatred.

The radio was not left out. Indeed it became even more effective in delivering the message of hate and directly and simultaneously to a wide audience given that listening to radio

was a popular distraction among Rwandans both the ordinary people and the elite. In 1991, some 29 per cent of all households had a radio. To further galvanize the people to further carry out its genocidal enterprise the government, distributed radio sets free to some local authorities before the genocide and perhaps after the killing had gone full gear. Radio Mille Collines which was established by forces, politicians, businessmen, bureaucrats, etc., associated with the regime was used extensively to galvanize Hutus to kill Tutsi. The radio, quite often used “dehumanization” and “depersonalization” to incite hatred against the Tutsi. It portrayed them as “cockroaches” or “lesser creatures” that deserved extermination. (Allan Thompson ed., 2007, Mbeke, 2009: 4 in Danladi and Mohammad, 2012:145-147). Here, parallels could be drawn with the Nazis who took propaganda to perverse levels. They produced a film, “The Eternal Jew” that vilified the Jews. The film compared those in Europe to a hoard of rats, spreading disease, etc. " Like the Hutu extremists were to do later, Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda, organized the sale of cheap radios, called the "People's Receiver" at the cost of only 76 marks. A smaller version cost just 35 marks to ensure that their propaganda reached the intended audience effectively (Allan Thompson, ed., 2007, Mbeke, 2009 in Danladi and Mohammad, 2012:145-147). Studies have shown how broadcasters in the Balkans polarized local communities to the point where violence became an acceptable tool for addressing grievances (Bratic and Schirch, 2007).

(b) Corruption: Corruption has been defined as the abuse of public power for personal gain or for the benefit of a group to which one owes allegiance. Corruption is said to distort economic and social development. It does so by “engendering wrong choices and by encouraging competition in bribery rather than in the quality and price of goods and services...” The media can expose corruption in both the government and corporate sector. According to Stapenhurst

(1997), media can act as a force against corruption in ways that are both tangible and intangible. For Ogosoo (1999), it is the media's key role to educate society about corruption, and secondly, as watchdog, to expose the acts of corruption. Media reports can affect the reputation of key individuals. Since people care about their reputation, media attention can provide strong incentives for changing behaviour, therefore reputational penalties and rewards can be powerful in ensuring accountability toward constituents.

(c) Sensationalism: the terms sensationalism, the principle is founded in the idea that news media have a "vested interest in conflict". Media give opposing sides in a conflict the ability to have two-way communications and often, this is antithetical to the premise of the operation (Strobel 1997 in Aho, 2004:17). Communication is dynamic, very powerful and has strong influence on the definition of reality. News sensationalism shows that what we watch or read casually may indeed have very significant impact within our views of reality. Sensationalism may prevent the public from being knowledgeable participants in policy discussions.

Let's take the case of Nigerian media as an example. Again, experience has shown that there are numerous unethical practices by Nigerian journalists bordering on over-simplification, exaggeration and outright sensationalism, suppression or outright distortion of facts, political partisanship and bias, ethnicism and religious insensitivity. Such actions not only make the media lose credibility, but also serve as avenue for increasing conflicts.

The 2002 *ThisDay* publication on the controversial Miss World beauty contest in Nigeria, in which a reporter made derogatory remarks on the Prophet of Islam, is a case in point (indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com). The publication led to riots resulting in the loss of lives and destruction of properties. The unbridled sensationalism is usually reflected in headlines, photographs, and editorials.

Sensationalizing events by the media or journalists is also an obstacle to greater in-depth coverage of conflict situations. For the media; however, situations where nothing is happening do not worth their attention. The real challenge, consist of 'fixing' this contradiction, and trying to realign the fundamental purpose of the media to better serve the goals of peace building and reconciliation. It is evident, that accurate and balance reporting must go beyond the 'simple' sound bite.

(d)Propaganda: Propaganda is the systematic effort to manipulate other people's beliefs, attitudes or actions by means of symbols. Propagandists influence rational thought by agitating emotions, exploiting insecurities, capitalizing on the ambiguity of language, and bending the rules of logic.

The common techniques used by the media are word games (name-calling, glittering generalities and euphemisms); false connection (transfer and testimonial); and special appeals (plain folks, bandwagon and fear). "Name-calling" is a common technique used by Western media, using words or phrases like "Islamic fundamentalist," "Muslim fanatics or terrorist," "fascist," "dictatorship," "axis of evil," etc (<http://indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com>). The reverse is "glittering generalities", using words such as "democracy," "good governance," "Christianity," "freedom," "western civilization," "patriotism," "family values" etc. Among audiovisual media, radios, televisions are the most powerful tool for propaganda. While propaganda can serve to rally people behind a cause, it is often used to exaggerate, misrepresent or even lie about important issues.

Bello, (2005:196) observed that, such propaganda becomes very potent as a result of the ability of media house to make people i.e. feel at home regarding their status as guaranteed fountains of truth absolute and from there, news writers could twists reality to fit into their own

rationale by stage- managing the setting of a discourse, in such a way that they inject thought into readers without them realizing. And by taking in such thought, readers become accomplices- albeit unknowingly, to their own indoctrination and possible deception. This can further be substantiated by the fact that people actually choose which newspaper to read or which radio station to listen to. And this choice is ultimately guided by which media house tells the truth, the “truth” being what we want to hear far rather than what is on ground. Hence by exploiting this unrivalled factual authority of journalism and the audiences mind set the level of mind- corruption done to readers by media house is simply incredible. And with such venomous ideas hulking in people mind the slightest provocation, real or perceived, could be a deadly instigator of violence (Bello, 2005:196).

The media has great capacities to contribute maximally to peace and conflict resolution in our society. The way or manner information is reported invariably sets the tone for reaction by citizens. The media can make or mar the society and have the power to destroy and repair also to aggravate or minimize issues and consequences depending on the way or manner issues of sensitive nature are reported. Overall interest of the society should be taken into consideration in reporting issues that border on conflict. By so doing unwarranted or unjustful loss of lives could be reduced to the barest minimum. Reports during conflict had played down on the negative side that create alot of wrong impression to people who are not there but who are active listeners, viewers or even readers may believe that a whole state is burning and not just the affected or particular area. Even if reports are true it is necessary to de-emphasizes the crisis to avoid aggravating tempers among people.

(e) Selective and Bias Presentations: The media have the tendency for selective and bias presentation in which the sources of stories are usually “official”; there is apparent lack of

diversity; the voice is one-sided (Government media, security and defence official, politicians or corporate executives); there are double standards; stereotypes skew the coverage; there are unchallenged assumptions; language is often loaded; stories are out of context; headlines and stories do not match, etc. Same goes international media covering events in Africa. Western media are mostly responsible for the dissemination of ideas about Africa as a “dark continent” of “primeval irrationality, tribal anarchy, hunger/famine, civil war, managerial ineptitude, political instability, flagrant corruption and incompetent leadership.” Misinformation about Africa has become a full time business enterprise in the West. During the apartheid regime in South Africa, for example, it was common for Western media to use the euphemism to report on “black on black violence” to describe intra-racial conflicts in the country, but British journalists never reported on “white on white violence” when reporting the conflict in Northern Ireland (<http://indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com>).

The mental images portrayed on Africa affect people’s interests to invest, trade, and participate in development of the continent. Views of hopelessness to the extent of suggestions for re-colonizing are not strange, as depicted in editorial, news presentations and reportals: Africa is so much without hope that it is difficult to believe that it can help itself. If western countries had the will they could decolonize the continent which they left in such haste. Western media reports always fail to inform on the deep-rooted causes of political and economic problems, the result of centuries of slavery, colonialism and the role played by Europe in the whole mess of the continent. The situation has been exacerbated by the coming to power of an African elite colluding with Western governments and multinational companies to bleed African economies through imposed neo-liberal economic reforms. Sometimes African journalists

contribute to the way of negative reporting by the Western media (<http://indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com>).

In this regard, Usman was right when he states that: “The international media have become the convenient vehicles for image projection and propagation of hidden agenda...To achieve their objectives the foreign media have to work in collaboration with their counterparts who are not so refined and go about it in a crude manner” (1999:131).

Religious leaders should adhere strictly to their religious ethics. Obasanjo rightly observed: “Christianity preaches peace and was established by the Prince of peace and Islam by name is a religion of peace. Both religions have love as cardinal in their creeds”, (*Newswatch, March 6, 2000:19*). The religious leaders should, therefore, preach and practice the positive things in their religion to make for peace. Media reports must therefore be fair, accurate, and compassionate maintaining high professional standards at all times. Reporters should always put the interest of the nation above personal one and should use their reports to promote unity and stability, without which there could be no progress.

2.5.2 Media Ownership as a tool in Conflict Reporting

The media shape what we see and hear about conflict. The perspectives of those who run the media shape stories that are covered. Journalists have opinions and beliefs based on their experiences. Media owners have economic interests; they want to sell their stories and programs to a public who will buy their newspapers, listen or watch their programs. Increasing corporate control over media in some countries also plays a role in controlling the types of stories that get covered and the way stories get framed (Bratic and Schirch,2007).

Media ownership has an enormous bearing on the nature of media outlets on coverage of issues – or, for that matter, any political or elections coverage. State and government owned

media are under direct state or ruling party control and may therefore tend toward favouring incumbent parties or candidates. Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) acts independently of any political body, but is often financially supported by the government or state. Privately-owned (whether corporate or otherwise) media may be independent, but may also serve the political interests of their proprietors. In some countries, these proprietors might be political parties and candidates themselves (www.aceproject.org).

A country's portfolio of media ownership is likely to have a significant bearing on a range of electoral issues, including questions such the extent to which political advertising is permitted, citizens' access to civic and voter education as well as campaign material, and the extent to which elections are covered in a balanced and fair manner. Media ownership directly affects media's important watchdog role during elections. State and government media are sometimes measurably biased in favour of the incumbent or ruling parties or candidates. This is particularly the case with Nigeria and other transitional democracies in the world. Media ownership also affects the voters' right to information. Voters' access to information on elections is limited by poor diversity of media ownership, or by lack of policy-making and investment that ensures that media reaches a majority of the population. As well as the impact of media concentration, insufficient information can be caused by a lack of infrastructure and disillusionment or mistrust by the public in the media.

In Nigeria, according to Jimoh (2012:5), there is a long history of distrust between the media and successive governments in Nigeria. A measure of adversarial relationship between media and the political class can be gauged by accusations of bias, mischief, sensationalism, lack of objectivity and general irresponsibility leveled against the media by various government officials both military and civilian governments. The media on the other hand see themselves as

doing a professional job by reporting what government officials would rather sweep under the carpet. Interestingly, civil society and the general public also sometimes blame the Nigerian media for unprofessional conducts. Bishop Kukah in an interview with Nigerian Tribune noted that, “the media are constantly misleading people about Christians bombing churches or Muslims bombing mosques. The denomination of the person who is involved in a crime is not important.” (Sunday Tribune, March 18, 2012 in Jimoh 2012:5).

During a round table discussion at the Northern Peace Conference in 2005, Mallam Abdulkarim Al-Bishir a daily commentator and Newspapers columnist states that:

There are times when the media actually instigates crisis in various parts of the country. Simple incidents which can be amicably resolved are blown out of proportion in news reports and often the reporters themselves are encouraged to engage in sensationalism and deliberate distortion by their employers for political or sale promotion motives (Albashir, 2005:207).

He goes further to add that the North does not have adequate media establishments to project the correct nature of things to the national audience and counter some of the deliberate propaganda and incitement.

According to Mahmud Jega (2005:207-208) a onetime Editor of the New Nigeria Newspapers, during same roundtable discussion added that:

The media has various roles to play in conflict resolution but there are some things the media must avoid in order not to exacerbate conflict situation. One is the creation of bogeys such as “Northern oligarchy” “Arewa conspiracy” and “Caliphate conspiracy” which over the long – term reduces the tolerance level among people and creating fear and suspicion.

He explains that conflict is usually preceded by misunderstanding which lead to suspicion, followed by fear, then antagonism and finally, hatred”. Adding that, “the media is a big factor in the generation of misunderstanding and all the subsequent complications ultimately leading to conflict. Then, the problem of stereo-types which the media indulges in by creating

the impression that some people are cheats, oppressors and clever. This also reduces the tolerance level.

Also in his contribution, the former Executive Director, FRCN Kaduna, Lawal Yusuf Saulawa was of the opinion that:

Lack of private media has been part of the problem and that most of the electronic media are owned by the states. Unless we have more of the electronics media owned privately we shall continue to have conflict situations escalating most of the time, most of our radio listeners tend to tune to foreign radio stations for news because their understanding is that states and federal owned radio stations do not report factually (Saulawa,2005:208).

Further stating that, most of the foreign media are more interested in sensational news and high death tolls especially in conflict situations. So, the state media is face with the dilemma of not reporting to help control tension and leaving the foreign stations to do the reporting for their local audiences.

So, also Alhaji Wada Maida, the former Chief Executive, News Agency of Nigeria (NAN), in his own remark states:

We should look at the issue of ethics and reporting conflict. The first dilemma any journalist will face is the definition of news, because news is essential, something new and unusual. If you ask a reporter to see conflict but not to report it, what will be the implication? He may be reporting it in order to alert the authorities to take measures to contain it. But, that can also be misrepresented to mean the report will escalate the crisis and that is where the dilemma is...

A good reporter should be able to strike a balance between reporting and exacerbating conflict. There is also the issue of paucity of media in the north, very few newspapers and the radio and television stations do not reach the national audience. So, from the beginning we are handicapped in promoting peace through the media. He then advised that the few that are available should be used to effectively promote peace (Maida, 2005:206).

The media therefore informs the public of illegal activities and corruption, violation of human rights and rules of the election process. In the event the media works for the politicians,

then they cannot expose these mishaps. The media therefore must be familiar with election process, and be able to anticipate any possible mishaps as well as mitigate them by exposing these activities to public criticism (Okwengu, 2011:17).

2.6 Background to Conflict in Nigeria

Conflict means different things to different people. It is neither a positive nor a negative phenomenon. It has the capacity for being functional or dysfunctional, constructive or destructive, depending on its nature and intensity. The 1980s was a turning point in the history of Nigeria. The period was characterized by the dislocation of the Nigerian economy, and it prepared the grounds for most criminal and political violence that we have in Nigeria today. The problem actually started in the late 1970s with the glut in the global oil market which drowned drastic reduction in country's foreign earnings (Albert, 2005:38).

Albert, explains that:

There was social dislocation of industries close down (job losses, breakdown of family ties, and incessant teachers strike among others) which put thousand of Nigerian into both criminal and political violence. Similarly, ethnic groups began to clash with each other as they competed aggressively for control of the limited social, economic and environment resources within their localities. Religious groups were also not left out of the menace; they started to manipulate their exclusive identities in ways that heightened social tension in the country.

Period of conflict according to Adewuyi, (2005:291) “are usually unproductive time to both the public and private sectors of the economy, and the destruction of lives and properties which normally result from ethno-religious conflict draws back the rate of development. The implication is such conflicts threaten the oneness of Nigeria and ultimately the young democracy” (2005:291). The atmosphere of insecurity of life's and properties usually accompanies hostility and tension leading to temporal suspension of many social and economic activities, agriculture and others. There is no doubt that the increasing rate of ethno-religious

conflicts posed great danger and threat to not only Kaduna state but to Nigeria's national security and its corporate existence. To achieve peace the media must play a very vital role to ending the ugly occurrence from our society.

Adebayo (2010:22) argues that, the gradual withdrawal of God from the scheme of Nigerian affairs and the wrong assumption that Nigeria is a secular nation makes her to downplay morality. The nation seems to have bid farewell to love, justice, trust, patience, honesty, integrity, fairness, accountability and selfless service, and other virtues, and it welcomes corruption, injustice, violence, killing, maiming, and other socio-economic and economic vices. This makes individuals to look for means of satisfying themselves, not minding stepping on people's toe or even cutting their throat. On this note, we strongly feel that the Federal Government needs to enforce moral codes on the citizens of the nation by bringing to book moral violators and those who foment trouble or crisis in any society.

A. Ethno-Religious Conflict

An ethnic conflict is a conflict between ethnic groups, mostly as a result of ethnic nationalism. An ethnic group is a group of people that share a common blood, language and cultural tradition. An ethnic conflict may be an "inter-ethnic conflict" where it is between people from different ethnic groups, or an "intra-ethnic conflict" where it is between people from common ethnic background. Ethnic conflict is an international problem giving rise to the term Ethnic Cleansing, a phrase for attempt to purge an area of an unwanted ethnic group, by deportation, intimidation, and acts of genocide or mass murder etc (Dantata, 2011:21).

Ethnic conflict is more prevalent especially in developing countries with many ethnic groups: the Nigerian society is a typical example. Ethnic conflicts arises when one ethnic group feels too important or superior over another with whom they have been living together and

dominating, controlling and injustice against the “inferior” group. It most arises when one or “colonizing” ethnic group tries to claim seniority, superiority, or supremacy over the other(s). Ethnic conflicts mostly tend to be continuous; they are hardly resolved but could be settle for a certain period of time. Parties in such conflicts in Nigeria very often deny the satisfaction of each other’s basic human needs.

A religious conflict is conflict between religious groups, mostly as a result of religious chauvinism. Religion has been one of the most powerful sources of conflict in human history. In ancient times, holy wars (Crusade, Jihad etc) have been waged to convert non-believers. A Religious conflict may be an “inter-religious conflict” where it is between people of different religious groups, or an “intra-religious conflict” where it is between people of common religious background (Dantata, 2011:22).

The term ethno-religious conflict is used to describe a conflict that has both ingredients of ethnicity and religion. In many conflicts the two warring parties are divided along both ethnic and religious lines which brought about the phrase “ethno-religious” (Dantata, 2011:22). Religion conflicts are said to be more “sensitive, destructive, attractive and very dangerous” of all conflicts. It mostly occurs in multi-religious cosmopolitan societies like Nigerian. Islam and Christianity are practically most dominant religions followed by other traditional religions not too pronounced. Religious conflicts mostly have severe consequences.

According to Ibrahim (2005:320) ethno-religion conflict refers to disputes arising from ethnic and religious differences. Such conflicts are often associated with ethnic or religious sentiments. Thus, the usage of the concept denotes the fact that all crises that have religious and ethnic overtones are ethno-religious conflicts i.e. either of the two can give way to the other.

Ethno-religious conflict therefore, occurs when the ultimate goal of conflict is of ethnic and religious nature.

Nigeria was rated the most Religious country or nation in the whole world according to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC, 2003) and has 92 percent level of religiosity (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2007). The persistent Religious Conflict particular in Northern Nigeria lend strong credence to these earlier stated assertions (IMC, 2013). In recent times, Nigerian has been facing a resurgence of several forms of identities. Some of these identities manifest in ethnic and religious forms, all competing to occupy the political space. In fact, the past ten to fifteen years were characterized by some of the most deadly conflicts to occur among several ethnic and religious communities in different regions and some states of Nigeria” (Best, 2003:7). Hardly was any region spared of some of these conflicts, even though the conflicts differ either in prevalence and intensity, or their protracted or non-protracted nature. In the far North, for instance, conflicts of religious nature even though sometimes over non-religious issues, continued to break out at locations like Kano, Katsina, and Kaduna among other places. In the Southwest, there were violent communal conflicts at Shagamu, Lagos; Ife – Modakeke, etc. in the Southeast, the Umulari – Aguleri conflicts were most noticeable. The communal and oil-induced conflicts of Niger Delta also increased in scope and intensity. “Not even the transition from military rule to democratic governance in 1999, with the accompany assumption that democracy provides alternatives to violent methods of conflicts transformation, could slow down the prevalence of such conflicts” (Best, 2003:7). These struggles for relevance have tended to pose a mortal challenge to the state and its structures, destroyed lives and properties and displaced whole communities and ethnic nationalities.

Perhaps, the larger part of the conflicts occurred in the North-central region of the country, otherwise called Middle-Belt. Ethnicity and religion have become powerful instruments of mobilization. They can also serve as an instrument of demobilization or destabilization. They are powerful because, people can easily be galvanized around issues concerning their ethnic or religious identities (Okoye, 2000: xi in Thomas, 2011:35).

According to Salawu,(2010:347-348) Ethno-religious conflict is distinguished from other types of social conflict in that it involves ethnic groups, which are of different religions. In discussing the causes of ethno religious conflict in Nigeria therefore, it is important to mention that both religious and ethnic factors are present in the majority of social conflicts the Nigerian people have witnessed. Religion and ethnicity as they present themselves in Nigeria have therefore become critical factors in ethno-religious conflict. At different levels and times people experience religious or ethnic discrimination, people complain of past and present religious and ethnic discrimination, people demand for religious or ethnic rights in their state, and more importantly, the state uses religion or ethnicity in political discourse or action. What the above means is that ethno-religious conflict is a multi-causal variable. A major cause of what we now see as ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria has to do with the accusations and allegations of neglect, oppression, domination, exploitation, victimization, discrimination, marginalization, nepotism and bigotry. In every nation (Nigeria inclusive), there is no complete agreement on how wealth, power and status are to be shared among individuals and groups.

It is important to note here, Salawu (2010:348) augments that:

The failure of the Nigerian leaders to establish good governments, forge national integration and promote what can be called real economic progress, through deliberate and articulated policies, has led to mass poverty and unemployment. This has resulted into communal, ethnic, religious and class conflicts that have now characterized the Nigerian nation. Poverty and unemployment have therefore served as nursery bed for many ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria because the country now has a reservoir of

poor people who warmongers as mercenary fighters. What this means theoretically is that poverty and unemployment increase the number of people who are prepared to kill or be killed for a given cause at token benefit. This explains why all ethno-religious crises that ever occurred in Nigeria have a large turnout of people (including the under-aged) as fighters.

The long military intervention in politics tends to encourage and legitimize the use of force and violence as instruments of social change and attainment of set goals and demands. From this, it is customary to see that as a hangover from the military era, the use of coercion and force in settling conflicts has become a tradition in the Nigerian body politics. Strongly related to this is the uncontrolled arms supply, which has quickened the outbreak of; conflicts, and encourage belligerents to go on fighting rather than find peaceful settlement to disputes. Lastly and very importantly, but, not the least, Salawu (2010:349) again added that, the ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria also have some historical antecedent. This is because many governmental actions during the colonial rule and after independence encouraged, to a large extent, the sowing of the seeds of ethno-religious conflicts that are found to be rampant in the Nigerian nation today.

In addition, it is important to note that foreign preachers often contribute to the insurgence of ethno-religious crises in Nigeria. For instance, in 1991, the religious crisis in Kano was traced to the plan of Evangelist Richard Bonnke, to conduct a crusade tagged 'Kano for Jesus' in Kano'. Simply because the government had earlier denied access to Kano a Muslim cleric from South Africa to preach in the city, serious crises loomed up between the Muslim and Christian populations (Salawu, 2010:350).

B. The Kaduna Experience

In Kaduna State, the rivalry and animosity can be traced to the pre-colonial political structure of Hausa land and the politics of colonialism. In recent time, the intelligentsia of

southern Kaduna argued that the underdevelopment of their communities is the result of deliberate and persistent neglect by the emirate official who until 1976 Local Government reforms also dominated the system of native administration. The communities have been complaining of perceived domination by the Hausa/Fulani. The differences over political control, culture, religion and resources distribution have predictably often escalated into violent agitation and confrontations (Alemika and Okoye, 2002:130).

Kaduna State, unlike most states in Northern Nigeria, is much more complex. The heterogeneous composition of the state provides a veritable ground for conflicts. Ethnic and religious crises started in Kaduna State in the 1980s. Since then a number of conflicts with specific ethno-religious character were recorded in the state (Thomas, 2011:35). One of the very first serious ethno-religious crises that wrecked quite an unimaginable havoc on both lives and economy of the state was in May 1980 in Zaria city when properties belonging mainly to Christians were destroyed. Still, there was crisis in 1980 in Kasuwan Magani, in the present Kajuru Local Government Area. One of major incidents occurred in March 1987, at College of Education, Kafanchan when Christian students had to clash with Muslim students who were openly against Christian students who organized a crusade on campus. This led to the killing of people and burning of some mosques by Christians and some native Kajes. These crises involved the Hausa-Fulani Muslims and the Christian ethnic minorities from southern part of the State (Thomas, 2011:34).

Dantata (2011:43) explains that on the 6th March 1987, what started as a minor internal misunderstanding among Muslim and Christian students of the college of Education Kafanchan, Kaduna State, degenerated into sectarian disturbances that spread throughout the town and

finally sent sparks beyond Kafanchan to other parts of the State, threatening the stability of the entire country. It took nearly two weeks to bring the crises to an end (Dantata, 2011:44).

The genesis of the problem was the hoisting of a banner by members of the Fellowship of Christian Students (FCS) in front of the college which read “Welcome to Jesus Campus”. Some members of the Muslim Students Society (MSS) took offence on the banner and protested to the school authorities who order the FCS leaders to remove the banner and they complied. However, it seemed this incidence had sowed the seed of apprehension on both sides of the students’ bodies. The next problem was that of guest speaker for the event (Dantata, 2011:44). The FCS had invited one Rev. Abubakar Bako, a Muslim convert to Christianity, as guest speaker for the occasion. As an expert on the two religions, Rev. Bako quoted freely from scriptures of the two religions in the course of his lecture at the gathering. Friction arose when Rev. Bako was alleged to have made quotations from Islamic scriptures said to be inaccurate which attracted reactions from Muslim students present. A hot argument ensued between Muslim and Christian students at the venue that degenerated into physical combat between Muslim and Christian students that eventually engulfed the whole school. While the school authority was attempting to manage the crisis word came that the State Government has ordered the immediate closure of the institution in order to abate the escalation of the conflict (Dantata, 2011:43). Despite the closure of the school, violence broke out inside Kafanchan town the next day, Sunday. By Monday when the police restored law and order around Kafanchan, 12 people had been killed, with places of worship as well as business and residential premises burned down.

The then Military Governor of Kaduna State, Col. Abubakar Dangiwa Umar addressed the people of the State, appealing for calm, promising that the government was determined to bring those involved to book. Again, fresh riots broke out in Ahmadu Bello University, College

of Advanced Studies both in Zaria, as well as inside Zaria town itself and other cities of the State. The police did not respond immediately to suppress the riots, perhaps, partly because of the hostilities of students to police attempt to control their protests. When they finally intervened, they were ill equipped to deal with the rioters. A Senior Police Officer, Isaac Ajayi, said the police had instructions not to enter any campus unless summoned by the school authorities (Dantata, 2011:44). The military took over control of the violence, but by the time the riots were contained, the scale of destruction that trailed the riots was unprecedented in the history of ethno-religious riots in the country. By March 12th, 1987, a state of emergency was imposed in the state with the General Officer Commanding (GOC) of Infantry Division of the Nigerian Army, Major General Peter Ademokhai, instructing soldiers on patrol of Kaduna town and other major cities of the state to shoot on sight anyone found contravening the curfew (Dantata, 2011:44). What became very clear after the riots was that the riots were used to express deep seated feelings of resentment, prejudices and all forms of frustration between Christians and Muslims on the one hand, and the people of the area against the traditional leadership on the other hand.

On 9th April 1987, the Kaduna State Governor announced the formation of a body called “Committee to Investigate the Causes of the Riots and Disturbances in Kaduna State”. Its Chairman was Mrs. Hansine N. Donli, Kaduna State’s Attorney General and Commissioner for Justice. The committee had one month to submit its findings and recommendations, with its main task to “...investigate, ascertain and identify the *immediate* and *remote* causes of the riots, assess the extent of damages caused, ascertain and identify roles played by individuals and groups in causing the tension and outbreak of the violence and make recommendations on how to avert this type of incident.” From its composition, the committee was saddled with internal and external

problems. For example, there was disagreement even among the members as to the legitimacy of the committee. The representative of Jama'atu Nasri Islam (JNI), Alhaji Yahaya Jinadu, challenged the competence of the chairman on the grounds that "Islam forbade a woman to lead a man." The atmosphere at the first sitting of the committee was so tense owing to the rowdy behavior of Muslims and Christians who were reportedly cheering their members by shouting "Praise the Lord" and "Allahu Akbar" as they were introduced. The police had to be called in to help maintain the peace so as to enable the committee to commence its sittings. The very idea of having representatives of various interest groups among the committee members had a built-in mechanism for tension (Dantata, 2011:44).

The committee, however, was able to establish four broad areas around which it rested its findings and recommendations to government. First of all, the conflict exposed the deep division between so-called "indigenes and settlers" of Kafanchan, and secondly the fact that the traditional leader comes from the minority "settler" community, who is appointed by the Emir of Zaria. Other problems listed can be narrowed down to neglect of the area by state authorities resulting in various levels and perceptions of deprivation. Broadly, the report traced social factors of deprivation to lack of water supply, health care delivery, roads, education, agricultural inputs etc. With respect to economic deprivation, there were complaints that there was no single industry in Southern Zaria, neither were local businessmen given the necessary incentives in pursuit of their business ventures in the area. One undisputed fact that the committee established was that the Kafanchan ethno-religious conflict was beyond mere students' argument over a religious topic, which ordinarily could be encouraged as healthy debate and intellectual exercise in an academic environment. The conflict and the conduct of the committee themselves exposed the *remote cause* of the conflict, the deep division between two clearly defined groups, the

majority Hausa-Muslims and minority groups (Atyaps, Bajju, Kaninkon, Ninzon, Fantsum etc) who are mainly Christians. The long history of struggle between the two groups began in the colonial era when the British colonial administration endorsed its famous *Indirect Rule* system of governance that recognized Hausa traditional rulers over minority ethnic groups in Southern Zaria (Dantata, 2011:45).

The other very notorious religious crises, which wrecked the city, also simply arose as a communal feud between the Kataf Christians and Zango Muslims (Hausas) in May 1992. It later assumed a new dimension spreading to other parts of the state. It was recorded that several lives and property were lost in the episode (Gofwen, 2004:65).

The democratic opening since 1999 has allowed the many divisions between Nigerian Muslims and Christians, such as the debate over Sharia, to be discussed locally. In December 1999, the Kaduna Legislative Assembly constituted an 11 man committee to look at the applicability of Shariah or otherwise in Kaduna. This singular action polarized the house of assembly across religious line. There were a lot of misgivings and mutual suspicions among the members of the house. The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) Kaduna branch, protested to the house on the issue, and expressed their fears on the attempt to Islamize the state and the possibility of such action generating crises in Kaduna. The committee began its sitting in January; memorandum was demanded from various groups and individuals. However, before this period, there were series of demonstrations by both Muslims and Christian groups in Kaduna for and against Shariah. Muslims and Christians also organized lectures and rallies on the issue. While the sitting continued, thousands of Muslims from various local governments in Kaduna state trooped into the House of Assembly in support of Shariah and submitted memorandum (Thomas, 2011:35). The Christians became apprehensive, apparently because of the controversy

surrounding the composition of the committee and the suspicion that a hidden agenda was harboured by the Muslim members of the House.

After the completion of the 11 members committee's assignment on Thursday 17 February, 2000, rumours began to go round that Christians were going to demonstrate against Shariah in Kaduna. Information went round on Sunday in almost all the churches in Kaduna metropolis, calling on all Christians to come out enmass to gather at various designated points for "peaceful" protest. The demonstration started on Monday. What started as a peaceful demonstration resulted into violent crises spanning two to three days. It spread all over Kaduna and spilled over to other local government areas like Kachia and Brinin-Gwari. Many lives and properties were destroyed (Thomas, 2011:34).

Although Shariah is not new in Nigeria politics, it has become part of the politics of the country since 1978. Nevertheless, the 1978 to 1979 and 1989 Sharia debates were on the establishment of Shariah Court of Appeal and administration of justice under Shariah Courts. The situation took a very different dimension in 1999 Shariah controversy. This time around, the debate and politics were on the full application of Islamic jurisprudence as provided by the Qur'an, Hadith and other authorities of Islam (Alemika and Okoye, 2002:121). The immediate cause of the 2000 crises was an attempt to introduce Islamic Judicial and administrative system (Shariah). After almost two months of tensed political atmosphere in Kaduna, a violent ethno-religious 'war' erupted; thousands of people were allegedly killed. Property estimated at several billions were destroyed, and thousands of people were displaced. This crisis was reported to be the worst since the civil war in 1967 – 1970, and the most destructive in the history of Nigeria (Abdul, 2002:124 in Thomas, 2011:35). It was three days of agony for the people of Kaduna and the entire nation.

The nature of the crises and its intensity was a reflection of the complex character of Kaduna State. Unlike most cities in Northern Nigeria, Kaduna has its peculiarities; it was a creation of colonial government and served as the capital of the defunct Northern Nigeria. Against the exclusive nature of most old cities of Northern Nigeria, like Zaria, Sokoto, Katsina, Kano, Daura etc where the indigenous communities are separated from settler communities through the “Sabon-Gari” and “Tudun-Wada” system, in Kaduna there is serious inter-penetration across ethnic and religious lines (Alemika and Okoye, 2000:124). It is however possible to find places where Christians or Muslims predominate. There is also differentiation and settlement across economic and political status: high-density areas, with higher level of jobless youths and miscreants and low-density government reserved areas occupied by high status elites.

The renowned scholar of political science, Professor Emeritus J.I Elaigwu (2005:57) listed some selected cases of violent conflicts in Nigeria since 1980 Kaduna inclusive. In February 1988, there was a religious riot, ostensibly among students of Kaduna polytechnic, in which the foundation walls of the Christian chapel was destroyed. Then in May 1992 at Zangon Kataf, a communal feud the katafs (Atyaps) and the Hausas later took the dimension of inter-religious war between Muslims and Christians which spread to major cities and parts of the State. Several lives were lost and properties valued over hundreds of millions were destroyed. After the incident of Zango there was a break until the return of democracy in 1999, when in February, 2000 Kaduna capital city exploded in horrible violence as Muslims and Christians extremists and other hoodlums clashed over proposal to introduce Sharia (Islamic legal system) in the State (Elaigwu, 2005:57). The violence was followed by reprisal in Aba, Abia State and other south Eastern States.

In 2002 conflict occasioned by Miss World controversy but was not too severe compared to 2000 crises. The post-election violence therefore shattered the relative peace that Kaduna had hitherto enjoyed since the Miss World riots in 2002. Yet, given the degree of mutual antagonism between the Christian ethnic groups of southern Kaduna and the major supporters of the governor's election and Hausa-Fulani Muslims and main supporters of the CPC candidate that existed before the election, it was not surprising that the violence occurred when it did (Okpanachi, 2012:912). But the explanation for the violence, just like the Sharia violence of 2000 in the state, can be found not just in the issue of religious and ethnic identity, but also the patterns of exclusion and inclusion associated with these identities, the manipulation of these identities by politicians and civil society organizations in political contestations, the failure by government to manage more effectively the contests for political power, and the high returns on political power that has transformed electoral and political competition into "low Intensity Armed Struggle" (Okpanachi, 2012:912). The escalation of violence is also explained by state irresponsibility, reflected in the inability of the security apparatus in Nigeria to guarantee law and order in society, the high number of unemployed and frustrated youths, and the high poverty level in the country. These challenges have made civil society's peace building task daunting in Kaduna State and elsewhere in the country (Okpanachi, 2012:912).

Okpanachi, (2012:912) noted that, the escalation of violence in Kaduna State was a consequence of the power realignment that took place at the federal level with the death of President Umaru Yar'Adua (a Muslim from the north) on May 5, 2010, and the ascension to the presidency of Vice President Goodluck Jonathan (a Christian from a minority ethnic group in the Niger delta oil producing region). With his ascension to the presidency, Goodluck Jonathan picked Namadi Sambo, a Muslim and Governor of Kaduna state, to serve as the country's vice

president. This cleared the stage for Patrick Yakowa, the deputy governor, to step in as the Governor of Kaduna state.

While the Christians, who have strenuously complained of a Muslim scheme to keep Christians from the governorship of the state since its creation in 1976, welcomed this “miraculous” turn of events that elevated Yakowa to governor, and hence the first Christian to occupy the position, some Muslims were not comfortable with the development. This group of Muslims hoped to revert to the status quo by voting in the Muslim gubernatorial candidate, Haruna Y. Saeed Kajuru of the Congress for Progressive Change (“CPC”) instead of Yakowa, the gubernatorial candidate of the Peoples Democratic Party (“PDP”) in the April 2011 gubernatorial election. Given this realignment, the PDP was wrongly seen by many as a Christian party (despite the fact that the party controls all the governorship positions in the north) while the CPC was perceived as a Muslim party (despite the fact that the presidential candidate was a former head of states and a retired army general).

Thus, prior to the elections, there were allegations and counter-allegations of “intimidation and campaign of calumny” by politicians, especially from the PDP and CPC. Also, religious leaders were alleged to have instructed their followers to vote for particular persons and parties. The governor himself drew religion into the conflict when he visited Christian religious leaders to solicit their votes and prayers for his elections, a move some Muslims interpreted to mean that the state governor recognized only Christians in the state (Okpanachi, 2012:912). This action of the governor was countered by a text message sent to Muslims, allegedly sponsored by a group that calls itself the Nigerian Muslim League (“NML”), which accused Governor Yakowa of implementing a Christian agenda and calling on Muslims to vote the governor out of office. In the text message, the NML argued that “instead of soliciting for our support, Yakowa people

have distributed countless leaflets, sending [short message service (“SMS”) to their members, abusing our religion and exposing his agenda against us and our religion if elected.” The group then urged Muslims to reject Yakowa at the polls: Before the gubernatorial elections scheduled for April 26, 2011, the presidential elections were held on April 16, 2011. On April 18, 2011, as results of the presidential elections started indicating victory for the PDP’s candidate—Goodluck Jonathan—over his major challenger—CPC’s General Mohammed Buhari—there were violent demonstrations by supporters of the CPC over what they perceived as the fraud that characterized the elections (Okpanachi 2012:912).

During the protests, the CPC supporters burned PDP campaign offices as well as the homes and businesses of local PDP leaders and traditional rulers (most of whom were of the same Islamic faith as the protestors) who were accused of colluding to commit electoral fraud. The protests, however, took an ethnic and religious turn, attacking Christians and burning churches. This led to reprisal attacks on Muslims and mosques in the Christian-dominated areas of southern Kaduna. By the time violence was suppressed by the military and a twenty four- hour curfew imposed on the state by the government, more than 680 people were reportedly killed (out of a total of 800 victims of the post-election violence in the eleven northern states), several injured, and no fewer than 26,000 displaced persons were settled across 100 centers in the state (Okpanachi, 2011:913). The situation has led to fears of further separation of the state along ethno-religious lines, with Muslims and Christians moving to places where they predominate, as happened during the Sharia crisis. It has also led to a blame game and a bitter war of words between Christian and Muslim groups, which have further polarized the state (and the country) along ethnic and religious lines. For example, the SCSN and the Kaduna Council of Ulama have described the situation as the implementation of “planned genocide” against Muslims,

facilitated and worsened by the governor's neglect and delay extending the curfew declared in Kaduna metropolis and sending security agents to the warring areas in southern Kaduna where Muslims were killed and "in some places not even a single soul or child was spared." For their part, CAN in northern states and the Southern Kaduna Peoples Union ("SOKAPU") described the violence as premeditated and planned attacks by the Hausa- Fulani Muslims of Kaduna State who think it is their birthright to rule the non- Muslim population of southern Kaduna (Okpanachi, 2011:912).

Furthermore, partly due to its history as a relatively advanced, urban conglomeration accommodating various groups and institutions, when compared to other states in the north, and partly as a result of its recent history as a state known for violent ethno-religious antagonism, Kaduna State has a diversified (pluralized) civil society that has been the site for construction of normative consensus for peace-building. At the same time, however, these same dynamics have led to a highly radicalized and politicized civil society that engages political contestations with exclusivity that has inflamed the fissures of the state's plural society and unraveled the success of the peace mediation efforts.

Alemika and Okoye (2002:131) deduced that, historical condition coupled with the economic crisis and the introduction of harsh economic measure of structural adjustment programme and its resultant implications led to series of crisis in Kaduna State. The perceived political domination by a group considered as "external or illegitimate" and control over land and power and resistance by indigenous groups against their domination by an 'alien' or imperial ethno-religious group constitute the remote causes (2002:131). Religion has the capacity to serve as both a force for good and for ill in conflict situations. Undoubtedly, many of those involved in conflict situations have used religion to rally troops, call on a common sense of identity, justify

their actions, and proclaim a moral superiority over an 'other'. However, increasingly governments, academia and the media are becoming aware of religion's capacity to work towards mediation and conflict resolution through interfaith, peace and reconciliation forum.

To conclude this part, it will be pertinent to cite Kukah (2003:243) who once state that:

The fact that religion has become such a factor in our political process is not necessary a negative factor. But this statement of cause need to be qualified, for allowing our religion convictions to guide our political decisions is to be seen within the context of religion being an all-embracing factor in our lives. Of course, this position imposes greater demand and expectations on the Christian or Muslim to let God be their guide. If taken in its sincere form, then the issues of vote rigging, lying, cheating, abuse, prejudice and vindictiveness will have no place in the political process. Politics in this case becomes another opportunity for the politician to do well and help bring about the love of God on earth through collaboration, respect and cooperation with others irrespective of their beliefs, sex and colour.

C. Interfaith Mediation and the Kaduna peace declaration

The Interfaith Mediation Centre (IMC) was established in May, 1995 by a group of concerned Muslim and Christian clerics as nongovernmental, nonprofit organization. They came together to see how they could use their religious blessings and wisdom to help end violent clashes between Christians' and Muslims in Nigeria. The centre's main goal is to achieve peaceful coexistence through interfaith dialogue and strategic engagement in Nigeria and beyond with worldwide recommendations and numerous awards from prominent individuals and organizations. The centre according to them has been working on different interventions around issues of peace building, conflict mitigation and interfaith co-operation.

As part of their commitment, in August 2002, the Interfaith Mediation Centre brought together twenty-two Islamic and Christian leaders before a crowd of about 25,000 people to sign a "Peace Declaration" that would "create a platform of collaboration between religious stakeholders and government to foster greater understanding between religious adherents in the State." Through the peace declaration (known as the Kaduna Peace Declaration ("KPD")), the

Islamic and Christian leaders pledged to “work with all sections of the community for a lasting and just peace” based on the injunctions of their religion; sought to “create an atmosphere where present and future generations will co-exist with mutual respect and trust in one another”; condemned “all forms of violence” as well as “incitement, hatred and demonization”; and sought to “aid spiritual regeneration, economic development and inward investment” (Okpanachi 2012:919). The religious leaders also announced the establishment of a joint committee (known as the Kaduna Peace Committee (“KPC”) “to implement the recommendations of their declarations and encourage dialogue between the two faiths.” the KPD was also signed by Governor Ahmed Mohammed Makarfi, the then Governor of Kaduna State. To demonstrate publicly their agreement to renounce violence, these leaders unveiled a centrally located plaque displaying their agreement for all community members to read and celebrate in a popular round about in the city centre.

The KPC has not only mediated among the interreligious groups, but has also collaborated with the state government to foster peace. A specific example was during the riots that broke out during the Miss World pageant in 2002 over a southern newspaper columnist’s insinuation that the opposition of conservative Muslims to the hosting of the event in Nigeria during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan was misplaced as Prophet Mohammed himself in all honesty, “would probably have chosen a wife from among [the contestants].” While violence did break out in Kaduna leading to the death of about 250 people (Okpanachi, 2012:914)., it has been argued that the violence would have been worse had the KPC not intervened to calm people and coordinate security movements. Another example was the swift reaction by the KPC to mobilize Christian leaders to denounce the provocative Danish cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed in 2005, a move that may have helped Kaduna State avoid the violence and loss of

life that occurred in some states where Muslims protested against the cartoons (Okpanachi, 2012:912-919). Also, given its success in Kaduna State, IMC has been replicating the Kaduna Peace Model in some parts of the country where there has been violent communal conflicts, such as Plateau and Bauchi States, and in some places outside Nigeria like Northern Ghana, Burundi, Chad, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Kenya, etc, bringing warring communities in these areas together to converse and create pragmatic solutions to their conflicts.

In April 2013, the centre carried out a baseline assessment and identified issues which the Government, security Agencies, elected representatives, traditional and religious leaders, and community members should or (must) improve to facilitate participation and community engagement towards prevention and or reductions of hostilities. In view of their findings, the centre established structures that bring together all the registered and unregistered interest groups existing in the project communities to a reflective structure dialogue to promote trust and acceptance, fostering safe space for community dialogue, and experience sharing to promote the culture of intercommunity dialogue. The structure provides them with the avenue for communities' continuous learning and resolving of emerging issues (IMC, 2013).

This decentralization of conflict has provided more opportunities to defuse incipient conflicts locally before they escalate into national crises, as poignantly demonstrated especially by the Kaduna example where the ingenious solutions by the government and civil society played important roles in managing these local conflicts relatively well. At the same time, however, the contestations associated with democracy have challenged the local peace initiatives, drawn religion into politics, and widened the Muslim-Christian rift. This was the case with the April 2011 presidential elections, which played out with disastrous consequences for Kaduna State (and some other states in the north), polarizing the civil societies and weakening

their ability to stand above partisanship and to abide by their commitment to peaceful intergroup harmony. This recent violence demonstrates that conflicts in Kaduna State are underpinned by political and socio-economic, not just religious, factors, such as Sharia, and the intermingling of these complex issues can make the role of civil society in peace-building difficult (Okpanachi 2012:915).

2.7 Understanding the Audience

In conflict situation, the first thing that the expert communicators do is to know the audience or parties to the conflict. According to Schramm (1969:3 in Imoh,2008:37) it is important to know the right timing for a message, the kind of language understood, the attitudes and values one must appeal to in order to be effective and the group standards in which the desired action will have to take place. This means that the audience research is necessary prerequisite for effective communication. For communication to be effective in addressing the issues to a conflict, Schramm (1969:13) has suggested that we start where the audience (parties) is “the patterns of habits, attitudes, drives, values, perceptions, language, idioms, symbols and experiential backgrounds of the different groups we are dealing with and more on slowly from there (Imoh,2008:37).

The amount of emotions that the media arouses and influences audiences to act has also been termed as politics. Hence the role of media coverage is not always out of good heart, but a political means to arrive at vested interest (Chouliaraki, 2006: 151). News of various conflicts is but politics of ideologies or emotions that features concern as a main premise of the representation of those caught up in conflict. In addition the common use of the terms such as boko haram, emergency ‘do or die, deadly, terrorist’, mounted tension ‘among others are insightful, dominant, media induced perceptions about those caught in a conflict. To show this

causal-effect relation of the media and its audience, Chouliaraki, (2006:1) explores the nature of the relationship between television images and those affected by conflict. She says, news coverage of conflict or war often appeals to emotions hence the questions such as what do we do when we receive media words or images? Do we put off the television set, cry, get angered, complain or even provoke war and genocide when exposed to the media? These questions tackle the role that media exposure has on its audiences.

In addition, Chouliaraki (Ibid: 66) discusses the role of media contents and notes that the media makes spectators feel that they operate generously on their own and are endowed with spontaneous civic or humanitarian feelings that makes them react. In other words the media when used unethically can be used to create an uprising against the government or various authorities. Also, Meyrowitz in his analysis of the impact of media on social situations' notes and maintain that exposure to the media can alter the receivers perception (Meyrowitz, 1985: 93). This, he added, is created by amalgamation of the personal and public spheres hence there is no clear separation of the two spheres in an individual's internal process of thinking and decision making. In other words as a result of this merge, an audience watching a video clip of the government spokes person justifying banning the media, find himself (personal sphere) in touch with the war/tension (public sphere) that is ongoing in the government offices and media houses.

This constant exposure to differences, war, injustice, conflict, corpses, and sufferings causes exhaustion to an extent that the audience feels they can do nothing to help the situation. The audience gets reserved to the thought that —after all, conflict is bound to continue, more people will die. Eventually the audience is left unmoved, unshaken and non responsive to the media messages. In this case if the media is preaching hate messages to perpetuate violence, the audience remains unmoved and the plot to create violence is thwarted(Okwengu,2010:20).

On elections and electoral issues, defining the audience is an essential step in developing a media strategy. This step lays down much-needed groundwork for the entire media strategy. INEC must know whom they want to target in order to be effective in their outreach. The audience is the electorate who should always be updated about election or activities of the INEC. In general terms, then, defining the audience is not difficult. INEC can communicate information to the entire electorate at different points during the electoral process. Open and consistent communication with media, voters and the general public facilitates an improved public image for INEC. One of the primary ways this information is provided to wider audiences is through direct interaction between INEC and the media who are covering the election. Media provide a vital conduit for information to the public while simultaneously acting as watchdogs of the process. It is often the latter that leads to an environment of distrust -and sometimes, outright hostility- between INEC officials and members of the media. Indeed, mistrust is often the single greatest obstacle to effective collaboration between electoral managers and the media.

i. Perception in Communication

The word perception comes from the Latin word perceptio which means receiving, collecting, action of taking possession, apprehension with the mind or senses. Perception means a process of attaining awareness and understanding information that has to do with five senses, i.e. the senses of smelling, touch, taste, sight and hearing. Perception is a cognitive process by which sensory experience is organized and given meaning or significance. Person perception is a branch of social perception that concerns the way in which people perceive one another, as well as the factors such as eye contact and attractiveness, that affect the impression they form. Perception is a natural and effortless process that most people are not even aware of its taking

place. It is mental processes that translate impulses we have into things we can recognize and understand; people, objects, sound etc.

Generally speaking, the perception of events involves the interplay of physiological, cognitive and cultural processes which operate in people and groups (Obaje, 2008:352). The major driving force in any situation is “perception” a concept which refers to the way we see something, a situation, idea or action. According to Adeyanju (2004:68), the key indicators or variables which can bring about conflict include; goal incompatibility, position role domain incongruence, communication breakdown, differing perception of reality, ideological or religious differences, differing cognitive and affective orientation, scarce resources, and interdependence of human beings in a globalized world, etc.

Mohammed (2008:32) states that, the process of communication is influenced a lot by the perception of the target audience. How you perceive an individual will determine how you communicate with the person. Pearson (2005 cited in Mohammed, 2008:32) opines that *“perception influences our experience and assessment of others and our communication with them”* She also added that *“Perception affects self concept, self efficiency and presentation of one’s self”*

Perception is a mental activity by which sensory inputs (from our eyes and ears) are classified into recognizable categories and meanings (DeFluer and Dennis, 1994:10 in Aigbovbioise, 2007:399). Human perception is selective, we actively selected some stimuli and systematically ignore (or filter out) some or others. But, as noted by Anderson and Ross (2002:109 cited by Aigbovbioise, 2007:399) selectivity in perception does not mean that perception is completely arbitrary or idiosyncrasy. Different people according to Aigbovbioise (2007:399) can and do agree about many perceptions. Very importantly too, added that

perceptions are often selected to support inner consistency among person's beliefs, attitudes and values. Those comments about perception together or separately contribute to opinion formation and change about an issue or something. It has been discovered by communication scholars and psychologists that overtime when individuals or even groups are confronted with messages selectivity takes place. Selectivity means the tendency to select that which interests the human mind. Selection is defined by Pearson (2005:44) as "*the process of neglecting some stimuli in the environment to focus on other stimuli*".

A. Selective exposure: Selective exposure is defined by Gamble and Gamble (2002:54) as "*a process of focusing on particular stimuli while ignoring others so as to create a more limited but more coherent and meaningful picture of our world*". Selective exposure is when a person exposes him or herself to information that reinforces rather than contradicts his or her belief or opinions (Wilson and Wilson: 1998 in Mohammad, 2008:33). Pearson (2005:44) added that under selective exposure there is selective attention which means that we focus on specific cues and ignore others even when we expose ourselves to certain media or information.

B. Selective perception: This is simply the tendency to see and believe only what you want to see, hear and believe. Wilson and Wilson (1998 in Mohammad, 2008:33) defines selective perception as "*the tendency to remember better the things that reinforce ones beliefs than those that contradicts them*" Mohammad added Severin and Tankard(1979) to conclude that to great extent depending on our exposure to issue(s) we all practice selective exposure and perception (2008:33).

C. Selective retention: This is the tendency to remember only what one sees as or deems it as being important, i.e. what one correlates to his or her existing beliefs, attitude, behavior, norms or values. Pearson (2005) quoted by Mohammad (2008:33) was of the view that perception is

subjective, active and creative. Differences in perception may be the result of psychological factors, people past experiences and roles, their cultures and co-cultures and their present feelings and circumstances.

From the above it can deduced that audience picture same communication/ media content, messages or information in different ways. Conclusion or deduction that audience make about people, places, objects, events, situation or issues are known and referred to as perceptual judgment. Muhammad (2008:33) listed pearson (2005) Three bases for perceptual judgment as Experience, Analogy and Authority.

Information is power and insight can impact on public discourse. This way, perceptions can be changed by access to media. Different types of media are utilized globally to distribute knowledge and idealistically, free mass media is a tool of and signpost for democracy. Freedom of expression is not only the core of a healthy media but also a fundamental human right and vital for a democratic structure and process. It stands for freedom of speech, the right to information and the representation of different opinions in a heterogeneous society.

ii. Nature of Perception

Over the years the nature of perception has generated a lot of debates among psychologists each seeing from his/her individual perspective (Muhammad, 2008:29). There are two main theories that seeks explain the nature of perceptual process.

The first being theory of passive perception conceived be Rene Descartes. The theory explains that people (audience) are simply recorders of stimuli (Pearson, 2005, Mohammed 2008:29).

Below is the model which seeks to explain the theory of passive perception.

Surrounding inputs (Senses)—Processing (Brain)—Out (reaction).

This theory of perception is not different or is similar to the hypodermic needle which portrays audiences as having no control or any form of defence against media messages targeted at them. According to this theory people (audience) receive all stimuli targeted at them, process it and automatically react to it. Although the theory is still being supported by mainstream philosophers, psychologists and neurologists; it is gradually fading nowadays and losing momentum. The theory of active perception has emerged from extensive research of sensory illusions most notably the works of Prof. Emeritus Richard Gregory. Pearson in (2005, in Muhammad 2008:29) defines active perception as “*a process which the minds selects, organize and interprets that which it senses*”.

According to De Vito (1978, Muhammad 2008:29) Perception is an active and not passive process. He goes further to state that perception is a part of our own past experience, our desires, our needs and wants, love and hatred. Gamble and Gamble (2002) also added that during the process of perception we are active and not passive participants.

Model that explains active perception process

Dynamic relationship between descriptions (in brain)—Senses—Surroundings.

2.8 Political Conflict

The politicians, in Nigeria, have over the years “*become more desperate and daring in taking and retaining power; more reckless and greedy in their use and abuse of power; and more intolerant of opposition, criticism and efforts at replacing them*” (Electoral Reform Committee Report, 2008, Vol. 1:19).

Political conflict is a conflict in the political domain. The struggle for power revolves round the defence of interests, personal, communal or national, which are mostly economic and political in nature. According to Anim (2004:117,in Kurfi,2008:393), “*The struggle of power*

among parties in any political system to claim the allegiance of their people or electorates by presenting themselves as being best placed to articulate and address the interest of the people”.

Anim's points suggest the political conflict is mainly as a result of differences in ideology amongst the competing parties or individuals and their supporters.

The Nigerian political elites tend to be more hawkish, more fanatical, more biased than their average followers. They tend to be very negative, and geared towards misperception on their way to the top. In addition, they also compromise their moral principle to such a degree that in many cases these principles are simply non-existent. Hence, when they could not get what they want they resort to conflicts (2008:394). Usually, it is the inability of actors in a political system to give and take that leads to conflict of the destructive code, otherwise known as political violence. Violence, clashes, murders, assassinations, political arson, internecine, kidnapping, humiliation, secessions and civil wars arise when some of these actors do not recognize compromise as the name of political game.

According to Agubamah (2008:192), Political violence connotes the use of coercive force which is an illegal process that is, within the party-intra party and between parties inters party politics. Political violence normally occurs before, during and after elections. Violence before election is in form of assassination, maiming and kidnapping opponents to prevent them from running the main election. Violence during election is characterized by the use of force to intimidate the electoral officials and other candidates and manipulate, maneuver and rig votes cast during the election to a candidate advantage while violence after election includes total elimination of opponents to restrain them from occupying the positions they have won during the elections or a protests on the irregularities and manipulations during election which gave room to the emergence of the wrong candidate who allegedly won at the election(Agubamah, 2008:192).

Political conflict management should be seen as positions change, and issues negotiated. A system approach would hold that it is the communication breakdown in the political system that breeds political conflicts. The conflict management framework would then be to ensure that there is availability of adequate information and improved communication between among competing political opponents or parties. The media provides a reliable source of information, a market place of ideas to trade views and counter views and a forum where all contending opinions can be canvassed and promoted in the political process, thus fostering the concept of continues negotiation or re-negotiation as a form of conflict management.

i. The 2011 Election

President Umar Musa Yar'Adua died in May 2010 and his Vice Goodluck Jonathan who succeeded him declared that he did not intend to run for the Presidency in 2011. This calmed the political atmosphere in the North since there was a general belief that the Presidency belonged to the North at least till 2015 (EU election observers, 2011:10). Therefore, the intention of Goodluck Jonathan to run for the Presidency was quite a surprise for the Northern candidates in the PDP. However, when Jonathan won the primaries in January 2011 it was obvious that the large number of northern delegates had voted for him.

Abutu and Abdulahi, (2012p10) argued that, there are some undeniable immediate reasons that caused the April 2011 post-General Election crisis. Before the general election, there were attempts by some group of political parties to form an alliance against the ruling party to contest the April 2011 general election. However, the marriage of the alliance never succeeded. As a result, it was the belief of many (Nigerians) that the ruling Peoples' Democratic Party worked against the alliance therefore, people held the view that the post electoral violence may be assisted by undesirable party supporters. The Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) also faced

challenges of zoning of the presidency earlier before the April 2011 General election. The argument was that the PDP should zone the presidency to the northern region to enable the north complete her eight years tenure which Umaru Musa Yar'Adua started before he died (Abutu and Abdulahi, 2012:10).

The South will only start another eight years by 2015 based on the argument. The main trust of the argument was that the agreement for the zoning was entered into by PDP during the 2003 General Election which made Obasanjo to contest and won the 2nd Tenure accordingly (Abutu and Abdulahi, 2012:10). The Southerners however, counter argue that such zoning arrangement was only for 2003 because in 2007, the presidential candidates that contested that PDP primary were not only northerners as the case supposed to be therefore, no more zoning. Another line of argument is that Goodluck Jonathan is the vice president to late Yar'adua and that his continuity for the remaining four years is part of the completion of the Yar'Adua eight years. The rhetoric question left unanswered is how Goodluck from the South-South geopolitical zone could substitute Umaru musa Yar'adua from the North West geopolitical zone? This may be one of the grievances registered by other party supporters in the North through the electoral violence (Abutu and Abdulahi, 2012:10).

The other main presidential competitors out of 20 parties, which presented candidates were Muhammadu Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), Nuhu Ribadu of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) and the Governor of Kano State Ibrahim Shekarau of the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP). The main contender to the incumbent President was generally considered to be Major General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd). He had experience as Head of State (1983-85) after the 1983 coup ousting the second Republic, as Military Governor of the then, North Eastern State (now Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe States between

1975-76), as chairman of the Nigerian National Petroleum Company in 1978, as Minister for Petroleum and Natural Resources (1976-78) and as a chairman of Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) where he made a name for himself as not being corrupt. He lost the elections in 2003 against the incumbent President Olusegun Obasanjo and in 2007 against Umaru Yar'Adua hailing from the same home State Katsina, but not from the same Emirate. In his preparation for the 2011 elections, he founded his own political party, the CPC. Muhammadu Buhari's campaign in 2011 was geared for anti-corruption and removal of immunity protections for government officials (EU observers, 2011:10).

Again, the European Union Election Observation Mission to Nigeria (2011:21), observed that the results were mostly announced within 48 hours of voting, a time frame not permitting adequate verification of the result. Varying decisions on the cancellation of polling units and the Commissions failure to clearly communicate with stakeholders on this issue further contributes to a degree of uncertainty over the results announcement process. For the credibility of the elections, INEC should have arranged for a system to allow for a random sample audit of ballots whenever deemed necessary, but especially in such cases where political parties alleged instances of rigging, thumb printing or ballot box stuffing.

However, it is good to note that, a well-functioning government that is free from corruption and supported by the people is prerequisite for democratic development and political stability in societies. In order to achieve this, free and fair elections that are at least sufficiently representative of the will of the people should be organized. It is difficult to achieve a successful resolution to a conflict without democratic elections laying the foundation for a government supported by the people. In its strictest sense, there can never be a democracy without election. Transitions in numerous countries today have continued to reveal that democracy is possible

without election. But what type of democracy is this? Huntington is however quick to point out that, apolitical system is democratic 'to the extent that its most powerful collective decision-makers are selected through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes, and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote' (Huntington,1991:661 in Adele, 2012:206).

African democracies without any shadow of doubt have become associated with violence even with the slightest provocation. Violence has even gone beyond African countries. It is a universal phenomenon. It has become something that is used by groups seeking power, by groups holding power and by groups in the process of losing power (Anifowose, 1982:1 in Adele, 2012:206).Since violence can be defined as the illegitimate or unauthorized use of force to effect decisions against the will or desires of others (Kolawole, 1988:125 in Adele, 2012:207). The clamour for power shift which has been on for decades has receive an added boost, much to the relief of serving several interest groups. There is incidence of ethnic and individual or sectional competition over access to scarce political and economic resources. The creation of states and local government councils means availability of more political and administrative positions to localities which are often limited. Contestants mobilize members of their ethnic, tribal or religious groups for support in the competition to hold such positions through election or appointment.

Electoral violence is defined as all forms of organized acts or threats physical, psychological, and structural violence, aimed at intimidating, harming, blackmailing a political stakeholder before, during and after an election with a view to determining, delaying, or otherwise influencing an electoral process (Nwolise, 2007:159 in Adele, 2012:207). Democratic elections enable society to develop itself peacefully. An election process is not separate from the

development of society as a whole. Such a process enables parties to start a dialogue and resolve disputes non-violently. Election processes also create confidence to-wards the future among societies, and institutionalize other democratic processes. Election processes also enable societies torn by conflicts to participate in the activities of the international community and to follow its norms. The success of elections has traditionally been measured by asking whether they were free and fair.

ii. The 2011 Elections and the Nigerian Media

Elections tend to be events that citizens look forward to most of the time. Some look forward to this time to have change, or to have politicians running to support their communities with free gifts, or change of regime (Okwengu, 2010:16). Emotions are often high as divergent views are exchanged during this period. Verbal exchanges and competitions are also common with rival parties promising to do better than the other. For these reasons clarity of mind and fairness must be upheld by the media, government officials/politicians and the voters (Okwengu, 2010:16).

The April 2011 general elections, was claimed by some people as a step forward in the nations march towards roundly free and fair elections. The elections were alleged at some quarter to be marred by several electoral irregularities like the allegation manipulation of result at collation points, heavy security at voting points which to some extent work against free choice, and campaigns were weighed heavily against opposition, as they were virtually shut out of public-owned media. The impact of the National Broadcasting Commission, which ought to have stepped in to ensure equal media access for all political parties and contestants, was virtually nil. As for the privately-owned media, the one who spends the most in advertising money gets the most slots; but then reportorial balance dictates in spite of each mediums editorial disposition

that every party or candidate should be fairly represented in independently generated news and feature programmes (Usman, 2011:64).

The media provides a reliable source of information, a market place of ideas to trade views and counter views and a forum where all contending opinions can be canvassed and promoted in the political process, thus fostering the concept of continues negotiation or re-negotiation as a form of conflict management. The media therefore informs the public of illegal activities and corruption, violation of human rights and rules of the election process. In the event the media works for the politicians, then they cannot expose these mishaps. The media therefore must be familiar with election process, and be able to anticipate any possible mishaps as well as mitigate them by exposing these activities to public criticism. The media coverage of the election period is administered primarily by the Electoral Act as amended, which elevates equal access to media above other campaign coverage elements and states “media time shall be allocated equally among political parties or candidates”. More specific obligations are stipulated in the Nigerian Broadcasting Code that declares prerequisites for balanced, accurate and fairly equitable political reporting. Subsequent in-house standards were established at all major media houses. Specifically, NTA issued a Political Broadcast Manual that gives a detailed description of formats (news, debate, press conference, documentary and live coverage) and content that should be delivered to the audience. In some parts, namely regarding political debate and talk, the document undermines the right to criticise (EU election observers, 2011:30).

Nigeria has a vibrant and diverse media scene, with a large number of broadcasters and press outlets offering a pluralistic political discourse to the electorate. Nevertheless, financial instability, legal shortcomings and an intimidating atmosphere in certain parts of the country imposed constraints on editorial independence and quality journalism. Since the government

monopoly in audiovisual media was broken in 1992, the broadcast sector has grown extensively. In April 2011 there were 187 radio, 109 TV, 35 cables and 4 satellite broadcast stations on air. All of them operate either at Federal or State level. Even though more than a half of the households have access to television, radio remains the key medium in Nigeria (EU election observers, 2011:31). Editorial independence of media houses is curbed by legal provisions and financial standing. In particular, the ability of state-owned broadcasters NTA and FRCN to report freely is marred by the fact that their Director Generals and Boards are appointed by the President of the Republic without any public discussion, and broadcasters' annual budget is conditioned on the Federal Government's decision. Moreover, special privileges granted for journalists (all NTA and FRCN employees are civil servants) may induce self-censorship (EU election observers, 2011:31).

The regulatory body for the broadcast media is the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC). In the election context its primary obligation is to ensure the broadcasters' compliance with legal requirements and ethical standards. For this purpose a 90-day archival requirement for all broadcasters was issued. Yet, the media monitoring methodology used by NBC, "randomly recorded problematic programmes" did not provide the regulatory body with legitimate information whether the law is respected. As a consequence of stakeholders' mistrust in the impartiality and efficiency of NBC, the complaints on state-owned broadcasters were publicly discussed, but not examined through the two-level election-related conflict resolution mechanism established by NBC. Media coverage-related disputes can also be adjudicated in the civil courts, but since these cases are treated as ordinary civil litigation, this legal instrument is rarely used as the lengthy timeline for the consideration of the cases discourages potential plaintiffs (EU election observers, 2011:29-34). Furthermore, consecutive elections and NBC's negligence

towards its mandate led to an uneven playing field for political contesters. The NBC's only constructive step to alter the habitual practice of political advertisement was the decision to fine 33 broadcasters for the breach of the 24-hour campaign silence.

During the campaign period media provided an intense coverage of candidates and parties. The universal principles of freedom of expression are enshrined in the 1999 Constitution, as amended, and elaborated in the legal framework for the media coverage of the pre-election period. Notwithstanding, several legal deficiencies, over-regulated political broadcasting and a regulatory body lacking efficiency manifest that some sectors of media, namely the state-owned broadcasters, have not met international and regional standards Election. The state-owned NTA according to E.U Observers (2011) lacked balance towards the candidates and their parties, since only 21 out of 63 parties contesting on the elections were mentioned during the NTA prime time. 80 percent of the coverage allocated to political actors was devoted to PDP, five to ACN and CPC each. Twelve out of the 20 presidential aspirants were referred to during the NTA prime time. Jonathan gained 81 percent of the total coverage devoted to the presidential aspirants. 75 percent of the direct speech in the NTA's news was dedicated to the President Jonathan; Buhari gained eight, Ribadu and Shekarau three percent each. The tone in the news on NTA during the entire election period remained positive, which is explainable by the fact that 21 percent of Jonathan's, 25 percent of Buhari's and 23 percent of Ribadu's news coverage consisted of direct speech. A promising, but deficient initiative to broaden political diversity in broadcast media was the presidential debate organised by the Nigeria Elections Debate Group (NDG). Since Jonathan refused to participate in a debate conducted by NN24, Buhari, Ribadu and Shekarau ignored the NDG's debate.

The Nigerian media ought to operate above such imbalance and Sentimental preference. Media professionalism is the conduct of media coverage and activities according to high standards of ethics, accountability, legality and credibility, while exercising rights such as freedom of expression and information. Most of the ethical and professional issues that journalists encounter in covering elections are variants of what they confront in their everyday working lives. However, these issues and dilemmas may present themselves in particular ways during elections.

iii. Post Election Violence and the Media

Post-election violence has become an increasingly observable phenomenon in Nigeria, Africa and the whole of the third world. The existence and destructive force of post-election violence challenges political transitions, aspects of nation building, and notions of democratization itself. Post-election violence has a global footprint and a global impact, and as such, it is necessary to develop an understanding of how and when such violence occurs (or can be prevented) in a variety of circumstances. Violence is a process, not an event. Violent acts may be spontaneous, but they are more often the product of a longer sequence of historical decisions and political actions (Stremlau and Price, 2009:5). The media are essential to democracy, and a democratic election is impossible without media. A free and fair election is not only about the freedom to vote and the knowledge of how to cast a vote, but also about a participatory process where voters engage in public debate and have adequate information about parties, policies, candidates and the election process itself in order to make informed choices. Furthermore, media acts as a crucial watchdog to democratic elections, safeguarding the transparency of the process (Stremlau and Price, 2009:5). Indeed, a democratic election with no media freedom, or stifled media freedom, would be a contradiction in terms. Violence in the post-election phase is often

expressed, of course, over outcome and/or process. Citizens take to the streets to protest, and there may be riots or targeted attacks on certain groups (Stremlau and Price, 2009:5).

For several scores of years and irrespective of what happened in the past, Nigerians had for long developed a deeper love for democracy. This love had been demonstrated in the time past whenever there is a need for this. Thus in spite of the ills that followed the 1999, 2003 and 2007 elections, Nigerians still showed their willingness to elect their leaders even in the 2011 elections. Adele, (2012:207) explains that ,to prevent electoral violence during the elections, a meeting of the 36 state Governors of the Federation which was presided over by the Chairman of the Nigeria Governors Forum (NGF), Bukola Saraki was held on 8 February 2011 at Abuja in which the Governors signed an undertaking having the following objectives, to: commit to free, fair, credible and transparent electoral process in the upcoming elections, remain unflinchingly committed to democracy and the integrity of the electoral process, refrain from using religion and ethnicity as vehicle from political campaign, commit to promoting peaceful, religious and ethnic co-existence, do our best to ensure the coming elections are devoid of any form of manipulation, thuggery, violence, rigging and any other form of underhand tactics, consistently educate and remind our supporters, and party members not to do anything or take any action capable of compromising the electoral process, promptly and loudly denounce, and even disown any of our supporters engaged in any act that might diminish credibility of the forthcoming elections, do nothing that will weaken, muzzle or destabilize opposition parties in our various states; and respect the wishes of the electorate as expressed through the ballot box (Jimoh,2011:3, Adele, 2012:212). Paradoxically, in spite of the undertaking, violence could not be ruled out.

On the eve of the National Assembly elections, on 8 April in Suleja, Niger State, a bomb exploded at the INEC office killing eleven people and injuring thirty. After the Presidential elections, the elections were marred by allegation of vote buying, ballot box stuffing, and inflation of results most noticeable in South eastern-Jonathan's strong hold were official results in the presidential election in some rural areas recorded close to 100 percent voters turnout"(Human Rights Watch, 17 May,2011). As a result of that, the other political parties alleged that the 2011 election was not free and fair as widely claim. Human Rights Watch, 17 May, 2011 reported that "as the election results trickled in April 17, 2011, it became clear that Buhari (and others) had lost, his (their) supporters took to the streets of Northern towns, and cities to protest what they alleged to be the rigging of the results". What was at the initial time seem as peaceful demonstration later metamorphosed to fierce violence due to accumulative burning anger of persistent rigging of election in Nigeria. The demonstration recorded a high magnitude and lamenting proportion of destruction of lives and properties worth millions of Naira (Abutu and Abdulahi, 2012:11).

Violence erupted in the Northern parts of the country including Kano, Kaduna, Gombe, Bauchi, Adamawa and Taraba States, probably triggered by the perception of the presidential results. Protesters burnt places of religious worship, public buildings and the houses of politicians from the ruling PDP, targeted INEC buildings and its personnel, including the NYSC members serving as INEC ad hoc staff and in Bauchi State ten of them were killed in a gruesome manner. Also the palace of the Sultan of Sokoto, the highest Muslim authority in the country was attacked. Protesters clashed with the security forces. All in total some hundreds persons were murdered and tens of thousands were displaced. The authorities imposed a curfew in the affected States until heavy military presence restored order in the following days. In the afternoon of 21

April, INEC Chairman Prof. Jega announced that due to the security situation, the gubernatorial elections in Bauchi and Kaduna States were postponed from 26 to 28 April (EU observers, 2011).

The attack against the palace of the Sultan of Sokoto, the head of the Muslim community in Nigeria could be a consequence of the statement of the Sultan who described Jonathan as a son of the Sultanate. PDP used this statement in a nationwide advertisement to boost their standing in the Nigerian Islamic setup. A few days later the Sultan pointed out his neutrality in an interview, but his image and that of the sultanate was compromised. There were also demonstrations outside the Palace of the Emir of Zazzau in Zaria as he was seen as the one behind mobilising the traditional Northern elite for Jonathan. In the end, the authority of the traditional title-holders came under criticism and suffered a setback (EU observers, 2011:27)

Still, according to EU observers (2011:35) Freedoms of expression, assembly and movement were overall respected during electoral process. However, violence which broke out in many parts of the country before and after elections caused loss of lives and properties and brought about several thousand internally displaced persons (IDP). Tragic incidents, including killings of 10 members of the NYSC and bomb explosions that INEC“ s offices in Niger and Borno States showed that security agencies failed to provide proper protection of the electoral process, while security of people and materials are essential components of democratic elections. Undoubtedly, violence had negative impact on the electorate and deterred some voters from casting ballots. Omissions of names in voters register and lack of provisions enabling polling workers and security personnel to vote, as well as incoherent practices regarding registration of inmates awaiting trial also disenfranchised a part of electorate. It was contrary to international

standards, which stipulates that states effective measures to ensure that all persons entitled to vote are able to exercise that right.

A panel of inquiry to investigate the post-election violence in some States in the Northern part of Nigeria was set up on 11 May by President Jonathan. The main task of this panel was to ascertain the number of people who lost lives or were injured, to assess the extent of damages and make appropriate recommendations, and to investigate sources of weapons used in the unrest. Formation of the panel was presumed by some civil society groups as a tool to stop prevalent impunity in Nigeria, despite some concerns on the panel's effectiveness. However, there were also some reservations regarding the competence of Federal Government to set up investigation panel on incidents that happened outside of the FCT (EU observer, 2011:35).

The post election crisis raised concerns over the ability of the state to protect citizen's rights, and whether the media in Nigeria reflects the human rights agenda. The role of the media in Nigeria's political processes places it at a central position to guard the society against state infringements (Radoli, 2011:4). During conflicts, a democratic media serves to encourage dialogue, accommodation, tolerance and interaction among communities hence reducing inherent conflicts and building lasting peace. For the media, there is need for restraint, especially in the way they manage post-election issues. The presidential election result was worst greeted by disturbances in some parts of the country, Kaduna state inclusive, there were hysterical comments from various sections of the media, some quiet insensitive and provocative. Information management at such sensitive moment should be re-appraised by the media.

iv. Is the Media to Blame?

Deliberate manipulation of facts by means of language use can bring about or heighten tension and crisis in the polity. By adopting this, it does not necessarily means that people take to

arms by merely reading a news article in newspaper or magazine or by listening to the radio or even viewing the television. But this is done in a rather sublime way where people are loaded with all sorts of notions, ideas by means of a well-orchestrated propaganda which may not be palpable to the undiscerning reader (Bello, 2005:196).

In conflict situation it is necessary for the press to express and emphasize story or opinion in favour of peace to enlighten the people on the need to live in peace and harmony with one another. Obviously, the media can be used as an instrument to build as well as destroy the human society. The media should avoid reporting capable tearing the country apart and giving room to anarchy. The media should authenticate, consider and investigate issues or events to ascertain the actual fact or truth before reporting and the reporting should be with high sense of responsibility on issues that border much on peace and conflict, considering that people or audience can believe everything that come from the media.

Conversely, if conflict is seen in its proper perspective as part and parcel of existence of the human society, then societies will be compelled to evolve ways of managing conflict to ensure systematic stability. Conflict management is the act, art and process of restoring harmony in an organization or society through strategic actions aimed at reconciling opposing parties or views or reaching a compromise or consensus. (Obot, 2004:105). This means conflict management efforts should not be limited to conflict abatement and settlement but should involve a conflict prevention, peace promotion and consolidation component by seeking to eliminate the conditions that create an environment of conflict. Therefore, in managing or resolving conflicts, the mass media are indispensable in making aggrieved parties see reasons to embrace peace and harmony. The media should also go beyond reporting eruption of conflict to investigating and reporting remote and immediate causes of conflict. Conflict are like hard news,

they can erupt without warning, though to a large extent, they are accompanied by warning ones which men chose to ignore until it is too late (Anyanwu, 2004:110). The mass media can cause havoc either by paying too much attention or by simple inattention. The mass media cannot afford to be salient, or worse, be bought or takes sides.

2.9 Crisis and Conflict Management

The term conflict management is form from two English word conflict and management. The oxford advanced learner dictionary of current English observed, that the word conflict is of Latin derivation “conflictus” denoting disagreement, divergence of interest and incompatibility of goals and management is derived from English word manages which itself is coined from the Italian word “managegiare” denoting training, planning, organizing and coordination toward a set goals.

Conflict management refers to interventionist efforts toward preventing the escalation and negative effects, especially violent ones, of ongoing conflicts. These conflicts could be reduced, downgraded, contained or coped with, especially since conflicts are hardly completely resolved. This means that conflict management is a state of continuous process, (Elaigwu, 2005:30). Conflict management encompasses a wide range of issues such as peace building, conflict transformation, conflict resolution, conflict suppression and even peace keeping.

Conflict management is popularly used among the stream of thought who emphasizes that conflict can only be managed not resolved. Conflict management is the process for reducing the negative and destructive capacity of conflict through a number of measures and by working with and through the parties involved in that conflict. This term is sometime used synonymously with “conflict regulation”. It covers the entire area of handling conflicts positively at different stages, including those efforts made to prevent conflict, by being proactive. It encompasses

conflict limitation, containment and litigation (Dickson, 2011:31). In the words of John Burton (1990), it is a term which connotes containment of conflict through steps introduced to promote condition in which collaborative and valued relationships control the behavior of conflict parties. The term conflict management is perhaps an admission of the reality that conflict is inevitable, that it is not all conflict can always be resolved; therefore what practitioners can do is to manage and regulate them.

According to Iji, crisis management embraces the “ability to handle, contrive or manipulate conflict or conflicts at a decisive point wherein the result achieved is a resolution in favour rather than impasse or quagmire. Call it a breakeven point where in also, the society or humanity attains a blessing rather a curse”(2005:86). It is in this regard that one can asserts, as earlier stated that “*crisis can bring out the best or worst in man, depending on the management skill or style applied towards a resolution*”. Conflict management can be no less so. Iji added that, “*conflict can be regarded as the engine room of crisis. Crisis is the boiling bubble of conflict. There can never be any crises without a conflict as the mother*”, (2005:8).

Understanding the inevitability of conflict is very important because of how it is viewed, almost invariably defines society’s response. If conflict is an aberration or strange phenomenon that must be destroyed, then all efforts will be tailored toward eliminating it completely, or at best suppressing or even denying the existence of conflict situation. Either of these options does not serve any good “*if anything as experience has shown they aggravate the situation by burying the cause of conflict, and creating a façade of peace or amicable settlement. Peace cannot be imposed or enforced. It is the by product of conflict resolution. Anything less will be artificial and unsustainable* (Gusau, 2005:18).

i. Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation involves a movement as well as changing roles or functions in the process of negotiating a settlement of issues in a conflict; it may also involve intervention and mediation through legislative and judicial coercive approaches (Moore, 1996 in Otite, 1999:10). According to Lederach “conflict transformation represents a comprehensive set of lenses for describing how conflict emerges from, evolves, within and bring about changes in the personal, relational, structural, and cultural dimensions, and for developing creative responses that promote peaceful change within those dimensions through non violent mechanism” (1997:83).and peace building require shared vision of new patterns of sustainable relationships which go beyond resolving or ending particular conflicts.

Conflict prevention and peace building practitioners can best utilize the media if they are clear about their goal (their product) and also know who, specifically; they want to communicate to through the media. Social marketing is never aimed at the ‘general public.’ A sophisticated and strategic use of the media is more focused on particular target and segment audiences.

ii. Conflict Suppression

Conflict suppression is used to portray the unwillingness of more powerful parties, or stronger interveners who have the ability to transform or manage a conflict situation, to take necessary measures leading to the management or resolution of conflict. Instead, they use instrument of power or force to push away the issues under the carpet or to impose a solution that is not sustainable and with which the parties are not satisfied. This happens in unequal relationships. Governments and repressive regimes are usually guilty of this situation by declining to take appropriate decisions or measures as and when due, or trying to load it over to

others, leading to protracted conflicts. Sometimes the state uses its coercive apparatus to suppress conflict but this is not sustainable.

Different other conflict management mechanisms or tools are being employed and utilized at different times by different practitioners in different places. They include:

(a) Arbitration: It is defined as a process by which conflicting parties voluntarily refer their dispute to an impartial third party selected by them to award a binding resolution to a given conflict. Arbitration has been described as an adversarial conflict management tool used for the settlement of disputes under which the conflict parties agree to be bound by the decision of the arbitrator who has been abrogated the statutes of a quasi-judge. It is less formal than litigation. When arbitration is binding disputing parties waive their right to a trial and agree to accept the arbitrator's decision as final (Dickson 2011:54).

(b) Collaboration: The collaboration process is one in which parties work together on their own, to resolve Problem(s) through constructive dialogue or other activities like joint projects, sharing of Community schools and health centres, markets, bridges and culverts as well as other utilities etc. collaboration helps to build trust, confidence and mutual respect. It works on the basis of conflict parties, either potential or actual, working together on a number of identified common themes and issues, or projects, which intensify communication of activities between them. It takes place at various levels from the interpersonal to the group, community and national, regional to the international or universal level. The assumption is that those who collaborate, and those who do things together, are likely to build more friendship and mutual respect among themselves than those who do not (Dickson 2011:54).

Similarly, negotiation and mediation occur during both prevention and resolution. In the prevention phase, the purpose of negotiation is to peacefully deal with the sources of conflict to

prevent violence, while in the resolution phase, the purpose is to negotiate a peace agreement following the eruption of violence. Conflict resolution after war or any form of conflict can be both easier and more complicated. Conflict resolution can be easier because parties may be ready to make concessions that they rejected prior to the violent phase. However, conflict resolution can be more complicated because neither side can move beyond its negative feelings over its incurred cost of violence in terms of human and material resources (Dickson 2011:54).

(c) Conciliation: is simply the art and practice of bringing conflicting or disputing sides together. It implies working with disagreeing or opposing parties with the goal of bringing them to an agreement or reconciliation. Conciliation is close to mediation. It is a third party activity, which covers intermediary efforts aimed at persuading the parties to a conflict to work towards a peaceful solution. Conciliation involves facilitation. The University for Peace (2001) sees conciliation as: The voluntary referral of a conflict to a neutral external party (in the form of an unofficial commission) which either suggest a non binding settlement or conducts explorations to facilitate more structures or techniques of conflict resolution. The latter can include confidential discussions with the disputants or assistance during a pre-negotiation phase.

(d) Mediation: Mediation has been presented by the United Nations University for Peace as: the voluntary, informal, non-binding process undertaken by an external party that foster the Litigation, settlement of differences or demands between directly invested parties. Mediation is seen as the intervention of a third party. It is a voluntary process in which the parties retain control over the outcome (pure mediation), although it may included positive and negative inducements (mediation with muscle) Thus, mediation is assistance by a third party where the parties to a conflict admit that they have a problem which they are both committed to solving,

but in which the mediator manages a negotiation process but does not impose a solution on the parties (Dickson 2011:54).

(e) **Negotiation:** Fisher et al (2000:115 in Dickson 2011:55) define negotiation as "... a structured process of dialogue between conflicting parties about issues in which their opinions differ. The University for Peace sees it as: "communication, usually government by pre-established procedures between representatives of parties involve in a conflict or dispute". Thus, negotiation is a direct process of dialogue and discussion taking place between at least two parties who are faced with a conflict situation or a dispute. Both parties come to the realization that they have a problem, and both are aware that by talking to each other they can find a solution to the problem. The benefits of negotiation, it is believed, outweigh the losses arising from refusal to negotiate.

Gandu, (2005:131) opined that when conflicts are resolved, peace will reign and reconciliation will be fostered in good time. To avoid the intricate issues which generated the conflicts situation, peace and reconciliation will always remain and become the order of the day. All conflicts have a history. It may be a long or a short one. It is often the cumulative progression of events that culminate in the eruption of violence. Such a history results from interactions between groups or nation over time. (2005:131).

iii. The Concept of Conflict Resolution/Reconciliation

Although conflict resolution has been part of human experience for centuries, Burton (1993:55) argued that the concept is comparatively recent in academic discuss. He argued that the term 'disputes' was what some scholar interchange with conflict. For him "settlement refers to negotiated or arbitrated outcomes of dispute, while resolution refers to outcome of conflict situation"(1993:55) we thus have "dispute settlement" and "conflict resolution" however the two

operates on the same principles and although may refer to different conditions and scope of social relationship, they may, as the concepts of settlement and resolutions, be used interchangeably. Conflict resolution is essentially aimed at intervention to change or facilitate the course of a conflict. Other problem solving techniques are generally known as “problem-solving workshops”, “interactive problem solving”, “third party consultation” or ‘collaborative analytical problem solving’ (Mitchell 1993:78).

In general, conflict Resolution provides an opportunity to interact with the parties concerned, with the hope that at least reducing the scope, intensity and effects of conflicts during formal and informal meetings, conflict resolution exercises permit a re-arrangement of views and claims as a basis for finding options to crisis and to divergent points of view. Workshops organized to tackle conflicts are: According to Mitchell in Otite (1993:82), expected to alter the perception, images and attitudes of the parties are expected to take specific conflict de-escalating proposals and ideas home to members of their groups.

Conflict resolution in plural societies can be quite complex, principally because of the determined effects and language symbolism (Otite, 2005:17) although culture is a marker of social difference, it should not be regarded as an obstacle to conflict resolution in multi ethnic/multi cultural societies. Perceiving conflicts through divergent cultural lenses is natural. People interpret social action and social reality through their indigenous conception and knowledge. It is by paying attention to the intricate culture questions that even those apparently unreasonable irresolvable conflicts can be broken down. The cultural questions can muddle up and compound conflicts and make them appear impossible to resolve.

Wilmot and Hocker (1998) discussed several modes of intervention; these include facilitation, mediation, counselling and therapy, organizational development, conciliation, quasi-

political procedure informal tribunals' arbitration of several criminal and civil justice systems. Conflict resolutions perform a healing function in societies. It allow and provides opportunity for the examinations of alternative payoffs in a situation of positional disagreements, and restores normalcy in societies by facilitating discussions and placing parties in conflict, in situations which they can chose alternative positive decision to resolve differences.

The South African anti- apartheid Icon, Nobel Prize winner and Chairman of the post apartheid Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Archbishop Desmond Tutu (2007) described reconciliation as the most natural thing in the world. Reconciliation is that process through which victim and perpetrator transform the nature of their relationship aiming to build a new social context for a peaceful common future. To better understand this, experts on peace studies has developed a new paradigm. While one may state that what matters most are both the victim and the perpetrator, main authors in the field have been arguing that it is the relationship among them, that takes place during the whole process, what is most worthy studying (Daly and Sarkin, 2007:180-202 cited in Oliva, 2011:21). So, it is necessary to leave behind the old paradigm and focus on the resolution of ongoing conflict, to move forward to a new conceptual framework where the aim is the construction of a new relationship. In this sense, reconciliation becomes a structure-process: there is a transitional frame (structure) where the construction of a new relationship takes place in (process) (Lederach, 1998:101). So that reconciliation turns out to be developed within an integrated frame: it is not only an end of violence or conflict, but also the construction of a new relation among the parties (Lederach, 1998:51). The success of reconciliation then, depends on the ability of turning a zero sum or win - lose situation (victim - perpetrator, or vice versa) into a win – win frame, where both will be benefited from a common future in lasting peace (Maoz, 2004:225-238 cited in Oliva, 2011:22).

The truth of what actually happened has to be revealed in order to write a common history for all communities previously confronted. The need of a common history marks the beginning of shared beliefs that will unify the communities in the future and thus enable a peaceful living together. The truth is a transformative power for all stakeholders: public, victims and perpetrators (Daly, 2007:140-179 cited in Oliva, 2011:22). However, the process of truth telling is neither always easy nor comfortable. Quite often, unless events present absolute evidence, the parties and their protagonists display a biased attitude and position about the succeeded facts. Due to this reason, a truth and reconciliation commission is undoubtedly needed in resolving complex conflicts.

The apology is also necessary because it is a formal acceptance of responsibility, so that both parties are labeled: the victim and the perpetrator. Furthermore, an apology is a speech act that seeks forgiveness (Tavuchis, 1991:27 cited in Oliva, 2011:23), but it has to be noted that if the apology does not seem natural, it may be counterproductive. Finally, when we talk about an apology as an official and diplomatic act, we have to be aware of the fact that states are legal abstractions, not ethical persons. Accordingly, apologizes can never mean the same thing for states as for individuals (Cohen, 2004:177-196 cited in Oliva, 2011:24). Apology is call for forgiveness. This is the only act in the whole process of reconciliation that empowers both the victim and the perpetrator in a moral sense. It is a sign sent by the victim of compassion, understanding and will to build a common and peaceful future. The forgiveness substitutes the culture of revenge and thus keeps further the possibility of a return to a violent context. It is eventually an expression of love and mercy (Auerbach, 2004:149-176) and the forswearing of resentment (Murphy and Hampton, 1998 all cited in Oliva, 2011:24).

And last but not least, once the moral wounds have been faced and the reparation has been paid off, it is time to promote initiatives aiming to consolidate a positive and constructive interaction among the previously confronted communities, that is to say, to bring the parties to an actual reconciled state. These initiatives can turn the negative peace (non-violent context) to a positive peace (interactive context) removing thus the possibility of a new conflict. As many authors have argued, justice is the primary component for reconciliation (Kriesberg, 2004:81-110 in Oliva, 2011:24). Notwithstanding its relevance, justice does not figure on the list of the five fundamental requirements for reconciliation. Justice is considered as a transversal notion that has to be present anytime in any frame along the entire process of reconciliation. Furthermore, it is such a controversial concept that would be very hard to operationalize.

Indeed, justice is the most complex concept related to reconciliation. Universally, individuals identify their group as the just one, the one that has been the victim of the conflict (Fletcher and Weinstein, 2002:537-639 in Oliva, 2011:24). Therefore, it is necessary the intervention of a third party in order to impose and institutionalize impartial justice. The role of justice is to conduct the protagonists of the conflict in understanding and dealing with the past but always expecting the consolidation of a common future. Without justice, one may stabilize a non-violent context. However, only bringing justice to the victims you will achieve true reconciliation and thus, lasting peace. Justice constitutes the first condition for humanity (Soyinka, 1999 in Oliva, 2011:24).

iv. Reconciliation in Multiethnic States

In those cases where intrastate conflict is featured by two communities or more ethnically diverse, this mentioned complexity both theoretical and practical in achieving reconciliation, still increases much more. In nationally polarized polities, political parties are generally organized on

ethnic lines and few people vote for parties associated with another group. So that intragroup competition determines who represents the group in intergroup context, in ways that can significantly constrain intergroup peacemaking and reconciliation (Horowitz, 1985 cited in Oliva, 2011:24).

From a socio-psychological point of view, reconciliation leads people to collectively internalize the meaning of peace and accept the differences of the other. In some way, through a reconciliatory process, one integrates the essence of “the other” creating thus a new common or shared identity. However, the core of the identity of each party must remain intact (Kelman, 2004:111-124 cited from Oliva, 2011:24). This mutual acceptance should be easier to reach when the two confronted communities shared a common day to day before the conflict (Oliva, 2011:24).

v. Post-Conflict Media Development

The restoration of a free, independent media should be a crucial step towards the reconstruction of democratic institutions immediately a conflict ends. The promotion of free expression immediately after hostilities, means returning voice to the law and to the people. In emerging democracies, free and accountable media that monitor rights and abuses, and promote divergent opinions can help to deter a return to violence. In Nigeria and many third world countries, time pressure restricts the ability of the media to adequately report specific issues; as a result the media can become a source of confusion rather than comprehension. The media hardly take time and space to explain some complexities of conflict and peace efforts, which are not short, isolated campaigns, but a continuum, peacemaking, peace building , peaceful resolution and reconciliation.

Lack of finance or limited resources of media organization also constrains the level of information the Nigerian public receives. Local media fare worse, as they rarely have adequate resources to send people or their staff on short notice to cover conflict areas but foreign or international media could, because they have adequate financial resources, competent and trained manpower and also sophisticated equipment. Under such circumstances, it is the news wires or agencies that are commonly used, AP, AFP, BBC, Reuters, who are always present that sell their facts based stories to news media and they in turn report or rebroadcast.

It must be realized that open and responsible media are a condition for good governance, respect for human rights and democratic development. Once established, the media could then embark on conflict prevention and peace-building; support elections so as to build democracy; help in reconciliation, reconstruction, and rehabilitation; assist in tackling the issues of refugees, IDPs and the demobilization of ex-combatants; and campaign against spread of small arms (indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com).

The media can both help to promote or hinder conflict resolution, and it is important to uncover the conditions determining the outcome of media role in conflict positive or negative. If these conditions are exposed, it would be easier to maximize the media's positive contributions and minimize negative contributions. The peace journalism approach as recommended by many scholars is a highly simplistic and probably unrealistic approach to the media's effects. Systematic application may promote the badly needed knowledge and understanding of the various ways the media influence the beginning, evolution, escalation and de-escalation or termination of existing and future conflicts.

vi. Peace-Building, Reconciliation and Reconstruction

Peace-building means strengthening the prospects for peace and weakening the chances of renewed violence in conflict-torn societies or countries. The goal of peace-building is to enhance the capacity of a society to manage its own conflicts without violence. The media are a force to reckon with in peace-building situation. They must clear the way for the enforcement of human rights which are likely to be abused in times of emergency, and these would include protection of women and children against abuse; health and control of epidemics; law and order, specifically exposing and preventing arbitrary arrests, torture and inhuman treatment, etc. Furthermore, the media's role includes the creation of conducive environment for free and fair elections through voter education and enlightenment.

The media are “the institutions in which ideas, information and attitudes, are transmitted and received”, therefore they must facilitate communication. The media can create societal conversation; help “turn collective storytelling into public acts of healing”; and can assist in the releases of shame and humiliation on victims, so that the story becomes one of dignity and virtue. Accordingly: People need opportunity and space to express to and with one another the trauma of loss and their grief at that loss, the anger that accompany the memory of injustice experienced. Acknowledgment is decisive in the reconciliation dynamic.

It is one thing to know; it is a very different social phenomenon to acknowledge <http://indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com/pdf>. Acknowledgment through hearing one another's stories validates experience and feelings and represents the first step toward restoration of the person and relationship.

- (a) Showing that justice is achieved not by retribution, but by the restoration of the community.
- (b) Aiding victims in such matters as securing pensions and education for their children.

(c) Giving opportunities for victims of violence to tell the public of their ordeal thereby bring recognition to them.

(d) Making it possible for the public to understand the truth, encourage forgiveness, acceptance and trust (<http://indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com/web/.pdf>).

Indeed, the peace agreement did not help the reconciliation process in Kaduna State. There is still much work to do in deleting the psychological cultural, ethnic and religious barriers that rule the state since the end of the 2000 Sharia conflict. A plural political system is a necessary condition for the communities to reconcile and thus be able to build a common future. Pluralism is simply the expression of democracy in the sphere of culture, ethnicity and religion.

2.10 Conception of Peace

Peace has been and remains a permanent ideal and aspiration, as well as a right and a duty. However, in our fast-paced, interconnected world, peace is at risk. While world wars are becoming, it may be hoped, a thing of the past, violence, civil strife and conflict continue to define the lives of millions. Internal conflicts and terrorist attacks demonstrate that the presence of peace can never be taken for granted (Preis and Mustea, 2013:1). As an ongoing process of political, economic and cultural negotiation, peace requires constant engineering, vigilance and active participation. It implies commitment and a long-term vision, and this entails a blend of traditional and contemporary ways of understanding the roots of conflicts, ways of mitigating violence, and paths towards reconciliation and healing.

Sustainable Peace building implies a complete re-constitution of the state and the society, which includes socio-economic reforms to overcome the “profound causes” of the war and broad political and institutional reforms meant to democratize the country and establish a new political system and representative governing institutions that are legitimate and effective and capable of

channeling the social tensions and allowing for a peaceful resolution, thereby making it possible for a stable and lasting peace (Peinado, 2006:2). Additionally, there is the challenge of national reconciliation, which seeks to overcome the divisions and the hatreds of confidence and create a new climate of confidence and a culture of peace.

Today, all conflicts are and must be a concern of all, since in our globalized world a conflict anywhere can generate conflict everywhere. In times of unprecedented communication, opportunities, interconnectedness and migration, the risks to peace also lie in the inequalities, fanaticism, and marginalization of vulnerable groups, as well as the rejection and ignorance of other cultures, together with their traditions, beliefs and histories (Preis and Mustea,2013:1).Evidently, to be genuinely sustainable peace must uphold the dignity of every man and woman; it must be nurtured by observing their rights and fulfilling their aspirations. At the same time, however, development is not sustainable if societies are not at peace with themselves and with their neighbours and living in environmental balance with the planet and its resources. Thus, peace and sustainable development complement and mutually reinforce each other.

From the researcher's point of opinion, peace is contextual and very relative. Peace as oppose conflict is as a mutual conquest between and among various segment or faction of the human society. Defined as the "absence of violence" or the "absence of the fear of violence," peace can be associated with a multitude of factors and phenomena that reinforce one another, including gender equality, justice, relevant education and employment opportunities, the sound management of natural resources, human rights protection, political inclusion, and low levels of corruption (Preis and Mustea,2013:3). Understanding the central role played in identifying the

roots of a given conflict and the related specific path towards reconciliation is thus an essential, if not determining, step in achieving lasting peace and security.

In a separate spectrum, the renowned Norwegian Peace researcher Johan Galtung work on positive peace emphasizes that peace may be more than just the absence of overt violent conflict (*negative peace*). He says peace will likely include various relationships up to a state where nations or any groupings in conflict might have collaborative and supportive relationships or (*positive peace*)(Galtung, 1964:2). His definition, first published in the initial editorial of the *Journal of Peace Research*, was a direct challenge to the prevalent normative nature of peace. Informed by his idea of “moving closer to peace or at least not drifting closer to violence”, it was suggested that there is a need to involve various actors in peace-building (2011:8-9).

In the 20th century, the term peace was often given a passive connotation, most likely because it was associated with the philosophy of pacifism, the belief that war or conflict of any kind is morally unacceptable and not worth the human and social cost of destructive violence. Pacifists emphasize nonviolence, with many believing that it is inappropriate to take up arms even in self-defense. For pacifist, peace is imbedded in an attitude toward humanity, focusing on a spirit of love, compassion and forgiveness. Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948), and subsequently Martin Luther King Jr (1929-1968), Albert Luthuli(1898-1967), Steve Biko (1946-1977), work and gave peace a more proactive connotation by advocating nonviolent action in the form of individual or mass resistance. Both of them led pacifist movements that sought to overcome social injustice through social change, in some cases advocating a revolution against established social order, they struggle for freedom, justice, human right and peaceful co-existence. They debated nonviolence as a way of life with transformative values and non- violence as a technique and strategy of resistance to achieve specific tasks. Peace by definition is generally seen as the

absence of war, fear, conflict, anxiety, suffering and violence and all about peaceful co-existence. Peace is primarily concerned with creating and maintaining just, order in society and resolution of conflict by non-violent means.

2.10.2 Conflict – Sensitivity and Democratic Development

The concept of conflict sensitivity in development programming and peace building has been made popular by United Nations Agencies like UNDP, UNICEF and UNESCO. An assessment of the failure of many development interventions, particularly in the Third World, has accentuated the need for critical evaluation of the context and dynamics of development. Consequently, development agencies re-evaluated their strategies. They noted that intentions were not enough, but realities of interventions needed to be mainstreamed into development contexts since “the development programme processes should not only be rights based, results based, gender and environment sensitive, but also conflict-sensitive”(IPCR/UNICEF 2006:22).

With the adumbration of broad principles of conflict-sensitive programming in development work, the concept began to influence interventions in various contexts including the media and communications context of development planning and execution (IPCR/ UNICEF 2006:22, Jimoh, 2012:4). Peace journalism aims to correct these biases. Its operational definition is "to allow opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict". This involves picking up calls for, and articulations of, non-violence policies from whatever quarter, and allowing them into the public sphere. Besides being an element in the histories of pacifism and the social movement press, peace journalism is a set of journalism practices that emerged in the 1970s.

In media and conflict reporting literature, the idea of Conflict Sensitive Journalism is traced to Howard Ross (2003) in the on-going debate about the merits and demerits of peace

journalism. Peace journalism was originally proposed by the Norwegian sociologist, peace researcher and practitioner Johan Galtung when he distinguished between war-oriented and peace-oriented journalism. Other terms for this broad definition of peace journalism include conflict solution journalism, conflict sensitive journalism, constructive conflict coverage, and reporting the world. Peace journalism has been developed from research that indicates that often news about conflict has a value bias toward violence. It also includes practical methods for correcting this bias by producing journalism in both the mainstream and alternative media, and working with journalists, media professionals, audiences, and organizations in conflict.

Peace journalism is a style of reporting which deliberately seeks to de-escalate a conflict through focusing on conflict transformation. Peace journalists look at a conflict from a resolution point of view and ask questions such as “what are the deeper roots of the conflict?” and “what are the parties’ real goals?” This theory of journalism is not without controversy. Many journalists view peace journalism as a departure from strict objectivity and believe that it is overstepping the bounds of journalism. War journalism is journalism about conflict that has a value bias towards violence and violent groups. This usually leads audiences to overvalue violent responses to conflict and ignore non-violent alternatives. These conventions focus only on physical effects of conflict (for example ignoring psychological impacts) and elite positions (which may or may not represent the actual parties and their goals). It is also biased toward reporting only the differences between parties, (rather than similarities, previous agreements, and progress on common issues) the here and now (ignoring causes and outcomes), and zero sums (assuming that one side's needs can only be met by the other side's compromise or defeat).

Peace journalism aims to shed light on structural and cultural causes of violence, as they impact upon the lives of people in a conflict arena as part of the explanation for violence. It aims

to frame conflicts as consisting of many parties and pursuing many goals rather than a simple dichotomy. An explicit aim of *peace journalism* is to promote peace initiatives from whatever quarter and to allow the reader to distinguish between stated positions and real goals.

2.10.3 Better Media, Fewer Conflicts

This concept of better media, fewer conflicts as argued by Hans Veen of the European platform for conflict prevention and transformation, underpins the critical role of the mass media in conflicts management, control and prevention. Given the fact that communication and information are critical, central and fundamental to man's existence, it is arguable that if communication, information, its mechanism and manager are accorded the requisite attention they deserve, then there will be greater sanity in the polity and less conflicts (Antigba, 2005:147)

Disaffection, crises, conflicts and wars are first of all conceived in the mind before cohorts, sympathizers or collaborators are recruited through religion, social and ethnic groupings. Antigba (2005:147) added that, when disaffection and disagreement take from root at their level, efforts will then be made to popularize the issues involved and canvass for more sympathizers through the mass media. If the functionaries of the mass media fail to recognize and perform their duties as defenders of public conscience and morality, then the impending conflict gains national, regional or international appeal.

Media acts as a mechanism for the prevention and investigation of allegations of violations or malpractice. This watchdog role extends from accountability of officials and their actions while 'in office' to entire processes. For example, media presence at voting and counting centres during elections is critical to preventing electoral fraud, given that full measures protecting freedom of speech are guaranteed, and that media are free to act independently and with impartiality (www.aceproject.org/1998-2014).

Media events can be used at the beginning of negotiations to build confidence, facilitate negotiations or break diplomatic deadlocks to create a climate conducive to negotiation. Media events such as press releases, rock concerts, or radio programs can celebrate peace agreements and negotiations (Bratic and Schirch, 2007). The media events may help to promote and mobilize public support for agreements and also process reconciliation.

A measure of peace-building can be enhanced by peace journalism. Peace journalists try to uncover the causes behind a conflict and true goals of all participants while making sure to humanize all victims of the conflict. The journalists don't try to exploit the loss and suffering but make sure that the reporting is balanced and also demonstrate how easily news can be manipulated. Part of the ethical guidelines for this kind of reporting is to bring out people that use peaceful measures and speak out against war, conflict or any form of violence and document the suffering and loss on all sides. Possible solutions and trying to prevent further escalation of the conflict are at the centre of peace journalism as well. A suggested framework used by peace-building media can employ different strategies such as (1) Conflict-sensitive and peace journalism; (2) Peace-promoting entertainment media; (3) Media regulation to prevent incitement of violence, and also (4) Peace-promoting citizen media or journalism.

2.11 Theoretical Framework

Persuasive communication has different effects on different individuals depending on a number of factors, among which is how the source and the message itself is perceived by the target audience. The process of individual perception is influenced by a number of variables. These variables determine how the same message is interpreted differently by individuals. Modern psychologist and communication scholars have found out overtime that when

individuals are confronted with communication messages selectivity takes place. Selectivity means the tendency to select that which interests the human mind.

The press as the fourth estate of the realm exists as an organ of information sourcing and dissemination, educational promotion, entertainment, surveillance, social enlightenment and mobilization. The democratic culture has also given the press the privilege of setting agenda for political discourse and other forms of socio-cultural and economic discussions. This invariably makes the press very powerful and influential (Ekeanyanwu, 2005:221).

There is consensus among communication experts that communication effects are resultants of a number of forces of which the communicator (media) can control only one –the message, the sender can shape the message and decide when, where and how to introduce it. The other three elements that determines what occurs after the message has been delivered, are the situation in which the communication is received and in which response, if any, must occur; the group (Audience) relationship, standards and the personality state of the receiver of the message (Imoh, 2008:33).

The definition of media and mass communication is in a state of flux. New theories are being developed to address the changing nature of the media. The theory to be discussed here is just a sample of the ways at which we try to understand the media and their influence on our daily lives.

2.11.2 The Functional Theory

This theory was not originally invented for the study of mass media but was largely taken over from sociology, psychology and an applied version of information science. This development took place especially in the decade after Second World War, when there was largely unchallenged North American hegemony over both social sciences and the mass media

(McQuail, 2005:63). Sociology, as it matured theoretically, offered a functionalist framework of analysis for media as for other institutions.

Harold Lasswell (1948) was the first to formulate a clear statement of the 'functions' of communication in society-meaning essential tasks performed for its maintenance. The general assumption is that communication works toward integration, continuity and order of society, although mass communication also has potential dysfunctional (disruptive or harmful) consequences. Mc Quail (2005:63) maintain that despite a much reduced intellectual appeal, the language of functions has proved difficult to eliminate from discussions of media and society.

The functional theory of communication could be very useful for any attempt to construct a new framework for analysis of media and conflict resolution. Functional theory is a classic communication theory anchored in sociological system theory, which views institutions, including the media, as performing roles designed to meet the needs of individuals and societies. In communication studies, functional theory paved the way for several approaches and techniques in modern communication research, including media effects, uses and gratifications, agenda-setting, framing, cultivation theory, and the spiral of silence theory. Some scholars have even described this theory as a paradigm—a master theory in control of most research in mass communication. Application of functional theory to mass communication developed over time through several stages. Lasswell (1948) first suggested three media functions: (1) surveillance of the environment (news coverage); (2) correlation of the parts of society (interpretation of news and information, commentary, and editorial opinion); and (3) transmission of culture (history, values, religion, language, etc.). Charles R. Wright (1960) develop basic scheme to describe the effects of the media and added a fourth function, entertainment, This may be part of the transmitted culture but it has another aspect-that of providing individual reward, relaxation and

reduction of tension, which makes it easier for people to cope with real life problems and for societies to avoid break down(Mendelsohn,1966 in McQuail, 2005:97) distinguished between functions and dysfunctions, and constructed a framework for functional analysis. McQuail (2005:97) explains the fifth function, mobilization, described as campaigning for societal objectives in the sphere of politics, conflict, economic development and sometimes religion.

Mobilization according to McQuail is designed to reflect the widespread application of mass communication to political and commercial propaganda and also, exists in autocratic societies all the time, in new nations during the nation-building phase, and in democracies in times of crisis and warfare (2005:97). Mobilization may result from a governmental initiative or from the media's own initiative. After the September 11 terrorist attacks, for example, the American media self-mobilized and became a significant collaborating actor in the global war against terrorism. Members of the media who engage in this type of mobilization are also known as the patriotic press. Wright's distinction between functions and dysfunctions is pertinent to this work. Most approaches to media intervention in conflicts (local or international) have ignored unintended consequences, both positive and negative.

The media may provide useful information to citizens who could be motivated to act against their own interests and the interests of their community. For example, when the Nigerian media warn of possible flood in many states, the purpose is not only to provide information, but also to help citizens prepare for threats to life and property. A warning, however, could be dysfunctional if it causes panic and chaos or if everyone rushes to the roads and causes traffic jams which could result death or injuries. Similarly, the purpose of reporting on a bank's financial difficulties is positive warning those who have accounts are inform of an imminent threat to their investments but the result could be dysfunctional if all customers went to the bank,

liquidated their assets, and drove the bank into bankruptcy as the case with many Nigerian banks during capitalization by C.B.N.

Conflict, like other events or occurrences, provides media of communication with the raw material for their news presentation. While the audience expects the whole truth and involving them, the media find itself in a dilemma of ascertaining how much of such coverage is necessary. In conflict situation telling the whole truth in news reports about ethnic or religious crisis, especially the number of deaths, if it is high, extent of destruction and how the carnage was carried out might be dysfunctional. This is because it can trigger retaliating reaction from the aggrieved segment of the society or those sympathetic to the victims.

Application of the Wright's formula suggests that, even if the media are sincerely interested in positive contribution to prevent, manage, resolve, or reconcile conflicts, the results may backfire. For example, during the prevention phase, the media may wish to create awareness among the public for signs of an emerging conflict or violence. The result could be positive if the warning creates awareness and effective steps are taken to stop the drift toward violence. However, the result could be negative if the coverage produces apprehension that leads to escalated conflict behaviour. It is important to educate the public about the sources of conflict and the potential for violence or conflict resolution. If the public is educated, the coverage could be functional, but if the public is not educated, the coverage could be dysfunctional.

During the resolution phase, the media may wish to initiate a conflict resolution process and mobilize public support. If mobilization occurs, the coverage could be functional. However, if coverage creates stronger opposition and leads to blocking of the initiative, the result could be counterproductive and dysfunctional. Similarly, dysfunctions could occur if the media attempts to legitimize conflict prevention or conflict resolution, build confidence, dramatize efforts to

reduce violence and begin mediation, create realistic expectations, or present a positive balance of advantages and shortcomings of peace agreements. Several functions and dysfunctions may appear at each of the four conflict phases, while others may be unique to each phase. In addition, functions and dysfunctions may vary for each of the five basic media functions. For instance, entertainment may include implicit or explicit messages that may either help or hinder efforts to promote peace agreements and reconciliation.

In sum, relating the theory to this research, all of the potential functions and dysfunctions are relevant to the study of media coverage of conflict in Nigeria and Kaduna State in particular and shaping perception of the audience on issues relating to conflicts. In view of media's influence (positive or negative), location, ownership and reach it can escalate, fans the embers of conflict and on the other hand can de-escalate, prevent, mitigate or even extinguish it among other necessary intervention functions the media can play in conflict management and reconciliation.

The media could have good intention and but the process of conveying the message may come under distortions and interference from both physical and psychosocial factors, which affects the nature of the intended message. At the point of reception the audience state of mind and cultural, ethnic, tribal and religious backgrounds determine how the message is perceived.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the research design and method used in data gathering. According to Bello and Ajayi (2005:2), the primary purpose of research is to make objective decisions about human beings. Such decisions if accurate, enhance our understanding of different aspects of human abilities, behaviours and functioning. Assessment and evaluation instruments such as questionnaire, tests, observation and interview schedules all function in this regard. They provide precise measures of human abilities and behaviour which form the data base on which judgement are passed and decisions made.

Selection of the appropriate instrument is largely informed by the purpose of the research. Quite a number of readymade, standardized research instruments are available. However, accessibility, time and financial constraints often make the construction of required instruments by individual researchers imperative. Whichever method is adopted, it is important to ensure the effectiveness of the instrument in obtaining objectives and accurate information with repeated usage.

3.2 Research Design

Research design is a prerequisite to the takeoff of any research work. Kerlinger (1977) describes research design as the plan, strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to research questions and control variance. The plan is to achieve the overall research objectives. Research design is important so as to determine the type of data required, how to collect and collate them, as well as how to analyze and measure them. Factors that determine research design are the type of study, type of data, scope of the study, research problems and hypotheses,

and also appropriate analyses of data. The overall framework of a research project; the master plan within which various data gathering tools are used is called research design (Bello and Ajayi, 2005:16).

Gall (1987), believes that research design is the type of situation that the researcher is investigating. Such as correlational, experimental, historical, survey e.t.c. Answers have to be provided to research questions and the variance has to be controlled. The type of research design used in a particular design will depend on the nature of the researchable problem or question.

In any successful research, one of the most prominent aspects or components of the study is the method adopted in order to come out with the expected result. This is a survey research and this particular chapter covers population design, sample frame, instrument of collecting data and the procedure for data gathering and analysis.

3.3 Study Variables

The research consists of two main variables, which are the dependent and independent variables. As in any given research, the dependent variable relies solely on the independent variable to occur or for the result to be achieved. In the case of this study, the dependent variables are the audience, receivers or consumers of media messages and their perceptions of media contents or products. While on the other part, the independent variable is role of the media in conflict management and reconciliation. The media has power, serious effect and influence on our attitude, behavior and perception of the world around us.

3.4 Population of the Study

Population is the entire group of people or individuals that share some defined characteristic. It often means demographic. It is the aggregate or collection about (usually people) one intends to make inferences through the study of a sample. Population is the

collection of elements about which a research wishes to make inference. This refers to a set of all possible cases of interest in a given research activity. It is a set of individuals or objects whose properties are to be analysed (Bello and Ajayi, 2005:10).

This shows the number of people studied in a group. The study is restricted to only four major local government areas of Kaduna state, Kaduna north, Kaduna south, Sabon Gari and Kachia to represent the three senatorial districts of the state most of which were seriously affected by the 2011 post election crises. The population considered here represents different ethnic and religious groups of the conflict (study) areas.

3.4.2 Study Area

Kaduna state is unique, it highly heterogeneous and cosmopolitan. Kaduna is the headquarters of the defunct northern region and the third most populous state in Nigeria with a population of six million, one hundred and thirteen thousand, five hundred and three (6,113,503) according to the 2006 population figures. Kaduna is geo-politically located in the northwest geopolitical zone of Nigeria. Kaduna have a religious bi-polity of north and south which is seen to some as a double coincidence of religious dichotomy because where the former is seen to be dominated mostly by Muslim Hausa/ Fulanis the later is predominantly Christians with different minority ethnic groups. This uniqueness explains the importance of threat analysis in crisis and conflict management (Gusau, 2005:25) and in this analysis the media can be a key player.

3.5 Sample Size

Kaduna State has a population of six million, one hundred and thirteen thousand, five hundred and three (6,113,503) according to the 2006 population figures. And the four local governments studied have a total population of one million, two hundred and ninety one

thousand, two hundred and twenty nine (1,291,229) which can be broken down into Kaduna North 357,694, Kaduna South 402,390, Sabon Gari 286,871 and Kachia 244,274 accordingly.

Philips Meyer in Stacks and Hocking (1999:123) stated that to get 95% confidence level for the total population a sample size of 384 is valid for a population of 500,000 to infinity. The population sample targeted for this research includes religious leaders and teachers with their followers, preachers, and opinion and community leaders, media practitioners, civil servants and students of tertiary institutions within study area and adults of all groups.

These constitute sampling units of the population studied. The sample consists of both male and female selected from a sampling frame in their respective areas of domicile.

3.6 Sampling Method and Sampling Techniques

Sampling is the portion of a population that is studied. A sample has been defined as a subset that is representative of the entire population (Wimmer and Dominick, 2000, Mohammad, 2008). The sampling methods considered for this study are Purposive non probability in the selection of study population and accidental, convenience or haphazard sampling in the selection of respondents because of the sensitivity of the problem being studied. Purposive sampling requires the selection of sample on the basis of knowledge of the population, characteristics, and objectives of the study. Purposive sampling is simply the study of population elements based on the purpose the researcher intends to achieve. An element is that unit about which information is collected and that provides the basis of analysis. The sample was purposely selected to get an equal representation of the local governments' under study and if possible to get an equal representation of Muslims and Christians from those areas. The various sampling techniques mentioned were utilized because they are easy, convenient and simple to apply in the study

areas, and looking at the complex issue or topic being studied and the diversity and also, division in the areas the research is been carried out.

3.7 Instrumentation

Instrumentation is the process of selecting or developing measurement devices for gathering desired data in a research study. In executing studies in research, certain research tools and methods of implementation of the tools were carefully selected in order to ensure the gathering of a reliable and valid data. The type of research tool to be used for particular education study usually depends on the relevance or appropriateness of the tools or instruments to the study under investigation (Bello, 2005:46).

For the purpose of this research all the four major data gathering tools used for social science research are employed, they include interview, questionnaire, documents and observations.

The research instruments for this research consist of questionnaire which served virtually as the primary instrument as in most survey researches, the instrument for data collection has always been questionnaire. Questionnaire is a series of relevant questions, sometimes statements which are usually used to elicit information from the target population of a given study. The questionnaire selected for this study contains both structured and unstructured items and then followed by in-depth interview with some selected group of persons. Kerlinger (1973:480) defined interview as a psychological and sociological measuring instrument. Information elicited during interview can be used in measuring human abilities and dispositions that are directly observable. It could also be defined as an evaluation process which involves at least two people (interviewer and an interviewee) in a face to face oral discussion with the aim of fetching information from the interviewee, so as to achieve the objectives of the study.

The questionnaire contains a list of questions on perception of audience of the role of media in conflict management and reconciliation carefully constructed to elicit appropriate responses from the respondents. The questionnaire selected for this study contained both structured and unstructured items. It covers demographic and other related questions on audience perception of media and conflict management so also the interview.

A total of 450 copies of questionnaires were distributed to different respondents in the stated areas. Adult of various ages and status were targeted and about ten persons were interviewed, mostly media practitioners, religious preachers and leaders. This enabled the researcher to sample divergent views and opinion of the target population.

3.8 Method of Data Analysis and Presentation

The analysis of data was done based on structured research questions and in-depth interview. Responses to the questionnaire were analyzed by using simple percentage scores and charts. The interview was quite helpful because it affords the researcher the opportunity of explaining the purpose of the study and answer questions face to face where the need arises for better clarification.

Data gathered or sourced from the field for this study were analyzed using simple descriptive statistical tools according to variables, frequencies and percentages. Results obtained from these percentage scores were tabulated and discussed in relation to both the questionnaire and interview conducted

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the statistical analysis of data collected and presentation based on the findings as well as interpretation of data in order to achieve the earlier mentioned objectives of the Study. In earlier chapters the objective, research question and assumptions of the study were all stated and the methodology of analysis was also highlighted.

A total of 450 copies of questionnaires each containing 22 items were distributed in three cosmopolitan and semi-urban local government areas of Kaduna state, namely Kaduna north, Kaduna south, Sabon Gari and Kachia. Out of the total number distributed only 396 representing 88% of the total copies distributed, were retrieved from respondents for subsequent analysis.

Data gathered or sourced from the field for this study were analyzed using simple descriptive statistical tools according to variables, frequencies and percentages.

Details of the findings to be displayed as follows:

4.2. Interpretation of Data on Audience Perception of Media in Conflict Management and Reconciliation

The tables and interpretations below are based on the findings from the questionnaires that were administered to Respondents (Audience of mass media in the State).

The tabulation consists of two sections. A contains demographic data while B covers the perception of audience on role of media in conflict management and reconciliation.

4.2. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Table 1 Age of Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage%
18-25	112	28.28
26-35	195	49.24
36-45	76	19.19
46 above	13	3.28
Total	396	100%

Table 1 shows the distribution of respondents based on age as, 18 to 25years of age were 112(28.28%), 195 respondents representing (49.24%) were between the ages of 26-35, while those between 36-45 constitute 76 (19.19%), and only 13 (3.28%) respondents were above 46 years old.

4.2.2 Table 2. Sex of Respondents

Variables	Frequency	Percentage %
Male	227	57.32
Female	169	42.67
Total	396	100

In table 2, male respondents are 227 constituting (57.32) while the remaining 169 (42.67%) were female.

4.2.3 Table 3. Occupation of Respondents

Variable	Frequency	percentage%
Civil Servant	201	50.75
Private employee	51	12.88
Self employed	32	8.08
Others (Students)	112	28.28
Total	396	100

Civil servants were 201 (50.75%) of the respondents in the field of research, followed by students 112 (28.28%), while 51 and 32 respondents representing (12.88%), (8.08%) were private and self employed respondents respectively.

4.2.4 Table 4. Marital Status of Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage %
Married	240	60.60
Single	115	29.04
Divorced	11	2.78
Widow	30	7.56
Total	396	100

The data in table 4 indicates that Married respondents were the majority met in the field of research, 240 (60.60%) respondents were married, while single respondents were 115 (29.04%) 11 were divorced, (2.78%) and 30 widows (7.56%) respectively.

4.2.5 Table 5. Level of Education of Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage %
Primary	27	6.82
Secondary	99	25
Informal	25	6.31
Tertiary	245	61.86
Total	396	100

From table 5, respondents with primary school level of education were 27 (6.82%), respondents with tertiary level education were the majority with 245 (61.86%) while 99 (25%) respondents had secondary school certificates and 25 (6.31%) were informally educated respondents respectively.

4.2.6 Table 6. Religion of Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage%
Islamic	218	55.05
Christianity	164	41.41
Traditional	-	0
Others (Not specified)	14	3.54
Total	396	100

Data in table 6 indicates that 218 (55.05%) respondents were of the Islamic faith, while 164 (41.41%) were of the Christianity, then only 14 (3.54%) were of other faiths or religions unspecified.

4.2.7 Table 7. Extent of Audience Exposure to Conflict

Variable	Frequency	Percentage%
Yes	287	72.47
No	109	27.53
Total	396	100

From Table 7 above out of the total 396 respondents administered with questionnaires, 287 (72.47%) were at one time or the other been affected by the occurrence or reoccurrence of conflict in the state then, 109 (27.53%) have never experienced or been affected by conflict in their own parts of the state.

4.2.8. Table 8 Audience Responses on Media Reports on Conflict from their respective areas

Variable	Frequency	Percentage%
Yes	287	72.47
No	109	27.53
Total	396	100

In table 8, majority of respondents 287(72.47%) responded that the media reports conflict from their affected communities while 109 (27.53%) responded that were no such reports from their areas.

4.2.9. Table 9. Media through Which Respondents Normally Get Conflict Information

Variable	Frequency	Percentage%
Radio	137	34.59
Television	24	6.06
Newspaper	76	19.19
All of the above	159	40.15
Total	396	100

Results in the above Table 9, shows that 137 (34.59%) respondents got to know about conflict through the radio, 24 (6.06%) watch such reports on TVs, 76 (19.19%) reads about conflict from the pages of newspapers and 159 (40.15%) responded all of the above.

4.2.10 Table 10 Audience views on Role of Media in Conflict Management and Reconciliation

Variable	Frequency	Percentage%
Yes	246	62.12
No	150	37.88
Total	396	100

Results in table 10 shows, 246 (62.12%) respondents were of the opinion that media play a vital and prominent role in conflict management and reconciliation, while 150 (37.88%) were of the opinion that media do not play any role in that regard.

4.2.11 Table 11 Audience Responses on the Positive or Negative Roles of Media in Conflict Management and Reconciliation

Variable	Frequency	percentage%
Positive	231	58.33
Negative	165	41.66
Total	396	100

The above result shows clearly that 231 (58.33%) respondents were of the believe that media reports on conflict affected their community positively which means the media affected the society positively, shaped people’s behaviour and so on. While 165 (41.66%) respondents were of the believe that the affection was negative to the community by causing unnecessary tensions and disaffection to their wellbeing.

4.2.12 Table 12 Respondents Views on the Nature of Conflict in Kaduna State

Variable	Frequency	Percentage%
Ethno-religious	328	82.83
Political violence	53	13.38
Socio-economic Crisis	4	1.01
Others(unspecified)	11	2.78
Total	396	100

The provision of table 12 shows that the highest respondents were 328(82.83%) considered the prevalent crisis in Kaduna State as ethno-religious, while 53(13.38%) saw the conflict as political, 4(1.01%) responded that the common cause of the crisis is economic, while 11(2.78%) were for other reasons unspecified on the questionnaires.

4.2.13. Table 13 Respondents' Views on Factors Responsible for the incessant Conflicts in Kaduna State?

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Intolerance	33	8.33
Diversity	15	3.79
Disrespect	9	2.27
Mistrust	5	1.26
All of the above	334	84.34
Total	396	100

Table 13 shows that the highest number of respondents were 334(84.34%) considered all the listed reasons in the table as being responsible for the incessant conflict in Kaduna state, while 33(8.33%) thought intolerance could be the cause of conflict in the state, 9(2.27%) answered disrespect, 15(3.79%) were for diversity, while just 5(1.26%) were for mistrust as the responsible factor for such conflicts.

4.2.14. Views of Respondents on the Implication of such Conflicts to Security and National Development

Individual respondents have different opinion and views on the implications of the incessant conflicts in Kaduna state. About 70% of respondents noted that the implications of such are very negative to the unity and progress of the country. Being an open ended question the responses were diverse as the respondents and the country. Some responses are much alike and related like it could lead to economic instability and massive migration from one part of the country to the another ,some responded it will lead to disunity, political instability, economic

recession, social disaffection and migration of people. Some responded that, the implication could be damaging the image and reputation of the country, some insist it could lead to a divided nation where there will be no peace and tranquillity, and some said it made the society very vulnerable and volatile. While others were closely related some responded with just a word or two like “War”, “misunderstanding”, “disintegration”, “retardation” and likes. While some comments that the implications could be attacks and counter attacks, lack of peace and lack of development. The other 30% are very optimistic that with time the government and citizens will overcome the security and other challenges affecting the unity and progress of the country.

4.2.15 Table 14 Audience Preferred Source of Information at the time of any Internal Conflict

Variable	Frequency	Percentage%
Local media	100	25.25
Foreign Media	125	31.56
Both	171	43.18
Total	396	100

The provision of table 14 shows that majority of respondents 171(43.18%) considered both local and foreign media as their sources of news on conflict within Kaduna State and Nigeria, while 100(25.25%) saw local media as their reliable source of information on conflicts and 125(31.56%) responded sourcing news from the foreign media.

4.2.16 Table 15 Reasons Responsible for Audience Preference

Variable	Frequency	Percentage%
Factuality	159	40.15
Bias	76	19.19
Balance	137	34.59
Don't know	24	6.06
Total	396	100

The Result in table 15 indicates that 159(40.15%) thought factuality was the reason for relying on both international and local media for news on conflict while 76(19.19%) answered bias was the reason,137(34.59%) responded balance of report was their reason, while on 24 (6.06%) were undecided or had no reason.

4.2.17 Table 16: Extent to which Media take side or not in Reporting Conflict and Conflict Related Issues

Variable	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	71	17.92
To some extent	121	30.56
To larger extent	101	25.50
Not at all	103	26.77
Total	396	100

The result in table 16 above indicates that 71(17.92%) responded yes with the view, while 101(21.50%) agreed with the view to larger extent, and 121(30.56%) answered to some extent, while 103 (26.77%) responded not all, disagreeing with the fact and insisting that media do not take side while reporting at all.

4.2.18 Table 17 Rating Media Reports on Peace and Conflict Management

Variable	Frequency	percentage%
Educative	94	23.73
Balanced and accurate	160	40.40
Biased	113	28.54
Boring	29	7.32
Total	396	100

Table 17 indicates that 94 (23.73%) respondents are of the opinion that Media content are educative, many of the respondents 160 representing (40.40%) rated the media reports on peace and conflict as balanced and accurate some 113 (28.54%) shared the opinion that the media reports are biased while some 29 (7.32%) saw media reports on conflicts as being boring.

4.2.19 Table 18: Respondents Views on Media contribution to Peace Building, Preaching Tolerance, Respect, Trust and Understanding among the diverse People of Kaduna State

Variable	Frequency	Percentage%
Strongly agree	160	40.40
Agree	112	28.28
Disagree	101	25.51
Strongly disagree	23	5.81
Total	396	100

The result in Table 18 clearly indicates that 160(40.40%) and 112 (28.28%) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed respectively, while 101 (25.51%) disagreed and 23 (5.81%) the lowest respondents strongly disagreed. This indicates that the media has been contributing positively to achieving peace through preaching tolerance, respect, trust and understanding among the people of Kaduna state.

4.2.20 Table 19 Respondents Satisfaction of Media Content in Conflict Management and Reconciliation

Variable	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	245	61.86
No	151	38.13
Total	396	100

Table 19 has it to show that 245(61.86%) were for yes, that they were satisfied with the media contents on conflict management and reconciliation in Kaduna State and beyond, while 151 (38.13%) were not satisfied with the contents of the media.

4.2.21 Table 20 Respondents' Opinion on Improved Professionalism in Peace Journalism as a tool for achieving Peaceful Co-existence among the People

Variable	Frequency	Percentage%
Strongly believe	163	41.16
Believe	90	22.73
Disbelieve	100	25.25
Strongly disbelieve	43	10.86
Total	396	100

The result in Table 21 clearly indicates that 163(41.16%) and 90(22.73%) strongly believed and just believed respectively, while 100(25.25%) disbelieved and 43(10.86%) the lowest respondents strongly disbelieved. This indicates that improved professionalism on peace and conflict reporting can be a tool to achieving peaceful co-existence among the populace of Kaduna state and Nigeria in general.

4.2.22. Table 21 Responses on how the Media can be used to Better Influence Positive Change and Values among the People of Kaduna State

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Education	46	11.62
Dialogue	23	5.81
Sensitization	10	2.53
Entertainment	9	2.27
All of the above	308	77.78
Total	396	100

Table 21 shows that the highest respondents were 308(77.78%) and considered all the reasons mentioned in the table as the way the media can better influence positive change and values among the good and peace loving people of Kaduna state, while 46(11.62%) thought education could be of better influence to people in the state, 10(2.53%) responded that sensitization is the way out, while just 9(2.27%) were for entertainment.

4.2 Chi-square Test: To analyze Assumptions/ Hypothesis one to three

Chi-square is non parametric tool envisaged by Karl Pearson for statistical and hypothetical test. It measures the discrepancies between observed frequency and expected frequency and also measures the degree of association or dependence between qualitative variables. It is expressed with the following formula.

$$X^2 = \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

E

Where O = Observed Frequency

E = Expected Frequency

4.2.1 Hypothesis One

H₀: There is no significant relationship between audience exposure to media messages and conflict management / reconciliation.

H₁: There is significant relationship between audience exposure to media messages and conflict management / reconciliation.

Do you think the media play any role in conflict management and reconciliation? * How does media report(s) affected your community?

Do you think the media play any role in conflict management and reconciliation	Frequencies	How does media report(s) affected your community		Total
		Positive	Negative	
Yes	Observed	180	66	246
	Expected	143.5	102.5	
No	Observed	51	99	150
	Expected	87.5	62.5	
Total		231	165	396

$X^2_{\text{calculated}} = 58.82$, $X^2_{0.05,1} = 3.84$ degree of freedom= 1, P-value= 0.00

The above result shows that the calculated chi-square (58.82) is greater than the tabulated chi-square value 3.84 at 5% level of significance. This shows that there is a significant relationship between audience exposure to media messages and conflict management / reconciliation. It means that those who are exposed to media messages have better awareness concerning conflict management and reconciliation. Hence, we reject the assumption that there is

no significant relationship between audience exposure to media messages and conflict management / reconciliation.

4.2.2 Hypothesis Two

H₀: There is no significant relationship between audience perception and media of communication in conflict management and reconciliation.

H₁: There is significant relationship between audience perception and media of communication in conflict management and reconciliation.

Have the media ever reported conflict situation from your affected area? * How will you rate media reports on peace and conflict management?

Have the media ever reported conflict situation from your affected area?	Frequencies	How will you rate media reports on peace and conflict management?				Total
		Educative	Balanced and accurate	Biased	Boring	
Yes	Observed	64	110	87	26	287
	Expected	68.1	116	81.9	21	
No	Observed	30	50	26	3	109
	Expected	25.9	44	31.1	8	
Total		94	160	113	29	396

$X^2_{\text{calculated}} = 7.467$, $X^2_{0.05,3} = 7.81$ degree of freedom = 3, P-value = 0.058

From the above result, it indicates that there is no significant relationship between audience perception and media of communication in conflict management and reconciliation. This is because the calculated chi-square value 7.467 is less than the tabulated chi-square value of 7.81 at 5% level of significance. Hence, the assumption that there is no significant relationship between audience perception and media of communication in conflict management and reconciliation is accepted.

4.2.3 Hypothesis Three

H₀: Media of communication plays no significant role in conflict prevention, peace building and national development

H₁: Media of communication plays significant role in conflict prevention, peace building and national development

Have you ever been affected by conflict? * Do you agree that media is contributing to peace building, through preaching tolerance, respect, trust and understanding among diverse people in Kaduna state?

Have you ever been affected by conflict?	Frequencies	Do you agree that the media is contributing to peace building, through preaching tolerance, respect, trust and understanding among diverse people in Kaduna State				Total
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Yes	Observed	105	83	79	20	287
	Expected	116	81.2	73.2	16.7	
No	Observed	55	29	22	3	109
	Expected	44	30.8	27.8	6.3	
Total		160	112	101	23	396

$X^2_{\text{calculated}} = 8.001$, $X^2_{0.05,3} = 7.81$ degree of freedom= 3, P-value= 0.046

From the above Table, the result of the chi-square test indicates that the media of communication plays a significant role in conflict prevention, peace building and national development. This is because the value of the calculated chi-square (8.001) is greater than the tabulated chi-square value (7.81). Also, the p-value of 0.046 is less than 5% level of significance

and thus we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that the media of communication plays a significant role in conflict prevention, peace building and national development.

4.3 Discussion of Findings Based on Research Questions

4.3.1 Research question one

To what extent are the audience exposed to media messages on conflict management and reconciliation?

The extent of exposure of audience to media reports on peace and conflict is quite appreciative as 287(72.47%) as shown in Table 9 indicates that the media reported conflicts situation from their affected areas. Only 109(27.53%) responded that the media never reported conflicts from their areas. Again, coincidentally, data in table 8, indicates same number 287 (72.47%) responded that they have at one time or the other been affected by conflicts in their areas of domicile, 109(27.53%) again responded they have never been affected by conflict in their own areas.

Most of the respondents in Table 12, 328 (82.83%) were of the belief that ethno-religious conflict is the type of conflict that is very common in Kaduna state, while 53 representing (13.38) responded that political violence is, 4(1.01%), responded that it is socio-economic crisis, others, 11(2.78%) with unspecified reasons. Still concerning the frequency of exposure in table 11, most of the respondents 231 representing (58.33%) responded that the media reports on conflict affected their communities positively while only 165(41.66%) act in response against positive impact of media in their communities.

From above, findings revealed that different forms of ethno-religious and political conflicts are dramatically on the increase in recent times. More than ever before, we now witness more and more of violent religious, communal, ethnic and political conflicts and attempt to close

our eyes on these conflicts is like going to sleep while our houses are on fire. And frankly speaking, no sane person will be tempted to sleep at the time of danger. Occurrences and re-occurrences of such conflicts, unnecessary sentiments and biases does no one any good.

Still on the above, as was noticed by Ikejiani Clark (2005 in Salawu, 2010:348) over the years, many events in Nigeria have led to the politicization of mistrust, intolerance, violence and acrimonious relations between the mainly Moslem north and the Christian south of Nigeria. To this extent, Ikejinai-Clark contended that there has been an unfortunate insertion of ethno-religious discrimination and incompatibility in the structures of the Nigerian State since the colonial period. In 1931 for instance, the colonial administration under the leadership of Governor Donald Cameroun did not encourage intermingling of religions. An advice given by the governor is indicative of this. The Governor advised the Christian missions to thread softly in Moslem areas so as to maintain the stability of indirect rule. The political events of the January 15, 1966 coup and the July 1966 counter-coup further entrenched ethno-religious configuration in Nigeria. This is because the killings and counter-killing that follow the coups which took ethnic and religious colorations as the Muslim dominated tribes in the north were set against the Christian dominated tribes of the southern region.

4.3.2 Research Question Two

The second research question dwelled on the perception of the audience of media on peace and conflict management.

Most of the responses show that many of the media audience are satisfied with the role of media in the area of conflict management and reconciliation and are happy with the unbiased, balanced, educative and professional competence of the media as it concerns peace, security and safety of the population. In table 11, 246 (62.12%) respondents were of the opinion that media

play a vital and prominent role in conflict management and reconciliation while 150 (37.88%) were of the opinion that media don't play any role in that regard.

Table 13 shows that the highest number of respondents were 334(84.34%) considered all the listed reasons in the table as being responsible for the incessant conflict in Kaduna state, while 33(8.33%) thought intolerance could be the cause of conflict in the state, 9(2.27%) answered disrespect, 15(3.79%) were for diversity, while just 5(1.26%) were for mistrust as the responsible factor for such conflicts.

This is relevant to the point on religious intolerance made by Gofwen, (2004:50-52)that religious intolerance has several factors attributed to its notorious existence in human societies. The first is the lack of capacity of a society to harmonize conflicting and mutually intolerant religions. In our case, religion has become a divisive force as has been typified by the existence of both Christianity and Islam. Then, the diversity of interpretation of doctrine within the same religion is another factor linked to religious intolerance, Gofwen added (2004:50). Another factor for religious intolerance according to Gofwen (2004:52) has its source on conversion campaigns. This has generated a lot of pressure which were typical of political change.

On the issue of media taking side in conflict or not, the data in table 17, indicates that 71(17.92%) responded yes with the view while 101(21.50%) agreed with the view to larger extent, and 121(30.56%) answered to some extent, while 103 (26.77%) responded not all, disagreeing with the fact and insist that media do not take side while reporting at all. Table 18 indicates that 94 (23.73%) respondents are of the opinion that Media content are educative, many of the respondents 160 representing (40.40%) rated the media reports on peace and conflict as balanced and accurate, some 113 (28.54%) shared the opinion that the media reports are biased while some 29 (7.32%) sees media reports on conflicts as being boring.

The result in table 19 clearly indicates that 160(40.40%) and 112 (28.28%) strongly agreed and agreed respectively, while 101 (25.51%) disagreed and 23 (5.81%) the lowest respondents strongly disagreed. This indicated that the media has been contributing positively to achieving peace through preaching tolerance, respect, trust and understanding among the people of Kaduna state. Table 20, shows that 245(61.86%) were for yes that they are satisfied with the media contents on conflict management and reconciliation in Kaduna State and beyond, while 151 (38.13%) were not satisfied with the contents of the media.

Findings further reveals that the media has done remarkably well and can still do more in de-escalation of conflicts and reducing conflict tension in the state. In table 20, most of the respondent 245(61.86%) answered yes that they are satisfied with the media content in conflict reporting and reconciliation , just 151(38.13%) answered no, that they are not satisfied with media contents. The result in Table 21 also, indicates that 163(41.16%) and 90(22.73%) strongly believed and just believed respectively, while 100(25.25%) disbelieved and 43(10.86%) the lowest respondents strongly disbelieved. This indicates that improved professionalism on peace and conflict reporting can be a tool to achieving peaceful co-existence among the populace in Kaduna state and Nigeria in general.

The result in Table 22, shows that the highest respondents were 308(77.78%) considered all the mentioned reasons as the way the media can better influence positive change and values among the good and peace loving people of Kaduna state, while 46(11.62%) thought education could be of better influence to people in the state, 10(2.53%) responded that sensitization is the way out, while just 9(2.27%) were for entertainment.

Findings in the tables shows that most of the respondents are satisfied with the role of media in peace building, preaching tolerance, respect, trust and understanding among the diverse

people of Kaduna State. Peace has always been the bedrock of achieving meaningful development and the media has contributed more positively to conflict prevention, transformation, resolution and even suppression through accurate, balanced, diligent, and unbiased reporting of events and happenings regardless of who is at advantage, right or wrong. See tables 11,14,17,18,19,20,21 and 22.

4.3.3 Research Question Three; What Is the Impact of Local And International Media of Communication on Conflict, Peace And Reconciliation?

The provision of table 15 shows that the highest respondents were 171(43.18%) considered the Both local and foreign media as their sources of news on conflict within Kaduna State and Nigeria, while 100(25.25%) saw local media as their reliable source of information on conflicts and 125(31.56%) responded sourcing news from the foreign media. The result in the table 16 indicates that 159(40.15%) think factuality was the reason for relying on both foreign and local media for news on conflict, while 76(19.19%) answered bias was the reason,137(34.59%) responded balance of report was their reason, while on 24 (6.06%) were undecided or have no reason.

Result in table 10, shows that 137 (34.59%) respondents got to know about conflict through their radio sets, 24 (6.06%) watch such reports on TVs, 76 (19.19%) reads about conflict from the pages of newspapers and 159 (40.15%) the highest, responded all of the above.

The result is not surprising looking at the fact that, radio as a mass medium reach large, diverse anonymous audience in Kaduna State and beyond and impact on their perception positively or negatively. Radio is affordable to many both literate and illiterate and does not need too much attention or concentration; it is portable and convenient, is relatively cheap and can be used with or without electricity. With all these qualities radio is more within the affordability and

reach of masses, low income earners and even civil servants who constitutes majority of respondents in this research than any other medium, television, newspapers, magazines, internets and likes.

The data obtained shows that, there is overdependence on the media by people between the ages of 18-25 (28.28%) and 25-35 (49.22%) which could be attributed to the fact that these people are mostly males 227(57.32%), Civil servants 201 (50.75%) with access to media and news sources in their homes, offices, libraries and other place where they can watch TVs, listen to the small transistor or on the internet and read Newspapers daily. At the same time it was discovered that large number of them were educationally sound; mostly degree, diploma or relevant certificate holders in different field of studies.

Abba Zayyan explains that, many people believe whatever comes out of the international media; they see the international media as dogmatic, (seeing whatever BBC or VOA reported as if it is directly from or the word of God). He does not blame people for their belief or perception but sees as the credibility the media was able to build for itself that made people to think that way. Adding, that, BBC is one of the most trusted, credible and unbiased media in the world and that the international media have been able to earn audience confidence over time.

Hauwa Gambo, stated that “unfortunately the local media has been greatly compromise especially by the government in power, personally and to a large extent people prefer to watch CNN and Aljazeera than to watch NTA because the only thing NTA does is Jonathan this, Patience that, Sambo that and so on”..If you want to get news about what has happened in Nigeria or the grassroots, then, it has to be the foreign media. The local media have been compromised and they, I think have thrown ethics out of the window and sold themselves to the government “may be it is because he who pays the piper dictates the tune” but that is not how it

is supposed to be, the media is supposed to be a free entity and to carry out its functions freely without fear or favour.

According to Okunna (1999:69 cited by Antigha, 2005:153) confirms the ubiquity of radio that, in Nigeria, research evidence shows that the use of radio as a medium of information is truly widespread even among rural population. It is therefore, been identified as the best mass medium at the country's level of development for education of rural dwellers. Consequently, the significance of the affordability of radio and its ability to leap the bounds of illiteracy, vis-a-vis the role of media in conflict must be borne in mind (2005:153).

Illiteracy perhaps is the greatest scourge of the print media, added Okunna (1999:35 again cited by Antigha, 2005:153)...In Nigeria millions of people, mostly women, can neither read nor write in their local languages or foreign languages. In rural areas, as cross cultural comparative research has shown, as many as 37% of the women are completely illiterate...To these people, Antigha, (2005:153) added, the print media can hardly be accepted as mass media. Understanding the media landscape of a given country also includes understanding *how people use media*. As well as the availability of media, there are other factors at play, such as people's personal preferences, work location and routines, overall trust in news sources as well as general media literacy. Two brief examples from the developing world show what wide variation there can be in terms of how people get information. A study conducted by Altai in (2010) in Afghanistan found that only 13 percent of the population turned to the printed press for information. This low percentage was a result of literacy levels and access "Afghan Media in 2010, A Synthesis," report by Altai Consulting (funded by USAID, 2010:102).

A study in 2012 in Nigeria found that while radio usage was generally the same in rural and urban areas, and that 4 out of every 10 respondents said they listened to the radio on their

mobile phones within the week prior to the survey, more urban residents watched TV in a given week than rural residents. These differences distinguish one country's media usage patterns from another, and affect media usage during elections. In addition to, and in some instances instead of, electronic or print media, direct personal communication remains greatly important in election campaigns and processes. "Nigeria Media Use 2012" *Gallup and Broadcasting Board of Governors*, accessed August 23, 2012,(www.bbg.gov/wp-content/media/2012/08/gallup-nigeria-brief).

While the media landscape is ever expanding and diversifying, radio remains the most prevalent and accessible form of media worldwide. Where FM radio is sparse or non-existent, AM radio is often still accessible. Already in 2002, 95% of the world's population was covered by analogue radio signals. The advent of satellite radio has also greatly expanded the variety of radio programming available to individuals worldwide. Although satellite radio remains relatively expensive, traditional radio is popular because of its relative cheapness. A handheld radio will still need batteries, but these costs are a fraction of those associated with other forms of media. Furthermore, a lack of electricity is not necessarily a limiting factor for radio. Radio also transcends limitations due to literacy. This makes it a particularly vital source of information for rural or poor areas, or contexts where women are less likely to be literate than men.

On local and International media, Yakubu Bityong gave some reasons:

Let me start by telling you certain things about the local media and international media. Now, for the local media, some are locally guided by the principle of patriotism, they have a social responsibility to protect their own country from crisis, from any form of violence, from any conflict that would lead to breakdown of law and order in their country. Some of the media have that patriotism; have that zeal to approach conflict in that light.

Recrimination of all kinds after any violent conflict has always been the case in Nigeria, Media, Governments and elites will be pointing accusing fingers and making all sorts of statements at each other. In a documented accusation by a group known as Christian Solidarity Worldwide (CSW) in its report titled “Recent Religious Violence In Central And Northern Nigeria” about the 2004 Jos and Yelwa ethno-religious crisis which lead to declaration of state of emergency in plateau State and the aftermath accused the International media of bias stand as stated by the group in their report below as follows:

There is deep disappointment and even outrage amongst non-Muslims in northern and central Nigeria concerning what they term as the biased coverage of the recent violence by certain sections of the foreign media, whose broadcasts are perceived to have inflamed events in the area. Voice of America (VOA) and Radio Deutsche welle stand accused in this regard, while CNN, Reuters and Sky News are criticized specifically for exaggerating the death toll in recent violence in Yelwa. However, it is the output of the Hausa Section (services) of BBC World Service that has a persistent cause of indignation.

This is not the first time that CSW has received complaints from non-Muslims concerning the output of the BBC Hausa Service, the report added. Whilst visiting Nigeria in 2002 and 2003 Christian Solidarity Worldwide was repeatedly informed of the biased nature of reporting by the Hausa Section. Sources on the ground attributed the imbalance in reporting to the fact that the organization is staffed almost entirely by Hausa speaking Muslims despite the fact that Hausa is the lingua franca of northern Nigeria, and there are many fluent non-Muslim speakers. There is a feeling that some of the reporters may have an agenda that involves inflaming anger adding to the misperception that the violence in Plateau State in particular is part of a worldwide offensive by ‘Crusaders’. This in turn serves to attract Muslims from other parts of Nigeria and beyond to join in a perceived jihad in defence of the Muslim Ummah. Moreover, these major news agencies then proceed to transfer erroneous stories to their main

English/German services where they are transmitted as facts and accepted as such by an international audience (<http://cswng.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/recent-religious-violence>).

Another one by the same group on the 2008 election crisis in Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria titled 'Inaccurate reporting' causes resentment among Christian community, they alleged that, "although tension has eased in Jos, Plateau State, following a weekend of deadly violence, there is increasing resentment in the Christian community at biased and inaccurate reporting of events by the international media. Several international news agencies have reported that the violence was triggered by the results of a local government election. However, sources in Jos point out that voting passed off peacefully and the violence broke out in the early hours of Friday 28 November before electoral results had even been announced. Moreover, instead of targeting political institutions, rioters armed with guns, spears, machetes and other weapons immediately attacked Christian businesses, churches and the homes of clergymen.

Adding that, of even greater concern are reports that appeared to suggest that Christians had killed 300 Muslims over the weekend, whose bodies were deposited at a central mosque. In reality, the men died while obeying orders from a mosque in the Dilimi area, which was using its loudspeakers to instruct all Muslims to defy the authorities, participate in the jihad, loot properties for money and then burn them. Local security sources insist the rioters were shot while defying a night-time curfew and launching fresh attacks, including an unsuccessful large-scale assault on police barracks. Commenting on these deaths the General Secretary of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) Engineer Salifu said: It was not Christians who killed them; it was their own unfortunate attitude. He also articulated local concern that such inaccurate reporting could fuel further violence against Christians elsewhere (csw.org.uk/2008).

While on the contrary in respect to media bias and lack of objectivity, Ibrahim Ado-Kurawa (2006) in an extensive research and documented fact on Press Coverage of Islam in Nigeria, pointed out that one of the main areas of disagreement between the sensational press and independent organizations such as the Red Cross is in the number of casualties.

While the Red Cross and other foreign media were reporting less than fifty deaths, one of the earliest reports according to Kurawa (2006) by the Daily Independent a Lagos based newspaper in its report titled “70 feared killed in Kano mayhem” (posted on May 12, 2004) was that over seventy people have been killed and according to some sources the reporter was not even in Kano at that time. The Vanguard story of May 13 2004 titled: “Curfew in Kano as 10 die protesting Yelwa” killings, also the Daily Champion posted to the web on May 12, 2004 had a similar report titled: “Kano Boils, 10 Feared Killed – Govt. Imposes Curfew” This clearly shows the intention of the Daily Independent because none of the credible sources carried such a story.

Even after the riots the Daily Sun in its editorial of Friday 21 May titled; “The Plateau Emergency Option” stated that: “The Plateau religious strife degenerated with reprisal killings in Kano where at least 60 lives were lost...” As days go by the propaganda of the press intensified and the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), the extremist religious organization, also gave spurious figures of the number of those who lost their lives (Kurawa, 2006). CAN did not hide its intention of blackmailing Kano and calling for a state of emergency in the state so also many of the fanatical Christian columnists of the various newspapers drew similarities between Kano and Plateau States. The intention of CAN and other Christian extremist journalists is to make the figures of Kano casualties higher than those of Jos. None of the independent sources had put Kano deaths in hundreds while the CAN is claiming thousands but BBC reported that: “In 2001, more than 1,000 people died in religious clashes in the Plateau State capital, Jos”. Since 2001 Plateau State has not known peace, yet they want to equate it with Kano State (Kurawa, 2006). Kurawa, (2006) argued that, many of the essays of southern journalists were poorly researched largely because of their avowed sentiment against Muslims and Islam so they never cared to crosscheck their facts. An example of poorly researched reports is the one titled: “Madness in the

North” in the sensational magazine *The News* where Joshua Dariye the (then) Governor of Plateau State was quoted as saying that the ‘Council of Ulama’s’ sponsored ‘the 1978 Maitasine Riots in Kaduna also engineered other riots in the North”. This is the extent they can go in peddling ignorance. The Maitasine riot was not in 1978 and the Council of Ulama was formed long after the Maitasine riots. *The News* and Governor Dariye tried to link Kano protests with al-Qaeda in order to draw US sympathy. The reason of *The News* was that the protesters gave Bush and Sharon “great importance”. Because of their sinister motive they never cared to find out from any of the protesters why Bush and Sharon featured prominently. All they wanted to do was to link the protest to Osama bn Laden and the beheading of the American Nicholas Berg.

The aim of CAN and other southern journalists according to Kurawa (2006) is to set the agenda so that the Federal Government could have an excuse of imposing a state of emergency in Kano. CAN said thousands were killed in Kano. And the CAN Chairman of Plateau State left his home state for Lagos where he was to draw sympathy from fellow Christian journalists who reported his inflammatory and unrepentant utterances. In one of such reports in *Thisday* posted to the web on May 17, 2004 titled: “Killing in the Name of Religion”, the Christian writer Roland Ogbonnaya reported the CAN chieftain as saying:

Pam, who was in Lagos last Tuesday to brief a selected media audience on what has been going on in Plateau State as regards the crisis, regretted that it was the Muslims that will attack first and run to the press and government, crying wolves. He said that Christians who constitute 95 per cent of the population of the state has suffered a lot in the hands of the few Muslims (Kurawa, 2006, <http://www.gamji.com/article6000/NEWS6411.htm>).

Ironically, the two accusations are parallel, while Christian Solidarity worldwide accused the western media particular the electronic media, especially radio stations with Hausa services for being bias, empathising and reporting in favour of Hausa Muslims on reporting conflicts in this part of the country, Ado-Kurawa accused the print media, mainly the Lagos-Ibadan axis

Newspapers for being favourable to Christian northern minority groups and depending CAN agenda. That is the character of the Nigerian State and why conflict in its entirety can only be managed but cannot be totally eliminated.

In the same vein, during a round table discussion at the Northern Peace Conference in 2005, Mrs Christie Shehu Adama complained that “my concern is the foreign media correspondents, especially the BBC. I am from Zamfara state and it worries me when I hear the way the BBC correspondents on Hausa service fuel crisis with their reports. They bring in their personal feelings in their reports and present it as factual reports”. Advising that, the BBC correspondents are also from the north and they should be called to order because it is the north that is destabilized by their reports which are not balanced when it come to crisis (2005:207).

4.3.4 Research Question Four; How do Media Men, Religious Leaders, Peace and Conflict Practitioners Perceive the Role of Media in Conflicts and What Could be the Implication of Such Conflicts to Security and National Development?

Research question four is based on the interview conducted with different people on their perception on the role of the media in conflict management and reconciliation as exemplified by the 2011 post election violence in Kaduna State. And they all bare their minds on different issues that relate to the topic of discussion below:

On this, media experts and journalists gave their assessments. Yakubu Bitiyong stated that, ‘The post election violence was purely as a result of a political conflict that would have been easily resolve politically but escalated to what becomes violent that is another degree of conflict and the people who suffered casualty mostly were innocent citizens of the state, innocent people who were not politicians were made to suffer for an offence they did not commit’. Again,

Bitiyong added that, the post elections violence was, purely greed on the part of politicians who wanted power and needed that power at all cost.

Abba Zayyan, has this to say: the post elections violence was as a result of some people not being happy with the outcome of the elections. Some are overzealous, even some media organizations by announcing results even before the official announcement by INEC. Mindless of the fact, that, only INEC has power to officially announce results. By such reports people were provoked insisting that what was announced contradicts what they have been hearing from various media in respect to the election. Base on that, conflict erupted and it was same media that the government used to quench down the crisis, constantly calling for calm, playing jingles and stuffs like that.

While Safiyan Jibril Safiyan responded that, 90% of the crisis was caused by media and that media, I will say is the international media and “Lagos –Ibadan axis media”. On the international I will blame those that broadcast mainly in Hausa, they presented news in such a way that people develop hatred on the ruling party that is the PDP, and then the opposition were more vocal on these media houses and you look at the average Hausa man he listen to radio more than reading the paper, that is why we have more of the crisis. So, he listens to the foreign media like BBC, Radio France and so on. And, these media gave more air time to the opposition and they explained a lot of things which made the poor man in the north to understand certain things about the ruling party (PDP). So, after results were declared, the people were made to understand that the PDP did what they were accused of, that is rigging the elections and so they resorted to violence. And then, the Lagos –Ibadan axis media promoted religious agenda. There are some people that said the election was an election between Mohammad and Jesus and some media promoted it that way. So, People look at Buhari (a former head of states) as Muslim candidate

and Jonathan a Christian candidate. This is how some of the papers and electronic media reported the elections and is what led to the crisis.

According to Jibril Abdullahi Adamu, there were so many antecedents before the elections proper and people of various cadre have already aligned themselves to some political parties and some personalities in those political parties and when the election was conducted, you could see there was an obvious divide according to participants, kind of people were divided or inclined to the kind of parties or the individuals they wanted to vote for.

Assessment of the role of the media during the 2011 post election violence

Rev. James M. Wuye in his words explains “generally speaking, I will say the media that has more devastating challenge is the electronic media because substantially speaking most of the people in this part of Nigeria particularly Northern Nigeria listen more to radio than to even watch television and you can see every young Northerner has in his possession a radio”. Like I was saying the electronic media effect was more devastating in the sense that they kept repeating news about violence, about what has happened the number of places that have been destroyed, people have been killed and by spreading that, indirectly to me is like incitement, so I feel that even if news should be read it should be read once because they have a responsibility to inform the public they should say it, but they should be sensitive to reactions.

Khalifa Anass laments that, the media has worsened conflict situation in the country and objectivity in reporting has become nonexistent. Adding that, a Christian inclined Newspaper will report in favour of Christianity, so also in the case of Islam. That when a bomb explode in a street in Kaduna it will be reported that bomber is on his way to a church but when it explode in an Islamiyya School it will just be reported that a bomb explode but the place will (may) not be mentioned. Mindless of the fact that Muslims are more victimize by the bombings than

Christians. Reports are done in a way that every Muslim is portrayed as a bomber and that is not fair. The media has a stereotyped form of reporting in Nigeria, is used for propaganda against one group and that is unhealthy, the media becomes part of the problem and not the solution. He advised that, the media must not take side in reporting or report in favour of any group.

Mallam Anass Khalifah blamed, elections rigging, unfair reporting, manipulation of results, in some situation votes are not counted, some people come out and voted for their candidates and those people are not declared winners. All these actually ignited conflict.

Abba Zayyan, opines that, the media is a societal watch dog that can either make or mar the society because it has the power to reach out to people and many people rely solely on the media for enlightenment, education and entertainment. He added that, the media set agenda in society and shape perception of audience on issues and also propagate issues or situations. Adding that, media is at centre stage of issues, they play both corrective and destructive roles in the society.

He again explains that, media is responsible for many events not only in Nigeria but globally. The post election violence came as result of crises between PDP and CPC. He mentioned that all the successful coups in Nigeria were championed by the media. That radio Nigeria Kaduna alone foiled the Gideon Okar's coup against I.B.B. That is apart from the education, sensitization and enlightenment roles. He gave example of Gen. Buhari's slogan of Akasa, atsare, a raka that it was aided by the media without which even if Gen. Buhari shouts a million times from his house the public will not be aware of and the slogan will not be adopted. Stating that, media engages all sorts of people and interest groups, be it religious, political, business and the likes.

Imam Muhammad Sani Isa, maintained that, “there are instances when the media reports are bias stating categorically that the international media are not helping matters ,they will get news and without authenticating the news they will just pass it directly to the audience, they must verify... they are not helping matters”, he emphasized. Sometimes reporting everything can be problem, so also not reporting it could add to suffering or lack of attention to the suffering group(s) in need of attention.

Dr.Wuye, again blame the media for their role in the conflict as, they (media)were the ones telling people, announcing result before the official announcement and some of us have a myopic understanding of the nation. So, because somebody won in my ward, it means he won the state. The media started sending stories all around that people have been maltreated and of course, the aspirants also did not do well because instead of being quite, they mentioned a lot of things that to me if we had law on hate speech in this country, they could be arrested for hate speech and inciting people or motivating people (to resort) to violence by their statements. So, the media did negative, the politician also escalated the violence by pronouncing or using some hard words which followers felt they have been rip off and that brought about the situation that we experienced and of course religiously, we are preaching in places of worship; vote for this man and don't vote for this man. But, they are not doing it because of the people but because of “miyan su zai yi zaki” in another word, their soup will be more palatable and richer, if a particular person goes into office. There weren't doing it for the people but for self.

Safiyan Jibril Safiyan, responded that “the media has a lot of role to play in conflict management. First, a media practitioner must understand the environment in which he operates despite that you must report the fact the way it is; you must also consider how to report it. Now, assuming you are reporting conflict from Kano between Hausas and Igbos and some people have

been killed, the person in Enugu or somewhere south will have it at the back of his mind that Hausas are killing Igbos and before you know it, there will be another or revenge from the other angle. So, it is the duty of the journalist as a media man to find a way to report such issues. I think this is one of the important roles the media should play in terms of managing crisis.

Safiyan Jibril Safiyan, again added that, It is not that they (international media) tell the truth more than the media here in Nigeria. We, here as I said earlier we look at the environment first, but you have somebody in London, in Doha, in France just reporting that Nigeria is this, Nigeria is that, they don't care whether there will reprisal somewhere or elsewhere, in their editorial judgments they don't do that. But here, is not that we don't report facts, but what we consider is that if reporting fact will lead to another crisis, is better we look for another way of reporting somehow, by doing so, it is not that I am suppressing information, but there is a way I should do it in a way that it will not cause another crisis. It is not that they are reporting the fact more than us but they just report the fact just like that but here we have social responsibility , you see as an editor, we do editing and in editing "you modify" "You add or you delete". So, this is what we are saying.

Yakubu Bityong elaborates that, the media is watchdog of society; it is between the political class and ordinary citizens of the state. So, they (media) have a role play and attempted to play its role but as diversified as the Nigerian media is you have some media who were fanning the embers of those politicians who needed power at all cost and some other media who were out to do their job according to the ethics of the profession, so the media was divided but if we want to categorically refer to the role being played by the media. Personally, I see it as dual role there were those who play the role that succeeded in bringing the crisis to a logical end and

there were those that help heightening the crisis to the level it reach and because of that we can say the media play dual role.

Bityong explains that, the media was in a better position to enlighten people, on the political game and what they needed to do during election and even the politician themselves could have been educated by the media on how to accept their faith after an election and how to go about election without necessarily causing any breach of peace.

Stella Bature, argued that, the whole issue of media whether what they are or not doing boils down to how free they are to operate, who is even dictating what they are saying. Somebody will be somewhere teleguiding. So, sometimes it is not even the interest of those practicing (you know) somebody will be somewhere; he has his own interest... Let's say there is conflict, he has an interest or may be taken side or supporting, and then he will be there teleguiding what would happen. So, if the media is really to do what they are supposed to, they need some level of independence, they need to be given that freedom to operate truly as mediators in conflict. Because, there is nobody who wants to see the whole place going off in flames.

The business of Peace building, Mediation, Conflict Resolution and its Challenges

Pastor (Dr). James Movel Wuye responded “I actually joined this business about 18 years ago. So the interfaith mediation centre is one of the pioneering civil society organization or NGO that tends to address contemporary issues facing our society and we use our religious blessings to view issues and address them with the aim of bringing people together for harmonious and peaceful coexistence. So this is what I have been doing here for the past 18 years now”.

Imam Muhammad Sani Isa (Wharf Road) joined the IMC in 1998 after a visit to the US for thirty (30) days under the plurality and conflict management programme. He has interest in Bible and Christian studies with A3 in his GCE.

On the role of Religious leaders, Mallam Anass Khalifah (Imam MICA) explained that, religious leaders have little role to play during conflicts, adding that you can only control someone who can obey you, that followers no longer obey religious leaders. The youths are angry, hungry, desperate and frustrated. Sometimes they don't even attend places of worship, so, even when you talk to them they will not listen but government has power not only to stop them but to pursue development of the country as a whole and has a bigger role to play in conflict, unlike religious leaders, that is why in Islamic setting the government and religious scholars cannot be separated. Stating that, if you don't direct those desperate youths to peace, then you are directing them to pieces.

Dr. Wuye explains that, some people misconstrue our work as amalgamation of religion. We are not asking people to do Christlam, be who you want to be, and preach your gospel with the other person in mind. Do your Da'awah with another person in mind these are some of the challenges.

Factors responsible for incessant conflict in Kaduna State

Mallam Anass Khalifah (Imam MICA) states that "I think looking at the human nature conflict cannot be eliminated completely but the occurrences can be minimized .First of all, is the issue of ethnicity, that the community is multi-cultural and multi-religious.

Imam Muhammad Sani Isa, listed three responsible factors for conflict. Firstly, is ignorance, people lacking basic knowledge of religion and that of the rights of others. It is ignorance that made people to be unfriendly, to abuse or insult others religion even if they are

Idol worshippers, not even the Christians that are close to them in laws, having so much in common quoting from Qur'an (6:38) and (6:108).

Secondly, is inherent stereotype and prejudices, saying you will see some Muslims particularly Hausas dehumanize and call a non Muslim 'Kwaro' (insect). It does with mindset, you also see non Muslims seeing Muslims as terrorists, fundamentalist and likes.

Third, is fear, Both Muslims and Christians are afraid of domination because they are afraid there will no justice and fair play. Domination brings about injustice and maltreatment.

Dr. James Movel Wuye states that generally speaking, we have not had good mentors again for the north. Today, in the north, we have a flamboyant life style and which leads to corruption and also leading to insensitivity to the plight, ok, so what I'm saying is that we don't have mentors. Everybody in the north if he is going to tell you about how the north was in its glorious days, they will tell you about Tafawa Balewa, and Sardauna and these people lived to serve, and I'm glad that you are from ABU which is part of Sardauna's project.

On the incessant crisis Jibril Abdullahi Adamu, responded that, O.k. now, let's look at it again, from the media perspective, there should be some sense of responsibility in reporting, here that is not the case, the media will report and in most cases exaggerate and as such, it will yield a repeat in other parts of the state and you could see there is crisis here and there.

To sum up the above argument, Salawu, in his paper title, Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria: causal analysis and proposals for new management strategies (2010:348) states that, a very important cause of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria is the breakdown of such vehicles of social control that characterized the traditional African societies such as, the family, education, law, religion and political system that cared for the well-being of all citizens. (2010:348).

Suggestions on how to come out of the problems and how the media can improve positively

On his assessment of the media during conflict, Safiyan Jibril responded, You see, the hausa man has a saying “kai kayi kilanka kai kayi rawan ka” the media is part of the cause of the post elections violence and at the same time played a very role in ensuring that the violence was de-escalated, it come up with solutions to the violence. So, I think the media whether we like it or not, is the first and most important avenue of solving any crisis in the country.

Khalifa Anass, advised, that if the media must do well, the conscience of their reports must prevail and must be the priority, calling a spade a spade, issues right or wrong must be reported as such, irrespective who does right or wrong. Selective reporting as we have in Nigeria is unfortunate and discredits the image of media.

Abba Zayyan advised, Journalist or pressmen that they, should be objective, trustworthy and balanced in their reports.

Imam Muhamed Sani added that, to him the media only report what they see; insisting that the media don't cause trouble. Adding that, his only problem with media is their manner or way of reporting issues. Advising that, the media should always try to adhere to professionalism and report to de-escalate and not to escalate conflicts. Media can contribute to peace or aid conflict that is why there is peace and war journalism, stating that since the 1987 crisis media has been playing role in containing and suppressing conflicts in Kaduna state.

Rev. James M. Wuye insisted that, “to me generally speaking, they have not been very helpful because they are sentimental, sectional, emotional, and sometimes their ethnic and religious bias come to bear”. If you are from a particular area, you will know the sentiment in their words and in the voice how you even voiced it, what you say, also help to escalate violence.

Advise to Government and media on how to improve

Abba Zayyan Maintained that, “there is always the issue of censorship by NBC that is why even the annual Ramadan Tafseer was not allowed to be broadcast live because whatever is said goes out straight to the audience, and that is why there are editors who are the gatekeepers”. He said that government even though is doing well need to liberalize the sector, licensing of radio stations should be subsidized and bureaucratic bottlenecks be reduced, people should have more access to information, people in government should be ever ready to respond to issues, whenever they are called upon to clarify.

On her advice to government and media, Stella Bature stated that, there has to be that level of independence. Government I know could be afraid that if we leave these people, they will just create problems for us unnecessarily by bringing out things they are not suppose to bring out. But, even in that, there are ways of doing these things that would not spark conflict and if governments may be tries to understand where the practitioners stand, and then, the practitioners also understand the fear of the government they could have a meeting point somewhere where that slight level would now come into play. Government will be sure that at least they understand the practitioners and then, the practitioners will go home knowing yes we understand where this guy is coming from, when that is done, when that level of mutual trust is developed, that issue of independence would now come in and the media would be able to operate the way it is suppose to.

Yakubu Bityong advised that, the media can improve by way of training because one of the problems we have in Nigeria today is lack of proper training for our media practitioners. Our media practitioners need to be trained on conflict resolution, how to report conflict, what are the causes of these conflicts. If you know what a conflict is, that is simply disagreement between two

(2) parties and this disagreement could be negative, could be positive and the disagreement could be harnessed to produce something that is not violent, something that is for the good of society. Then, the media would play its role as it is expected.

Implication of Conflicts to Security and National Development

This very research question is the most contentious of all. It attracted different and diverse responses from respondents. Question 15 in the questionnaire was open ended so different views and opinion were expressed some connected to the others, while some are unconnected, some very meaningful, while some the opposite, some are optimistic and some pessimistic and so on. 396 opinions cannot all be discussed but being that some were related and some closely, some answered in one sentence, some two words and others just one word. The discussion is as follows:

Individual respondents have different opinion and views on the implications of the incessant conflicts in Kaduna state. About 70% of respondents noted that the implications of such are very negative to the unity and progress of the country. Some responses are much alike and related like it could lead to economic instability and massive migration from one part of the country to the another ,some responded it will lead to disunity, political instability, economic recession, social disaffection and migration of people. Some responded that, the implication could be damaging the image and reputation of the country, some insist it could lead to a divided nation where there will be no peace and tranquillity, and some said it made the society very vulnerable and volatile. While others were closely related some responded with just a word or two like “War”, “misunderstanding”, “disintegration”, “retardation” and likes. While some comments that the implications could be attacks and counter attacks, lack of peace and lack of

development. The other 30% are very optimistic that with time the government and citizens will overcome the security and other challenges affecting the unity and progress of the country.

On Implication of conflicts and role of media, Bityong continued that, generally, if you are looking at the media as one irrespective of whether one side of the media is supporting party A or party B, the media has a wonderful role to play in conflict resolution minding the language of reporting, and of cause carrying along the people, being able to dig into the root-cause of the conflict and to understand their areas of disagreement. On his assessment of media, he added that, it all depend on the interest the media has, if for instance there is conflict between A and B, your media is owing allegiance to A, be rest assured that all your media is going to report will be favourable to A. But, if you media is a neutral media, be rest assured that what your media will do is to try to get to the root of the conflict, get to know the areas of disagreement with sole aim of bringing the two parties to understanding that after all the disagreement they are facing, it could be harnessed for purpose of growth and development and there will be a peaceful resolution.

Uka, (2012) concludes that, the problems of ethnic, religious and even communal conflicts constitute a serious threat to national security. As long as their rootedness in politics and revenue control continues, and whereas there has not been any significant or palpable transfer of ethnic loyalty to national loyalty, so long will the issues of ethnicity, religion and politics continue to have serious implications for our national security any solution to the situation must consider these facts.

4.4 Overview of Findings/Results

Research has been carried out, some significant issues that relates to perception of audience on the role of media in conflict management and reconciliation using the 2011 post elections violence in Kaduna state as case study were and all the findings from both the questionnaires and in-depth interview were discussed in relation to the research questions of the study which entails addressing issues relevant to perception of media by audience at the time of conflict as was the case of 2011 in the study area and also the various problems confronting the state and offering possible solutions and suggestions as to how these problems can be remedied. It was observed and have become a settled fact that no society or country can develop successfully without security and safety of lives and properties accorded priority concern from government and this can only be guaranteed through effective policing to create a conducive atmosphere for businesses, free movement and investment.

All the quantitative data gathered were analyzed using SPSS package (frequencies and percentages), while the hypotheses were achieved using chi-square statistical test at 5% level of significance.

1 -According to the research findings, majority of the respondents 163(41.16%) are of the strong believe that improved professionalism in peace journalism can be used to achieve peaceful co-existence among the people of the state. It was suggested that media practitioners need training and re-training to have good knowledge of and understanding of conflict, its sensitivity and how to report in conflict in an objective and matured manner

2 -Findings revealed that majority of respondents 160 (40.40%) strongly agreed and 112 (28.28%) agreed that media had played a vital role in conflict management and reconciliation through positive contribution to peace building by preaching tolerance; respect, trust and

understanding among heterogeneous people of Kaduna state (see table 19). This was supported by the fact that even when the media is accused of playing dual role or causing conflict, it was again praise for setting agenda and playing reconciliatory role during conflict.

3-As regard to the 2011 post-election conflict, respondents reacted to the fact that it all started as mere political discord or misunderstanding between political actors but was left unchecked and unresolved until it metamorphosed into a full scale ethno-religious conflict. Finding also revealed that, politicians are desperate, greed and selfish to employ every means including religion, religious figures, followers or sympathizers and ethnic affiliation to achieve, retain, maintain or remind in position of power.

4-Table 15 and 16 confirmed that majority of audience prefer getting information about internal conflict 171 (43.18%) from both local and foreign media but quite a good 125(31.56%) prefer foreign media to local media because of factuality, balance and credibility these media have been able to earned for themselves.

5 -Findings from this research further shows that; political parties have also been accused of overheating the polity, violating the zoning formula and declaring the electioneering process as do or die affair and that they refuse to allow the wishes and votes of the electorates to count. To achieve their desperate ambition, according to findings a lot of dubious thing were done for those that emerged to emerged.

6 -The media again was blame for announcing (conflicting) elections results before the official announcement by the independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) which was one of the reasons for violent reaction by angry electorates. Here, the research advised that, INEC should develop policies and guidelines on media safety in the election process, including briefing INEC staff (particularly voting centre staff) on media rights, presence and safety. Where necessary,

INEC should liaise with security agencies in order to establish any special measures required to protect media personnel at elections sites. INEC, media development and donor' agencies should coordinate to ensure that adequate funding and resources are provided for journalist protection and safety.

7 - This research findings confirmed that Religious leaders, just like the politicians and media are guilty of preaching improperly in favour or against some candidates, hate speeches and incitement. The research also exposed the value of communication and media in all our social, economic and political interactions.

8 -The research discovered that conflict cannot be completely eliminated in our heterogeneous society but can be reduced or minimised to the barest minimum and the media has a vital role to play in that regard by being educative, enlightening, fair, patriotic, balance and objective in their approach and reportage.

9 -The research findings further advised media practitioners to be cautious and have a good understanding of the environment in or from which they are reporting issues and should report in favour of peace to de-escalate violence in the state and country.

10 -Government and government officials are also advised to be fair, equitable and just and to treat every citizen equally without bias or any form of discrimination.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Summary

Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe of blessed memory, once states that:

My point is that, our ancestors, in spite of their heterogeneous languages and cultures, bequeathed to us a legacy of political, social, economic, legal, philosophical and religious ideologies, which had sustained and enable them to survive. Now we are confronted with problems of co-existence and are ensconced in a wilderness of alien ideologies, which are making a terrific impact on our ways of lives, the obvious solution is for us, like a seaman who has drifted from salt to fresh water, without knowing it, to cast down our bucket where we are and draw fresh water to assuaged our thirst. We must dig deep from our roots to discover this secret of successful co-existence (1980p173).

Analysing Azikwe's postures shows that, our ancestors have come a very long way and it will be unfortunate if all the sacrifices, accommodation, trust, understanding, tolerance, patience and perseverance that kept and sustained them over the years will be in vain due our recent change in attitudes, behaviour, unity of purpose and co-existence. As mentioned earlier, there has never been a society that developed without unity, peace and accommodation between and among its inhabitants. Peace is integral and still very central to the development of any nation worldwide.

This study has been able to establish the inherent nature of conflicts and crises in human societies as well as the significant role of media and communication in human interaction and also carefully looked at the destructive nature of violence to the wellbeing of humanity. The work further conceptualizes key words like media, conflict, perception, political violence, communication and peace. It then pointed out that conflict can either be functional or

dysfunctional depending on the circumstances. Vital roles of the media and the various conflict management apparatus like conflict transformation, resolution, suppression and reconciliation among other necessary measures put in place to avert or control violent conflict in Kaduna state in particular and Nigeria in general have been highlighted.

Through various steps, this work presents a more operational and understandable definition of media, conflict management, peace building and reconciliation by aiming and designing an analytical methodology that help to carry out a workable analysis of achieving the research objectives. Specifically, reconciliation seeks to transform relationship and turn it into a positive and constructive one in order to ensure a lasting peaceful living together. Concerning the case of Kaduna state, it is not only the presence of several and diverse ethnicities, but also the existence of different religions as well as socioeconomic, historical and political inequalities. No one will study the case of Kaduna without being aware that the state was ethnically and religiously divided after the Sharia ethno-religious conflict, quite a number of the internally displaced persons have not returned home or to their respective places of domicile. In interethnic conflicts such as the case of Kaduna, deep socio-psychological wounds are caused because people usually have been amicable neighbours for a very long period of time.

Through the analysis of the case study, it is proved that practical work implemented on the ground perusing a successful process of conflict management and reconciliation has actual impact on the relationship among communities. From the case study, the work carried out by the Interfaith Mediation Centre brought about, among other NGOs focused on dialogue, peace building, interventions and reconciliation processes. On the other hand, the attempts made by the Kaduna peace declaration which metamorphosed into the Kaduna Peace Committee to create a conducive and peaceful state encouraged an atmosphere and a general conscience within the

population for the need of the governments and the various NGOs to achieve true reconciliation among communities.

This study fulfilled the initial expectations of answering the research questions raised in the introduction or first chapter of this work. That is, using specific indicators to design an analytical methodology to determine whether the media has impact on the perception of audience in conflict management and reconciliation among previously confronted communities. Through the case study, it proves how media actions actually have a real impact on people's mind and, therefore, on the relationship between and among communities. To sum up this thesis, based on the idea that media play an active role in conflict management and reconciliation, shows that, the process of peace building and reconciliation can be assessed to be able to distinct between media actions that have a positive impact on conflict management and reconciliation processes and those that do not have.

This thesis presents the media's positive roles in conflict management and reconciliation as the necessary step to take from violence to non-violence and negative peace (nonviolence) to become positive peace (constructive relationship among the parties). Therefore, in achieving a true process of reconciliation it is necessary to ensure a common future for communities and a phase of lasting peace. That is why the functionalist theory within media, peace or conflict studies deserves further academic attention and studies. However, in a world where violence erupts too often, like in our case, using the media in getting previously confronted parties together should be considered as a key process. Once the relationship is rebuild and positive peace established, it is time for deepening conflict prevention research and thus avoid the return of violence. Accordingly, media takes a key role within conflict studies. Without successful

conflict management and reconciliation a conflict may be pacified, but never fully resolved (Oliva, 2011p 43).

It was also discovered that commissions of inquiry are always established by governments after any violent conflict but their findings and reports are hardly made public and implemented. The remote and in some cases even the immediate causes of such conflicts are largely ignored and only their symptoms are treated. Here, this research, entirely agree with scholars and stakeholders who suggest that sensitive government decisions could be handle delicately, while ethnicity and religion could be depoliticized, the indigene/settler question be addressed at the highest level and future elections be made as credible and transparent as possible. These jobless and restless youths must be empowered or provided with employment because an idle hand is a devils workshop.

Assessing the role of Media in Peace-building, according to a study on the 2007 post-election conflict in Kenya Radoli, (2011:40) advised that conflict resolution processes require concerted efforts from human rights actors, social – community networks and the media. In essence, media owners, editors and journalists cannot simply escape responsibility for their actions. As this study has indicated journalists can be powerful individually and collectively, but they can also be manipulated very easily if they deviate from issues of substance and dwell on trivialities. Just like the Kenyan post-2007, the Nigerian 2011post elections case and the aftermath also serves to point at the potential abuse of media freedom in vulnerable political societies. This thesis recognizes that in conflict situations, some states could muzzle the media on the pretext of protecting public order and safety.

Adele (2012:217) concludes, that Political violence or electoral violence has continued to threaten the democratic experiment in Nigeria. This has done incalculable damage to Nigeria's

democracy having stifled many democratic experiments in Nigeria. Electoral violence has now taken another dimension fiercer than before because associating with the present electoral violence is political assassination. Urgent steps should be taken to control this ugly phenomenon (2012:217)

5.2 Conclusion

There is a every need to appreciate and recognised the media's crucial responsibility toward the public and then agree that journalist or media practitioners must continue to ensure objective news reporting and uphold high standards of accuracy, accountability, professionalism and also confidentiality in discharging their duties. The media can help achieve goals in conflict prevention and peace building when paired with professional approaches or strategies. The media is not appropriate for all peace building efforts however. Highly-sensitive negotiations, for example, are often best kept quiet without the pressure brought by media seeking to highlight areas of conflict (which helps them sell their media products) rather than serve to foster a focus on common ground, a problem-solving orientation, and hopefulness required for development.

The media's role in contributing to cognitive, attitudinal and behavioural change on a large scale is enormous. Conflict prevention and peace building professionals can use the media in harmony with their other programs – if they know when, why, where and how to use the media for strategic impact in lessening polarization between aggrieve groups. On the other hand, media professionals still have much to learn about why and when their work can contribute to preventing violent conflict and building peace between groups. The media and peace professionals both have their limitations and share an interest in the dynamics of conflict.

Cooperation between agencies, donors, civil society, religious leaders, peace building organizations and media practitioners is essential. There is a need for meetings, seminars and

workshops where models and best practices can be shared. Because using media in peace building is a new practice, everyone has a lot to learn from the exchange of experiences and ideas.

A careful assessment of whether the media is likely to play a positive or negative role in achieving the goals of conflict prevention and peace building requires greater insight into ways the media helps and harms the path toward constructive change. Both peace building and media professionals still have a great deal to learn on this journey (Bratic and Schirch, 2007).

5.2.1. Recommendation for the Government, Journalists, and the Media in general.

Arising from the foregoing, the following recommendations are made:

- 1- Government at various levels, federal or states should explore and device means or ways in which the media can improve and promote a peaceful resolution to challenges. The government could use the media to promote and manage expectations as in the case of the coming 2015 elections, which could one way or the other be prevented from getting bad or worse, this can be done through the National Orientation Agency (NOA) and other relevant organizations.
- 2- The government should involve the media in decision making and at Security Council meetings to make meaningful contribution and suggestion on how to achieve lasting peace and understanding in the state.
- 3- Government at all levels should double their efforts in promoting initiatives to train journalist and other media practitioners on issues of peace and security through workshops, conferences, fora, symposia and the likes.
- 4- There is need for a legislative framework governing the conducts of media while it still respects media freedom, independence and autonomy. The government should liberalize

broadcasting and make issuance of license flexible and affordable and also, reduce all forms of bureaucratic bottleneck.

5- There should be natural, harmonious, peaceful audience-government-media relationship and coexistence with clear responsibilities spelled out. This means the responsibility of the media is to provide the audience or public with information while the government should issues licenses as well as commission an agreed constitution clauses that governs media conduct and operation in a democratic manner. As a matter of fact, government at all levels should motivate the media to mobilize support for peace and confidence building in conflict affected areas.

6- In addition, there should be a permanent consultative mechanism between the government and the media. The media should give special emphasis to the promotion of peace and development in the country and should also explore ways of providing greater coverage of issues pertaining to health, education, economy, youth, women and political issues. In addition, the media should continue playing a greater educational role and should contribute to transparency, accountability and efficiency of government by monitoring the government's collection, management and expenditure of public funds and should also keep abreast of foreign aid and monitor how it is used.

7- Media practitioners or journalists are expected to be responsible, accountable and professional in the exercise of their profession, in the same way and manner all other professionals are ethnically required to conduct themselves. It has been observe that journalists at some level are lacking in their abilities to meet journalistic standard of fairness, objectivity, accuracy and balance are mostly absent. To some extent journalists are in the habit of adopting reporting styles that promote ethnic, tribal, religious and political extremism, similar to what was done and the

consequences of the broadcast of extremist and genocidal messages by the Rwandan radio station, Radio des milles collines .

8- Codes of conduct for practitioners should provide essential principles to guide actions of media and journalists. A code of conduct may be declared by an association or trade unions of journalists or professional media regulatory bodies like the the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ), the Nigerian Guild of Editors (NGE), the Nigerian Press Organization (NPO), Newspapers Proprietors Association of Nigeria (NPAN), Nigerian Press Council (NPC) among others, media houses both print or electronic, elections regulatory bodies (such INEC or SIEC), or by individual journalists. Such codes are most effective if they are the outcome of a collective process, however, in which journalists and editors themselves participate. There are overarching codes of conduct such as that agreed by the International Federation of Journalists (<http://www.ifj.org/en/pages/about-ifj>). This code of conduct enunciates several principles that will be relevant to journalists in election coverage: Accuracy, Impartiality, Honesty and resistance to corruption, avoiding the use of language or sentiments that promote violence or discrimination.

9- The media should promote the education of journalist on conflict management, peace building and reconciliation. In addition, the media should invest much more resources in strengthening their capacity to cover conflict and crises particularly areas that are devastated and in serious need of humanitarian relief or assistance. Journalist must be allowed to go about searching for facts and information freely without any intimidation what so ever by soldiers, police or other security operatives.

10- Their safety and security must be guaranteed by all and sundry in the society. Media safety also requires that media staff develop acute awareness of the socio-political environment and

potential volatilities at hand. Professionalism can also be a significant factor of media safety, as media can often unintentionally (or intentionally) incite further violence or insecurity, through inaccurate or inflammatory reporting.

11- Ensuring the safety and impartiality of journalist and other media practitioners in conflict situation is a major challenge that must be critically looked into and addressed. However, the journalist themselves must be very conscious and aware of how fragile their own safety and security can be at the time of conflict or any crises.

12- The media must look at strategies and partnership between them and governments at various levels as a means of enhancing understanding on the part of the media. Such partnership could help build strategies for disseminating tolerance and peace messages to the target public or audience.

13- The media could play vital role in increasing awareness with respect to conflicts and victims of conflict and let donors, NGOs, CBOs, relevant organisations and powerful individual know that crises or conflict victims are in need assistance, humanitarian or financial contributions or attention.

5.3 Limitations of the Study and Recommendation for Further Research

As usual limited time and space for researches of this nature always resulted in a narrow focus on other themes that could cover the general scope on audience perception of role of the media in conflict management and reconciliation. However, the study attempted to include data from different categories of respondents in Kaduna State, the study area, that includes journalists, religious leaders, peace and conflict managers/ mediators and media audience who together formed a reasonable representative sample. Further research should examine the significance of media and how it influences the perception and behaviour of audience in the Nigeria.

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Interview and Oral Sources

1. Mallam Anass Khalifah is the Imam, spiritual head of the Movement for Islamic Culture and Awareness (MICA) Kaduna Chapter
2. Mallam Abba Zayyan was former Executive Director (Radio), Kaduna State Media Corporation (KSMC) and now Executive Director, Kaduna Network Centre, Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN).
3. Mrs. Stella Bature is the Manager, News and Current Affairs, at the Kaduna State Media Corporation (KSMC).
4. Pastor, Dr. James Movel Wuye (IMC) is a clergy and one of founders of the Christian-Muslim Interfaith Mediation Centre, Kaduna. He is a Co-Executive Director together with Imam Dr. Nurayn Ashafa, they are the ones steering the activities of the Centre.
5. Jibril Abdullahi Adamu is with Newage Network is a programme and documentary producer, presenter, Director and reporter. He has been in practice for sometimes now with lots of experience.
6. Imam Muhammad Sani Isa is the chief Imam of Whaff Road, and Ameer Whaff Road Muslim Forum, Kaduna and also the Director of Interventions at Christian-Muslim Interfaith Mediation Centre, Kaduna.
7. Yakubu Bityong is the senior Controller, Presentation at the Kaduna State Media Corporation (KSMC) with wealth of experience in Journalism.
8. Safiyan Jibril Safiyan works with Newage Network, Kaduna as producer and presenter of TV and radio programmes like Keeping promise and Alkawari for Kaduna State government.
9. Reverend Bitrus Danjuma like all the others mentioned is also a religious figure at the same time Director, Training at Christian-Muslim Interfaith Mediation Centre, Kaduna.
10. Hauwa Abdullahi Gambo is a producer and presenter of many programmes, she was briefly in Germany with DW radio services and now with Kaduna Network Station, Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN).

Appendix i

Questionnaire

This questionnaire is for Master's thesis to examine the Perception of the Audience on the Role of the Media in Conflict Management and Reconciliation using the 2011 Post-Election Violence in Kaduna State as Case Study. This questionnaire is carefully designed to obtain data and information as to sample perception of the different segments of the State on the role of the media in conflict management and reconciliation.

Your candid response to the questions would be highly appreciated and shall be treated with utmost confidentiality for academic purpose(s).

Section A (Demographic data)

1. Age A.18-25 [] B. 26-35 [] C. 36-45 [] D. 46 above []
2. Sex A. Male [] B. Female []
3. Occupation
 - a. Civil Servant [] b. Private Employee [] c. Self Employed [] d. Others (specify).....
4. Marital Status
 - a. Married [] b. Single [] c. Divorced [] d. Widowed []
5. Level of Education
 - a. Primary [] b. Secondary [] c. Tertiary [] d. Non formal []
6. Religion
 - a. Islam [] b. Christianity [] c. Others (specify).....

Section B (Extent of Audience Perception)

7. Have you ever been affected by conflict?

- a. Yes [] b. No []

8. Have the media ever reported conflict situation from your affected area?

- a. Yes [] b. No []

9. Through which media do you normally get conflict information?

- a. Radio [] b. Television [] c. Newspapers [] d. All of the above []

10. Do you think the Media play any role in conflict Management and reconciliation?

- a. Yes [] b. No []

11. How does the media report(s) affect your community? State please, (either positive or negative)

- a. Positive [] b. Negative []

12. What type of conflict would you say is common in Kaduna State?

- a. Ethno-religious [] b. Political violence [] c. Economic crisis [] d. Others
(specify).....

13. What do you think is responsible for incessant conflicts in Kaduna State?

- a. Intolerance [] b. Diversity [] c. Disrespect [] d. Mistrust [] e. All of the above []

14. What in your opinion do you think could be the implication of such conflict on security and national development?

.....
.....

15. Which media do you like turning to for information at the time of any internal conflict?
- a. Local media [] b. International media [] c. Both Local and International media []
16. What do you think responsible for your answer above?
- a. Factuality [] b. Bias [] c. Balance [] d. Don't know []
17. Do you think the media take side in reporting conflict and conflict related issues?
- a. Yes [] b. To some extent [] c. To larger extent [] d. Not at all []
18. How will you rate media reports on peace and conflict management?
- a. Educative [] b. Balanced and accurate [] c. Biased [] d. Boring []
19. Do you agree that Media is contributing to peace building, through preaching tolerance, respect, trust and understanding among the diverse people of Kaduna state?
- a. Strongly agree [] b. Agree [] c. Disagree [] d. Strongly disagree []
20. Would you say you are satisfied with the Media content on conflict management and reconciliation?
- a. Yes [] b. No []
21. Do you believe that improved professionalism on peace journalism can be used to achieve peaceful co-existence among the people?
- a. Strongly believe [] b. Believe [] c. Disbelieve [] d. Strongly disbelieve []
22. How can the media be used to better influence positive change and values among the people of Kaduna State? Through....
- a. Education [] b. Dialogue [] c. Sensitization [] d. Entertainment [] e. All of the above []

Appendix ii
INTERVIEW (question guide)

I am a postgraduate student of Development Communication in the Department of Theatre and Performing, Faculty of Arts, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. I am carrying out a research on the Perception of the Audience on the Role of the Media in Conflict Management and Reconciliation using the 2011 Post-Election Violence in Kaduna State as Case Study. This study is being carried out as an academic requirement for the award of M.A degree in Development communication. In view of this, you are please requested to give the most sincere information that would help achieve the objectives of this study. You are assured that information provided will be kept secret and utilized for only for academic purpose(s).

Thanks as you cooperate.

QUESTION GUIDE

1. Name, place of work and position of Respondent
2. How long have you been in the business of peace building and conflict resolution and what are the challenges?
3. What in your view is the cause of the 2011 post election violence in Kaduna State?
4. How do you assess the role of the media during the 2011 post election violence?
5. What do you think is responsible for incessant conflict in Kaduna State and what could the implication of such conflict to security and national development?
6. How can we come out of this problem or any suggestion on how the media can improve positively?
7. What advise do you have for Government and media on how to improve?