

**EFFECTS OF MEDIA REPORTAGE OF ETHNO RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS ON  
CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA**

**BY**

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

## **DECLARATION**

I declare that this work entitled “Effects of Media Reportage of Ethno Religious Conflicts on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State” was conducted by me in the Department of Arts and Social Science Education under the supervision of Professor J.N. Kwasau and Very Rev. Fr. Professor P. B Tanko. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this dissertation has been previously presented for another degree or diploma in any university.

Matthew Williams BARDE

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Signature      Date

## CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled “EFFECTS OF MEDIA REPORTAGE OF ETHNO RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS ON CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS IN KADUNA STATE” by Matthew Williams BARDE meets the regulations guiding the award of Masters of Education (M.Ed) in Christian Religious Studies, in the Department of Arts and Social Science Education Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contributions to knowledge and literary presentation.

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## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my lovely wife, Beatrice and our children; Benita and Benedict. Also, it is dedicated to all the victims of Ethno-religious Conflicts associated with Media reportage in Kaduna State.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Peaceful coexistence between Christians and Muslims in Kaduna state is needed for unity and development. The conflict that have occurred in the state in the past years have caused lost of lives, damages to properties and mutual suspicion between the people within the state. Unfortunately, the media reportage of some of these conflict left much to be desired. This study investigates the effects of media reportage of ethno-religious conflicts on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. The investigation was delineated to cover social effects of media reportage of ethno-religious conflict, economical, psychological and effects of manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. The population of the study was sampled from Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. Based on the 2006 census results, Kaduna State has a population of about 6,000,000 people. One thousand two hundred were selected as sample for the study. Out of this number 469 were Christians and 509 were Muslims. Instrument used was questionnaire. The reliability coefficient of the questionnaire was determined and found to be 0.82, using the split half method. The questionnaire was validated from the Department of Art and Social Science Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria. The data collected was analyzed using statistical tools of t-test and analysis of variance (ANOVA). The results show amongst others that both Christians and Muslims suffer social effects of religious and ethnic conflicts though with significant difference in their perception of the severity of the effects of the conflicts notwithstanding that both were affected. It is also discovered that, the females suffered more of the economic effects of the ethnic and religious conflicts than the male. The psychological effects of ethno-religious conflict were significantly different across the

age grades. The experience of effects manipulation of religion and ethnicity in initiating conflict was also significantly different in the responses across the Senatorial Zones of the State. Based on the findings, appropriate recommendations were made such as; media houses should cross check their news before reporting on ethno-religious conflicts so as not to be seen as being biased. Government should sanction any media house that indulges in biased reportage of ethno-religious conflicts, religious bodies should desist from inducing media reporters to report biased and exaggerated news on ethno-religious conflicts.



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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>CAN:</b>	Christian Association of Nigeria
<b>JNI:</b>	Jamaatul Nasril Islam
<b>NYSC:</b>	National Youth Service Corp
<b>NUJ:</b>	Nigeria Union of Journalist
<b>FRCN:</b>	Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria
<b>OIC:</b>	Organization of Islamic Countries
<b>BBC:</b>	British Broadcasting Cooperation
<b>NBC:</b>	National Broadcasting Commission
<b>P.T.D:</b>	Post Traumatic Disorder

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

Peace is a veritable factor that helps in the developments of any nation. Peace exist were there is mutual understanding between people of diverse ethno-religious background. This peace was enjoyed in Kaduna Sate until 1987 when that peaceful coexistence between Christians and Muslims was shattered as a result of religious conflict in Kafanchan. In reporting that conflict, some sections of the media only facilitated the escalation of the conflict to other parts of the state. This problem has casted doubts in the minds of both Christians and Muslims on the proper role of media reportage during ethno religious conflicts.

As part of its responsibility, the media is expected to report events whether good or bad. In doing so, media practitioners have their ethics which guide the conduct of its members. Reporting ethno religious conflict is one of the delicate and sensitive areas in journalism which requires professionalism, objectivity and patriotism. When properly and professionally reported, ethno religious conflict can be quickly controlled while on the other hand, if reported unprofessionally with sentiment, such conflict escalates.

Apart from the 1987 Kafanchan conflict, Kaduna state has witnessed other ethno religious conflicts associated with media reportage. For example, the 1992 Zangon Kataf conflict, the This Day Miss World Conflict and the Dennish Cartoon conflicts were all believed to have either been initiated by the media or facilitated its escalation to other places due to the unprofessional media reportage of the conflict. This unprofessional



media reportage which prompted conflict in Kaduna state has caused lost of lives and properties on the side of both Christian and Muslims. It has equally caused ill feelings among the diverse ethnic groups in the state. Today, Christians and Muslims in Kaduna state are suspicious of the true content, neutrality and fairness of media reportage.

The negative effect of media reportage in fuelling ethnic conflict glaringly came to the fore during the Hutu and Tutsi conflict of Rwanda in 1994. Biblically, there is a record of the effects of the negative report in the nation of Israel. After the spy sent by Moses had returned, the exaggerated report of ten of them terrified the camp of Israel. The people rebelled against Moses and opted to go back to Egypt. Joshua and Caleb who were among the spies spoke in favour of Israel's ability to go and take over the land but were almost stoned by the people. God had to intervene to save the situation (Number 13:26-33, 14:1-10). This clearly shows the danger of exaggerated reportage. Hence, this study examines the effects of media reportage of ethno religions conflict of Christians and Muslims in Kaduna state.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Christians and Muslims have lived together in Northern Nigeria peacefully right from pre-independence. Even after independence and the creation of States, Christians and Muslims have maintained a one united north devoid of ethnic or religious differences. This is in spite the perceived marginalisation of some northern ethnic groups by the Hausa Fulani.

The pre-independence and post-independence media concentrated in preaching and educating Nigerians on unity, peace and national consciousness. Principally, the

media is supposed to inform, educate and entertain the public among other responsibilities. Religion and ethnicity are not to be employed in the media as weapons for division and hatred. This simply means that the media is expected at all times to be fair, balanced and objective in the reportage of events without showing religious or ethnic sentiments.

However, from 1987 when Kaduna State witnessed one of its major ethno religious conflicts, the media came to the centre stage of what most commentators regard as partisanship. While it was expected to play the role of uniting the people, the way and manner some of the media reported the Kafanchan conflict in 1987 only led to the escalation of the conflict beyond Kafanchan to other parts of the state. Consequently, innocent lives of Christians and Muslims were lost. Property and worship places of both Christians and Muslims were also destroyed. The love, unity, trust and mutual co-existence hitherto enjoyed between Christians and Muslims in the state were shattered.

The 1992 Zangon Kataf conflict and the way the media reported it further severed the relationship between the various ethnic and religious groups in the State. Apart from the destruction of lives and properties, many people were displaced and the relationship between Christians and Muslims as well as the Atyap (and by extension other ethnic groups in the Southern part) versus the Hausa Fulani in the Northern part deteriorated.

This trend continued sadly with even greater proportions where the media is seen as not only reporting conflict with bias but even initiating some of the conflicts. The case of the Dennish cartoon and the 'This Day' Miss World article which resulted in conflict between Christians and Muslims in some part of the north are sufficient examples. The role of the media before, during or after ethnic or religious conflict tilts towards

sectionalism rather than unity. Kaduna State has suffered great loss as a result of these series of conflicts that are associated with the biased media reportage. In most cases, religious organisations such as the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Jama'atul Nasril Islam (J.N.I) have come out to openly accuse the media of either not being fair or for its discriminatory reportage.

During the 2004 Makarfi religious mayhem, where nine churches were burnt down, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) Kaduna State and the Jama'atul Nasril Islam (JNI) in Kaduna State each accused the media for either taking sides or for not reporting the actual situation of the conflict. It is not surprising therefore that often than not, the action or reactions of Muslims to Christians or vice versa is determined by the mass media reports (Bidmos, 1993).

Although much has been written about religious and ethnic conflicts, however, not much has been written about the effects of media reportage of conflicts on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. This study sets out to investigate the way religion and ethnicity have been employed in the media in initiating, exacerbating or controlling ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The broad objective of the study is to examine the effects of media reportage of ethno-religious conflicts on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. The study aims at achieving the following specific objectives:

1. ascertain the social effects of media reportage of ethno-religious conflicts on Christians and Muslims community in Kaduna State;

2. assess the economic effects of conflicts associated with media reportage of ethno-religious conflicts among Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State;
3. investigate the psychological effects of media reportage on ethno-religious conflicts on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State; and
4. assess how religion and ethnicity are manipulated in the media to initiate and fuel ethno-religious conflicts between Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State.

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

The following research questions guide the study:

1. How does media reportage of ethno religious conflict affect the social lives of Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State?
2. What are the economic effects of bias media reportage of ethno-religious conflicts among Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State?
3. To what extent does reportage of ethno-religious conflict cause any psychological effect on the lives of Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State?
4. How has religion and ethnicity been manipulated in the media to initiate and fuel conflicts between Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State?

#### **1.5 Hypotheses**

The following also are the hypotheses drawn to be tested in this study:

1. There is no significant difference in the responses of Christian and Muslim respondents on the social effects of media reportage of ethno religious conflicts in Kaduna State;

2. There is no significant difference in the responses of male and female respondents concerning the economic effects of ethno religious conflicts associated with media reportage in Kaduna State;
3. There is no significant difference in the responses across age-grades on the psychological effects of ethno religious conflicts caused by media reportage in Kaduna State; and
4. There is no significant difference in the responses of respondents across the three zones concerning the manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media to initiate and fuel ethno religious conflicts in Kaduna state.

#### **1.6 Significance of the Study**

The study is significant in these areas:

It will help religious and political leaders to be mindful of their utterances and adopt a positive approach in the use of the media to avoid initiating or exacerbating crises. The research will clearly bring to the fore the several damages which biased and religiously motivated reports have caused in crises situation with a view to forestalling a repeat.

The study will serve as a helpful document for policy makers and security agents in handling ethno religious conflicts that are fueled via the media.

It will serve as a wake up call to media regulatory bodies to rise up to their responsibilities of ensuring that journalists and media houses that use religion or ethnicity to fan the embers of conflict are punished according to laid down laws to serve as deterrent to others.

This study will serve as a positive document in helping stakeholders in conflict management and resolution.

It will help the Nigerian society generally to avoid actions and utterances or media reportage that are likely to generate ethno-religious conflicts which affect the socio-economic and political co-existence of Christians and Muslims in Nigeria.

With the study made available at the University library and the Department of Art and Social Science Education, it will be used as a reference material for future researchers.

### **1.7 Scope of the Study**

This research investigates the effects of media reportage of ethno-religious conflict on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. The study covers the three senatorial zones of the state. In the area of media, the study targets the mass media (radio, television, and newspapers). Specifically, this study is limited to Radio Nigeria Kaduna, New Nigerian Newspaper and the British Broadcasting Corporation Hausa Service. As enunciated in the objectives of the study, this research covers the social, economic and psychological effects of media reportage of ethno religious conflicts on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. It also investigates the effects of manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

#### **2.01 Introduction**

This chapter deals with the review of related literature. It is organized under the following subheadings: Kaduna State in Perspective, Media Organs in Kaduna State, Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State, Religion, Ethnicity and the Media, some media report that caused and fueled ethno religious conflicts, perceived discriminatory media reports of ethno-religious conflict, media and the challenges of conflict reportage, and review of empirical studies.

#### **2.02 Kaduna State in Perspective**

The capital city of Kaduna State is the seat of government of Northern Nigeria since 1914 and is regarded as the hub of Nigerian Politics. The state lies within latitude 09 02' and 11 32' North of the Equator and between longitude 06 15' and 08 60 East of Greenwich Meridian. Due to its geographical centrality and ethno religious complexity, several interest groups strive for its dominance and control. This is why indigenous writers from the Gbagyi extraction who are generally believed to be the original inhabitants of Kaduna town differ on the meaning of "Kaduna" which is a Hausa plural for crocodile. Makama argues that Kaduna is a rendering of a Gbagyi word 'okadudna' which means crossing the river of snails. He further states that during colonial era a disease called "shistosomiasis" caused by snails ravaged the residents of the town. This disease, he further argued became endemic, a situation the Gbagyi people ascribed to the drinking of water forbidden by their gods. He maintains that Gbagyi settlements such as

Kukugyi is now called Kakuri, Mashikuci is now Kurmin Mashi, Bidnaoo became Barnawa and Kakai is now pronounced as Kakau. All these places with the exception of Kakau, are now ruled by the Zaria Emirate (Makama, 2008). Kaduna State has a large area of 45,567 square kilometers and a population of about 6,066,562, the third only behind Kano and Lagos States (2006 population census). It has three Emirates and thirty two Chiefdoms with 345 Districts (N.Y.S.C Kaduna Orientation Booklet 2011).

Although there are no statistics from the 2006 census on the population of various religious adherents in the state however, it is arguably believed that the population of Christians and Muslims is at parity. The Muslim dominate the Northern part of the State. The old Zaria Emirate which serves as a symbol for the Usman Danfodio Jihad conquest commands a large Islamic followership. On the other hand, the missionary activities in the State had great impact in Christianizing its Southern part. Generally, missionary institutions such as hospitals and schools are spread all over the state and serve as testimony to the presence of Christianity. Also, there are Mosques and Churches in virtually every settlement in the state. The Catholic Church alone has three Dioceses: Kafanchan, Kaduna and Zaria.

There are over twenty different ethnic groups in the State (National Youth Service Corp Handbook, Kaduna State 2011). The major ones are, Gbagyi, Bajju, Atyap, Ham, Koro, Kaninkon, Adara, Chawai, Atakar, Gure, Ikulu, Kurama, Kagoma, Ninzon, Kahugu, Kagoro, Moro'a, Hausa, Kamantan and Fulani. Until 1999, Zaria Emirate which is an Islamic formation controlled virtually all the ethnic groups in the State. Till now, the Jama'a Emirate located in Kafanchan has been a source of much conflict in the area. With these diversities, Kaduna State becomes a miniature Nigeria and a place that



accommodates all class of people. It is these diversities and clash of interests that have often resulted in different forms of conflicts.

### **2.03 Media Organs in Kaduna State**

This study considered print and electronic media organs which are based in Kaduna State. Also captured in this study are those media classified as specialised/religious as well as foreign media that have large audience and great influence in shaping the attitude and reaction of people in the state. There are home based media (that is those media houses that have their head offices in Kaduna). Among the home based print media are: Desert, Herald, New Impression Magazine, New Nigerian Newspaper, the Liberator Newspaper, Dillaliya, Chronicle, The Cross News and Almizan. While the electronic media has Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), Kaduna State Media Corporation (KSMC), African Independent Television (AIT), Desmins Independent Television (DITV), Alheri Radio, Ray Power FM, Nagarta Radio, Liberty Radio, Freedom Radio. In the Correspondent Chapel (print and electronic Media houses that do not have their head offices in Kaduna) their number is over 80 (NUJ Kaduna 2015). Some of them are; This Day, The Sun, The Nation, National Mirror, Daily Trust, Punch, Vanguard, Leadership, BBC, VOA, Radio France, Hamada Radio.

### **2.04 Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State**

Kaduna State has suffered numerous ethnic and religious conflicts. Due to its complexity, Kaduna State is considered volatile and a flash point during any local, national, or international tension (Abdul, 2000). From 1980 to 2011 there are over fifteen

major ethno-religious conflicts in the State which have caught the attention of local and international media. Some of these conflicts were either believed to have been initiated by the media or were fueled and escalated to other places by same means. Some of these major ethno-religious conflicts include the 1987 Kafanchan crisis believed to have been fueled by the media (Ibrahim 1989). The 1992 Zango Kataf crisis believed to have been initiated by the media (Ishaku, 2000). The This Day Miss world crisis in religious cloak initiated the 2002 crisis. The 2011 post-election crisis using ethnic and religious sentiments was also believed to have been fueled by the media through the unchecked and uncensored utterances of politicians before, during and shortly after the election.

The effects of these conflicts have been devastating. Beside the monumental loss of lives and properties, fear, hatred mutual suspicions and distrust also held sway between the multi ethnic and religious communities of the state. An attempt is made in this study to present in a tabular form the dates and years of such crisis, locations, the parties involved, causes of the conflicts, nature of the conflicts and a brief remarks on the effects of each crisis to the society. (See Table in appendix two).

## **2.05 Religion, Ethnicity and the Media**

The media, by its ethics is expected to uphold the truth, balance and objectivity in reporting issues concerning all manner of persons and shades of opinions. This view is emphasized by Ladele (1987), Eti (2010), and Barde (2011). One of the principles of a journalist according to the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), is that he or she shall be alert to the dangers of discrimination being furthered by media and shall do the utmost to avoid facilitating such discriminations based on among other things, race, sex, sexual orientation, language, religious, political and other opinions and national and

social origins (Gaiya, 2010). However, the Media in some situations has fallen below this professional ethical standard. Ethnicity, religions and regional sentiments have prevailed in the reportage of some sections of the Nigerian media. Kurawa (2006), Jacob (2009) and Salawu (2011) believe that the media in Nigeria is fragmented along ethnic, regional and religious lines. Religion and ethnicity in the media are treated according to geographical backgrounds. A region dominated by a certain religion or ethnicity may promote a particular religion in the media to the detriment of other groups. In some cases, it is profit driven and for selfish interest (Fwah, 2008).

According to Gaiya (1998), the Premier of the Northern Region, in a bid to expand Northern interest and Sokoto Caliphate, started the Broadcasting Corporation of Northern Nigeria (BCNN) incorporating Radio, Television and New Nigerian Newspaper and Gaskiya Tafi Kobo. Sardauna used the media to protect and defend the cause of Islam. Gaiya reports that both the Radio and Television as well as the two newspapers were effectively used to protect and publicize Sardauna's religion and political campaigns in the North. Infact, Kurawa (2006), in his writing on press coverage of Islam in Nigeria affirms the fears of the non Muslim in the North when Gaskiya Tafikobo was lunched because "most of its readers were Muslims and it was edited from Islamic point of view".

In 1986, after the Federal Government announced the appointment of Malam Mohammed Haruna as the Managing Director of New Nigerian Newspaper, he granted a press interview where he said that one of his aspirations would be to defend the interest of Islam and the North (Ishaku, 2000). It is therefore not entirely wrong to suggest that some sections of the media see the propagation of religious and ethnic sentiments as the

reasons for their existence. In the circumstance, not only do some sections of the media hold strong views on religious and ethnic issues, but also actively fan the embers of disunity. In the views of Kukah (1992), this was the situation during the Zongon Kataf crisis. In his analysis of media attitudes during the crisis, Kukah cited the roles of New Nigeria Newspaper, Gaskiya Tafi Kobo, The Reporter, Today, The Democrat, Citizen and Hotline Magazine and concludes that their reportage of the crisis can only leave the non Muslim in the North in stupefying silence as to the motive and interpretation of events of Zangon Kataf. If the Katafs, he argues, had a hospital to receive their own dead and wounded, the situation would be different. It remains a tragedy that northern journalists could not be relied on to define and interpret conflict in their domains (Kukah, 1992). Similarly, Bungon and Gimba (1992) in their reactions to media sentiments during the 1992 Zangon Kataf conflict blame what they called “the Hausa/Fulani media” and Zaria Emirate Council in distorting the origin for the Atyap people so as to improve the case of the Hausa Fulani occupation of the Atyap land. They report that the media, especially the Citizen Magazine, The Reporter and New Nigeria. Continually talked of an attack of Muslims in the Mosque and using religious sentiments to deliberately conceive lies to nail the Atyap in their struggle with the Hausa/Fulani.

Ishaku (2000), observes that in 1986 when Nigeria became a member of the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC), the Nigerian Standard Newspaper condemned the manner of the purported membership because most of the letters and articles the newspaper received on the issue came mostly from Christians. On the other hand, the New Nigerian Newspaper was publishing views of mainly Muslim writers. This is why Bidmos (1993) opines that more often than not the relationship between Muslims and

Christians is determined by the mass media. Ibrahim (1989), says religion and ethnicity play a role in the reports of New Nigerian Newspaper and Radio Nigeria Kaduna both known for their pro Northern establishment and pro-Islamic views during the 1987 Kafanchan crisis. Adamu (1994) and Umechukwu (1995) state that between March 9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup>, 1987, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (F.R.C.N) was reported to have broadcast regular bulletins in both English and Hausa concerning killings of Muslims and burning of Mosques in Kafanchan, while they failed to report details of counter attacks on Christians. In the views of Gaiya, the presumption among non Hausa Fulani was that unless you speak the Hausa/Fulani truth, you were anti government (Gaiya, 1998). However, this view is subject to argument by other interest groups as the southern Nigerian press is also not free of this accusation of sentiment.

In line with the 1987 Kafanchan crisis, Ishaku (2000:34) gave this vivid account:

About Easter in 1987, we received through our freelance correspondent Mr. Sam Jan Nimfa reports that riots had broken out in Kafanchan. New Nigeria completely missed the story. When it gathered its acts together, it obliquely reprimanded our publication of the story on the tenuous argument that such reports were likely to exacerbate the crisis. But the New Nigeria feigned ignorance of incendiary broadcasting on Radio Nigeria Kaduna which clearly instigated the spread of the violence beyond Kafanchan. By the time the violence spread to Kaduna, the New Nigerian was clearly justifying the violence on the argument that Muslims were provoked to violence in Kafanchan. Soon enough, a media war started between the New Nigerian Newspaper and the Nigerian standard. This culminated in the publication of a paid advert by the Council of Ulamas in which Muslims in Nigeria were admonished to take up arms to defend their interest. The Nigerian Standard cried out in a front page comment 'stop them'. We thought the New Nigerian had gone too far and unless the Federal government which owned it intervened to stop religious extremist on the pay role of the Newspaper, things would get out of hand. A few weeks later, the editor of Sunday Standard Mr. Ransa I. Young and myself received an urgent summon to be in the office of the chief of General Staff Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu the following day. While there, we were joined by the editors of New Nigeria and Sunday New

Nigeria Mr. Innocent Oparadike and Mal. A.B Ahmed as well as Dr. Omar Rufai the managing Director of Triumph Newspaper Kano. At the meeting presided by Malam Yusuf Mamman, the chief press secretary to the chief of General staff, we were pointedly accused of fueling ethnic and religious conflicts in the North. Mercifully, the New Nigerian editors produced memos which confirmed the standards position to the effect that the New Nigerian was being manipulated by certain interest to escalate the violence. But as we made to leave, the Chief Press Secretary called out to me. He told me to reject any article that came from the Christians Association of Nigeria (CAN). I asked him to be fair to the Standard as it had done no wrong.

At the advent of the current democratic dispensation, Aragundade, (2001) observes that ethnicity and conspiracy in the media became more pronounced. He observed that Salisu Buhari, former Speaker of the House of Representatives, Evan Ewerem, and Chuba Okadigbo Presidents of the Senates were removed from office by the activities of the media. In the case of Buhari, he observes that the media in the South West and South East celebrated the incidence. The News Magazine issue of 19<sup>th</sup> July, 1999 triggered off the matter with this title, “The Face of a Liar”. But the northern press abstained from the Buhari saga. When Tell and The News pounced on Evan Ewerem and Chuba Okadigbo, Aragundade further observes that the South East media were not excited at featuring the stories. In the case of Governor Orji Uzor Kalu whom Tell descended on for his alleged phony antecedents, the South East press never participated in the story, instead, it defended the governor. The same thing happened in the case of Governor Tinubu of Lagos whom Today Newspaper based in the north featured as a certificate forger. While the South East Media especially the Source Magazine celebrated the story, the South West media kept the silence (Aragundade, 2001).

It is also apt to report that during the Dennish cartoons crisis in some northern states in 2006 and the This Day Miss World crisis in Kaduna and Abuja, the media took positions based on religious lines. While Southern press condemned the killings and

destructions in the name of religion, Northern press justified the carnage (Salawu, 2011). Some Southern press argues that rather than employing the violent approach, the north should have used the media to reply the writer of the Miss World article that sparked off the violence.

In the crisis of Kafanchan 1987 which emanated from the College of Education, the media sadly took position based on religious and ethnic grounds. The Nigerian Standard held the view that the riots were caused by the injustice of subjugating a vast majority of people to the rule of a feudal clique whereas the New Nigerian believed that the Muslims were provoked by a Christian preacher. Ishaku (2000) believes that such superficial treatment of the crisis by the New Nigerian was intended to obfuscate the real issue of ethnic and religious domination of the Muslim Hausa Fulani in the Middle Belt. Ishaku explains that the trend was continued by the New Nigerian Newspaper and Citizen Magazine looking for provocation in all ethnic and religious disturbances in the Middle Belt such as Tafawa Balewa, Zangon Kataf and Kafanchan. It is disheartening to note how religion and ethnicity have polarised Nigerian's perceptions of media activities. For instance, while every average Hausa Fulani Muslim in Nigeria accepts any report in Muslims controlled media outfit as well as Hausa foreign media, the Christians in the North have some reservations about such reportage. According to some Christian residents in Kaduna, DITV, Alheri Radio, Nagarta Radio and the Daily Trust Newspaper and other Hausa foreign radio stations have equally taken this ethnic and religious patterns in reporting conflicts involving Hausa Fulani Muslims and Christians in the North. This was demonstrated during the 2011 post election crisis where many Christians were attacked and killed in Kano, Kaduna, Zaria and Bauchi whereas these media organs

concentrated on the riots of Zonkwa and Kafanchan in their interviews, commentaries, editorials and live phone in programmes.

## **2.06 Some Media Reports that Caused and Fueled Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State**

Nigeria is generally believed to have one of the vibrant press in Africa. The high profile of the media in Nigeria has produced under, over or mis-reporting of events which have significant social effects. In his writings on religious conflicts in Nigeria, Seriki (1993) includes a section on the provocative nature of some publications. He suggests that it is primarily those that malign or ridicule the Prophet Mohammed that cause the most trouble. For instance, he cites an article which appeared in the Sunday Standard of February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1988 where the Prophet was described as an ‘epileptic prophet’.

Hackett (2001) says that the Katsina riots in March/April 1991 stems from the actions of some enraged Muslims in connection with a newspaper report. Yakubu Yahaya, follower of Ibrahim El-zakzaky, national Shiite leader, led thousands of supporters to burn down the Daily Times Office after an article appeared in Fun Times (a publication of the Government run Daily Times) on 14<sup>th</sup> December, 1990 suggesting that the Prophet Mohammed had an affair with a woman of easy virtue and then married her. The newspaper later apologised (Hackett, 2001).

### **2.06.1 Radio Nigeria Kaduna and Zangon Kataf Conflicts**

During the Hutu and Tutsi conflicts in 1994 Independent Radio and Television of Rwanda in 1994 the media, Libre Mesmillee Colines (RTL) incited the former against



the later describing the Tutsi as cockroaches that must be crushed. This resulted in the condemnable genocide of Rwanda in 1994 (Nwadlaro, 2010).

Sako (1992), Bungon and Gimba (1992) in their review of the Zangon Kataf crisis believe that the crisis was precipitated by a remark made by Alh. Danbala A.T.K in a Radio Nigeria Kaduna Hausa programme Jakar Magori on 14<sup>th</sup> February, 1992 where he threatened that blood would flow should the Zangon Kataf market be relocated as planned by the Zangon Kataf Local Government Council. Even local stories and rumors could have inter-religious implications of great import when reported irresponsibly by the media. For example, in 1995, in Jos, Plateau State, there were Muslim reports of Arabic script appearing on a rock and then on a newborn baby of a Pastor. According to a Jos resident, by rushing to print these unfounded stories, the newspaper inflamed the situation which resulted in fighting between Muslim and Christian youths (Hackett, 1999).

Inadequate media reports on religious issues can have a catalytic function with regard to pre-existing tension. Bidmos cites two examples: The first according to him stormed the whole nation like a thunderbolt (Bidmos, 1993). It was a media report in the early 1980s concerning the alleged government subvention of ten million naira to build the Central Mosque in Abuja, the new Federal Capital. It sounded as though the Christians were being snubbed whereas in reality they had received an equivalent sum even though they were still negotiating how to build such an Ecumenical Centre. Kukah makes reference to a report put out by a Kaduna based magazine in December 1987 that all Christians had been released from jail following the Kafachan riot supporting the view that the release was a miscarriage of justice. These spurious allegations, he argues, were determined to mislead the tribunal or create confusion and tension (Kukah, 1992).

### **2.06.2 Denmark Cartoon and This Day's Miss World Conflicts**

When a newspaper in Denmark published a cartoon portraying the Prophet Mohammed in a bad light, it sparked off riots in Nigeria. In Maiduguri on 18<sup>th</sup> February, 2006, many Christians were killed and their Churches and properties destroyed. On November 16, 2002, This Day newspaper published an article by one Isioma Daniel on the Miss World beauty pageant scheduled to take place in Abuja, Nigeria. Due to the opposing action of Muslims, the writer made a preview of the contestant, suggesting that if the prophet of Islam were to be alive, he would probably have chosen a wife from one of them. This ignited the fire of riots and protest in Kaduna and Abuja on 20-22 November, 2006. The This Day Office in Kaduna was burnt down. Jatau (2002) in his statement of the crisis said 97 churches were burnt down and about 200 Christians including Rev. Fr. (Col.) James Iyere killed during the Miss World conflict.

### **2.07 Importance of Media Reportage to the Society**

The role and importance of media reportage in any society can never be overemphasised. According to Enobakhari and Ekeli (2013), the journalist or reporter serves the following purposes:

- a. Inform the public about facts and events that are important.
- b. Provides forum for diverse view points;
- c. watch dog of government and other institutions to alert the public about wrong doings;
- d. Advocates change in the interest of the public; and
- e. Pursues the truth with unwavering commitment.

From the above, it is clear that the reporter, using the platform of the media is the mirror of society. Through its reports, news, interviews and programmes, the media conveys the feelings and the mood of the people on any given topic whether good or bad. Media reportage is vital in a democratic dispensation. It tells the public about government actions and policies and their impact on the lives of the citizenry. This is done through media coverage of government events and programmes. Olley and Ekharefor (2012) state that communication freedom is good for political freedom, especially in developing countries such as Nigeria. In this regard, media reportage exposes the excesses of a dictatorial government. Corrupt and anti-democratic policies are reported, thereby making the government more accountable to the people.

Media reportage can calm or stir tension in a society. However, its role in the propagation of peace and mutual trust among diverse people is very important in conflict resolution. This position is emphasized by Iruonagbe (2009) who states that political leaders use electronic media to reassert control over any conflict resolution. Through media reportage, government's attention and the general public is drawn to a neglected and under developed community. In other instances, media reportage alerts government and other authorities over social problems, outbreak of strange or epidemic diseases and other security challenges (Anim, 2013).

## **2.08 The Danger of Bias Media Reportage**

Religion and ethnicity play great role in escalation of conflict. Exaggerating the number of causality of a conflict by the media often leads to the escalation of such conflict to other places. Olayiwola (2003) in his writing on ethnic and religious factors of press bias berated the media alluding that bias press coverage of conflicts often results to

the escalation of the conflict. Ishaku (2000), writing on religious conflicts in the Middle Belt of Nigeria says that the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, Kaduna broadcast incendiary materials against Christians during the 1987 Kafanchan crisis. Their broadcast, he maintains, “Were instrumental to the spread of the riots beyond Kafanchan”. In the views of Ibrahim and Gaiya, the violence that took place in Zangon Kataf in 1992 spread rapidly through the mass media. They held the view that northern media such as the New Nigeria, Citizen Magazine, Hotline, Democrat and Federal Radio Corporation Kaduna northern establishment and pro-orthodox Islamic views have always played major roles in every crisis that has any connection with the Islamic religion. Instead of curtailing further violence, the media exacerbates the situation (Ibrahim, 1989, Gaiya, 1992).

According to Aruwan (2001), bias media reportage of events especially with religious and ethnic sentiment and coloration exacerbate crisis. He notes that the media gave religious coloration when the Atyap had problems with the Hausa in Zangon Kataf 1992. Kaigama and Davou (2008) in their reactions to media coverage of Jos conflict accuse some foreign media for aggravating the Jos crisis of 2008. They held the opinion that in reporting ethno-religious and political crisis, such media often depended on individuals or organisations with noticeable bias that dish out false, exaggerated, confusing and sometimes malicious figures of causality to promote their selfish or parochial interests. When crises are badly or incorrectly reported, the result is the escalation of such crises to otherwise peaceful towns and villages.

Some international media houses have Hausa Services and reporters in Nigeria who during crises tend to interview only one of the parties or ask questions that whip up

sentiments. In this regard, Kaigama and Davou (2008) cite examples of BBC Hausa. Also, the BBC World TV on November 29, 2008 9:00 PM local time reported that 300 persons were massacred and buried in mass graves. On November 30, same BBC TV by 2:00 PM local time reported that 360 corpses were deposited in the Jos Central Mosque. Similarly, unsubstantiated figures were given by Cable News Network (CNN) and Aljezera. They also cited local media such as Sunday Trust of 30<sup>th</sup> November, 2008 and Daily Trust of 1<sup>st</sup> December, 2008 to have given highly suggestive reports of the crisis. This is why Aruwan (2001), Lere (2009) and Nwadiano (2010) believe that media reports of conflicts especially from religious or ethnic angle can either reduce or heighten tension.

## **2.09 Perceived Discriminatory Media Reports of Ethno-Religious Conflicts**

Media reports which promote or favour one religion or ethnic group over another breed hatred and mutual distrust among warring factions in any conflict. This position was demonstrated during the 2006 Ahmadu Bello University (A.B.U), Zaria crisis when the Punch Newspaper reported that the crisis was caused when a female student residing in Ribadu Hostel was caught having a bath at the Hostel Mosque. Reacting to the crisis Akubor, (2006) expresses concern over an article in the Daily Trust of 19<sup>th</sup> April, 2006 in which the writer claims that on the day of the conflict, a detachment of battle ready armed soldiers “mostly Christians dominated” were deployed to the Campus uninvited; that their mission was answering the call of their Christian Kith and Kin.

In its reaction to foreign reports on Kano crisis of 2004, Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Kano State alleged that “BBC Hausa is made up of trained liars and deceivers in their broadcasting”. While CAN Plateau State describes the BBC as playing an extremely inflammatory role (Christian Solidarity World Wide, 2006).

In their various assessments of ethno-religious conflicts and the manner of media coverage in Nigeria, Gaiya (2010), Odey (2003), Ishaku (2000), Hackett (1999), Bidmos (1993), and Ibrahim (1989), note that bias and sentimental media reports and commentaries of conflicts based on religion or ethnicity have had grave damage to the corporate and mutual coexistence between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria. Some of the instances cited are the 1987 Kafanchan crisis, the 1991 Bauchi crisis, and the 1992 Zangon Kataf crisis where the relationship between Christians and Muslims and the ethnic groups in Southern Kaduna versus the Hausa Fulani has waxed cold.

Similarly, the Sharia crisis of 2000 and the manner the media reported it heightened the mutual distrust and mistrust between Christians and Muslims not only within Kaduna State but Nigeria as a whole. In its report on religious violence in central and northern Nigeria, Christian Solidarity Worldwide (CSW) (2004), argues that some foreign reporters may have an agenda that involves inflaming anger and misperception. The violence in Plateau State in particular is a 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 defense of the Muslim Umma'. These major news agencies then proceed to transfer erroneous stories to their main English/German services and other international audience (Christian Solidarity Worldwide, 2004).

Many social commentators allude to the fact that religions and ethnicities are used in the media in discriminating between people of different ethnic or religious backgrounds during conflicts. Gaiya (1992) reports that northern media fell into a campaign of calumny against the Kataf during the Zangon Kataf conflict. He opines that whereas any explanation from the Katafs was censored, every contrived issue as long as

it condemned the Kataf was published or aired. Against the numerous confessions by Hausa residents of Zango that not a single Mosque was touched by the Katafs, these media houses reported the destruction of mosques. When Southern papers reported the truth that no mosque was touched, it was accused of insensitivity of Northern interest (Gaiya, 1998).

Similarly, Dogo and Agboyomi (1992) in their assessment of the media in the 1992 crisis in Zango Kataf reports that the Managing Director of New Nigeria influenced the editorial of the paper which has shown brazen partiality in its two editorials of June 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>, 1992 which served the interest of the Hausa Fulani Muslims. They added that if one listens to news commentaries on the Zangon Kataf crisis (and that of Subsequent ethno-religious conflicts involving Hausa Fulani and other ethnic groups in Nigeria) in Radio Nigeria, Kaduna or the Broadcasting Corporation of Kaduna State with deliberate distortion of facts, one might begin to wonder if their commentary and their Hausa programmes are for Muslims alone.

Furthermore, in their analysis of the 1987 Kafanchan riots, Ishaku (2000) and Gaiya, (2010) observe that Radio Nigeria Kaduna had a regular broadcast for three days drawing attention to the killings of Muslims in Kafanchan. Yet, when the counter-attack on Christians occurred in different parts of the state, the same radio station refused to report details. However, Ibrahim (1989) argues that the pro-southern and pro-Christian press was not innocent in this affair aggravating situation by writing about the 'Mullahs of easy violence' in the Guardian of March 14<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> 1989. The Standard of March 13<sup>th</sup> and of March 13<sup>th</sup> and The Punch of March 14 reports the damages done to Christians while ignoring that done to the Muslims.

After the 2004 Makarfi religious disturbances in Kaduna, Kujiyat and Hayab (2004) note with dismay that the New Nigerian Newspaper of 4<sup>th</sup> April, 2004 did not mention the burning of churches, rather it made reference to ‘attacking’. The Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) shows few instances of burnt Churches but referred to them as ‘places of worship’ which could imply either Muslim or Christian place of worship. Kaigama and Davou (2008) in their assessment of foreign media and its role in inciting violence in Nigeria mentioned the case of Yelwa Shendam of 2004. They observe that reports of some foreign media were biased, neglecting the initial huge loss of lives in February while overemphasizing the one of May, thus creating the impression that Christians were the aggressors. The causality of Yelwa Shendem, they argue, were highly exaggerated for political and religious reasons.

Similarly, in its study of the Jos crisis of 2004, the Christian Solidarity Worldwide accused Voice of America (VOA) Hausa and Deutch Welle Radio for bias reports in favour of Muslims which inflamed the crisis. The organisation criticised Cable News Network (CNN), Reuters and Sky news specifically for exaggerating the death toll in Yelwa Shendam. It also observes the output of the Hausa service of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and how it caused persistent indignation. The association attributed the imbalance in reporting to the fact that the organisation, (BBC Hausa) is staffed almost entirely by Hausa speaking Muslims despite the fact that there are fluent non Muslims speakers in the North of Nigeria.

The April 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup>, (2011) post election violence in-reports by some Hausa foreign media organisations such as the BBC Hausa Service were considered discriminatory and biased. For instance on 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> April, 2011, Christians were



attacked and killed, their churches and houses burnt down in Zaria, Maraban Jos, Makarfi, Birnin Gwari, Ikara, Kubau, Soba and Dutsenwai. Hausa foreign media known for their quick reports of conflicts ignored these devastating news items. The following day 19<sup>th</sup> April 2011, Kafanchan and Zonkwa were engulfed in reprisal attacks. A BBC Hausa correspondent in Kaduna rushed and reported at 3:18PM, local time. He selected and interviewed mainly Hausa Fulani Muslims in the area. The Hausa service of Radio Germany and Voice of America (VOA) soon followed suit, each reporting and interviewing Hausa Fulani Muslims victims in Zonkwa and Kafanchan while neglecting the woes of Christian victims in the same areas and the heavy casualties in the Northern part of the state. These media organizations often make reference to casualty of Zonkwa conflict while they do not report the situation of Christian victims in Kano, Maiduguri, Yobe, Potiskum, Zaria and other northern states who fell victims of the 2011 post-election violence and the menace of Boko Haram. In his report on the aftermath of the post- election Mayhem, Ibrahim in Newswatch of 9<sup>th</sup> May 2011, mentions churches as some of the places destroyed during the crisis in Kaduna without mentioning mosques which were also affected.

Inciting pictures and cartoons have negative impact in peoples mind. According to Adamu (2000), pictures are known to trigger religious disharmony in many African societies especially in Nigeria which clings tenaciously to its cultural values. Pictures of victims and casualties go a long way in affecting the psyche of people. Also, circulation of ‘crisis movies’ can cause mental pains and trauma. For instance, when pictures of burnt or slaughtered people are filmed or published, the effects are long lasting. In 1992, President Babangida was said to be touched and prompted to visit Zangon Kataf after

watching an alleged film of the crisis (Bungon & Gimba, 1992). Some Kaduna residents interviewed by the researcher who watched an alleged film of the killings of 2008 in Dogon Nahawa in Jos and those of the 2011 post- election crisis in Northern Nigeria painted a horrifying picture describing the film as an eyesore which creates more hatred and animosity between people of different faiths. It also incites the spirit of unforgiveness and retaliation among people.

## **2.10 Media and the Challenges of Conflict Reportage**

In reporting ethno religious conflicts, media practitioners experience great impact which affects their effectiveness and professionalism. Ishaku (2000), in his study of the media and ethno-religious conflicts in the Middle Belt of Nigeria, reports that during the 1987 Kafanchan crisis, the 1992 Zangon Kataf, and the 1999 Kafanchan crisis, there was “media war” between New Nigerian Newspaper and the National Standard. This degenerated to the extent that professionalism paved way for ethnic and religious bigotry. He observes that at a point, the editors of the two papers were invited to the office of the Chief of General Staff by his Chief Press Secretary, Malam Yusuf Mamman. At the end of the meeting, the chief press secretary warned the National Standard to reject any article that comes from the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN).

There is an undue interference, compromise as well as ethnic and religious sentiments above ethics and professionalism. Kurawa (2006) observes that during the Kano crisis of 2004, the reporter of the Guardian of May 6<sup>th</sup>, 2004 in a story “Kano: A city under siege” said that he and other non indigenes who were even Muslims were not safe in Kano. He reveals that there were persons within Government circles who were not happy with his reportage of the development. In some extreme cases, there is threat to

life. A journalist who has been reporting the struggles of the ethnic minorities in Southern Kaduna for over 15 years, Mr. Sam Jan Ninfa of the Nigerian Standard was attacked and killed during the Kafanchan crisis in April 1999. In the late 90's Madina Dauda, a staff of Radio Nigeria Kaduna was sent a threat letter by an aggrieved listener for her zealousness in the reading of what a listener termed as sentimental anti-Southern news commentary.

In effect, professional impact reduces the effectiveness and efficiency of a journalist and even an entire media house. The "This Day" writer that "caused" Miss World Crisis, Isioma Daniel, the Publisher of the paper Nduka Obiagbena and the Editor of the paper, Eniola Bello, were passed with a death sentence (Fatwa) for publishing the article (Odey, 2003). This professional impact renders the journalist vulnerable to attack hence, can over look what ordinarily should catch his/her attention.

Negative media reports of events based on religion or ethnicity has economic implications. In his x-ray of the aftermath of the Miss World Violence, Odey (2003) is of the view that "This Day" Newspaper suffered economic impact as a result of the publication which caused the crisis. Muslim faithful were enjoined either as individuals or organisations headed by Muslim not to insert any advertisement in the paper or buy it. The Kano State House of Assembly passed a resolution banning the circulation of This Day newspaper in the State. In corroboration, Salawu (2011) reports that after the Dennish cartoon crisis in Nigeria, most Islamic countries and Muslim communities in Nigeria were enjoined not to patronise made in Denmark products. In his review of the Jos crisis from the angle of the media, Nwadiaro, (2010) mentions that many people in the Middle Belt of Nigeria do not read Daily Trust because of their bias. Today, any media outfit, whether print or electronic, that is known for bias or sentimental reports of

ethnic and religious conflicts does not enjoy the patronage of the aggrieved. Better put, Muslims and Christians neither place adverts nor watch Television or listen to Radio or buy newspapers considered anti-Islam and vice-versa. This situation indeed has serious economic implication on the nation's economy.

Based on ethno-religious grounds, some people are denied access to media coverage. Yusuf (1995) laments this when he said that Christians have been denied access to electronic media in 16 northern states while Islam monopolizes 24hours for its broadcasting in the same area. Shortly after the Sharia crisis of 2000 in Kaduna, Okpe (2001) reports that the then Zamfara State Governor, Alh. Ahmed Sani refused to grant Christians access to the State radio for religious purposes on the ground that it was against the wish of Muslims in the State even though such action violates fundamental human right. When the National Broadcasting Commission banned the televising of Christian miracles and other related programmes on Nigerian TV stations, Barde (2004) views such move as denying them the constitutional right to religion and worship. In his article on NBC and the Quagmire of Banning religious broadcast on TV, he argues that northern states that hitherto deny Christians access to state media houses will capitalise on such grounds to completely deny them access to the media.

A scenario of denial of media access played out on Saturday February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011 by Radio Nigeria Kaduna when Governor Yakowa of Kaduna State was making his public declaration and campaign launch for the 2011 election. The station ran a discussion and live phone in programme "Hannudayawa". The topic was on religion and politics and two religious leaders were invited all from the Islamic religion. A caller, Garba Usman from Nasarawa had to make an observation that the radio house was not

fair to Christians for not inviting a Christian clergy to at least balance the discussion. But Akintola (1995) contends that most Muslims believed that unjustified attacks on Islam are not restricted to the Nigerian press, he claimed the international press was out to silence Islam.

## **2.11 Review of Empirical Studies**

In the literature review, various dimensions of the effects of ethno-religious conflicts have been revealed. The effects of ethno religious conflicts as conducted by different scholars are presented in the succeeding part of the review.

Suleman and Jaafar (2010) carried out a study on the economic effects of farmer-grazer conflicts in Nigeria with Bauchi as a case study. The study examines the economic effects of farmer grazer conflicts in Fadama areas of Bauchi State. With a population of 4,696,465, using a multistage random sampling technique, a total of 60 Fadama farmers were randomly selected from 60 Fadama users and a corresponding 60 pastoralists randomly selected from 60 Fadama communities. Primary data were collected using structured questionnaire administered through individual personal interview. The result reveals that about three million, one hundred and ninety three thousand one hundred naira (3,193,100) was incurred from both totally damaged and partially destroyed tube. Well/wash bore equipment with water pumps recording one hundred and seventy-six thousand, four hundred and fifteen thousand (176,415) motorcycles and bicycles accounts for (565,254.00) in terms of losses incurred. Comparatively, the arable farmers incurred higher. (80, 075,172,00) losses in monetary terms than the pastoralist (7,047,013,00).

The report further shows that reduction in farm production increased the poverty within and among the communities and social insecurity. Also, inadequate food supply

for the family was the major set backs encountered in the area. Furthermore, the income of farmers in the conflict area was significantly lower than those in non conflict areas.

This study is purely about the economic effect of farmer/grazer conflict. This study has no ethno-religious connection with conflict. However, this researcher found it interesting to bring out the economic angle of any kind of conflict. The effect from the empirical study shows a devastating scenario of how people suffer economically after any conflict. This captures one of the objectives of the present research which is to ascertain the economic effects of conflicts.

In a study by Yanagizawa (2014) on propaganda and conflict: evidence from the Rwandan genocide, the researcher investigated the role of mass media in terms of conflict and state sponsored mass violent against civilians. The researcher used a unique village-level data set from the Rwandan genocide to investigate the impact of a popular radio station that encourages violence against the Tutsi minority population. The paper provides evidence that mass killing can affect participation in violence directly due to exposure and indirectly due to social interaction. The result shows that the broadcast had a significant impact on participation in killings and both militia groups and ordinary civilians.

An estimated 51,000 perpetrators or approximately 10% of the overall violence can be attributed to the radio station. The broadcast increase militia violence not only directly by influencing behavior in villages with radio reception but also indirectly in increasing participation in neighbouring villages. In fact, spill over are estimated to have cost more militia violence than the direct effects. The result further shows that the hate speeches propagated by the RTLM radio station increase the participation of the Tutsi by

the Hutu. The conflict led to social dislocation of event, mass killing, displacement of people and the total creeping of the economic activities. This study is related to this work in many instances. First, the study under review like this one focused on the effect of negative media reportage of conflict. It considers the social and economic effect of the conflict as it relates to the coexistence of people of different background.

In a study by Barde, (2016) on the socio economic effects of Fulani herdsmen attack on Southern Kaduna, the researcher used oral interview in gathering data and discovered that many people in the area were displaced because their houses were either burnt down or destroyed. Farming activities which is the mainstay of the people has also been adversely affected as many farmers stay at home because of fear of attack. The study also found out that there is mutual suspicion among the indigenes and the Fulani herdsmen. This study has link with the present research on the social and economic lives of the people and how they are affected.

Afghanistan has suffered various conflicts of religious dimension. A study carried out by Srinivasa in (2006) shows high degree of mental disorder and trauma. The first study used a national multistage, cluster population based survey including 799 adult households aged 15 years and above. Sixty two percent of the respondents reported experiencing at least four trauma events in the previous ten years. Symptoms of depression were found in 67.7% of respondents, symptoms of anxiety in 72.2% and post traumatic stress disorder (P.T.S.D) in 42%. The disabled women had a poorer mental health status and there was a significant relationship between the mental health status and traumatic events.

The second study using a cross sectional multi-cluster sample was conducted in the Nangerhar province of Afghanistan. About 1011 respondents aged 15 years and above formed the sample. Nearly half of the population had experienced traumatic events. Symptoms of depression were observed in 38.5% of respondents, symptoms of anxiety in 51.8% and Post- Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in 20.4%. High rates of symptoms were associated with higher number of traumatic events experienced. Women had higher rates than men.

This empirical study is related to the current research because of its religious dimension in conflict situation. The result of the psychological effect of the study show a high degree of mental disorder and trauma. This is also in line with one of the objectives of this research which is to assess the psychological effects of ethno religious conflict. However, unlike the current research which looked at media related causes of ethno religious conflicts, the previous study look at conflict in an open and broader perspective.

Savolainen (2007) carried out a study on media credibility and cognitive authority. The empirical data were gathered from August – September, 2005 in the city of Tampere Finland by interviewing 20 environmental activists. The participants were mainly recruited through the electronic mailing list of the local associations for environmental issues. After the participants, fourteen were females and six males. The ages of the informants varied from twenty-one to fifty-nine averaging thirty-four years. Eight participants had university degrees, five had completed occupational education and seven were university undergraduates. Several occupations were represented among the informants, for example, engineering, guiding, taxi driving and teaching. Of the



participants, four had permanent jobs, five temporary employment while three were unemployed, and one was on maternity leave.

The semi structured interview took averagely an hour. In the interview, the participants were first asked to characterise their way of seeking, orienting and problem specific information. They were specially asked to characterize their ways of assessing the credibility of information sources and the criteria by which they find a source believable or unbelievable. The empirical data were analysed by means of qualitative content analysis.

The empirical findings indicates that print media (Newspapers), the internet and the broadcast media (Radio, Television) were preferred in seeking oriental information. The most frequently mentioned source preference were content of information and availability and accessibility while usability of information. Nine interviewees out of twenty found it difficult to identify the most credible media or information sources. They were not able to give definite answers to questions such as whether for example a newspaper was more credible than the internet in cases of encountering contradictory information. The frequent answer was: 'it depends'. Media credibility was perceived to be situationally sensitive and closely related to the topic of interest when monitoring events through it or personal sources. Interestingly, broadcast media (Radio and Television) were not rated among the most credible sources, even though Television appeared to be a fairly popular source of orienting information.

This study is directly related to the present research which deals with media and information dissemination. The credibility of a media house is determined by how it adhered to professional ethics which will to a large extent reduce incidences of conflicts

associated with bad media reportage. However, this empirical study does not treat ethnic or religious aspects of conflicts. It only looks at the factors that make a media house credible or otherwise. It is this credibility that determines the content of its news and reportage.

A study by Alagbu (2010) on the effects of religious and ethnic conflict on women and children in Northern Nigeria discovers that religious and ethnic conflicts cause physical pain and psychological trauma. The study used four likert scale /structural questionnaire and interview to get the view of 2168 respondents. The result reveals that such conflicts brings about reduction in the economic capability of the family which reduces parents ability to send their children to school. There is destruction of economic resources and property of individual families. It is also discovered that ethnic and religious conflicts have an inhibition effect on normal worship service due to fear on the part of the worshippers. It also permanently traumatises the lives of many victims.

This study has connection with the present work which is about the effects of media reportage of religious and ethnic conflicts on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. Again, the current work shares similar objectives with the empirical study reviewed in the area of social, economic and psychological effects caused by ethnic and religious conflicts. The only difference between the two studies is that the empirical research focuses on women and children while this work is all encompassing that is it examines the effects on both Christians and Muslims without gender or age barrier.

## **2.12 Summary**

In this chapter, relevant literatures have been reviewed to cover the major variables of the study. In this regard, the reviews considered the cosmopolitan nature of

Kaduna State under the headings Kaduna State in perspective, Ethnic and religious conflicts in Kaduna State, religions, ethnicity and the media in Kaduna State. Also, related literature and examples of some media reports that caused ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna State and beyond were reviewed. It also reviewed examples of some perceived biased media reports on ethno-religious conflicts as well as media and the challenges of conflict reportage. The review helps the research to gain insight into the understanding and ethnic dimensions which results to conflict in Nigeria. The review also helps to some extent in moulding ideas about the effects of these conflicts on Christians and Muslims and directed in constructing an appropriate and relevant data collection instrument for the study.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.01 Introduction**

In this chapter, the research design, population, sampling technique and the description of instruments for data collection, validity of the instrument, pilot study and reliability are considered. The chapter also explains the administration of the instruments and procedures for data collection and data analysis.

#### **3.02 Research Design**

Research Design is a procedure of solving research problems. There are different kinds of designs such as experimental and case study (Mose and Kalton, 1971). From the list of designs, a researcher uses appropriate design to solve his/her problems. According to Nwankwo (1983), findings from survey studies have the potentials of being used as foundation for other research works. Olomolaiye (1986), sums up the importance of the survey design thus: “guiding model to be followed by the researcher and the method to be used to gather and analyse data”. The survey design was used in the study because it helped the researcher to obtain information from a sample of respondents for the purpose of testing the hypotheses concerning the stated problem of this study.

#### **3.03 Population**

Research Population is the aggregate number of people or objects under investigation living in a particular place. It is the full group of interest that is targeted (Nichols, 1991). The 2006 National population census puts the population of Kaduna

State at about 6,066,562. From this figure, 3,090,438 were estimated to be males while 3,023,065 were estimated to be females. Both male and female adults constitute the research population. In this study, a total of 417 males and 559 females respondents were sampled see table 3. However, there is no valid data showing the population of Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. This is because religion is not mentioned during the 2006 population census which is the official document for such information. A total of 469 Christians and 509 Muslims were sampled for the study. See table 6 page 49. Among them were some victims of conflicts.

Also, for the purpose of understanding the enormity of media concentration in the State, available records from the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ), Kaduna State Council, (2015) puts the number of registered media houses in the State, both print and electronic, home based and correspondents chapel at over eighty (80). This figure is however not static as more media houses are cropping up and getting registered by the day while some get close down for so many reasons.

#### **3.04 Sample and Sampling Techniques**

The population of this study (6,066,562) is relatively large. Therefore, a small but carefully chosen portion is used to represent the whole population. In order to obtain such sample that is representative of the population, appropriate sampling technique which is a combination of purposive and random sampling was used. Webster (1985), Lynn and Lievesley (1991) define sample as a finite part of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole population. Therefore, a total of one thousand and two hundred questionnaires were printed and administered to the respondents.

For this study, sampling is carried out at two levels, namely: Local Government and town levels. The characteristics of interest to the researcher, namely religion and ethnic conflicts are not evenly distributed across the local government areas. Based on this, purposive sampling techniques, was used. According to Cohen and Manion (1986), purposive sampling “requires the researcher to handpick the cases to be included in his sample on the basis of the researcher’s judgment of their typicality”.

#### **3.04.1 Sampling of Local Governments**

The researcher sampled twelve (12) out of the twenty three (23) Local Government Areas of the State. Four from each of the three Senatorial Zones in Kaduna State. The Senatorial Zones are: Northern Senatorial Zone (Zone I), Central Senatorial Zone (Zone 2) and Southern Senatorial Zone (Zone 3). The essence of this selection is for fair representation and coverage of the state. These Local Government Areas are Zaria, Sabon Gari, Makarfi and Soba, in Zone One. Kaduna North, Kaduna South, Igabi and Chikun in Zone Two, and Jama'a, Zango Kataf, Kachia and Kaura in Zone Three.

#### **3.04.2 Sampling of Settlements Areas**

The researcher sampled two settlements areas from each of the Local Government Areas in the three Senatorial Zones. The areas for the research were: Kafanchan, Zonkwa, Gidan Waya, Samaru Kataf, Kachia, Gumel, Kagoro and Manchock in Zone Three. In Zone Two the following settlements were sampled: Kawo, Ungwan Dosa, Rigasa, Maraban Jos, Tudun Wada, Trihaniya, Narayi and Sabon Tasha. In Zone One Zaria City,

Gyellesu, Sabon Gari, Samaru, Soba, Danwata, Pambegua and Dutsen Wai were sampled.

### **3.04.3 Sampling of Respondents**

The respondents were classified into four categories:

- i. Christian Religious Leaders;
- ii. Muslim Religious Leaders;
- iii. Victims of conflicts; and
- iv. Media Reporters

These respondents were selected from the various religious denominations across the entire state. Various religious denominations from both Christians and Muslims were contacted in their churches and mosques. Victims of conflict were sampled through contact with both Christian and Muslim religious leaders who know them as well as contact with village chiefs in the affected areas. Media reporters were sampled through the Nigerian union of journalists, Kaduna State chapter. This is the professional umbrella body for all media correspondents in Kaduna.

Christian and Muslim religious leaders were issued with three hundred questionnaires respectively. Victims of conflict four hundred questionnaires while media workers were administered with two hundred questionnaires. The total is one thousand, two hundred questionnaires.

**Table 1: Local Government Areas and Towns Selected for the Study from the Population**

<b>Senatorial Zone</b>	<b>L.G.As in the Zone</b>	<b>L.G.As selected</b>	<b>Settlement Areas Selected</b>	
Zone I (Northern Senatorial District)	Zaria	Zaria	Zaria City	
	S/Gari	Kubau	Gyellesu	
	Makarfi	Soba	Sabon Gari	
	Lere	Sabon Gari	Samaru	
	Kubau		Soba	
	Soba		Pambegwa	
	Ikara		Dutsen wai	
	Kudan		Dan Wata	
	Zone II (Central Senatorial District)	K/North	K/North	Kawo
		K/South	K/South	U/Dosa
Chikun		Chikun	Narayi	
Igabi		Igabi	S/Tasha	
B/Gwari			Rigasa	
Giwa			Trikania	
Kajuru			T/Wada	
Zone III (Southern Senatorial District)	Kachia	Kachia	Kachia	
	Kagarko	Z/Kataf	Manchock	
	Z/Kataf	Jama'a	Zonkwa	
	Jama'a	Kaura	G/Waya	
	Kauru		Kafanchan	
	Sanga		Samaru Kataf	
	Kaura		Kagoro	
	Jaba		Gumel	

### **3.05 Instrumentation**

The medium for collecting data for a study is very essential. For this study, the researcher used questionnaire. A set of questionnaire was designed as the research tool for collecting data from the respondents that can read and write. The questionnaire was constructed by the researcher with the aid of his supervisors. The researcher used the insight gained from the Literature Review, especially from studies in similar areas to construct the questionnaire.



### **3.05.1 Questionnaire**

The researcher developed a structured questionnaire titled “The Effects of Media reportage of ethno Religious conflict on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State”. According to Afolabi (1993), questionnaire reveals what a person knows, likes or dislikes (values and preferences), thinks (attitudes and beliefs) and the experiences and personal data about a person (biography). The questionnaire is divided into two sections. The first part (section A) is designed to find out the personal data of the respondents. This include: Age, sex, educational qualification, religion and place of domicile. The second part (section B) is designed to help the researcher determine the opinions of the respondents on the effects of media reportage ethno religious conflicts. The questionnaire is designed on a modified likert scale to help the respondents to describe the effects of media reportage of conflicts on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. The options are: Strongly Agreed (SA), Agreed (A) Strongly Disagreed (SD) and Disagreed (D)

### **3.06 Validity of the Instrument**

After developing the instrument, the researcher submitted them to the supervisors Prof. J.N. Kwasau and Very Rev. Fr. Prof. P.B. Tanko and other experts in the field of education from Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria to critically examine each item of the questionnaire and to offer useful suggestions. Experts were requested to check the language structure, phraseology and clarity of the language used in the instruments. Those suggestions were duly taken note of, corrected and incorporated and pilot test for reliability. This was meant to determine the internal consistency of the responses of respondents to the various items of the questionnaire.

### **3.07 Pilot Study**

In order to define the items of the instrument, that is the Questionnaire, a pilot study was carried out in Gidan Waya town in Jama'a Local Government Area of Kaduna State. Thirty (30) copies of the Questionnaire were administered, fifteen copies each were served to Christian and Muslim respondents respectively. The respondents comprised of students of the College of Education, Gidan Waya, Lecturers, Civil servants and religious leaders. Even though the sample was within the study population, however the respondents involved were not included in the main study. The pilot was used to test the adequacy and reliability of the instrument for the main study. Out of the number distributed, twelve were not returned which prompted the researcher to re-issue another set of the questionnaire. At the end, twenty-eight were retrieved while two could not be accounted for.

In order to ascertain the internal consistency of the twenty-eight (28) items of the questionnaire, the data collected were analysed using the statistical package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) soft ware. Using split half method and the Guttman option, the reliability coefficient obtained on analysis was 0.82. By this value, the instrument could be considered reliable and internally consistent for the study. This is supported by Tuckman (1975), who states that the closer to one the reliability of the instrument, the more reliable it is.

### **3.08 Reliability of the Instrument**

To ascertain the reliability of the instrument, the split-half (odd-even) method of instrument was used. It was discovered through simple correlation to be ( $r = 0.82$ ). The Guttman split-half procedure was used to determine the reliability co-efficient of the

instrument. The data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Software. The reliability co-efficient obtained on analysis is 0.76. By this value, the instrument could be considered reliable and internally consistent for the study. This is supported by Tuckman (1975) who states that the closer to one the reliability of the instrument is, the more reliable it is.

### **3.09 Administration of Instrument**

Questionnaire were administered to Christian and Muslim religious leaders, media reporters and victims of conflicts in the sampled areas. To actualise this, a letter of introduction was obtained from the Department of Art and Social Science Education Ahmadu Bello University (A.B.U) Zaria, intimating respondents on the nature, purpose and objectives of the study. The respondents, in the category of religious leaders were contacted at their places of worship, while media reporters were contacted at the Nigerian Union of Journalists.

Questionnaire were sent to each of the aforementioned respondents. This is justified because Christian and Moslem religious leaders are always in the forefront accusing media houses of bias reportage of ethno-religious conflicts. These religious leaders were contacted through their various churches and mosques respectively and their places of domicile.

Victims of conflict were contacted directly in their respective places of human endeavours and homes. This is important because most of these classes of respondents have an independent view from that of religious leaders. Some of them also have practically experienced one form of conflict or the other.

Media reporters were contacted through the Nigerian Union of Journalist (NUJ). These are the people who are at the centre of the matter. The Nigerian Union of Journalist is selected for easy access to get across to all media reporters. This is because it is the recognised umbrella for all Journalists in Nigeria.

### **3.10 Procedure for Data Collection**

After the administration of the questionnaire, the researcher along with four research assistants who helped in the administration of the questionnaire also collected the questionnaires. The researcher was also involved. The researcher and his assistance allowed the respondents the period of one day to three days before the collection. In some cases, the respondents asked the researcher to wait immediately for collection.

The researcher and his assistants collected the questionnaire from the respondent at their homes, places of work and worship centers. This exercise was tedious as some of the questionnaires were not properly filled while some could not be retrieved because the respondents either misplaced them or they were mutilated. As a result, only 976 out of the 1200 questionnaires distributed were retrieved and used.

### **3.11 Procedure for Data Analysis**

A total of one thousand two hundred respondents were sampled to fill the questionnaires. Four hundred questionnaires per Senatorial Zone. Their responses were used for data analysis. Descriptive statistics of frequency and simple percentage were used in the presentation of the results especially for personal data. Nominal scale of measurement was used to show the strength of association between and among the variables  $H_0$ .

In analyzing the data collected in the course of this study, relevant statistical tools were used for the purpose. These are:

- a. Descriptive Statistics of frequency and simple percentage was used. They were used for organization and presentation of the data collected and to summarize the responses of respondents (male and female, Christians and Muslims) because percentages reduced different sets of numbers to comparable set of numbers.
- b. t-test was used for testing hypothesis 1 and 2. This is because the mean scores to be compared involved two groups only in each case.
- c. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used while testing null hypotheses 3 and 4 because more than two groups are involved that need to be compared. It is generally accepted that ANOVA is one of the most versatile statistical tools in the comparison of means of more than two groups.

## CHAPTER 4

### DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

#### 4.1 Introduction

The study aims primarily at investigating the effects of media reportage of ethno-religious conflicts on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. A total of 976 sampled respondents were used. They were drawn from the three Senatorial Zones of Kaduna State. The analysis is presented in three sections. The first section presents descriptive statistics of frequencies and percentages to determine distribution of sampled respondents by their sex, age, Senatorial Zones, education and religion. The second section answers the four research questions with item frequencies of responses and means. A total of four null hypotheses were tested using different inferential statistics. The Independent t-test and the analysis of variance statistics were used. All hypotheses were tested at 0.05 level of significance. Summary of findings and discussions on findings were also included in this chapter.

#### 4.2 Distribution of Bio Data Variables in Frequencies and Percentages

**Table 2: Distribution of Respondents by Age**

<b>Ages</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
18 – 25	409	41.9
26-35	232	23.8
36-45	124	12.7
46-55	115	11.8
56 and above	96	9.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>976</b>	<b>100.0</b>

From the table above, 400 or 41.9% of the respondents were between 18-25 years while 232 or 23.8% were between 26-35 years as against 124 or 12.7% that were between 36 – 45 years while 115 or 11.8% were between 46-55 years and the rest 96 representing 9.8% were from 56 years and above. This shows that majority of the respondents fall within ages 18 – 25 years.

**Table 3: Distribution of Respondents by Gender**

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Male	417	42.7
Female	559	57.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>976</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table above reveals that 417 or 42.7% of the respondents were males and the rest 559 representing 57.3% were females. Both males and females were well represented in this study.

**Table 4: Distribution of Respondents by Senatorial District**

<b>Senatorial Zones</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Zone I	517	53.0
Zone II	178	18.0
Zone III	281	28.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>976</b>	<b>100.0</b>

On the Senatorial District, 517 or 53.0% were from Zone 1 Senatorial District while 178 or 18.2% were from Zone II and the rest 281 or 28.8% were from Zone III Senatorial Zone.

**Table 5: Distribution of Respondents by Educational Status**

<b>Qualifications</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
NCE and above	353	36.2
SSCE and below	623	63.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>976</b>	<b>100.0</b>

On respondents educational status, 353 or 36.2% had NCE and above while the rest 623 representing 63.8% possess SSCE and below educational qualification

**Table 6: Distribution of Respondents by Religion**

<b>Religion</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Christianity	467	47.8
Islam	509	52.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>976</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The table above shows that among the respondents 467 representing 47.8% were of Christian's religion and the rest 509 representing 52.2% were of Islamic religion.

### 4.3 Research Questions

**Question One:** How Does Media Reportage of Ethno Religious Conflicts Affect the Social Lives of Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State?

**Table 7:** How Social Effects of Media Reportage of Ethno Religious Conflicts on the Lives of Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State

<b>S/No</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>RESPONSE CATEGORIES</b>				<b>MEAN</b>
		<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>	
1	Social activities such as marriage, sport, and so on are hampered during ethnic or religious conflicts	527	392	45	12	3.47
2	Movement of people is restricted during ethnic or religious conflicts	333	394	147	102	2.98
3	People are intimidated where they are minority during and after ethnic or religious conflicts	454	299	403	120	3.11
4	Religious activities are negatively affected during ethnic or religious conflicts	405	400	75	96	3.14
5	Large number of people are forced to abandon their houses during ethnic or religious conflicts	301	446	433	96	2.98
6	Christians and Muslims react negatively to each other based on media reports of religious conflicts	378	261	432	205	2.83
7	Social centers, Churches, Mosques, Houses and Hotels are often destroyed as a result of ethnic or religiously conflicts	497	261	89	129	3.15
<b>Cumulative/Grand Mean</b>						<b>3.094</b>

Decision mean = 2.500



The outcome of table 7 above reveals that media reportage of ethno-religious conflicts have really affected the social lives of Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. This is because the cumulative/grand mean of 3.094 on all the seven items above was found to be higher than the decision mean of 2.500. Specifically, they are of the strong belief that social activities such as marriage, sport and so on, are hampered during ethnic or religious conflicts as this item attracted the highest mean response of 3.47 as details show that, while 527 were in strong agreement, 392 were in agreement as against 45 that disagreed and the rest 12 in strong disagreement with this item. In the same vein, social centers, churches, mosques, houses and hotels are often destroyed as a result of ethnic or religious conflicts as this item has the next highest mean response of 3.15 with details of response showing that while 497 were in strong agreement, 261 were in agreement as against 89 that disagreed and the rest 129 in strong disagreement. In summary, media reportage of ethno religious conflicts has socially affected the people as social activities such as marriage, sport, and so on, are hampered during ethnic or religious conflicts and social centers, churches, mosques, houses and hotels are often destroyed as a result of ethnic or religious conflicts.

**Question Two:** What is the Economic Effects of Media Reportage of Ethno Religious Conflicts?

**Table 8:** Economic Effects of Media Reportage of Ethno Religious Conflicts on Christians and Muslims

S/No	Items	RESPONSE CATEGORIES				MEAN
		SA	A	D	SD	
1	High cost of living is experienced during and after ethnic or religious conflicts	384	441	91	60	3.18
2	Lost of property is experienced during ethnic or religious conflicts	543	274	64	25	3.30
3	Essential commodities are scarce and expensive during ethnic or religious conflicts	320	559	64	33	3.19
4	Ethnic or religious conflicts bring about hunger and poverty	405	420	79	72	3.19
5	Investors are prevented from coming to a place during ethnic or religious conflicts	297	409	120	150	2.87
6	There is poor patronage of buyers in the markets due to mistrust which reduced profit during and after ethnic or religious conflicts	261	501	117	97	2.95
7	Government revenue is affected during ethnic or religious conflicts	201	600	24	151	2.87
<b><i>Cumulative/grand mean</i></b>						<b><i>3.078</i></b>

***Decision mean = 2.500***

According to the above table 8, bias media reportage of ethno religious conflicts has generally affected the economic lives of the people as the cumulative mean of 3.078 was found to be higher than the decision mean of 2.500. Majority believe that economically, lost of property is experienced during ethnic or religious conflict as this item attracted the highest mean response of 3.30 with details showing that 543 were in strong agreement, while 274 agreed as against 64 disagreed and 25 strongly disagreed. It was also believed that essential commodities are scarce and expensive during ethnic or religious conflict, as this item attract the second highest mean response of 3.19 with details showing that 320 strongly agreed while 559 agreed, 64 disagreed and the rest 33 strongly disagreed. It can be concluded that economically, media reportage of ethno-

religious conflicts result in loss of property is experienced during ethnic or religious conflicts and essential commodities are scarce and expensive during ethnic or religious.

**Question Three:** To what Extent does Reportage of Ethno Religious Conflicts cause Psychological Effect on the Lives of Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State?

**Table 9:** Psychological Effect of Reportage on the Lives of Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State

S/No	Items	RESPONSE CATEGORIES				MEAN
		SA	A	D	SD	
1	People become hostile to strangers during ethnic or religious conflicts	454	426	32	64	3.30
2	Both Christians and Muslims keep sleepless nights during religious conflicts	366	475	44	91	3.14
3	There is hatred and mistrust between Christians and Muslims during and after religious conflicts	348	514	90	24	3.22
4	People experience bad dreams and nights-mare during and after ethnic or religious conflicts	276	376	444	180	2.77
5	People take hard drugs during ethnic or religious conflicts	258	324	206	188	2.67
6	People get mental disordered during and after ethnic religious conflicts	327	330	93	226	2.78
7	People suffer psychological trauma during and after ethnic or religious conflicts	312	306	138	220	2.72
<b><i>Cumulative/grand mean</i></b>						<b><i>2.942</i></b>

*Decision mean = 2.500*

Table 9 shows that media reportage of ethno religious conflicts generally cause psychological effects as the overall mean response of 2.942 is higher than the decision mean of 2.500. It was observed that the highest psychological effect is that people become hostile to strangers during ethnic or religious conflicts as this item attracts the highest mean response of 3.30 as details show that 454 strongly agree, 426 agreed while 32 disagree and the rest 64 strongly disagree. Another psychological effect is that there is hatred and mistrust between Christians and Muslims during and after religious conflicts with item mean response of 3.22 with details showing that 348 strongly agreed while 514 agreed as against 90 that disagreed and the rest 24 strongly disagreed. In summary, on

biased effect on psychological effect is that People become hostile to strangers during ethnic or religious conflict and also there is hatred and mistrust between Christians and Muslims during and after religious conflicts.

**Question Four:** How has Religion and Ethnicity been Manipulated in the Media to Initiate and Fuel Conflict between Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State?

**Table 10:** How Religion and Ethnicity have been Manipulated in the Media to Initiate and Fuel Conflict between Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State

S/No	Items	RESPONSE CATEGORIES				MEAN
		SA	A	D	SD	
1	News, commentaries, interviews etc in the media which portray one ethnic or religious group as superior to others initiates conflicts	359	437	57	123	3.06
2	Portraying one ethnic or religious group as being marginalised in the media breeds ethnic and religious tension	459	333	45	139	3.14
3	People get angry when there is no balance in apportioning of blames by the media during and after religious or ethnic conflicts	396	421	84	75	3.17
4	People react violently when they feel a media house is discriminating and not fair to them during and after ethnic or religious conflicts	401	506	12	57	3.28
5	Circulations of pictures of victims, movies and so on in the media escalates ethnic or religious conflicts	362	349	91	174	2.92
6	Giving out exaggerated figures of Victims during ethnic or religious conflicts lead to escalation of conflicts to other places	446	350	117	63	3.21
7	Ridiculing of a Christian or Muslim Prophets in the media causes religious tension and conflicts.	419	332	153	72	3.13
<b>Cumulative/Grand Mean</b>						<b>3.13</b>

Decision mean =2.500

Table 10 reveals that religion and ethnicity have been manipulated in the media to initiate and fuel conflicts between Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State, as the cumulative

mean response of 3.13 is higher than the decision mean of 2.500. Specifically, it is widely believed that people react violently when they feel a media house is discriminating and not fair to them during and after ethnic or religious conflict as this item had the highest mean response of 3.28 with details showing that 401 strongly agree, while 506 agreed, as against 12 that disagreed and the rest 57 strongly disagreed. In the same vein, giving out exaggerated figures of victims during ethnic or religious conflict leads to escalation of conflicts to other places, as this item has the second highest mean response of 3.21 with details showing that 446 strongly agreed, while 350 agreed as against 117 that disagreed and the rest 63 strongly disagreed. This can be summarized that manipulation of ethno-religious conflicts result into people reacting violently when they feel a media house is discriminating and not fair to them during and after ethnic or religious conflicts. Also, giving out exaggerated figures of victims during ethnic or religious conflicts leads to escalation of conflicts to other places.

#### 4.4 Testing of Research Hypotheses

**Research Hypothesis One:** There is no Significant Difference in the Responses of Christian and Muslim Respondents on the Social Effects of Bias Media Reportage of Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State.

**Table 11:** Independent t - Test Statistics on Christian and Muslim Responses

Variable	Religion	N	Mean	std.dev	std.err	Df	t Calculate	t critical	Sig (p)
Social effects of Ethno-religious conflict	Christianity	467	23.528	3.1392	.1452	974	.14.784	1.96	0.000
	Islam	509	19.958	4.2653	.1890				

Calculated  $p > 0.05$ , calculated  $t < 1.96$  at  $df = 349$

Results of the above independent t-test statistics show that significant difference exist between Christians and Muslims respondents on the social effects of ethno religious conflicts. The reason for this is that the calculated p-value of 0000 is lower than the 0.05 level of significance while the calculated t value of 14.784 is higher than the 1.96 critical t-value at df 974. Their calculated mean perception on social effects of ethno religious conflicts were 23.5289 and 19.9587 by Christians and Muslims respondents respectively indicating a mean difference of 3.5701. This means that Christian respondents have significantly higher opinion on the social effects of ethno-religious conflicts than their Muslim counterparts.

This means that Christian respondents have significantly higher opinion on the social effects of ethno-religious conflicts than their Muslim respondents. This outcome is not completely surprising. It can be argued that the victims of most ethno-religious conflicts or crises in Kaduna State are Christians, which explains the reason for their higher mean response on the social effects of such conflicts over their Muslim counterparts.

Another argument could be that Christians are more involved in social activities such as organized public marriages and other related ceremonies than the Muslims hence, it is not unusual that they will feel the social effects of ethno-religious conflicts than their counterparts.

Therefore, the null hypothesis which states that there is no significant difference between Christians and Muslims respondents on the social effects of ethno religious conflicts, is hereby rejected.

**Hypothesis Two:** There is no Significant Difference in the Response of Male and Female Respondents Concerning the Economic Effects of Ethno-Religious Conflicts Associated with Media Reportage

**Table 12:** Independent t-Test Statistics on Male and Female Respondents on the Economic Effects of Ethno-Religious Conflicts

Variable	Sex	N	Mean	std.dev	std.err	Df	t Calculate	t critical	Sig (p)
Economic effects of Ethno-religious conflict	Male	417	20.79	3.865	.1893	974	.5.467	1.96	0.000
	Female	559	22.91	3.579	.151				

Calculated  $p < 0.05$ , calculated  $t > 1.96$  at  $df = 974$

Result of the above independent t-test statistics shows that significant difference exists in the responses between male and female respondents on the Economic effects of ethno religious conflicts. The reason for such is that the calculated p-value of 0000 is lower than the 0.05 level of significance while the calculated t-value of 5.467 is higher than the 1.96 critical t value at df 974. Their calculated mean perception on economic effects of ethno-religious conflicts were 20.7986 and 22.1091 by male and female respondents respectively, indicating a mean difference of 1.3105. This means that female respondents have significantly higher opinion on the economic effects of ethno-religious conflicts than their male respondents. This outcome is not entirely unexpected. It is the female (girls, mothers and wives) that are more involved in economic activities such as buying and selling of food stuffs and basic needs of the family. This is why the females have higher mean response on Economic effects of bias news of ethno- religious conflicts than

their male counterparts. Therefore, the null hypothesis which states that there is no significant difference between male and female respondents on the Economic effects of ethno religious conflicts associated with reportage is hereby rejected.

**Hypothesis Three:** There is no Significant Differences in the Responses across age Grade Level on the Psychological Effects of Ethno Religious Conflicts caused by Media Reportage

**Table 13:** Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) Statistics on the Differences in the Psychological Effects of Ethno Religious Conflicts on the Basis of Age of Respondents

ANOVA					
Psychological Effects of Ethno-Religious Conflict 3					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1100.742	4	275.185	17.076	.000
Within Groups	15647.816	971	16.115		
<b>Total</b>	<b>16748.557</b>	<b>975</b>			

**Table 14:** Descriptive Mean Statistics on Psychological Effects of Ethno Religious Conflicts on the Basis of Age of Respondents

Psychological Effects of Ethno Rel.Conflict3				
Ages	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
18 – 25	409	19.5648	3.98297	.19695
26-35	232	22.2284	3.85612	.25317
36-45	124	20.4919	4.08944	.36724
46-55	115	21.2174	4.56490	.42568
56 and above	96	20.4583	3.71035	.37869
<b>Total</b>	<b>976</b>	<b>20.5984</b>	<b>4.14464</b>	<b>.13267</b>

In testing this hypothesis with the analysis of variance statistics, significant differences existed in the psychological effects of ethno-religious conflicts on the basis of



age of respondents. Their mean descriptive statistics on the psychological effects of ethno religious conflicts were 19.5648, 22.2284, 20.4919, 21.2174 and 20.4583 by ages 18-25 years, 26-35 years, 36 – 45 years, 46-55 years and 56 or above years respectively. The Post Hoc multiple comparison using The LSD pair wise method shows that significant difference exists between ages 18-25 years and those of ages 26-35 years and between 46-55 years and vice versa. This result shows that the main adolescent ages feel psychological effects of ethno religious conflicts than older ages. This outcome could also be viewed from the perspective that these ages are more involved in committing religious conflicts and therefore will certainly have the highest psychological effects than other ages as a result of bias reportage.

## Post Hoc Tests

### Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Psychological Effect of Ethno Rel Conflict3

	(I) Age	(J) Age	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
Scheffe	18 – 25	26-35	-2.66366*	.32994	.000	
		36-45	-.92714	.41154	.280	
		46-55	-1.65260*	.42371	.004	
		56 and above	-.89354	.45527	.427	
	26-35	18 – 25	2.66366*	.32994	.000	
		36-45	1.73651*	.44657	.005	
		46-55	1.01106	.45781	.301	
		56 and above	1.77011*	.48716	.011	
	36-45	18 – 25	.92714	.41154	.280	
		26-35	-1.73651*	.44657	.005	
		46-55	-.72546	.51970	.745	
		56 and above	.03360	.54574	1.000	
	46-55	18 – 25	1.65260*	.42371	.004	
		26-35	-1.01106	.45781	.301	
		36-45	.72546	.51970	.745	
		56 and above	.75906	.55498	.760	
	56 and above	18 – 25	.89354	.45527	.427	
		26-35	-1.77011*	.48716	.011	
		36-45	-.03360	.54574	1.000	
		46-55	-.75906	.55498	.760	
	LSD	18 – 25	26-35	-2.66366*	.32994	.000
			36-45	-.92714*	.41154	.024
			46-55	-1.65260*	.42371	.000
			56 and above	-.89354*	.45527	.050
26-35		18 – 25	2.66366*	.32994	.000	
		36-45	1.73651*	.44657	.000	
		46-55	1.01106*	.45781	.027	
		56 and above	1.77011*	.48716	.000	
36-45		18 – 25	.92714*	.41154	.024	
		26-35	-1.73651*	.44657	.000	
		46-55	-.72546	.51970	.163	
		56 and above	.03360	.54574	.951	
46-55	18 – 25	1.65260*	.42371	.000		
	26-35	-1.01106*	.45781	.027		
	36-45	.72546	.51970	.163		
	56 and above	.75906	.55498	.172		
56 and above	18 – 25	.89354*	.45527	.050		
	26-35	-1.77011*	.48716	.000		
	36-45	-.03360	.54574	.951		
	46-55	-.75906	.55498	.172		

\*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

## Homogeneous Subsets

### Psychological Effects of Ethno-Religious Conflicts

	Age	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05		
			1	2	3
Scheffe <sup>a,b</sup>	18 – 25	409	19.5648		
	56 and above	96	20.4583	20.4583	
	36-45	124	20.4919	20.4919	
	46-55	115		21.2174	21.2174
	26-35	232			22.2284
	Sig.			.416	.621

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

- a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 147.353.
- b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Result of the Analysis of Variance statistics table and the Post Hoc multiple statistics reveal significant differences in the psychological effects of ethno-religious conflicts on the basis of age of respondents. Reasons being that the calculated p-value of 0.000 of the Analysis of variance table was found to be lower than the 0.05 just as the calculated f value of F calculated was 17.076 was found to be higher than the 2.60 F-critical. Their mean descriptive statistics on the psychological effects of ethno-religious conflicts were 19.5648, 22.2284, 20.4919, 21.2174 and 20.4583 by ages 18-25 years, 26-35 years, 36 – 45 years, 46-55 years and 56 and above years respectively. The Post Hoc multiple comparison using the LSD pair wise method shows that significant differences exist between ages 18-25 years and those of ages 26-35 years and between 46-55 years and vice versa. Therefore, the null hypothesis which states that there is no significant

difference in the responses across each great level on the psychological effects of ethno religious conflicts caused by media reportage is hereby rejected.

**Hypothesis Four:** There is no significant difference in the responses across the three Senatorial Zones Concerning the Manipulation of Religion and Ethnicity in the Media to initiate and Fuel Ethno-Religious Conflicts.

**Table 15:** Analysis of Variance Statistics Difference in Respondents on Manipulation of Religion and Ethnicity in the Media to Initiate and Fuel Ethno-Religious Conflicts on the Basis of their Senatorial Zones.

Effects of Manipulation of Religion and Ethnicity in the Media						
	<b>Sum of Squares</b>	<b>df</b>	<b>Mean Square</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>F Critical</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
Between Groups	219.919	2	109.960	12.679	2.60	.000
Within Groups	8438.539	973	8.673			
<b>Total</b>	<b>8658.458</b>	<b>975</b>				

**Descriptives**

Effects of Manipulation of Religion and Ethnicity in the Media

<b>Zones</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>
Zone1	517	15.2882	2.73013	.12007
Zone II	178	15.5393	2.87029	.21514
Zone III	281	16.3808	3.34571	.19959
<b>Total</b>	<b>976</b>	<b>15.6486</b>	<b>2.98001</b>	<b>.09539</b>

**Table 16:** Post Hoc Analysis Dependent Variable: Effects of Manipulation of Religion and Ethnicity in Media

	(I) Senatorial District	(J) Senatorial District	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Scheffe	Zone I	Zone II	-.25112	.25593	.618
		Zone III	-1.09258*	.21826	.000
	Zone II	Zone I	.25112	.25593	.618
		Zone III	-.84146*	.28211	.012
	Zone III	Zone I	1.09258*	.21826	.000
		Zone II	.84146*	.28211	.012
LSD	Zone I	Zone II	-.25112	.25593	.327
		Zone III	-1.09258*	.21826	.000
	Zone II	Zone I	.25112	.25593	.327
		Zone III	-.84146*	.28211	.003
	Zone III	Zone I	1.09258*	.21826	.000
		Zone II	.84146*	.28211	.003

\* The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

According to the result of the Analysis of variance statistics, significant difference was observed in the difference in respondents perception on manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media to initiate and fuel ethno religious conflicts on the basis of their Senatorial Zones. Their mean perception on this view were 15.2882, 15.5393 and 16.3808 by respondents from Zone I, Zone II and Zone III respectively. This shows that respondents from Zone III have the highest mean response on manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media to initiate and fuel ethno-religious conflicts, followed by Zone II respondents and least are respondents from Zone I. The Post Hoc multiple comparison using the LSD pair wise method shows that significant differences exist between Zone III, I and II in their responses on manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media to initiate and fuel ethno-religious conflicts on the basis of their Senatorial Zones. An explanation for significant differences in terms of zones could be done from the fact that the news media is not evenly situated in all the Senatorial Zones and it is not in all the

nooks and corners that their news gets to. Therefore, places where they experience more news coverage will more likely have higher perception regarding manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media to initiate and fuel ethno-religious conflicts.

### Homogeneous Subsets

**Effects of Manipulation of Religion and Ethnicity in the Media**

	Senatorial district	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05	
			1	2
Scheffe <sup>a,b</sup>	Zone I	517	15.2882	
	Zone II	178	15.5393	
	Zone III	281	16.3808	
<b>Sig.</b>			<b>.612</b>	<b>1.000</b>

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 270.004.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Result of the Analysis of variance statistics table and the Post Hoc multiple statistics reveals significant differences in the respondents on manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media to initiate and fuel ethno-religious conflicts on the basis of their Senatorial Zones. The reason is that the calculated p value of 0.000 of the Analysis of variance table was found to be lower than the 0.05 just as the calculated F value was 12.679 was found to be higher than the 2.60 F critical. 15.2882, 15.5393 and 16.3808 by respondents from Zone I, Zone II and Zone III respectively. This shows that respondents from Zone III have the highest mean response on manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media to initiate and fuel ethno-religious conflicts, followed by zone II respondents and least are respondents from Zone I.

The Post Hoc multiple comparison using the LSD pair wise method shows that significant differences exist between Zone III, I and II in their responses on manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media to initiate and fuel ethno-religious conflicts on the basis of their Zones. Therefore, the null hypothesis which state that there is no significant differences in the responses of respondents across the Senatorial Zones on the manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media to initiate and fuel ethno religious conflicts on the basis of zones, is hereby rejected.

#### **4.5 Summary of Major Findings**

The following are the summary of the major findings of the study:

1. Media reportage of ethno-religious conflict has socially affected the people hence, social activities such as marriage, sports, and so on, are hampered during ethnic; or religious conflicts while social and worship centers such as, churches, mosques, houses and hotels are often destroyed as a result of ethnic or religious conflicts.
2. Economically, Media reportage of ethno religious conflicts result in lost of property making essential commodities scarce and expensive during ethnic or religious conflict.
3. The psychological effect of ethno-religious conflict is that people become hostile to strangers and increase hatred and mistrust between Christians and Muslims.
4. Manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media results in violent reaction when people feel discriminated and unfairly treated during and after ethnic or religious conflicts. Exaggerating casualty figures of victims during ethnic or religious conflicts leads to escalation of conflicts to other places.

#### **4.6 Discussion of Findings**

The discussion of findings would be done in accordance with the outcome of research hypotheses.

Among the objectives of this study was to identify the social, economic and psychological effects of media reportage of ethno-religious conflict on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. From the analyzed data, it was discovered that the respondents agreed on the social effect of ethno religious conflict on Christians and Muslims. Amongst such social effects was the disruption in the family and public life of the affected communities. As observed in this study, many public places and worship centres are destroyed or forced to close down and people are denied their freedom of movement. This observation is consistent with Philips (2000) report of Zango Kataf crisis where it was discovered that movement of Christians and Muslims as well as the Atyp and the Hausas was restricted as dusk and dawn curfew was imposed for many days. It also agrees with the report of Iruonagbe (2009) on Kaduna Sharia crisis where Churches, Mosques and commercial establishments were seriously affected.

Ethno religious conflicts do not only affect the movement of people, other ceremonies and sports as well as religious activities are also hampered and large number of people are forced to abandon their houses as a result of destruction of such places as observed in this study. This finding is in agreement with Nuzhat's (2014) report of religious conflict in Nigeria where it was reported that ethno religious conflict create internally displaced persons and the dislocation of family members.

The economic effect suffered by Christians and Muslims as revealed by the result of this study include; high cost of living, lost of property and scarcity of essential



commodities which lead to hunger and poverty. This finding is in line with Kabala's (1991) report of Lowero conflict which pointed out that the conflict exerted demands on the economy because the people living in such areas turned into battle ground could not be productive. This also supports the report of Okafor (1997) where it was stated that among the effects of the Kafanchan conflict included loss of property worth millions of naira. It also agrees with the findings of Owotu (2012) that properties are lost and people displaced during ethno religious conflicts.

The psychological effects of media reportage of ethno-religious conflict on Christians and Muslims identified in the study include hostility to strangers and or people of different ethnic or religious faith. The conflict engendered mistrust between Christians and Muslims in such affected communities. The lack of trust generally breeds animosity between individuals in the opposite sides of the conflict. Christians and Muslims are both affected by this hostility with the disruption of peace in the society and mental trauma caused when such conflict occurs as observed in this study. These findings are consistent with Muhammad (2008), where it was reported that ethno religious conflict disrupts the peaceful coexistence of Christians and Muslim and caused mental trauma.

On the manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media to initiate and fuel conflict, this study discovers among others that; ridiculing of a Christian or Muslim Prophet in the media causes tension; giving out exaggerated figures of victims of ethno religious conflicts can escalate the conflict; news, commentaries and interviews portraying one ethnic or religious group as superior to others initiate conflict; as well as discrimination in the media based on ethnic or religious background. These findings are in tandem with those of Ishaku (2000) and Kukalh (1992) on the Kafachan and Zango

Kataf crises where they reported that the discriminatory media report of the crises led to the escalation beyond Kafachan and Zango Kataf towns. This is also in line with Ibrahim (1989) who observes the negative role played by Radio Nigeria Kaduna and New Nigerian Newspapers in fueling the Kafachan and Zango Kataf crises. It is also consistent with Nwandiari's (2010) report on the Hutu and Tutsi conflict of Rwanda where it was discovered that a radio station incited the Hutu against the Tutsi by describing the "Tutsi as cockroaches that must be crushed".

This study also discovered that imbalance in reporting ethno-religious conflict and apportioning of blames were responsible for some of the conflicts in Kaduna State. These findings are supported by Iruonagbe's (2009) report of religious conflicts in Nigeria. Similarly, the findings of ridiculing of a prophet is a possible cause of religious conflict is supported by Seriki (1993) who reports that the provocative nature of some publications especially those that malign or ridicule the prophet has caused the most trouble.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Summary**

The main objectives of this study were to investigate the effects of media reportage of ethno-religious conflicts on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. This was conceived based on observations, media reports, complains and verbal interactions with stakeholders on the subject matter.

Four null research hypotheses were raised in line with the objectives of the study. It is a known fact that global events, good or bad are relayed and conveyed to the public via the instruments of the mass media (Radio, Television, and Newspapers). News reports of conflicts especially from a religious or ethnic angle can either reduce or heighten tension. Discussion on religions in Nigeria and Kaduna State in particular often begins with some reference to the history of Christian-Muslim relations. The much talked about is the imbalance in Kaduna State as a result of the political advantages gained by a section of the state against the other and the infiltrated media narratives of events.

The ethno religious conflicts that Kaduna State has experienced in the past as well as the negative role some media houses played during such conflicts has greatly affected the socio-economic lives of both Christians and Muslims.

The study in chapter one highlights the background of the study, statement of the research problem, objectives, hypothesis, scope and significance of the study. Chapter two presents literature review, of materials related to the study based on different sub headings.

A survey design research was used for the study. The population of the study comprise of respondents sampled from the three Senatorial Zones of Kaduna State. A self-developed questionnaire was administered. The instrument was vetted by experts in Statistics, Christian Religious Studies, and the supervisors to ascertain its content and phrase validities. A total of 1200 questionnaire were produced and distributed out of which 976 were retrieved and used. The reliability coefficient of the questionnaire was determined and found to be 0.82 using the split half method.

The analysis of the data collected together with the result obtained from the analysis is presented in chapter four. Four null hypotheses were tested in the chapter. It was discovered that significant differences exist between Christians and Muslims on social effects of media reportage of ethno religious conflicts. It was also found that significant differences exist between males and females on the economic effects of reportage of ethno religious conflicts. The entire four hypotheses were rejected.

## **5.2 Conclusions**

From the result of the findings summarised in section 4.4 of chapter four, the general conclusion that comes out strongly is that ethno-religious conflicts cause hindrance to social life, loss of economic sources of livelihood and psychological trauma. Specifically ethno religious conflicts:

1. Brings about disruption of social lives of Christians and Muslims and destruction of worship centers.
2. Revealed reduction of economic resources and properties of individual families which bring about loss of livelihood.

3. Brings about hatred, unforgiveness, mistrust and aggressive orientation and leaves many victims traumatised for the remaining part of their lives.
4. Manipulation of religion and ethnicity in media reportage results to violent reaction and escalation of conflicts to hitherto peaceful areas.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

The following recommendations are made:

1. Media houses should cross check through their news before reporting on any ethno religious conflicts so as not to be seen to be bias, or one-sided.
2. Government should sanction any media house that indulges in bias reportage of ethno religious crisis;
3. Government should set up a media monitoring department in the Ministry of information to guard against false reportage;
4. Religious bodies should desist from inducing the media to report with bias and exaggeration on ethno religious issues.
5. There should be more government owned media houses to counter biased news from private owned media outfit.

### **5.4 Recommendation for Further Study**

Although some of the effects of religious and ethnic conflicts have been identified, it appears that further research would help to confirm the negative effects of such conflicts on religious leaders and media reporters. The following areas are hereby suggested for further study;

1. A similar study such as this one should be carried out using selected media outfits such as a particular newspaper, radio or television;

2. It is suggested that this study be replicated using other states in Nigeria or any part of the world;
3. A study that can investigate the effects of media reportage of ethno religious conflict on religious leaders and media workers is hereby advocated;
4. The interconnectivity between religion, ethnicity and media narratives in conflict resolution in any part of Nigeria can be carried out; and
5. This research reveals ethnic and religious lopsidedness in the composition of staff of some media houses. It is suggested therefore that further study can be done to find out the role of such media houses in initiating or fueling ethno religious conflicts in Nigeria.

## **5.5 Contribution to Knowledge**

This study has the following as its contribution to knowledge:

1. It provided an explanation to and put at the disposal of security agencies the increasing level of youth restiveness, taking of hard drugs and engagement in social vices.
2. Provided an empirical data on the negative effect of media in initiating and escalating ethnic and religious conflict in Kaduna State.
3. It provide an essential explanation for religious leaders on the proper and best practices needed for the promotion of peace and mutual coexistence between members of different faith.
4. The study has brought to the fore the dangers of unprofessional media reportage of ethno religious conflict on Christians and Muslims. It has thus provided documentary records for media practitioners and regulatory agencies on the need

to be objective in their report and it offer useful explanation on the way out for erring members.

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**Appendix 2**

**AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY ZARIA**  
**FACULTY OF EDUCATION**  
**DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION**  
**QUESTIONNAIRE ON EFFECTS OF MEDIA REPORTAGE OF ETHNO**  
**CONFLICTS ON CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS IN KADUNA STATE**

Dear Respondent,

This researcher is carrying out a study on The Effects of Media Reportage of ethno religious conflict on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. He requests you to kindly assist in filling the questionnaire as honest as possible. Your response will be treated confidentially.

**Matthew Williams BARDE**  
**M.Ed/Educ/2235/2009/2010**  
**(P15EDAS8010)**

**Questionnaire on Effects of Media Reportage of Ethno Religious Conflicts on  
Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State.**

**Section A: Bio Data**

Please tick (✓) or write where applicable.

1. **Age:** 18 – 25 ( ) 26 – 35 ( ) 36 – 45 ( ) 46 – 55 ( ) 56 and above ( )
2. **Sex:** Male ( ) Female ( )
3. **Senatorial Zone of Residence:** Zone I ( ) Zone II ( ) Zone III ( )
4. **Educational Qualification:** N.C.E and above ( ) S.S.C.E and below ( )
5. **Religion:** Christianity ( ) Islam ( )
6. **Occupational Status:** Farmer ( ) Civil Servant ( ) Business Men ( )  
Christian Religious Leader ( ) Muslim Religious Leader ( )  
Victims of Conflict ( ) Media Reporter ( ) Student ( ) Others ( )

**Section B:**

## SOCIAL EFFECTS OF MEDIA REPORTAGE ON ETHNO RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

Please identify your best choice by ticking (√) in the appropriate column against each item.

SA = Strongly Agree      A = Agree      SD = Strongly Disagree      D = Disagree

		SA	A	SD	D
1	Social activities such as marriages, sport and so on are hampered during ethnic or religious conflicts.				
2	Movement of people is restricted during ethnic or religious conflict.				
3	People are intimidated where they are minority during and after ethnic or religious conflicts.				
4	Religious activities are negatively affected during ethnic or religious conflicts.				
5	Large numbers of people are forced to abandon their houses during ethnic or religious conflicts.				
6	Christians and Muslims react negatively to each other based on media reports of religious conflicts.				
7	Social centres, Churches, mosques, houses and hotels are often destroyed as a result of ethnic or religious conflict.				

**Section C:**

## ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF ETHNO RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

		SA	A	SD	D
1	High cost of living is experienced during and after ethnic or religious conflicts.				
2	Lost of property is experienced during ethnic or religious conflicts.				
3	Essential commodities are scarce and expensive during ethnic or religious conflicts.				
4	Ethnic or religious conflicts bring about hunger and poverty.				
5	Investors are prevented from coming to a place during ethnic or religious conflicts.				
6	There is poor patronage of buyers in markets due to mistrust which reduces profit during and after ethnic religious conflicts.				
7	Government revenue is affected during ethnic or religious conflicts.				



**Section D:**

**PYSCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF ETHNO RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS**

		SA	A	SD	D
1	People become hostile to strangers during ethnic or religious conflicts.				
2	Both Christians and Muslims keep sleepless nights during religious conflicts.				
3	There is hatred and mistrust between Christians and Muslims during and after religious conflicts.				
4	People experience bad dreams and nights-mares during and after ethnic or religious conflicts				
5	People take hard drugs during ethnic or religious conflicts				
6	People get mental disorders during and after ethnic religious conflicts				
7	People suffer psychological trauma during and after ethnic or religious conflicts.				

**Section E:**

**EFFECTS OF MANIPULATION OF RELIGION AND ETHNICITY IN THE MEDIA**

		SA	A	SD	D
1	News commentaries, interviews etc in the media which portrays one ethnic or religious group as superior to others initiates conflicts				
2	Portraying one ethnic or religious group as being marginalized in the media breeds ethnic and religious tension				
3	People get angry when there is no balance in apportioning of blames by the media during and after religious or ethnic conflicts				
4	People react violently when they feel a media house is discriminatory and not fair to them during and after ethnic or religious conflicts				
5	Circulation of pictures of victims, movies etc in the media escalates ethnic or religious conflicts				
6	Giving out exaggerated figures of victims during ethnic or religious conflicts leads to escalation to other places				
7	Ridiculing of a Christian or Moslem Prophet in the media causes religious tension and conflicts.				

29. Suggest ways of preventing the reoccurrence of ethno religious conflicts

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### APPENDIX 3

**TABLE 1: An Outline of Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State**

S/NO	DATE AND YEAR	LOCATION	L.G.A	PARTIES INVOLVED	CAUSES OF CONFLICT	NATURE OF CONFLICT	EFFECTS/REMARKS
1	22-24 March 1987	Kafanchan and spilled over to Kaduna, Zaria and Ikara	Jema'a, Kaduna, Zaria and Ikara	Christians and Muslims	Campus crusade at the State College of Education	Religious	Many lives lost, Churches, Mosques and houses destroyed. The media was accused of biased reportage of the conflict
2	13/6/1988	Ahmadu Bello University Zaria	Sabon gari	Christians and Muslims	Students Union Election	Religious and politics	Hatred and suspicious based on religion and ethnicity sown among the university community
3	15/5/1992	Zango kataf and spilled over to Kaduna, Zaria and Ikara	Zango kataf Kaduna north, Zaria, Ikara	Atyap versus Hausa Fulani as well as Christians and Muslims	Market relocation	Ethnic and religious	Many people lost their lives and properties destroyed Atyap sons like Gen. Lekwot imprisoned. The media was accused for fueling the crisis and biased report of the conflict
4	1996	Kafanchan	Jema'a	Kanikon versus Hausa/Fulani	Imposition of emirate rule on the negatives	Ethnic	People were killed and properties destroyed
5	22-23 may, 1999	Kafanchan	Jema'a	Indigeous communities versus Hausa/Fulani	Presentation of staff of office to new Emir after the death of the Emir	Ethnic	Among people were killed including a journalist Sam Nimfa New kanikon chiefdom created and paved way for other chiefdoms
6	21-23 Feb and 28 May 2000	Kafanchan, Zaria, Kachia, Brinin gwari	Kaduna north, Kaduna south, Zaria, Birnin gwari Igabi Chikun	Christians and Muslim	Government attempt to introduce Sharia law in the state	Religious	Many lives and properties destroyed including places of worship. Kaduna town settlement divided based on religious lines
7	2001	Gwantu	Sanga	Hausa/Fulani versus indigenous people		Ethnic	
8	26 <sup>th</sup> Sept. 2002	Federal College of Education	Zaria	Christians versus and Muslim students	Student Union Election	Political and religious	Many students were killed and raped and left the institution with mutual suspicion within the school community
9	20-22 November	Kaduna	Kaduna north	Christians versus	This day publication on	Religious	97 Churches destroyed, 200 Christians killed the

	2002		and Igabi	Muslims	the miss world beauty pageant		beauty pageant was moved from Abuja to London
10	3 <sup>rd</sup> April 2004	Makarfi	Makarfi	Muslims versus Christian	Alleged deformation of the Holy Quran	Religious	9 Churches burnt down, C.A.N withdraw from membership of peace initiative the media was accused if reporting the matter appropriately
11	2008	Kamuru	Zango Kataf	Bajju versus Ikukulu	Land	Ethnic	Many people lost their peace had been restored
12	17-19 April 2011	Kaduna, Zaria sabo dutsen wai, Ikara, Zonkwa, Kafanchan, Maraban Jos, Kubau	Kaduna north and south, Igabi, Chikun Jema'a Zango Kataf Zaria, Kubau, Ikara, B/gwari, Bukuru	C.P.C Versus P.D. supporters as well as Christian versus Muslims	Presidential election result	Political and religious	520 people were reportedly killed. Many worship and residential houses were accused for fueling and escalating the crisis as a well as biased coverage of the conflict
13	8-9 Nov. 2011	Kafanchan	Jema'a	Christians and Muslims	Alleged abduction of an Okada man	Religious	Three people killed many injured while 24 <sup>th</sup> curfew impose for three (3) days in the area

Updated from the works of Yorom, J.K (2000) and Tanko, P.B.(2003)

**Appendix 4**

Education,

Faculty of Education,  
Department of Art and Social Science

Ahmadu Bello University,  
Zaria.

25<sup>th</sup> May, 2011.

The Chairman,  
Nigerian Union of Journalist,  
Kaduna State Council.

Dear Sir,

**REQUEST FOR LIST OF KADUNA BASED MEDIA OUTFIT UNDER YOUR COUNCIL**

I write to humbly request you to assist me with the list of Kaduna based media outfit registered in your council both print and electronic.

I am a post-graduate student with the above named institution researching on the topic “Effects of Media Reportage of Ethno Religious Conflicts on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State”. This research will lead to the award of a Master Degree in Education.

Sir, I solicit you to avail me with the names of the media organizations, their Managing Directors or Publishers/Editor as the case may be.

Your assistant in this academic exercise will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Matthew Williams BARDE  
M.Ed/Educ/2235/2009/2010  
(P15EDAS8010)

## APPENDIX 5

**Table 2a: Government Owned Media outfit (Electronic)**

S/No	NAME	Location	LANGUAGE OF TRANSMISSION
1	Nigeria Television Authority (NTA)	Kaduna	English, Hausa
2	Nigeria Television Authority (NTA)	Zaria	English, Hausa
3	N.T.A	Kafanchan	English, Hausa
4	Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (F.R.C.N) Am band	Kaduna	Hausa
5	F.R.C.N Short wave (SW)	Kaduna	English, Fulfulde, Nupe, Kanuri
6	F.R.C.N Supreme FM	Kaduna	English
7	F.R.C.N Karama FM	Kaduna	Hausa
8	Kaduna State Media Corporation (K.S.M.S) Am band	Kaduna	English Hausa and 30 minutes News programme on major ethnic of the state.
9	Kaduna state media Cooperation (K.S.M.S) AM band	Kaduna	English
10.	Kaduna State Radio Kada FM	Kaduna	Hausa
11	Kaduna State Rock Side FM	Kafanchan	English /Hausa
12	Kaduna State Radio Queen FM	Zaria	English/ Hausa
13	Kaduna State Television (K.S.T.V	Kaduna	English /Hausa
14	Capital Television	Kaduna	English /Hausa
15	News Agency of Nigeria		

**Table 2b: Government Owned Print Media**

S/No	Name	Location	Publication	Language
1	New Nigerian Newspaper	Kaduna	Daily	English
2	Gasikiya Tafi Kobo	Kaduna	Weekly	Hausa

### 4b. Private Owned Print Media

S/No	Name	Publication Time	Publisher/Editor	Religion	Ethnicity
1	New Nigeria Newspaper	Daily	Alh. Tukur Abdulraham	Islam	Hausa/Fulani
2	Gaski Tafi Kobo	Weekly		Islam	Hausa/Fulani
3	Desert Herald	Monthly			
4	New Impression	Monthly	Modekai Ibrahim	Christianity	Jaba
5	Dillaliya	Weekly	Tahir Ismail	Islam	Hausa/Fulani
6	Liberator	Weekly	Kailani	Islam	Hausa/Fulani
7	The Cross News	Monthly	Anthony Ekelue	Christianity	Igbo
8	Almizan		Ibrahim Musa	Islam	Hausa/Fulani

**Table 3a:**

**Private Owned Media (Electronic)**

S/NO	Name	Location	Language
1	Desmans Independent Television (DTV)	Kaduna	English
2	Alheri Radio	Kaduna	Hausa
3	Africa Independent Television (AIT)	Kaduna	English
4	Ray power FM Radio	Kaduna	English, Hausa
5	Nagarta Radio AM	Kaduna	English, Hausa
6	Brila FM Radio	Kaduna	English, Hausa
7	Liberty Radio FM	Kaduna	English, Hausa
8	Freedom Radio FM	Kaduna	English, Hausa

**Table 3b:  
Private Owned Media (Print)**

S/NO	Name	Location	Language
1	Desert Herald	Kaduna	English
2	New Impression Magazine	Kaduna	English
3	Liberator Newspaper	Kaduna	English
4	Dillaliya	Kaduna	English
5	Chromide	Kaduna	English

**Table 4:  
Religious/Specialized Media Print**

S/No	Name	Location	Language
1	The Cross News	Kaduna	English
2	Almizan	Kaduna	Hausa

**Table 5:  
Foreign Media with Mass Audience in Kaduna**

S/No	NAME	LOCATION	LANGUAGE
1	British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC)	London	English, Hausa
2	Voice of America (V.O.A)	Washington	English, Hausa
3	Deutch welle Radio Germany	Bonn	English, Hausa
4	Radio France International	Paris	English, Hausa
5	Hamada Radio International		Hausa
6	C.N.N (Cable)	Atlanta, Georgia	English
7	Aljazeera (Cable)	Doha, Qatar	English
8	Sky News (Cable)	United Kingdom	English
9	B.B.C News (Cable)	London	English

**Table 6:**

**Names, Religion and Ethnicity of Electronic Media Executive and their Broadcast Hours**

S/No	Name	Broadcast Hour	Managing Director	Religion	Ethnicity
1	N.T.A Kaduna	24hrs	Alh. Abdulhamid Dembo  Zonal Direction	Islam	Hausa/Fulani
2	N.T.A Zaria	6am-10pm			
3	N.T.A Kafanchan				
4	F.R.C.N Hausa	5:30am-12am	Alh. Abba Zayyan	Islam	Hausa/Fulani
5	F.R.C.N SW band	5:30am-12am			
6	F.R.C.N Supreme FM	5:30am-1:30am			
7	F.R.C.N Karama FM	5:30am-12am			
8	KSMC Radio Am	5:30-1am	Zubeiru Abdullahi General Managing Director KSMC	Islam	Hausa/Fulani
9	K.S.M.C Capital FM	5:30am-1:30am		Islam	Hausa/Fulani
10	K.S.M.C Kada	6am-12am			
11	K.S.M.C Rockside FM	6am-12am			
12	K.S.M.C Queen FM	6am-12am			
13	K.S.T.V Kaduna	6am-12am			
14	Capital TV Kaduna	6am-12am			
15	Nagarta Radio	5:30am-12am	Alh. Lawal Yusuf Saulawa	Islam	Hausa/Fuani
16	DITV Alheri Radio	3:00pm-12am 6am-12am	Hakeem Baba Ahmed	Islam	Hausa/Fulani
17	AIT Kaduna	24hours			
18	Ray Power FM Kaduna				
19	Brila FM Kaduna	24hours			
20	Liberty FM Radio	24hours	Alh. Tijani Ramalan	Islam	Hausa/Fuani
21	Freedom FM				

**NOTE: The broadcast hours in these media outfits are not entirely static. The hour fluctuates due to peculiar challenges and circumstances such as technical and problem of power.**

**Source: The media houses themselves, NUJ Kaduna State Council and Kaduna State Ministry of Information.**

**Table 5: Foreign Hausa Media with great Influence as at 2014**

S/No	Name	Broadcast Time	Head of Section	Religion	Ethnicity
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1	B.B.C	4 times daily			
2	V.O.A	4 times daily			
3	Deutsche welle	3 times daily	Thomas Motsch		
4	Radio France international	3 times daily			
5	Hamada Radio International	3 times daily			

**Analysis**

Number of government owned Radio channels	=	9
Number of Private owned radio channels	=	5
<b>Total number of radio channels</b>	=	<b>14</b>
AM= 03, FM = 10, SW =1		
Number of government owned TV channels	=	5
Number of private owned TV channels	=	2
<b>Total number of TV channels</b>	=	<b>7</b>
Number of government owned newspaper	=	2
Number of Major private newspaper	=	6
<b>Total Number of News papers</b>	=	<b>8</b>
Number of influential Hausa Foreign Radio station	=	5