

**CONFLICT-SENSITIVE JOURNALISM AND THE  
NIGERIAN PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF JOS  
CRISIS, 2010-2011.**

*BY*

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## ABSTRACT

The recent upsurge of crises in parts of Northern Nigeria has generated concerns in literature with specific reference to the role of the media in fuelling crises in the region. Previous studies on the Nigerian print media coverage of the Jos crisis focused on the obsolescent peace journalism perspective, which emphasises the suppression of conflict stories, to the neglect of the UNESCO Conflict-sensitive Journalism (CSJ) principles. These principles stress sensitivity in the use of language, coverage of peace initiatives, gender and other sensitivities, and the use of conflict analysis tools in reportage. This study, therefore, examined the extent to which the Nigerian print media conformed to these principles in the coverage of the Jos violent crisis between 2010 and 2011.

The study adopted the descriptive research design and was guided by the theories of social responsibility, framing and hegemony. Content analysis of newspapers was combined with In-depth Interviews (IDIs) with 10 Jos-based journalists who covered the crisis. Four newspapers – *The Guardian*, *The Punch*, *Daily Trust* and *National Standard* were purposively selected over a period of two years (2010-2011) of the crisis. A content analysis coding schedule was developed to gather data from *The Guardian* (145 editions with 46 stories), *The Punch* (148 editions with 85 stories), *Daily Trust* (148 editions with 223 stories) and *National Standard* (132 editions with 187 stories) totalling 573 editions which yielded 541 stories for the analysis.

Four forms of language use: inflammatory, conciliatory, moderate, and sensational were identified. Items in the newspapers that contained inflammatory language were 32.2%; while 30.5% were conciliatory; moderate had 26.0% and 11.3%.were sensational. The high percentage of inflammatory and sensational language at 43.2% is capable of escalating the Jos crisis. Only 29.6% of the items focused on peace initiatives. The items that focused on crisis were 70.1% while other themes had 0.4% showing the predilection of the newspapers to be transfixed on the scene of violence without seeking solutions. The items lacked gender-sensitivity featuring 88.0% male and 5.9% female speakers while 6.1% were either from institutional or unidentified sources. The absence of gender-sensitivity confirms previous studies on the relegation of the usually conciliatory female voices in conflict situations. The privately-owned *Daily Trust* blamed the indigenes; the Plateau State Government owned *National Standard* blamed the Hausa/Fulani settlers for the crisis in an unconcealed pander to proprietorial interests while *The Guardian* and *The Punch* refrained from apportioning blames. The IDIs did not show the use of conflict analysis tools by any of the newspapers although journalists claimed awareness of the UNESCO initiative. Journalists list poor remuneration, personal insecurity, and lack of insurance cover as challenges hampering their optimum performance.

The predominant use of inflammatory language, scant focus on peace initiatives, gender insensitivity and failure to use conflict analysis tools contributed to the cycle of reprisal attacks characterising the Jos crisis of 2010 and 2011. The adoption and domestication of the UNESCO principles on conflict-sensitive reporting by training institutions and a consistent on-the-job training programme will ameliorate the deficits identified.

**Key words:** Jos crisis, Conflict-sensitive journalism, Nigerian print media  
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**CERTIFICATION**

I certify that this research work was carried out by Jide Peter, JIMOH of the Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria under my supervision.

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## **DEDICATION**

To the memory of my parents Pa Michael Aiyesebe Jimoh and Madam Victoria Oni Jimoh (who passed on during the course of this programme). The Lord who saw your struggles to make us great will reward you with his kingdom in paradise

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

The capacity of the mass media to create awareness on any issue in modern society has come to be recognized. Society, therefore, depends mostly on the mass media for its information and communication needs. The functions of the media in the society have been identified as surveillance of the environment, correlation of parts of society in responding to the environment, transmission of social heritage from one generation to the next and providing entertainment (Wright 1959:9).

According to Wright, “surveillance refers to the collection and distribution of information concerning events in the environment both outside and within any particular society”. This is the news function of the mass media. Correlation includes “interpretation of information about the environment and prescription for conduct in reaction to these events. This is the editorial or opinion function of the media. Transmission of social heritage according to Wright “focuses on the communicating of knowledge, values, and social norms from one generation to another or from members of a group to newcomers”. This is the education function. Entertainment includes “communicative acts primarily intended for amusement, irrespective of any instrumental effect they might have” (Wright 1959:9).

An understanding of these functions and their discrete nature is needed by advocacy practitioners and academics to understand how the media functions. Thus, a newspaper, for example, might report a conflict news story (surveillance) and follow it with an editorial or opinion on how to stem the conflict (correlation) and feature stories on educating the public on the ultimate futility of conflicts (education) and a cartoon or illustration on the need for peace (entertainment).

McQuail quoted by Watson (2003:104-105) further explains these functions under five headings- information, correlation, continuity, entertainment and mobilisation.

**Information:** Providing information about events and conditions in society and the world; indicating relations of power; facilitating innovation, adaptation and progress;

**Correlation:** Explaining, interpreting and commenting on the meaning of events and information; providing support for established authority and norms; socialising; co-ordinating separate activities; consensus building; setting orders of priority and signalling relative status;

**Continuity:** Expressing the dominant culture and recognising sub-cultures and new cultural developments; forging and maintaining commonality of values;

**Entertainment:** Providing amusement, diversion, and the means of relaxation; reducing social tension;

**Mobilisation:** Campaigning for social objectives in the sphere of politics, war, economic development, work, and sometimes religion.

However, the activities of the media are carried out within certain constraints which may be socio-economic, psychological or political which affect how these activities are viewed by the society. Factors like ownership, location, orientation and the economics of media production among others may colour the role of the media in society. These conflicts of role perception have been manifested in comments on the role of the media in conflict situations. All stakeholders seem to have divergent views on the role of the media. The position of people at the helm of affairs in government was poignantly brought to the fore in 1985 by then Prime Minister of Britain, Margaret Thatcher. Thatcher told a gathering of attorneys that democracy “must find a way to starve the terrorists and hijackers of the oxygen of publicity on which they depend” (Picard 1990:314). The oxygen of publicity referred to above is a summation of the role of the media in airing the views of “terrorists” and hijackers.

In Nigeria, government officials at the highest levels consistently find the media as the culprit in the many violent conflicts that have bedevilled the nation. About a month into his appointment as National Security Adviser (NSA) to the Nigerian President, Sambo Dasuki

had already accused the Nigerian media of contributing to the security challenges of the country, “My experience with the media has so far not been a good one... In most of the places I visit, the media have been one of the problems and it is all these idea of sensational journalism that everybody wants to publish a story that is not necessarily a story, to make good headlines.” (*The Punch*, July 6, 2012:1-2)

Societal conflicts are veritable sources of news for the media. In a sense, the media are perceived to thrive in conflict situations as tranquillity in society limit the sources and attractiveness of news to the audience. A study conducted by Lloyd asked respondents in Indonesia to list their expectations from the media. Their responses as presented in the table 1.1 below are replicable in most parts of the world:

Table 1.1: Expectations from the Media.

<b>; What we don't like about the Media</b>	<b>What we want from the Media</b>
Media mostly just follow events. They don't explain what led to those events - and they seldom follow up on stories later.	More awareness of processes, trends, patterns and developments. Events don't just happen in a vacuum.
They concentrate on bad news! The more bodies, the bigger the story. They get stuck on problems and don't look towards solutions - or options for change.	More good news stories: reasons to celebrate, profiles of unknown people who have made a change for the better in the community.
They are often very sensational and emotional in tone.	They should try to be more calm and rational - especially when reporting on conflict.
They tend to focus on powerful people: political leaders, the rich and famous (film stars or musicians). Most newsmakers are men (women just seem to be valued for their bodies) - and most newsworthy people seem to live in towns or cities!	More focus on the powerless and the poor: people who are 'invisible and unheard'. We'd like to hear more about (and from) women. And how about more stories from rural areas? And children?
They often reinforce stereotypes.	We need them to challenge stereotypes and find fresh, human angles.

Source: Lloyd and Howard (2005).

The concerns and recommendations contained in the table above show an almost universal view of how the media are perceived by their audiences whether in Europe, Asia, Africa or America. An explanation of this trend can be found in the socio-economic milieu of media

philosophy and operations. The media operate both as businesses and social services. But the pull of economic interests through advertisement revenue and sales figures and political hegemonic considerations influence media content. Other factors include professional incompetence and pecuniary considerations which may lead journalists to do shoddy jobs or deliberately skew reports for private gains. A superficial view of the role of the media in society would seem to favour a perspective that believes that it is conflict situations only that feeds the flow of news. Such perspectives are rife in media literature as buttressed by, among others, Diamond and Macdonald (1996:124):

Another major issue facing the press is the fact that conflict and violence make news and peace doesn't. News is perceived as what's existing and different. People living happily together are of no interest to the public. Violence is reportable; non-violence is boring. Thus the activities of the press end up feeding the societal norm of violence and diminish the possibility of legitimizing non-violence and resolving conflict peacefully.

In realisation of the crucial role of the media in society, governments try to set limits to, and spell out the rights and responsibilities of the media. Thus, in chapter 2 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the press as the Fourth Estate of the realm, was assigned a role in chapter two which contains the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy Section 22 and it states that:

The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in this Chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people.

Given such an onerous task, it is not surprising that both government and the populace demand responsibility and accountability from the media themselves in carrying out their roles. In the continual search for peace in the world, government, NGOs and other actors have been confronted by various scenarios requiring novel

approaches in conflict management and transformation. In the international conflict context, the failure of intergovernmental approach to mediation set researchers and actors thinking of other ways to mitigate, manage or transform international conflicts. In 1982, Joseph Montville of the United States Foreign Service Institute coined “Track Two” diplomacy to define a paradigm shift from the hitherto whole dependence on ‘Track one’, that is, government diplomacy. According to Diamond and McDonald (1996:1-2), Track two “refers to non-governmental, informal, and unofficial contacts and activities between private citizens or groups of individuals, sometimes called citizen diplomats or non-state actors” with three broad objectives:

To reduce or resolve conflict between groups or nations by improving communication, understanding, and relationships;

To decrease tension, anger, fear, or misunderstanding by humanizing the ‘face of the enemy’ and giving people direct personal experience of one another; and

To affect the thinking and action of Track One by addressing root causes, feelings and needs and by exploring diplomatic options without prejudice thereby laying the groundwork for more formal negotiations or for reframing policies.

An analysis of the core postulation of the Track Two diplomacy is a realization and acceptance of the fact that the knowledge and skill to deal with international conflict do not reside solely with government and its bureaucracy but that citizens and non-governmental institutions have something to offer that may enhance the speedy, lasting and effective intervention in conflict situations. More so, there are burgeoning internal conflicts in different parts of the globe that require all available personnel and resources for interventions.

An off-shoot of this thinking has led to the seminal work of Diamond and McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy, A systems Approach to Peace* in which they identify ‘Nine Tracks’ in the search for peace that takes a systemic approach. The tracks are:

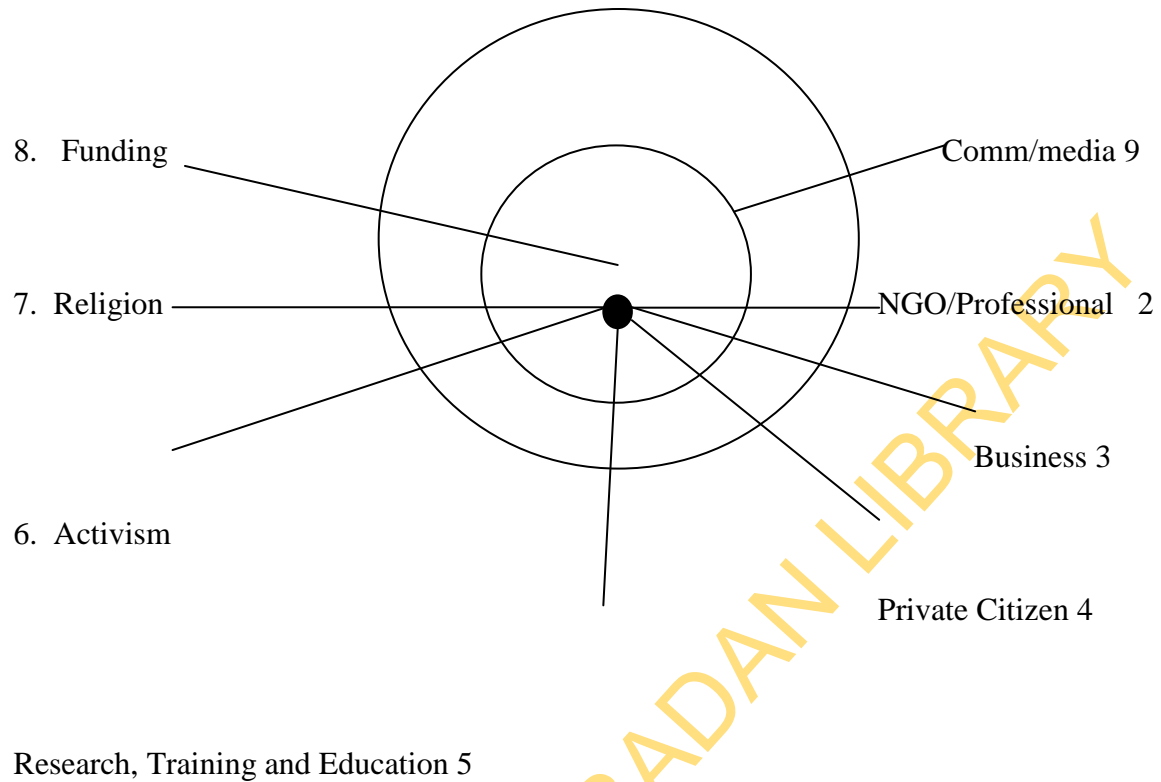
1. Government, or peacemaking through diplomacy;

2. Non-government/professional, or peacemaking through conflict resolution;
3. Business, or peacemaking through commerce;
4. Private citizen, or peace making through personal involvement;
5. Research, training and education, or peacemaking through learning;
6. Activism or peacemaking through advocacy;
7. Religion in peacemaking through faith in action;
8. Funding or peacemaking through providing resources;
9. Communications and the media.(Diamond and McDonald, 1996:4-5).

Track nine diplomacy is a fitting testimony to the increasing awareness of the role of the media in peace building and the realization that the way the media frame issues in conflict situations significantly affect the conflict dynamics. It also elevates the role of the media beyond being megaphones but active participants in various stages of the conflict life cycle and the interventions thereof. The media can provide early warning signals that may help nip a conflict in the bud; it can also frame conflict issues in a way that can point to an early peaceful resolution. The corollary also applies. The media, therefore, should be brought to the central isle in the hall by all the other tracks in their attempts to intervene in conflicts and not just as mere appendages as they are wont to do. Diamond and McDonald's illustration of the dynamic interaction among the tracks is instructive:

Figure 1.1: Multi-track

Government



Source: Diamond and McDonald (1996)

Beyond awareness creation, some analysts of media operations believe that the media even though may not have direct effect on the audience, can influence what the audience think about and how they think about them through the agenda setting theory. According to McQuail(2010:474), “agenda setting is a process of media influence (intended or unintended) by which the relative importance of news events, issues or personages in the public mind are affected by the order of presentation (or relative salience) in news reports. It is assumed that the more the media attention given to a topic, the greater is the importance

attributed to it by the news audience.” Mojaye (2013:21) affirms that the “mass media channels are often the most rapid and efficient means to inform an audience or to create awareness and knowledge. The media also play a crucial role in behaviour change efforts.”

Also noting the importance of the media, Abdu (2010: 177) noted:

The importance of the media in contemporary social relations is increasingly being reinforced by globalisation. The media has become a major builder of public opinion – defining social reality and determining social action. Since social reality is a function of media construction, what comes to play is the media’s power to structure collective acuity and organize frames of reference for the understanding of social realities and experiences. Thus the language of the mass media tends to construct and legitimise a particular social reality. To this extent, the media’s role in contemporary society is encompassing

Given the perceived or real effects of media on society, the coverage of conflict situations by the media has been mired in controversies. While some journalists insist on nothing but the truth in the coverage of conflict situations, peace and conflict activists insist on the need to weigh the capacity of any media report to escalate a conflict when reporting on it.

The vortex of discussion on peace, conflict and media reports has led to the emergence of the concept of peace journalism, as propounded by Johan Galtung, Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick and the related concept of Conflict-Sensitive Journalism (CSJ), as espoused by Howard Ross and adopted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). CSJ has routes in the Do-No-Harm principle implied in the Hippocratic Oath by medical practitioners and later incorporated into peace, conflict and development interventions by United Nations agencies.

The theoretical postulations of media or journalism studies and the expectation or postulations of peace and conflict practitioners seem to be at variance. Traditional journalism places emphasis on a presumed objective reality of events out there which requires the journalist to “say it as it is”. If the investigation shows that Muslim militants have been killing Christians in a particular location, then the duty of the journalist is to say



so in no uncertain terms. However, truth, philosophically speaking, is a relative term. The “truth” may not be as truthful as it seems; there are nuances that colour the truth. This position is captured by Newall (2005:1):

The notion of truth comes up in many contexts, not just philosophical, but very often a discussion can come to a grinding halt when it becomes apparent that differing understandings of the term are being employed and the dreaded question rears its genuinely ugly head: what is truth?

Also related to the concept of truth are objectivity, balance and fairness which have been subjected to criticism, both within the media and among its audiences. Indeed, a senior BBC journalist, Laura Trevelyan (Cited in Lynch, 2008:4) contributed an article to a careers website, titled, ‘How to be a Network Political TV Reporter,’ in which she said:

First and foremost, don’t do a three-year degree! The industry’s perception of these courses, whether fair or unfair, is that you spend a lot of time on what’s loosely termed as ‘media studies’, covering topics such as bias in the media and attitudes – none of which are (sic) at all useful if you’re going to be a reporter. You may also come out of university with rather preconceived notions about how the media business is structured, and that’s not going to help you.

The above would seem to challenge the philosophical and practical basis for studying mass communication or media studies in the university. Trevelyan’s statement captures the perceived inadequacy of the curricula of media studies to adequately address the need for conflict analysis tools for journalists covering conflicts. Such tools, it is argued, are necessary for the modern day reporter to cope with an increasingly fratricidal world, with conflicts dotting all nooks and crannies of the world and an ever-changing conflict dynamics. Thus, a central postulation of peace and conflict-sensitive journalism is to use conflict analysis tool in reporting.

However, there is no agreement on these charges against the media. Picard (1990:315) defends the media perspective:

Most books, articles, essays and speeches on the topic (media and conflict-sensitive reportage) comprised sweeping generalities, conjecture, supposition, anecdotal evidence based on dubious correlations, and endless repetition of equally weak arguments and non-scientific evidence offered by other writers on the subject.

This study is therefore, an attempt to situate these charges and counter-charges within the context of media performance in Nigeria. Using the Jos violent crisis in Nigeria as a benchmark, the study attempts to gauge the performance of the media in covering the crisis against the principles of conflict-sensitive journalism as espoused by Ross (2003), and other writers and practitioners.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The literature on media and conflict reporting is dominated by concerns about whether the media have been playing their expected roles in a way that will not only inform their audiences correctly but to also contribute to attempts to manage and, indeed, de-escalate the resultant crisis. The debate also considers the media perspective which seems to favour the view that they ought not to play roles beyond being objective conveyors of information. Nevertheless, there seems to be a consensus that whatever role the media play now can be improved upon by certain principles, guidelines or perspectives. Hence, in an attempt to proffer solutions to the perceived inadequacies of the media in covering conflicts, several propositions have been postulated as to the best way the media should handle conflict reporting. One of such is peace journalism perspective propounded by Norwegian researcher, Johan Galtung which has been more popular in literature until recent times. His writings on the subject date back to late 1960s and 1970s. (Galtung, 1969; Galtung and Hoivik, 1971). While calling for a peace-oriented journalism, Galtung (1993: xi) alleged that, “not only do the media have this perverse fascination with war and violence; they also neglect the peace forces at work. As the media work, they amplify the sound of guns rather than muting them”.

But critics of peace journalism argued that the idea of peace journalism is pacifist, unprofessional and running against the tenets of journalistic objectivity. Obijiofor (2008:9) further contends that journalists are not by orientation and training, “fashioned to take the moral high ground in reporting on conflicts or any other subject”. Hence, the idea of conflict-sensitive journalism is, partly, a response to the inherent or perceived deficiencies of peace journalism.

Agberemi (2006:27) explains that “a conflict-sensitive journalist values peace as much as accuracy, balance and the duty to inform but does not believe that sacrificing any of the latter will enhance the cause of peace in the long run. A conflict-sensitive journalist is, therefore, not necessarily a pacifist, rather he/she is one who values peace so much as to place it as equally important as the other main principles, and is always consciously reporting in a way that reduces conflict and facilitates the search for peace.” Extensive works on the concept and application of conflict-sensitive journalism have been undertaken by Ross (2009), McGoldrick and Lynch (2000). Conflict-sensitive journalism originated from some ideas of peace journalism and, more recently, has been linked to conflict-sensitive development interventions by various international organizations working in conflict and post-conflict zones worldwide. Beyond the formulation of these principles and perspectives, a gap exists in testing these principles against particular conflict contexts especially in Nigeria. While there are many pronouncements in literature extolling the virtues of conflict-sensitive journalism, none has tested the principle against any of the many conflicts that have taken place in Nigeria. This is the gap that this study attempts to fill.

Jos, the Plateau State capital in Nigeria has witnessed perennial crises notably from 2001 although the first major crisis dates back to 1932 during the world economic depression. The major cause has been political differences between those considered to be natives (who are mainly Christians and traditional religion adherents) and the settlers (who are mainly Muslims). Even though the underlying cause is the struggle for political representation and economic participation, religion has been mobilized into the struggle by the conflict parties. Set against the background of Nigeria being a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country and the sensitivity with which each bloc react to perceived or real marginalization, the Jos crisis has become complex and multi-faceted. As Albert (1999:22) noted, “such ethnic and

religious sensitivities of the people are often exploited by Nigerian political leaders when they want to divert the attention of the people away from the main issues of national development as a precondition for achieving their own selfish objectives.” The Jos crisis provides a good illustration of the crisis of identity, citizenship and nationhood bedeviling Nigeria. The choice of the Jos crisis, among many other similar crises in Nigeria, is hinged on its protracted nature, similarity with other crises in Kaduna, Zango-Kataf, Ife-Modakeke, Jukun-Tiv, Urhobo-Itsekiri, among others, and the complexity of the crisis.

In the midst of such a complexity, the media need to understand how to report in a way that will not confuse the issues on ground or exacerbate the conflict. In almost all the crises mentioned above, the media have taken side swipes as either purveyors or escalators of the crises through careless, sensational and insensitive reportage. In the midst of such accusations against the media, the need for conflict-sensitivity, therefore, arises. The thesis of this study is not to argue whether there are biases in the way media report issues but to understand the nature, dimensions and nuances of such biases and to attempt an alternative perspective on the pattern of reportage based on the principles of conflict-sensitive journalism.

The critics of media performance in conflict-context harp on the need for conflict-sensitive journalism as an imperative. But these criticisms are more often mere allegations from equally partisan parties. More so, there is dearth of literature on the systematic and scholarly study of these allegations from which sound and credible conclusions can be reached using the conflict-sensitive approach.

There is no agreement as to whether the media do, indeed, stoke violence by their reportage. After a review of three cases in political violence in Nigeria including that of former Governor of Oyo State, Chief Bola Ige who was allegedly rigged out of electoral victory in the 1983 Governorship Election and the violence that followed his radio and television broadcast, Adeyemi (2012:45) stated that, “if the election was rigged and the media owed it to the public to report a sitting Governor’s speech, it therefore turns logic on its head to blame the resultant violence on the media.” The relationship between media and conflict requires further studies to test these allegations and counter allegations.

Therefore, this study interrogates the extent of the application of conflict-sensitive journalism in the reportage of the Jos crisis. In other words, the ‘frames’, language and slant used to report the crisis may have implications for the outcome and understanding of the issues in the crisis and may, indeed, contribute to the cycle of reprisal attacks characteristic of the perennial crisis. The main theoretical framework for this study is the theory of framing which “refers to the way in which news content is typically shaped and contextualized by journalists within some familiar frame of reference and according to some latent structure of meaning.” (McQuail 2010:557). The other theories relevant to this study are social responsibility and theory of hegemony.

### **1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study**

The main aim of this study is to examine the extent to which the coverage of the Jos crisis by the print media in Nigeria conformed to the principles of conflict-sensitive journalism. In more specific terms, the objectives of study attempted to:

1. examine the general direction of language use in the coverage of the Jos crisis;
2. determine the extent of coverage of peace initiatives;
3. investigate the level of gender-sensitivity in the coverage of the crisis;
4. determine whether journalists used conflict analysis tools in their coverage
5. investigate the influence of ownership and geographical location of newspapers on the reportage of Jos crisis;
6. examine the extent of use of investigative stories in the coverage of the Jos crisis;
7. determine the extent of the awareness of the principles of conflict-sensitive journalism; and
8. investigate the constraints of journalists in covering conflict situations;

### **1.4 Research Questions**

To put the study in perspective, the study attempted to proffer answers the following research questions:

1. What is the general direction of language use in the coverage of the Jos crisis?
2. To what extent did the media focus on peace initiatives in the course of coverage of the Jos crisis?
3. To what extent did the newspapers reflect gender-sensitivity in their coverage of the Jos crisis?
4. To what extent, if any, did the media use conflict analysis tools in their coverage of the Jos crisis?
5. To what extent did ownership and location influence their framing of the Jos crisis?
6. To what extent did the journalists use investigative techniques in the coverage of the Jos crisis?
7. To what extent are the journalists aware of the principles of conflict-sensitive journalism?
8. What constraints did journalists face in their coverage of the Jos crisis in 2010 and 2011?

### **1.5 Theoretical Framework**

This study was anchored on the following theories: social responsibility theory of the Press, Framing, and hegemony theories. Social Responsibility Theory (SRT) was developed in response to the perceived excesses of the media in America which led to the setting up of the Hutchins Commission on the freedom of the press that submitted its report in 1947. Denis McQuail (1987) cited in Baran and Davis (2006:113) summarized the basic principles of SRT as follows:

1. media should accept and fulfill certain obligations to society;
2. these obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy objectivity and balance;

3. in accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions;
4. the media should avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence, or civil disorder;
5. the media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view and to rights of reply;
6. society and the public have a right to expect high standards of performance, and intervention can be justified to secure the, or a, public good;
7. journalists and media professionals should be accountable to society as well as to employers and the market;

The points above are quite relevant and reflect the expectations of conflict management experts and the core principles of conflict-sensitive journalism on which this study is anchored.

Related to it is the Framing Theory which advances from the Agenda-Setting/Building Theory of mass communication. While Agenda Setting theory is an accessibility-based model which refers to how the media tells the audience what to think about, framing goes further to show how the media tells the audience what to think about an issue by suggesting frames of reference. As explained by Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007:11), Framing Theory is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences. According to them, framing can be traced to roots in both psychology and sociology. The psychological origins of framing lie in experimental work by Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1984) for which Kahneman received the 2002 Nobel Prize in economics. The sociological foundations of framing were laid by Goffman (1974) and others who assumed that individuals cannot understand the world fully and that they constantly struggle to interpret their life experiences and to make sense of the world around them (Scheufele and Tenskbury 2007:12).

Framing can be viewed as both a macro-level and a micro-level construct. At the macro level, it refers to how journalists and other communicators present information in a way that agrees with existing underlying schemas among their audience. The frames so transmitted may not necessarily be an attempt to deceive or spin a story. At the micro-level, it refers to how people use information garnered as they form impressions and actions. This is particularly germane to Nigeria with a low level of media literacy where a significant number of the populace tends to believe that what they see on electronic media and what they read in the print media are unassailable pieces of the gospel truth.

McQuail (2010:380) cites Entman (1993) as summarizing the main aspects of framing by saying that ‘frames define problems, diagnoses causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies’. It will therefore be interesting and educative to assess how major print media organs in Nigeria framed the Jos violent crisis.

The Theory of Hegemony was introduced by the Italian Marxist theorist, Antonio Gramsci. It demonstrates the capacity of dominant classes to persuade subordinate ones to accept, adopt and internalize their values and norms, without overt force.

Gramsci, in his work encompassed in the *Quaderni del Carcere* or *Prison Notebooks* (written during the late 1920s and early 1930s while incarcerated in a Fascist prison), developed a complex and variable usage of the term; roughly speaking, Gramsci’s “hegemony” refers to a process of moral and intellectual leadership through which dominated or subordinate classes of post-1870 industrial Western European nations consent to their own domination by ruling classes, as opposed to being simply forced or coerced into accepting inferior positions. Even though Gramsci’s prison writings typically avoid using Marxist terms such as “class,” “bourgeoisie,” and “proletariat” (because his work was read by a Fascist censor), Gramsci defined hegemony as a form of control exercised by a dominant class, in the Marxist sense of a group controlling the means of production; Gramsci uses “fundamental group” to stand in euphemistically for “class”. For Gramsci, the dominant class of a Western Europe nation of his time was the bourgeoisie, defined in the *Communist Manifesto* as “the class of modern Capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labour,” while the subordinate class was



the proletariat, “the class of modern wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live”( <http://socserv2.mcmaster.ca/soc/courses/soc2r3/gramsci/gramheg.htm>)

Hegemony is a conflict theory but can be related to “a certain kind of power that arises from the all-embracing ideological tendencies of mass media to support the established power system and exclude opposing and competing values (McQuail 2010:558).

Thus, frames used by the media are value- laden and tend toward dominant powers (hegemons) constantly used as sources of information. In this situation, minority voices and views are muted, no matter the latent and manifest possibilities to de-escalate conflict. The muted voices may also struggle to be heard and failing in that attempt, adopt non-cooperative attitudes that may hinder peaceful resolution of conflicts.

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

The discourse on media and conflict is strewn with charges and denials that have not been subjected to enough empirical testing. This study is a modest effort to contribute to the debate by empirically testing media performance in a particular conflict situation. Apart from analysing media contents, this study engages the journalists involved in the coverage of the conflict to elicit their responses to the observations derived from their outputs in their media outlets. The result of the effort is expected to help journalists appraise their efforts in conflict coverage and imbibe lessons that may ultimately improve their professional practice.

As noted by Gurr (1980), however, research works in the field of conflict hardly focus on the critical role of the media in conflict resolution even though they usually refer to communication breakdown as causes of conflict. Gurr listed over 1,250 works in the field of conflict, none of which attempted to include media institutions and practices as integral to those problems.

Tiffen (2000:190) also noted further:

Conflicts pervade society, and the news gravitates to conflict. News coverage of conflicts commonly generates

its own contentiousness, with partisans typically accusing the media of bias against their side. Despite the frequency with which the topic arises, the relationship between news reporting and socio-political conflicts has received surprisingly little systematic analysis either in media studies or in conflict studies.

What Gurr and Tiffen are saying is that there is a need for more critical studies that will focus on the political economy of news production and how such internal factors affect the coverage of conflicts rather than sanctimonious pronouncements on what roles are expected of the media.

Peace and development practitioners and organizations like Peace and Collaborative Development Network (PCDN), Transcend Media Service (TMS), International Press Centre (IPC), among others, are often bewildered by what they consider to be the media's fascination with the negative and the absurd which often escalate the conflicts they report on. Through an analysis of the economics and politics of news production, this study hopes to provide a clearer explanation of this supposed fascination with a view to helping peace practitioners, to engage with media, from the position of those with deeper knowledge of media operations. As noted by Moemeka (2000:275), a common mistake in development planning is the practice of treating communication not as a full-fledged component of the resources for development, "but as a 'matter-of-fact' adjunct that does not need any serious and separate consideration in the context of development projects", hence the failure of most development interventions including peace building efforts. Facts from studies such as this are expected to help nudge planners to mainstream media and communications into the central context of their interventions.

This study is also expected to be a significant contribution to the theory and practice of journalism. An amplification of the principles of conflict – sensitive journalism, especially the need for conflict analysis skills will strengthen the curricula of mass communication training institutions in their quest to turn out, not just media practitioners, but journalists that will fill the gap identified by Howard (2009:3) when he states that, "conflict is a curious blind spot in journalism education and training"

Practitioners can also benefit from the dissemination of knowledge through training and workshop that will draw from empirical data provided by this study. Policy makers in governments can also benefit through better understanding of the operations and constraints of the media, hence they can be able to target their interventions more effectively. The study is a significant contribution in detailing the nature and dimensions of biases in the media.

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

Even though many crises have been witnessed in Nigeria, the scope of this research is limited to the Jos crisis. The choice of Jos was informed by its strategic location in the North Central zone of Nigeria, an area inhabited by various minority groups. It highlights the diversity and complexity of ethnic relations as well as the crisis of identity in Nigeria. Also, the crisis has a long history dating back to 1932; the study will only concentrate on the recent crisis from 2001 to 2010 and particularly the crisis of January and March 2010 and that of August to September, 2011. In the area of choice of media, only the print media will be selected for content analysis for ease of reference. Besides, the print media sector is vibrant and influential both among policy makers and the Nigerian populace. Even so, not all print media will be selected owing to the difficulty of managing an unwieldy data.

These limitations notwithstanding, the study is expected to be a major contribution to knowledge in this area and the results generalizable to understand the features and structure of print media reports of crises in Nigeria against the backdrop of the crisis of identity in Nigeria.

### **1.8 Limitations of the Study**

This study concerned itself with the print media only in the interrogation of conflict sensitivity of the media in the Jos crisis and hence did not capture other nuances that may have been thrown up by other genres in the mass communication firmament- online and social media, electronic media, advertising and public relations messages. This limits the extent of generalizability of the results. Nevertheless, it provides a reasonable pointer to the performance and tendencies of the media.

The choice of conflict is limited to the Jos crisis among many other violent crises in Nigeria. Although the Jos crisis combines many elements of the crisis of nationhood triggering other major crises in Nigeria, a study of many of them will yield a more predictive pattern and better prescriptive intervention needs.

The method of study was not designed to establish a causal inference as obtainable in the physical sciences experimentations hence other intervening variables may have caused the observed behavior of the media as espoused in this study. Nevertheless, the method provides sufficient indications of the likely influence of the coverage pattern on the conflict dynamics of the Jos crisis.

### 1.9 Operational Definition of Terms

The following terms have been operationalized as defined below:

**Conflict:** The International Alert (1996: 3-4), as cited in Schmid (2000:vii) defines conflict as:

A perceived incompatibility between two or more people or groups. The incompatibility can be about needs, interests, values or aims. It may or may not be expressed in behaviour. Defined this way, conflict seems common, natural and unavoidable. It is in how this conflict energy is expressed that we have a choice and can make a change.

**Violent Conflict:** A violent conflict is defined as one which has degenerated to the use of “psychological or physical force, exerted for the purpose of injuring, damaging or abusing people or property” (Schmid 2000:79). Galtung(1969 ) described violence as a situation where, “ human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potentials”. Thus violence can be structural, physical or cultural. Structural violence occurs when the socio-political or economic system imposes limitations toward the attainment of desired goals or needs such as security, food, shelter, among others. Physical violence is the overt infliction of bodily harm through hitting, bombing, shooting etc. Whereas, cultural violence refers to cultural forms that glorify, justify or encourage

violence. It could be ideas or images such as the statute of warriors or stories about conquests usually passed from generation to generation by societies. The Jos Crisis has led to the death of thousands of people. Property worth millions of naira has been destroyed. Many people have been displaced and subjected to physical and psychological torture.

**Conflict-Sensitive Journalism:** It is a kind of journalism that presents balanced reports and only what is known. It uses words carefully and refrains from emotional terms. It seeks explanation and comment from all sides and encourages the use of conflict analysis tools by journalists.

**Jos Crisis:** Jos crisis is a generic name for series of violent confrontations in Jos and environs arising mainly from ownership, citizenship and attendant socio-economic and political privileges arising therefrom. Jos is the capital city of Plateau State in North Central Nigeria. The city's expansion was buoyed by its use as a colonial seat of power and the exploitation of its tin and other mineral resources which attracted migrant labourers, civil servants, traders and others from different parts of Nigeria and beyond. Such diversity naturally generated conflicts with the native minority (Anaguta, Afizere and Berom) asserting their ownership of Jos and referring to the other ethnic groups, notably the Hausa-Fulani, as settlers, an assertion disputed by the latter.

## CHAPTER TWO

### .LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three broad areas: conceptual, theoretical and empirical review. The conceptual isolated and discussed the literature on major concepts that are germane to the study. They include media and conflict reporting, debates on objectivity and subjectivity in media reporting, media ownership and control, peace journalism, conflict-sensitive journalism, conflict-sensitivity in development planning and the Do-No-Harm Principle, gender, media and conflict. It also includes conflict analysis tools and an in-depth analysis of the Jos crisis. The empirical section explained the relevant theories of social responsibility, framing and hegemony while the last section looked at empirical studies relating to this study.

#### 2.1 Media and Conflict Reporting

The literature on media and conflict reporting is dominated by sharp polarizations/divisions on the proper role of the media during conflicts. Professional journalists largely perceive their roles as merely reporting the facts as they are and that doing anything beyond reporting facts will transform them to advocates and partisan parties to the conflict they are reporting. This position was clearly espoused by BBC correspondent David Loyn (2003), “Our task is always to seek to find out what is going on, not carrying any other baggage. If there is conflict resolution, we report on it in context. We do not engage in it”.

Loyn’s statement above encapsulates the mainstream thinking in journalism circles on the role of journalists as neutral disseminators of news. Hence “the media fraternity watches the debate on conflict coverage with skepticism, fearing an attack on exactly those core values and standards upon which modern journalism bases its claim to legitimacy” (IMS 2003:3). Like any other professionals, journalists would not like to be dictated to by other practitioners whose knowledge of the profession is at best suspect.

Other professionals, however, argue that coverage of conflicts, especially violent conflicts, is too important a task to be left to journalists alone to determine its course. They question the notion that the objective facts are out there to be reported. This notion was questioned by many cases where information was packaged by experts in public relations and advocacy and parties to the conflict for media to report.

Isola (2010:13) draws attention to the influence of ownership on the editorial content of newspapers:

The influence of newspaper ownership on perception of journalists and newspaper editorial crew could colour their dispositions during coverage and reporting of elections and political conflict events. This could influence the outcome of conflicts and may determine the position of conflict parties during and after election.

Another dimension is the episodic and sporadic coverage of conflicts which Obijiofor (2008:32) noted, when he studied the Nigerian press coverage of the Niger Delta. He explained the situation as owing to the tendency of journalists to follow events- blowing up of oil pipelines and facilities, killing of soldiers, abductions and kidnappings- and only to retreat from coverage when the event loses currency. He recommended a better performance by the media when the story no longer bleeds.

Galadima (2008:557) while reviewing the coverage of the 2006 crisis in Namu District in Plateau State notes the wide disparity among newspapers while reporting casualty figures. He accounted for this disparity by the fact that the newspapers were not on the scene of the conflict:

They relied only on information from persons far removed from the scene of the crisis, which in this case, the Secretary of the Quaana Development Association, Mr. Stephen Sarki, in Jos who said the entire Goemai were wiped out of Namu. The statement of Sarki was contradicted by the Goemai community leader, Alhaji Haruna Memeko who said there were five thousand Goemai people in the military barrack. In all, the newspapers got the stories of the crisis from spokespersons of the parties to the crisis at Jos and Abuja.

The narration above confirms the notion that facts are sometimes manufactured by conflict parties and their propagandists for media to report and questions the philosophical basis of journalists merely reporting 'facts'. The outcome of staging events for media to report leads to what Daniel Boorstin (1962) called "pseudo-events"

Worldwide, the Media have been accused of escalating conflicts while reporting on them. Be it the war in former Yugoslavia, the genocide in Rwanda, violent conflicts in Spain or Northern Ireland or the Niger Delta crisis in Nigeria, the charges of contributing to escalation of the conflicts by the media are rife. Albert (1999:29) summarized the possible negative role of the media in conflict reporting thus:

The problem is compounded when the role of the press in a conflict situation is seen to be that of 'rumour mongering', distortion of the truth with the intent of destroying a party in dispute, misrepresenting the opinion of one person for the opinion of a group to which he belongs, subjectively quoting people out of context, reporting from only one side of the conflict and thus misleading the readers to believe that only that perspective is available and right, use of language that is pervaded by the doctrine of ethnic nationalism, dramatization of conflict situations, and heroization of violence with a view to selling more copies of their newspapers or magazines, etc.

Another angle noted by Pate (2002:140) is the possibility for "exaggeration of violence in reports. Instead of focusing on the actual causes of violence, reporters are often overwhelmed with what they see only, without taking time to follow or dig into the root causes of violence."

Media professionals have been on the defensive in attempts to justify their ethical and professional conducts in the coverage of conflicts. This section attempts a synthesis of the arguments and counter-arguments as to the proper role of the media in conflict reporting with particular reference to the Nigerian experience.



In the literature on media and conflict reporting, there seems to be no argument about the importance of the media in conflict coverage but how the media should play that role is subject to disputation. The disputation centres on whether in covering conflicts they contribute to the escalation or de-escalation of the conflicts. In making this allegation, peace activists believe that the media ought to report conflict with the sole aim of helping to resolve or transcend the conflict. Hence, the need for restraint in language use, focus on and projection of angles that promotes conflict resolution.

In a review of the role of the media in the American “war on terror” following the events of the 9/11 attacks in the U.S., Freedman and Thussu (2011:6) accused the media of siding with the American establishment:

By privileging certain associations for example, of Islam as a ‘violent’ religion, of the West as a ‘victim’ of terrorist attacks of terrorism itself as a form of violence carried out against ‘democratic’ states, the media assist in the naturalization of particular interpretations of terrorism and thus legitimize specific strategies used to confront terrorist actions.

The above is a classic case of the media being the uncritical mouthpiece of the establishment – a charge rife in most societies and a fillip to the Gramscian Hegemony Theory. The media, instead of being the watchdog against excesses of public officials, have been accused of being the lapdogs. The media have also been accused of pandering to economic interest of big corporations, as against the greater good of the ordinary people. After a review of the press coverage of the Niger Delta crisis in Nigeria, Bassey (*nd*: 19), noted the slant of reports of conflict between the oil companies and the local communities of the Niger Delta thus:

Costs are counted in terms of what the oil corporations could not earn during times of conflict. The costs of lives and the massive effects of environmental pollution are not highly rated. Indeed, what the corporations often claim to lose in a day would be sufficient to completely take care of the minimal/basic demands of the host communities.

Thus, the media are perceived to be anti-people as they pander to the interests of those who wield the levers of political and economic powers.

Ironically, political and economic interests are also suspicious of the media. More often than not, government officials accuse the media of sensationalism, insensitivity, bias, witch-hunting and heating up of the polity by the way they report, especially in conflict situations. In November 2002, a feature report by *Thisday* newspaper on a beauty pageant contained a reference to Prophet Mohammed that some Muslims considered derogatory to the holy name of the founder of the Muslim faith. The report sparked riots in the North - Central Nigerian city of Kaduna in which property was destroyed and many people killed. The then President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo, typically accused the media of being insensitive and irresponsible (CNN, November 26, 2002: 11.44 GMT). While the charge might stick in this instance, much other innocuous coverage of the many violent conflicts in Nigeria has been blamed glibly on the media.

Thus, many in the media profession consider their job a 'thankless' one as they ruminate on the multiple jeopardy the job entails – poor remuneration, uninsured risks, deaths in the line of duty, poor infrastructure, sceptic audience and hostile governments, among others. Rising in defence of the media in the Miss World Saga, Publisher of *Thisday* newspapers, Nduka Obaigbena recalled efforts made to correct the mistake but the corrections were not effected in the main server in the heat of production. In the words of Obaigbena:

As responsible journalists, we are very sensitive to the feelings of our readers in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. But the reporter who wrote the story is a young journalist who recently returned to the country: she is a British-trained journalist who has not practised in Nigeria before joining *Thisday*. So as a young reporter, we attached her to the style section where we thought she would not be faced with serious issues that could lead to any problem. And the editor actually edited out the portion of the story, but the corrections were not effected in the main server (Djebah 2002:8).

Another dilemma of the journalist is the seeming expectation that they should function as peace makers, conflict managers or pacifists. Most professional journalists reject this tag, emphasizing their roles as unbiased reporters of events as they unfold. Weaned on the training staple of objectivity, balance and fairness, they reject suggestions of additional roles as carrying extra baggage. This position is captured by Lyon (cited above) and other scholars and practitioners.

Both journalists and peace advocates would seem to agree with the conclusion of Haider (2009:155) that the media may have potential to contribute to conflict transformation and peace building as well, “by countering stereotypes and misconceptions, promoting empathy and depolarizing attitudes by portraying similarities with the ‘other’, and facilitating dialogue and understanding.”

## **2.2 Objectivity and Subjectivity in Reporting**

The concept of objectivity in news reporting is central to the formal training of journalists worldwide. Core textbooks and course contents project objectivity as a basic rudiment in the practice of journalism. Quoting Michael Schudson, the Missouri Group (2002:16) averred that objectivity gained ascendancy in Western journalistic practice in the Post-World War I period, when scholars and journalists turned to the methods and the language of science, in an attempt to make sense of a world that was being turned upside down by the influence of Freud and Marx; and the emergence of new economic forces and the erosion of traditional values. Objectivity was a reliance on observable facts, but it was also a methodology for freeing factual reporting from the biases and values of source, writer or reader. It was itself a value, an ideal’ (The Missouri Group 2002:16).

Objectivity was given further institutional and intellectual support by the report of the Hutchins Commission (1947). The Hutchins Commission was set up in the U.S to look into complaints against the recklessness and irresponsibility of the media of that era. One of the recommendations of the commission codified the Social Responsibility Theory (SRI) of the press. Specifically, the report urged the media to “provide a full, truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day’s events in a context which gives them meaning”

(McQuail 2010:170). In sum, the report advocated the enthronement of a diverse, objective, informative and independent press. This idea seems unexceptionable. But the 'ideal' is not easy to attain, though it is easy to prescribe.

Many scholars and other commentators have, however, harped on the unattainability of the ideal of objectivity, as conceived and purportedly practised. Renowned media scholar, John Merrill, defined objective reporting as being, detached, unprejudiced, unopinionated, uninvolved, unbiased, and omniscient. But ends up rhetorically, 'where do we find this'? To him, "the objective report would, in effect, match reality, it would tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Where do we find this? No reporter knows the truth; no reporter can write a story that can match reality. (Merrill 2002:120). Part of the reason for Merrill's position above is that the reporter is usually conditioned by experience, education, physical state and the inadequacy of language. Since they do not come to their assignments as a blank slate, reporters cannot achieve absolute objectivity. Altschull (1984:63) noted the ideological underpinnings of objectivity as power to maintain social order in both the capitalist and the Marxist worldview with the press acting mainly as agents of power:

Dissent is permitted, even encouraged, under the code of objectivity; however, its limits are prescribed, and the counter balancing orthodoxy is assured a voice-not only a voice but the most powerful voice, because orthodoxy is represented by the powerful, whose command of financial resources and of newsworthy authority assure it of dominance in the press.

In such a situation as pointed out by Altschull, objectivity is a mere mirage, a fluid concept to massage the ego of journalists and boost its audience.

Objectivity, however, can be conceived not in absolute but relative terms. It can be viewed as a goal which the journalist tries to attain. Schudson (1978:8), for example sees objectivity as a moral philosophy – "a declaration of what kind of thinking one should engage in, in making moral decisions." It is contended, thereby, that in spite of its conceptual and practical difficulties, objectivity cannot be abandoned altogether. Doing so will open the practice of journalism to ethical and professional abuse, especially in reporting conflict situations. Objectivity is, indeed, an ideal that the journalist must strive to attain irrespective of the difficulties in the operating environment and the psychological state of the reporter.

Akinfeleye (2011:129) describes journalists who follow this tenet as those practising “journalism of conscience” who believe and practice “objectivity, fairness, accuracy, clarity and simplicity in their news reporting”. In any clime, however, such journalists are few and far between.

The seeming unattainability of the ideals of objectivity has led scholars to hinge claims of professionalism to the concepts of balance and fairness. Balance requires the reporter to reflect, not only two sides, but all sides to any story being reported while fairness enjoins the reporter to give equal treatment to all parties in the report in terms of space allocation and access to the media. A news story may be balanced if it interviews all parties to the issue but may not necessarily be fair if it gives widely disproportionate space and access to the parties. Those who do not subscribe to objectivity as canon of journalistic practice argue that the best a reporter can do is to be balanced and fair in while reporting.

### **2.3 Media Ownership and Control**

Media performance in various contexts can hardly be studied without a critical look at the ownership and control of these agencies of (mass) communication. Various studies have interrogated these influences from both Marxist and liberal perspectives. Scholars like Compaine and Gomery (2000), Badgikian (2004) Mchessney ( 1997) among others have attempted particular narratives and interpretation of these pervasive influences on the structure, function process and performances of the media including audience perception of the media. Interpreting media ownership in the United States, Gomery (2000:507) noted:

These vast institutions influence what we know, the images of ourselves and the bulk of the way we amuse and entertain. The production and distribution of newspapers, books, magazines, television, radio, music, movies and increasingly the Internet (i.e. the mass media) require great expense and frequently generate enormous profits. No research in mass communication can ignore questions of mass media ownership and the economic implications of that control. Mass media businesses routinely take in and spend vast sums of money. The mass media in the United States, and elsewhere in the world, seek to maximize profits and thus can safely be studied as economic

institutions. Whereas owners and managers go about maximizing profits, this key assumption still functions best as a starting point. Then the question becomes: What is the best way to go about trying to make sense of the ownership and operation of mass media industries?

He also criticised both the Marxist “critical studies” and free market empiricism as lacking appeal, because they ask people to analyse a subject when they already ‘know’ a predetermined answer. Gomery, instead, advocated that “media economics should move into the centre of communications study by offering powerful and flexible methods by which to analyse mass media industries in the context of core concerns of the mass communication process”.

But a summary of the critical perspective and the free market perspectives is apt here in order to understand the implications for media performance. In his influential book, *The New Media Monopoly*, Bagdikian criticised the retreat of the left in the American public sphere and the increasing monopolistic hold of few individuals and corporations on the cultural industry and the filtering out of the important fragments of non-mainstream views and perspectives. He noted that in such a situation, “the ultimate human intelligence – discernment of causes and effect – becomes damaged because it depends on knowledge of events in the order and significance in which they occur” (xviii-xix). Although his analysis referred to the American society, it can hold, with little variations, in any modern society. Bagdikian (2004:3) criticised the stronghold of five global-dimension firms on the media:

Five global-dimension firms, operating with many of the characteristics of a cartel, own most of the newspapers, magazines, book publishers, motion picture studios, and radio and television stations in the United States. Each medium they own, whether magazines or broadcast stations, covers the entire country and the owners prefer stories and programs that can be used everywhere and anywhere. Their media products reflect this. The programs broadcast in the six empty stations in Minot, N. Dak., were simultaneously being broadcast in New York City.

These five conglomerates are Time Warner by 2003 the largest media firm in the world; The Walt Disney Company; Murdoch's News Corporation, based in Australia; Viacom; and Bertelsmann, based in Germany. Today, none of the dominant media companies bother with dominance merely in a single medium. Their strategy has been to have major holdings in all the media, from newspapers to movie studios. This gives each of the five corporations and their leaders more communications power than was exercised by any despot or dictatorship in history.

Dominance of the media is a major force in the globalization phenomenon which increasingly muffles fringe voices in the community of nations. Other critics of the dominance by few corporations in the US include John Merrill who believes that concentration of ownership is dangerous for people and society. Merrill (2002:39) averred that, "certainly, CNN and other major organizations are thrusting ideas and culture (mainly American) into the far-flung areas of the world. But to what degree is this helping the citizens? One might ask a simple question: Just how much has American-type media content helped the citizens of the former Soviet Union? It has poured in a plethora of rock music, sensational material, pornography, advertising and other titillating junk material that stresses sex and criminal activities". He said all of these contents provide infotainment and glitz and not to expand serious core of moral and intellectual dialogue and to foster a respect for the important concepts of life noting that there are values in the world other than bigness and profits.

One can contend from these "leftist" submissions that infotainment and sensationalism will fuel profits and bigness and reinforce sensationalism of stories with an eye on the bottom line since media outlets are basically business enterprises. With this as the hegemonic ideal, conflict sensitivity and similar ideals will be relegated to the backwaters, if ever considered.

But liberal critics who believe in the "free market place of ideas" see no cause for alarm. Indeed, communications scholar, Everette Dennis believes that the new concentration of media ownership ultimately benefits the public. Dennis (2002:36-37) noted that, "big media as represented by media concentration in the United States and other countries are fostering an accessible global dialogue, e-commerce, and thousands of new media outlets that can only benefit the public. And big companies that produce the various web browsers and



partial services have created tools for any one of us to communicate with almost anyone else”. He concluded that media concentration is here to stay and that it probably does more good than harm.

Ownership and control of the media in Nigeria can be broadly divided into two types: Government and private ownership. Unlike in Britain where the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) operates as a public trust controlled by a board with broad spread of private and public interests represented, the Nigerian government operate with total ownership and control vested in the federal or state governments as the case may be. Government media outlets include the Nigeria Television Authority (NTA), the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) which operates a Network of National and local stations across the country including FM stations at local levels. But governments foray into the print media sector at the Federal level in the early 1960’s and 1970’s has suffered a setback with the sale of *Daily Times* and the comatose state of the *New Nigerian* owned by the 19 Northern states of Nigeria. Ownership and control of the print media, however, thrives at state levels where virtually all the 36 states of the federation own and operate their print organs with varying degrees of vibrancy. In addition, they own and operate radio and television stations. Along with the federally owned outlets, government organs are known to be mere mouthpieces of government where opposing views are either shut out or discredited. This situation is contrary to the needed diversity, elements of which McQuail (2000:170-171) listed as:

1. Media should reflect in their structure and content the various social, economic and cultural realities of the society (communities) in which they operate, in a more or less proportional way;
2. Media should offer more or less equal chances of access to the voices of various social and cultural minorities that make up society;
3. Media should serve as a forum for different interests and points of view in a society or community; and
4. Media should offer relevant choices content at one point in time and also variety over time of a kind that corresponds to the needs and interests of their audiences.



It can be argued that the government-owned media houses in Nigeria do not offer the needed vibrancy and diversity expected in a democratic society. But the alternative private form of ownership in spite of its vibrancy also accentuate the fault lines of Nigeria through loyalty to private, sectional and ethnic loyalties and a predilection for sensationalism driven by profit motives. One cannot but agree with Oso (2011:125) when he noted:

The commercialisation or what Curran called the industrialisation of the press has had and continues to have serious implication for the role of the press in society. The process has transformed the media- limits its political/public affairs role in what the German scholar, Jurgen Habermas, called the 're-feudalisation' of the press. While increase in the cost of entry and operation shuts the door to the poor and passed control over to the capitalist entrepreneur, the role acquired by advertising became so crucial. The mass media have become so dependent on advertising for survival that content consideration is now based on the perceived needs of the advertisers. In the interest of all media organisations is the attempt to reach the widest possible audience, not just any type or general audience but the audience with the right 'purse'.

The presence and influence of socio-political, economic and other hegemonic forces will help to explain the real and perceived short comings of the media in the society solutions to which have been offered by various schools of thought. One of which is the concept of Peace Journalism

#### **2.4 The Concept of Peace Journalism.**

In the literature, there seems to be a lack of precision in the use of peace journalism as a concept but the term can be illuminated by a look at what Johan Galtung, widely regarded as the founder of the concept, averred. Galtung (1993: xi) laid the theoretical basis for peace journalism when he wrote:

Not only do the media have this perverse fascination with war and violence; they also neglect the peace forces at work. As the media work, they amplify the sound of guns

rather than muting them. Is this because we have the media we deserve? Hardly, it is more because the people who run them are badly trained, looking only upward in society, registering the sudden and the negative, not the patient, long term work of thousands, millions of citizens.

The views of Galtung above are weighty and worthy of critical analysis. While journalism professionals reject the charges, Galtung gathered a followership who extols the virtues of peace journalism and urges the media to shun their war-oriented practice. Galtung likened war journalism to sports journalism which reports in a way that sees winning as all that matters in a zero sum game. He proposed a model of peace journalism that should be fashioned after health journalism which would not only report the plight of a patient but will also focus on a range of possible remedies and future preventive measures.

Galtung's graphic representation of the differences between peace and war journalism is presented below:

Table 2.1: Model of Peace Journalism

<b>Peace/Conflict Journalism</b>		<b>War/Violence Journalism</b>	
<b>I</b>	<b>Peace/Conflict Oriented</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>War/Violence Oriented</b>
	Explore conflict formation x parties, y goals, z issues general 'win, win' orientation.		Focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation
	Open space, open time, cause and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture		Closed space, closed time; causes and exists in arena, who threw the first stone.
	Making conflicts transparent		Making wars opaque/secret
	Giving voice to all parties; empathy,		'Us-They' journalism, propaganda, voice,

	understanding		for 'Us'
	See conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity.		See 'Them' as the problem, focus on who prevails in war
	Humanization of all sides; more so the worse the weapons		Dehumanization of 'them'; more so the worse the weapon
	Proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurs		Reactive: waiting for violence before reporting
	Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)		Focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)
<b>II</b>	<b>Truth Oriented</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>Propaganda Oriented</b>
	Expose untruths on all sides/uncover all cover-ups		Expose 'Their' untruths/help 'Our' cover-ups/lies
<b>III</b>	<b>People Oriented</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>Elite Oriented</b>
	Focus on suffering all over; on women, the aged, children, giving voice to voiceless		Focus on 'Our' suffering on able-bodied elite males, being their mouthpiece
	Give name to all evil doers. Focus on people peace maker.		Give name to their evil doers. Focus on elite peace making
<b>IV</b>	<b>Solution Oriented</b>	<b>IV</b>	<b>Solution Oriented</b>
	Peace=non- violence		Peace=victory+ceasefire
	Highlight peace initiatives, also to		Conceal peace initiative, before victory is

	prevent more war		at hand
	Focus on structure, culture the peaceful society		Focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society
	Aftermath: resolution, re-construction, reconciliation		Leaving for another war, return if the old flares up again.

Galtung's Peace Journalism Model: Lynch and McGoldrick (2005:6)

In spite of the lofty ideals of peace journalism, it has been trailed by criticisms largely because it seeks to assign a new role to journalists as peacekeepers. Hanitzsh (2004:6) quotes Grundmann (2000:94) who averred that, "its normative proposals raise the misleading impression that the implementation of peace would primarily be the task of the media- and not the duty of policy making". He also doubts the idealized conception of making news for peace.

Another related concept was suggested by Martin Bell. Bell criticized "by-standers journalism" and calls for a "journalism of attachment". According to him, "journalism of attachment" is aware of its responsibilities and will not stand neutral between good and evil, right and wrong, the victim and the oppressor" (Bell 1997:8).

The idea of journalism of attachment would seem a total negation of the role of mass communication in society and the kind of idea that can be used negatively for hate media, as exemplified by the use of *Radio-Television Libres des milles Collins* (RTL) to incite violence against *Tutsis* in the 1994 Rwandan genocide. While dismissing the idea of journalism of attachment, Hume (1997:19) said it threatens good journalism because "it neglects historical and political contexts of violence and causes journalists to set themselves up as judge and jury".

As noted by Thum (2009:5), "peace journalism is definitely not a clearly defined field but has also contested areas which are seen as not wholly reconcilable by some journalists with

their professional ethos and their job description.” Nevertheless, Thum attempted to list dimensions of peace journalism to include:

reporting on conflict in mainstream news media which requires a journalist to be conflict-sensitive in news selection, avoid sensationalism and report responsibly since reporting has effect on conflict dynamics;

1. understanding the different parties to a conflict through conflict analysis which will give hints to a possible solution to conflict, avoid being spoon-fed by different parties to the conflict and use of non-confrontational language;
2. use of language to portray impartiality, balance and objectivity at the actual stage of reporting;
3. reporting of news media in conflict which requires self-protection and taking moral responsibility for their reporting and its effects;
4. reporting on peace and conflict related issues where in-depth or investigative reports treat topics like injustice, human rights abuses, migration, corruption and others with the aim of exposing structural or cultural violence fuelling conflicts; and
5. media for peace which exceeds the traditional role of the journalist to include active promotion of peace, propaganda for peace, peace education, developmental journalism among others.

The list above is a modest attempt to clarify the various dimensions of peace journalism as a concept; but as shown by various literatures, the least agreeable to professional journalists would seem to be the fifth item above which they see as being outside their callings. That role of acting like a peacekeeping force, they argue, should be left to the peace activist or mediator in a conflict. On the contrary, they seem to agree to the admonition to be conflict-sensitive while reporting on conflict situations, especially, during violent conflicts.

## **2.5 The Concept of Conflict-Sensitive Journalism**

The concept of conflict sensitive journalism arose as a response to criticisms of peace journalism. Journalists, particularly, recoil at the prospect of being seen as practicing peace journalism which they perceive as running against their trainings in 'objectivity' and in refraining from propaganda- a tool for their public relations and advertising colleagues. Criticism of peace journalism also includes its overly pacifist nature which may require the journalist to ignore certain critical 'facts' while covering a conflict. Despite attempts by peace journalism theorists to deconstruct, "this myth of independence and objectivity with analysis of the news production system and processes, the myth is so well-entrenched in people's consciousness that even after repeated discussions and trainings on the same subject, it crops up again and again." (Patindol 2010:199) that peace journalism is:

only reporting about peace, peace movements and peace initiatives (with no critical reporting on peace efforts); in effect, reporting for peace and thus best seen as peace propaganda; and peaceful reporting- thus concentrating on positive news, avoiding 'bad' stories such as those involving violence.

Patindol, a trainer with Peace and Conflict Journalism Network (PECOJON) which has membership in 15 countries worldwide noted that the misconception of peace journalism had necessitated the change in the nomenclature of their trainings from peace journalism, first, to peace and conflict journalism and, currently, to the term conflict-sensitive journalism (CSJ). She averred further that this term "has significantly clarified the concept among participants and further focuses on the fact that:

1. it is more accurate and appropriate to the real work of an ethical, responsible journalist;
2. the concept applies to the reporting of conflict, not to avoiding it; and
3. the emphasis is on the challenge for journalists in reporting conflict. (Patindol 2010:200).

As explained by Ross (2003:15), CSJ presents balanced reports and only what is known. It uses words carefully and refrains from emotional terms, seeks explanation and comment

from all sides, and looks for solution. CSJ, as conceived by Ross and his followers also encourages the journalist to learn and use the skills of conflict analysis while reporting conflicts. Indeed, Agberemi et al (2006:48) proffer the following reasons, among others, for the imperativeness of CSJ:

1. the impact of the media on conflict is hardly ever neutral because media are powerful and can make the search for peace easier or more difficult;
2. the duty to inform (and especially how it is fulfilled) should be balanced by placing great value on life;
3. absolute accuracy and balance/objectivity are elusive yet sound journalism is possible. Why should conflict-sensitivity as an added principle to accuracy and balance now make sound journalism impossible?

CSJ actually prioritizes both peace and justice (because great effort is made to give the audience, the full background of conflict and structural issues of inequality and injustice that are involved).

The concept of CSJ would seem to be a workable idea in the search for a more socially responsible and responsive media especially in a developing country like Nigeria. The merits of CSJ have been recognized by the United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). UNESCO has published, *Conflict-Sensitive Reporting: A Handbook for Reporters*. In his preface to the book, Assistant Director-General for Communication and Information of UNESCO, Abdul Waheed Khan (2009:1) said:

It is with the object to strengthen the capacity of media professionals to report in a well-researched, factual and non-biased way and without contributing to conflict that UNESCO has asked Ross Howard to develop this curriculum for conflict-sensitive reporting. It is intended to strengthen media capacity to contribute to dialogue, mutual understanding and eventually reconciliation and peace.

This study is therefore explores and interrogates the extent of the application of the principles of CSJ by selected newspapers in Nigeria in the coverage of the Jos violent crisis of January to March 2010 and August to September 2011 and proffer empirically- based suggestions for a better understanding of the media's role in conflict. It would seem that conflict sensitive journalism is a journalistic equivalent of the 'Do – No – Harm' principle in conflict and development intervention.

CSJ is based on the standards of journalism – accuracy in truth-seeking and telling, objectivity, balance and fairness, and ethical conduct. Since violent conflicts attract intense news media coverage that requires greater analytical depth and skills, to report on it without contributing to further violence nor overlooking peace building opportunities involves recognizing that, “the role and responsibility of reporting on conflict represents an expansion of journalism practice but not a radical change.” (Ross: 2009:14).

Indeed, Lynch and McGoldrick have developed a 17-point “suggestions for journalists to “re-balance the reporting of conflicts”, thus:

1. avoid portraying a conflict as consisting of only two parties contesting the same goal(s);
2. avoid accepting stark distinctions between ‘self’ and ‘other’ ;
3. avoid treating a conflict as if it is only going on in the place and at the time that violence is occurring;
4. avoid assessing the merits of a violent action or policy of violence in terms of its visible effects only;
5. avoid letting parties define themselves by simply quoting their leader's restatement of familiar demands or positions;
6. avoid concentrating always on what divides the parties, on the differences between what each say they want;
7. avoid only reporting the violent acts and describing ‘the horror’;



8. avoid blaming someone for ‘starting it’ ;
9. avoid focusing exclusively on the suffering, fears and grievances of only one party;
10. avoid ‘victimizing’ language like ‘devastated’, ‘defenceless’, ‘pathetic’, ‘tragedy’, which only tells us what has been done to and could be done for a group of people by others;
11. avoid the imprecise use of emotive words to describe what has happened to people such as ‘tragedy’, ‘assassination’, ‘massacre’, ‘systematic’;
12. avoid demonizing adjectives like ‘vicious’, ‘cruel’, ‘brutal’, ‘barbaric’;
13. avoid demonizing labels like ‘terrorist’, ‘extremist’, ‘fanatic’, ‘fundamentalist’ ;
14. avoid focusing exclusively on the human rights abuses, misdemeanours and wrongdoings of only one side. Instead try to name all wrongdoers;
15. avoid making an opinion or claim seem like an established fact;
16. avoid greeting the signing of documents by leaders which bring about military victory or a ceasefire as necessarily creating peace; and
17. avoid waiting for leaders on ‘our’ side to suggest or offer solutions.

(Lynch and McGoldrick 2005:28)

The points above meet the requirements for a conflict-sensitive journalism practice and hence inform the basis for judging media reports on the Jos violent crisis.

## **2.6 Conflict-sensitivity in Development Planning.**

In the Western literature, conflict- sensitivity has been etymologically linked with medical practice as alluded to in the Hippocratic Oath taken by newly inducted medical personnel. Although, the original Greek phrase, *Primum Non Nocere* (above all, do no harm) was not stated in the Hippocratic Oath, it contains similar words and the promise “to abstain from doing harm” in medical intervention (Smith 2005). Furthermore, the Hippocratic Writings,

*Epidemics* states that, “the physician must be able to tell the antecedents, know the present and foretell the future- must mediate these things and have two special objects in view with regard to disease, namely, to do good or to do no harm.” From its medical origin, the Do – No – Harm principle has been adopted in other fields like development studies, conflict and peace building, journalism and many other contexts.

While tracing the trajectory of conflict-sensitive development planning, Paffenholz, quoted by McCandless and Karbo(2011:420) said the conflict-sensitive approach to development represents the third phase of like-minded approaches that have developed around a concern for evaluating and improving the effectiveness of peace and conflict efforts. According to her the first phase could be traced to 1998/1999 with Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) as hall-marked by Mary Anderson’s ‘do no harm’ approach. The second phase was marked by deepening engagement of broader range of actors and a proliferation of tools from 1999 to 2003/4.

The third phase saw the broader acceptance of PCIA and its expansion beyond assessing the impact of aid intervention to conflict-sensitive programming and policy making.

It is this expanding knowledge and use of conflict-sensitivity that came into journalism through the efforts of Howard Ross when he published, *Conflict-Sensitive Journalism: A Handbook for Reporters* in 2003. This was followed by trainings in different parts of the world and the publication of the UNESCO-sponsored, *Conflict-Sensitive Reporting: State of the Art* by Ross in 2009. As summarized by Ross (2009:12)

Conflict- sensitive reporting reflects a modernization of the original values of the news media. It is rooted in the belief that the news media in many societies can be a powerful force to reduce the causes of conflict and to enable a conflict stressed society to better pursue conflict resolution. The media can do this by training its journalists to better understand conflict and media’s role in it. The journalist can strengthen their reporting to avoid stereotypes and narrow perspectives on the causes and process of conflict. The media can contribute to a wider dialogue among disparate parts of the community in conflict, through improved reporting. It can explore and provide information about opportunities for resolution. And at the same time,

the media must maintain its essential standards of accuracy, fairness and balance, and responsible conduct.

## 2.7 Conflict-Sensitivity in the African Context

The presentation of the 'Do No Harm' principle and the related concept of conflict sensitivity may seem, on superficial reading, to be a Western concept that is being copied by African scholars. However, a little knowledge of the history and traditions of Africa show that the concept is contained in the folklores, idioms, oral history and traditions of Africa. 'Oral texts' like the *ifa* corpus of the Yoruba people also contain similar principles.

The conceptual gap is traceable to the non-codification of African heritage in books and other permanent forms that could be passed from one generation to the other – an advantage the West exploits to distort African history and heritage, thereby extending Western neo-colonialism and hegemony in all spheres of life. Further compounding this tragedy is the seeming collaboration and ignorance of some African scholars to interrogate Western claims and concepts or to, at least, domesticate them to reflect the African environment. Thus, the pioneering efforts of great Africans like Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, E.W Blyden, Kenneth Kaunda, Obafemi Awolowo, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Leopold Sedar Senghor, Fela Anikulapo Kuti, among others, should be acknowledged

Nyerere, for instance, issued the first of his 'Post-Arusha' *Policy Directive on Education* in which he demanded an education revolution, in line with Tanzania's needs and social objectives, as against the system foisted on Tanzania by the Western Colonialists. Nyerere noted that the fact that pre-colonial Africa did not have 'schools' – except for short periods of initiation in some tribes – did not mean that children were not educated. He noted:

They learned by living and doing. In the homes and on the farms, they were taught the skills of the society. They learned the kind of grasses which were suitable for which purposes, the work which had to be done on the crops ... They learned the tribal history, and the tribe's relationship with other tribes and with the spirits, by listening to the stories of the elders (Nyerere 1987:524)

Thus, even though Western education was formalized early enough the purpose is the same: to transmit the culture, knowledge and ways of life of the society to succeeding generations and reinforce such in them. Other spheres of the African system were similarly affected by the colonial social formation and the consequent hegemony of its institutions. Olaoba (2002:88) captured the imposition of colonial legal culture on the Yoruba legal heritage when he said:

Lulled into believing that many things were wrong with the indigenous legal culture, the Yoruba people, who, of course, saw nothing wrong in their legal heritage, thought that the received colonial law was better off. The colonial legal structure was equally riddled with problems of integration.

In his study of the protest music of the Afro-beat legend, Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, Olorunyomi criticized African and Western experts for missing the definitive nuances of the legend's music obviously because these experts are influenced by western precepts. He averred:

Africa, then in the logic of this stereotype, comes over merely as a repository of the call and response and improvisation, while the West, ostensibly, supplies the premeditated notations. It is the sort of generalization that presents even a formally trained musician such as Fela as incapable of processuality, just as the Euro-American is consigned only to the cold calligraphy of sheet-scored music without the capacity for 'life' and spontaneity. (Olorunyomi, 2005:3).

Similarly, Western scholars present the 'Do-no-Harm' principle as the brain child of Hippocrates because the Hippocratic Oath includes the promise "to abstain from doing harm" in any medical intervention. Although as Smith (2005) has argued the Hippocratic Oath does not contain the precise Greek phrase *Primum Non Nocere* (above all, do no harm), it is a reference to the same idea or prescription.

But African lore, more and axioms passed from the ancient times contain such admonitions and prescriptions. Some Yoruba axioms and proverbs espouse similar ideas which arguably predate Western codification of same in books and other permanent records. For example, it is a popular proverb among the Yoruba to say, '*Ori bibe ko ni oogun ori fifo*'. This can be roughly translated, as: "you do not cut off a man's head in order to cure his headache". The essence of this proverb is the same, "above all, do no harm" in your interventions in conflict situations. There is no evidence that African philosophers and ancestors read Hippocrates. Thus conflict – sensitivity is an African way of life; extending this concept to the practice of modern journalism is not so much of a foreign imposition or mere sanctimonious pontification.

The Yoruba also say, "*Agbo ejo apa kan da, agba Osika ni*" when literally translated this means, you do not give judgment (or reach a conclusion) on the basis of listening to one side of a case. This injunction aptly summarizes the journalistic requirements of balance and fairness which again is codified in western literature especially in codes of ethics for journalists as enjoined by the Social Responsibility Theory of the press. As stated earlier, codes of ethics became popular after the Hutchins Commission Report which encouraged self-regulation within the media. In a way, it is in the enlightened self interest of the media to do so, rather than allowing regulation and, probably, censorship from government establishments. In the preamble to their code, the Society of Professional Journalists in the U.S. wrote:

Members of the society of professional journalists believe that public enlightenment is the fore runner of justice and the foundation of democracy. The duty of the journalist is to further those ends by seeking truth and providing a fair and comprehensive account of events and issues ... Members of the society share a dedication to ethical behaviour (Black, Steele and Barney 1999:6).

Interestingly, the code is divided into four parts one of which urges journalists to "minimize harm". The other parts urge practitioners to seek truth and report it, act independently and

be accountable. Of particular interest to the present study is the section on minimizing harm which admonishes journalists to among other things, treat sources, subjects and colleagues as human beings deserving of respect. Specifically, it states as follows:

1. show compassion for those who may be affected adversely by news coverage and use special sensitivity when dealing with children and inexperienced sources or subjects;
  2. be sensitive when seeking or using interviews or photographs of those affected by a tragedy;
  3. recognize that gathering and reporting may cause harm or a discomfort;
  4. recognize that private people have a greater right to control information about themselves than do public officials and others who seek power, influence and attention and that only an overriding public need can justify intrusion into anyone's privacy;
  5. show good taste and avoid pandering to lurid curiosity;
  6. be cautious about identifying juvenile suspects or victims of sex crimes;
  7. be judicious about naming criminal suspects before the formal filing of charges: and
  8. balance a criminal suspect's fair trial rights with the public's right to be informed.
- (Black, Steele and Barney, 1999: 7).

The above guidelines fulfill the requirements of conflict sensitivity in reporting and would seem to obviate the charges of recklessness and insensitivity on the part of journalists. However, there is a wide gap between theory and practice and only continuous harping on these principles can produce a large army of conflict sensitive journalists.

At a gathering in Ilorin, Kwara State in 1998, Nigerian journalists also gave to themselves, the latest version of the code of ethics. The code has undergone several reviews since Nigeria's independence in 1960; culminating in the code popularly called "The Ilorin declaration" of 1998. The preamble to this code reads:

Journalism entails a high degree of public trust. To earn and maintain this trust, it is morally imperative for every journalist and every news medium to observe the highest professional and ethical standards. In the exercise of these duties, a journalist should always have a healthy regard for public interest (Code of Ethics for Nigerian Journalists 1998:2).

Like other codes worldwide, the Nigerian code urges the reporters to be factual, accurate, balanced and fair, protect public health and morality, present or report acts of violence, armed robberies, terrorist activities or vulgar display of wealth in a manner that does not glorify such acts. Particularly relevant to the study is the requirement that the press should avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence or civil disorder; or give offence to minority groups. How far have the media in Nigerian been able to follow the ethical dictates in the coverage of the Jos violent crisis? What are the implications of the media performance for the larger Nigerian society and the future of the media in Nigeria?

## **2.8 Gender, Media and Conflict**

Despite various attempts to mainstream gender equality in all spheres of human endeavours, gender equality, according to USAID, has recorded little progress as “substantial inequalities remain across all sectors...particularly in low- income and conflict- affected countries and among disadvantaged groups” (USAID 2012:1).

Some of these attempts have been codified in various international instruments including:

- Beijing Platform for Action signed in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China.
- The Millennium Development Goals adopted by 189 governments in 2000
- UN Security Council resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and its subsequent “sister” Resolution 1820 (gender-based violence); Resolution 1888 (sexual violence); Resolution 1889 (women in post conflict reconstruction);

Resolution 1960 (sexual violence in conflict); and Resolution 2122 (rule of law and transitional justice)

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, among other declarations and charters.

Gender equality “concerns women and men, and it involves working with men and boys, women and girls to bring about changes in attitudes, behaviours, roles and responsibilities at home, in the work place, and in the community. Genuine equality more than parity in numbers or laws on the books; it means expanding freedoms and improving overall quality of life so that equality is achieved without sacrificing gains for males or females. (USAID 2012: 3).

The definition above reflects the current thinking in gender studies as against the view that hitherto limits gender studies inexorably to women emancipation. This position is aptly captured by Myrthen, Naujoris and El.Bushra (2014:10): “Gender identities are social, cultural and political constructs that are dependent on a range of other factors, such as class, age, profession, urban/rural setting, kinship and marital status, disability, sexual orientation and depending on the situation, ethnic, religious, cultural or caste background. Gender is also a relation concept, meaning that gender identities are created in relationship with each other, in the context of the whole society. Gender analysis starts from the understanding that we all live gendered lives, influenced by age, class and other identities.”

This position was further buttressed by Litosseliti (2006) quoted by Olarewaju (2010: 222): “If sex relates to a biological and generally binary distinction between male and female, then gender refers to the social behaviours, expectations and attitudes associated with, being male or female. Sex is binary, but the traits assigned to a sex by a culture are cultural constructions.”

But studies have shown that gender inequality most of the time is skewed against women given the structural bias of male domination in most societies. In the political sphere, for example, male dominance is apparent. Despite gains made in recent times by the increasing visibility of women in political appointments in Nigeria, a study by the British Council revealed the gap between male and female appointees as shown below:



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**Table 2.2: Women elected into Public Office in Nigeria 1999 to 2011**

Office	1999		2003		2007		2011	
	Seats Available	Women	Seats Available	Women	Seats Available	Women	Seats Available	Women
<b>President</b>	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
<b>Senate</b>	109	3(2.8)	109	4(3.7)	109	9(8.3)	109	7(6.4)
<b>House of Reprs.</b>	360	7(1.9)	360	21(5.8)	360	27(7.5)	360	25(6.9)
<b>Governors</b>	36	0	36	0	36	0	36	0
<b>SHA</b>	990	24(2.4)	990	40(3.6)	990	57(5.8)	990	68(6.9)
<b>SHA Committee Chairperson</b>	829	18(2.2)	881	32(3.6)	887	52(5.9)	887	-
<b>LGA Chairpersons</b>	710	13(1.8)	774	15(1.9)	740	27(3.6)	740	-
<b>Councillors</b>	6368	69(1.1)	6368	267(4.2)	6368	235(3.7)	6368	-

Source: British Council Report (2012)

The traditional arrangement of the society in Africa sets great store by men as dominant forces in political, social and economic forces decision-making and execution processes. This arrangement relegates the women folk to the backwaters of decision making and participation in the activities of society. Given this scenario, the media as purveyors of news and information and as mirrors of society tow the line of the dominant forces in society, to wit, the male folk. The gender bias of the media manifests in two major ways. The total or near exclusion of female voices in discourses and the use of words that show bias towards

the male folk. This latter position is buoyed by studies such as Olarewaju (2010) who studied four magazines and three Nigerian newspapers and observed that: “In spite of the numerous role that English Language plays in Nigeria and worldwide, the Nigerian Print media as one of the main forms of mass communication still portray high degree of the use of gender- biased expressions in their editorials, features and news.” He recommended that Nigerian print media should embrace gender balance approach in their reports and editorials through the use of unbiased words and expressions.”

Other shortcomings of the media in reporting rape, for example, have been pointed out in the literature as summarized by Fiona (2005:26):

- Sensationalizes the crime, sometimes to the point of voyeurism;
- Victimises the victim by implying that “she asked for it” ;
- By callously objectifying her suffering;
- By focusing on the “dishonour” caused to her family;
- Reports on the crime as an isolated event, not art of a process (no attempt to follow up).

The summary is not just a compilation of the peccadilloes of the media in reporting rape but also contain recommendations for better performance:

- Report the facts of the crime in a balanced, responsible way;
- Give the bigger picture, for example, the legal context;
- Include voices of civil society groups like gender activists and human rights organizations;
- Be survivor-focused: respects the survivor without minimizing her suffering;
- Include her perspective and voice;
- Show how others are affected by the crime;

- Follow up on the event by tracking police investigation, legal process, court case, etc.

The question of exclusion of female voices, as noted by Omenugha (2001:1) is based on culture, class, gender and religion:

One thing is clear: the progression of women representation in the media is inhibited by the major key players- journalists, media owners, governmental bodies who are still not gender- sensitized. Therefore, lobbying and sensitizing them on gender issues must continue. Nigerian media should realize that the exclusion of women implies an exclusion majority of Nigerians who are trapped in the cycle of poverty.

Of particular interest to the present study is the issue of exclusion of female voices in conflict, peace building and post-conflict reconstruction especially how it played out in the media narratives of the Jos Crisis. In conflict situations, women are known to act both as combatants and major victims of the act and consequences of violence. Yet the discourse on solutions and post-crisis peace building hardly take the views of the female folk into account. Ross (2009:35) referred to the status of women and the media when he noted that:

Gender disparity is one the most common sources of violence, in a cultural-structural sense, but it is rarely recognized as an essential focus point in conventional reporting on conflict sources, and is marginalized. The impact of conflict on women, and the role of women in peacebuilding, is rarely given prominent coverage in reporting on conflict. Framing, the use of language and imagery, and even the traditional male structure of news organizations need to be considered to avoid stereotypes in reporting.

In the specific case of the Jos violent crisis, wife of the Governor of Plateau State, Talatu Jang (2014:15) while commenting on the bombing of the Terminus Market in Jos on May 2014 noted that women and children were the worst hit by the explosion as “the casualty

figure and composition show that most of the dead and injured were women and children. Incidentally, this group has consistently been the worst hit by all manner of violence in Nigeria.”

Other related concepts of gender and peacebuilding include:

Gender-based Violence (GBV) which refers to when violence is utilized to reflect and reinforce inequalities between men and women. GBV constitutes a breach of the fundamental right to life, liberty, security, and dignity, equality between men and women, non-discrimination and physical and mental integrity. (Rojas 2014).

Gender Equity refers to measures to compensate for economic, social, political and cultural disadvantages between men and women. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality where women and men enjoy the same rights, status, opportunities and resources.

Gender Mainstreaming was introduced by UN which defines it as a “strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension in the design, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated.” (UN Economic and Social Council).

The campaigns and admonitions of Non-Government Organisations and the resolutions of U.N agencies have, however, began to yield results even though a lot of grounds still need to be covered to advance gender issues, especially mainstreaming women into societal agenda at various levels. These results can be seen through constitutional mechanism, executive and administrative structures, ministries of women affairs, gender desks/focal points in line ministries.

The Nigerian constitution, for example, guarantees equality as enshrined in the Chapter 2 titled, “Fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy” in Section 15(2) which states that: “Accordingly, national integration shall be actively encouraged, whilst discrimination on the grounds of place of birth, sex, religion, status, ethnic or linguistic

association or ties shall be prohibited.” (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999).

Chapter 2 of the Bill of Rights of South Africa also guarantees equality: “The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy marital status ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.” (Gasa 1998:322).

Article 10 of the Namibian Constitution states that, “no persons may be discriminated against on the grounds of sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed or social or economic status.” (Gasa *Ibid*)

Beyond the letters of the constitution, South Africa went ahead to establish the Office of the Status of Women (OSW) with the following objectives:

- To shape government policy to ensure that gender equality issues are integrated into the overall policies and programmes of governments.
- To help develop a gender policy framework for government and develop mechanisms to monitor and evaluate progress.
- To provide government with all information necessary to implement programmes for gender equality.
- To monitor government progress or lack therefore in implementing government policy, international covenants and charters;
- To develop systems disaggregation of gender in all government information;
- To co-ordinate gender desks or women’s units in line ministries.

Nevertheless, there is a wide gap between the letters of the constitution and other instrument and the reality in society. This is more so in Africa where traditional practices are heavily loaded against the women folk. The gender mainstreaming demands of the UN was introduced over two decades ago yet a wide gap exists between the exhortation and its implementation by various bodies involved in peace building. After a study by the Global Alliance on Media and Gender, Montiel (2014:18) concluded that:

Far from contributing to the discussion and understanding on the structural conditions of violence against women and girls, traditional and new media normalize it. By doing so, media promote gender-based violence (Meyers, 1997). This is why media are currently part of the problem rather than the solution to stopping violence against women. Violence against women and girls is a public issue, as is the debate about the responsibility of media industries with respect to this issue. The growth of gender-based violence shows its mechanisms are more sophisticated than they were in the past, as are the forms of representing it in media content. Through the examples provided, my objective was to demonstrate that scholars have developed enough theoretical and methodological keys to show that media do not improve women's human rights. As well, we have shown that feminist scholars have historically acted together with activists and advocates in setting the agenda on gender and communication and formulating policy.

The implication of this situation to media operations is the probable failure of the media to mainstream gender into their reportage of conflicts and crisis as a way of sensitizing society to the plight of all stakeholders in the conflicts and in post-conflict peace building. As observed by Rojas (2014: 3):

Without accurately understanding how men and women interact, suffer, negotiate, react, recover from war and prepare for peace, very little advancement in terms of gender work can be achieved. Increasingly, attention has been paid to the deeper understanding of masculinities as an effective strategy for combating violence against women and to better understand the potential of new masculinity roles for peace building.

This "deeper understanding" needs to be imbibed and promoted by the media in its coverage of societal issues. This is particularly important in the coverage of protracted crises like the Jos violent crisis. Recommendations abound on what the media should do while reporting on gender issues. Lloyd and Howard (2006:26-28) provide a table of such recommendations:

**Table 2.3: Reporting Tips on Gender**

Stories Untold	Reporting Tips
<p><b>Rape &amp; gender violence:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ By military and rebel groups</li> <li>◆ In refugee camps</li> <li>◆ As a so-called "tool of justice" eg "honour" rapes</li> <li>◆ By husbands or partners</li> <li>◆ Rape of men and boys (sexual humiliation as a weapon)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Be careful about terminology and tone: do you choose to refer to "victims" or "survivors"?</li> <li>◆ Take special care when conducting interviews with rape survivors.</li> <li>◆ Don't sensationalise, help your reader to understand the context, in terms of human rights and the law - both national and international, for example, International Humanitarian Law and other international conventions.</li> <li>◆ Challenge attempts to naturalise or condone the crime: eg "she asked for it" or "it was regrettable but understandable"</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Follow up: find out what happened afterwards. Investigate the legal process; identify the human angle: eg how do rape survivors handle posttraumatic stress?</li> </ul>
<p><b>Domestic violence:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Beatings</li> <li>◆ "Stove burning"</li> <li>◆ Acid attacks</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Investigate the correlation between increased levels of domestic violence and the rise of violent period in the community.</li> <li>◆ Show how domestic violence relates to forms of cultural/social violence. Give the bigger picture.</li> <li>◆ Highlight initiatives which challenge the notion that domestic violence is a "women's issue"; initiatives that show</li> </ul>



	<p>men and women coming together to solve the problem</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Investigate if survivors of domestic violence are able to claim their legal rights.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Health issues:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ HIV/AIDS + other STDs</li> <li>◆ Rise in maternal &amp; infant mortality rates</li> <li>◆ Cholera, malaria, dysentery and other diseases that are exacerbated by conflict</li> <li>◆ Health needs of refugees</li> <li>◆ Landmine injuries</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Investigate how and why HIV/AIDS (as well as other diseases) "feast on gender inequality and war"<sup>27</sup></li> <li>◆ What are the "forgotten" health needs of refugees? (eg sanitary towels, contraception)</li> <li>◆ Show how women are particularly vulnerable to landmines because they work in the fields, collect water and gather firewood</li> </ul>
<p>Trafficking and prostitution:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Investigate how this is exacerbated by the breakdown in social structures caused by period</li> <li>◆ Ask who controls the sex trade. Who benefits from it? Who suffers?</li> <li>◆ What are the rights of sex-workers?</li> </ul>
<p><b>Women combatants:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Rebel groups</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Ask: why did they join? Were their hopes realised? If not, why?</li> <li>◆ Were they forced to join? By whom and why? Are women more at risk than men in this regard?</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Army, police etc</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Are there differences in the way men and women combatants are treated?</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Investigate what societal pressures such women face (eg in Sri Lanka widows are considered "unlucky" and are often</li> </ul>

<p><b>War widows:</b></p>	<p>forbidden to attend weddings or other community events. What psychological impact does this have?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ How do war widows cope financially? What are their legal rights? Are they able to claim these rights? Why not?</li> <li>◆ Has widowhood empowered them? How?</li> </ul>
<p><b>DDR:</b> <i>(Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Women combatants</li> <li>◆ Women sex slaves</li> <li>◆ Women porters, cooks etc.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ When reporting on DDR schemes question gender-blind definitions of 'combatants': "No matter what role women played in armed groups, they, too, need to have programs and opportunities to be retrained and replaced in the community just as combatants do under DDR programs."</li> </ul>
<p><b>Peace processes:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Peace negotiations</li> <li>◆ Formal peace agreements</li> <li>◆ Informal peace deals</li> <li>◆ Are there differences in the way men</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Who are the negotiators? Are they truly representative?</li> <li>◆ Are peace agreements gender-aware or gender-blind?</li> <li>◆ In informal peace deals, are women commodified? (for example, in Pakistan women are sometimes "given" to seal a treaty between different tribal groups)</li> </ul>

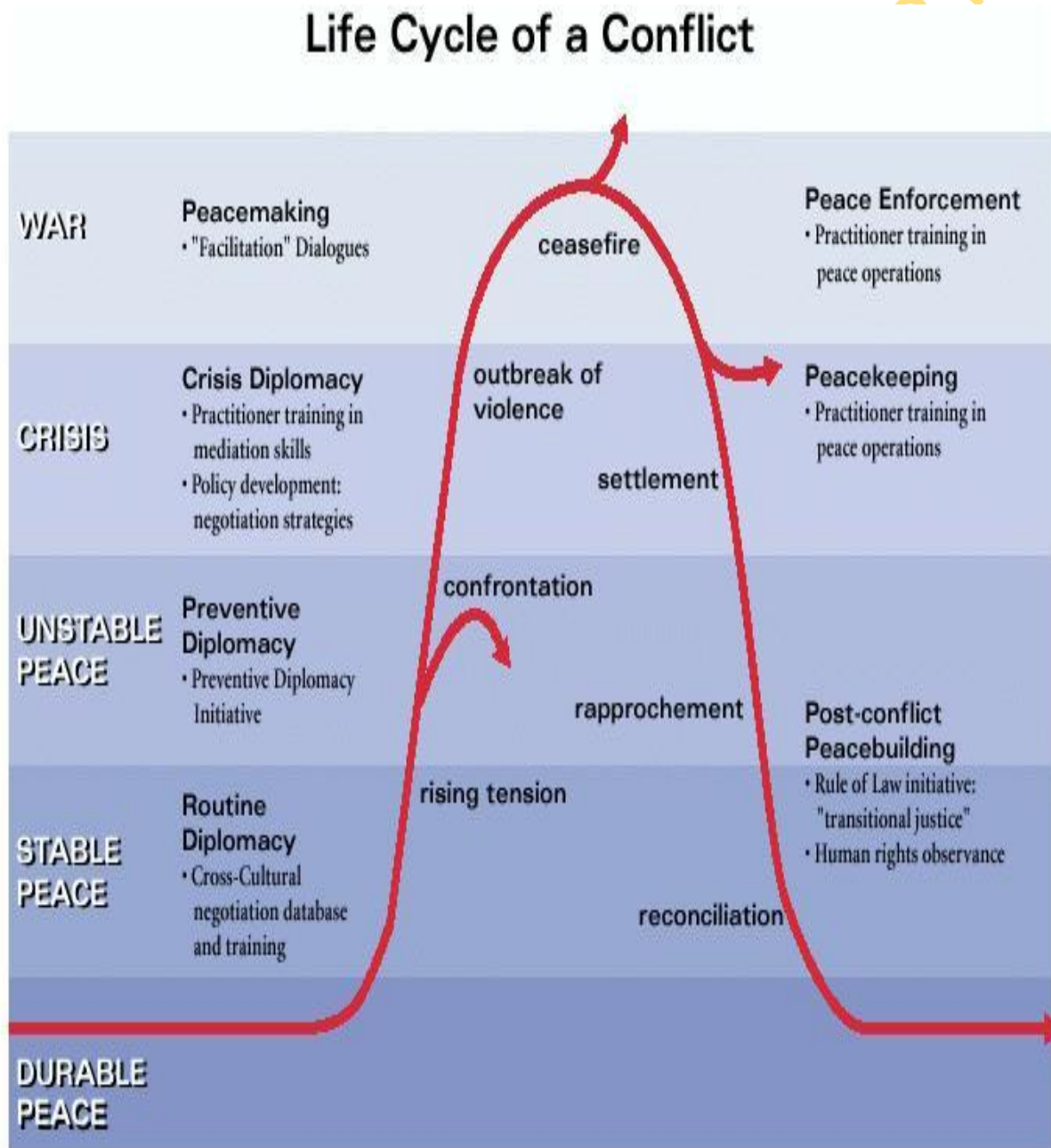
**Source: Lloyd and Howard (2006)**

## **2.9 Conflict Analysis and the Media**

The complexity of reporting in conflict situations requires adequate preparation and knowledge of the conflict issues at stake in a particular conflict or crisis. This is why conflict management experts have long recognized the need for conflict analysis in their intervention at any stage of the conflict life cycle. Conflict life cycle refers to the different stages in the development of a conflict.

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Figure 2:1: Conflict Life Cycle



From Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy, by Michael S. Lund (USIP Press, 1996).

International alert (1996:16) defined conflict analysis as the ‘identification and comparison of positions, values, aims, issues, interests and needs of the conflicting parties’. A broader definition was provided by the United Nations Peace building Support Office (UNPBSO) “Conflict analysis can be defined as an assessment of the context, causes, consequences, actors and dynamics of conflict as well as the sources and actors supporting peace and resilience. Conflict analysis can be undertaken for various reasons: as a tool for quick context assessment of the conflict situation, as a first step towards programme development, as preparation for working with parties to conflict as a conflict resolution/transformation tool, or as a tool for mainstreaming conflict – sensitivity and peace building into broader strategies or activities, including humanitarian action.

The need for conflict analysis is also implied in the rudiments of journalism as taught in journalism classes. Media scholar and Professor Mass Communication, Umaru Pate captured the need for conflict analysis before reporting when he listed some seven questions journalists should ask when covering conflicts:

What is the nature of the conflict?

Who are the parties involved (ask for confessions from witnesses, collect statements from witnesses and law enforcement agents, hospital sources as possibly relief workers or peace makers, if available).

What is the location of the area of the dispute?

What are the issues at stake?

What are the immediate and long term causes of the conflict? In other words, how did it develop?

What consequence(s) does the current conflict mean to the parties involved in particular and the society at large?

What possible dimension will the conflict assume in the nearest future and what are the likely consequences? (Pate 2002:139).

Using the 5Ws and H formula of newswriting within the context of conflict coverage, Rosemarie Schmidt proposed that a journalist should do Conflict analysis by posing the following questions:

WHO:

Who is affected by this conflict; who has a distinct stake in its outcome?

What is their relationship with one another, including relative power, influence, and affluence?

**WHAT:**

What triggered the dispute: What drew it to your attention this time?

What issues do the parties need to resolve?

**WHEN:**

When did this conflict begin; how long have the circumstances existed that gave rise to this dispute?

**WHERE:**

What geographical or political jurisdictions are affected by this dispute?

How has this kind of thing been handled in other places?

**WHY:**

Why do the parties hold the positions they do; what needs, interests, fears and concerns are the positions intended to address?

**HOW:**

How are they going to resolve this, eg negotiation, mediation, arbitration, administrative hearing, court, armed warfare; what are the costs/benefits of the chosen method?

**OPTIONS:**

What options have the parties explored; how do the various options relate to the interests identified?

**COMMON GROUND:**

What common ground is there between the parties; what have they agreed so far?

These questions when posed and answered adequately will obviously improve the quality of reportage and hence help in the understanding of the conflict from which meaningful interventions can arise. Indeed, a group, Conflict and Peace Forum (CPF), has extensively experimented with the use of conflict analysis in reporting in different parts of the world with the aim of suggesting broader, fairer and more accurate ways of reporting. They list ways the new approach can help journalism pursue peace:

Instead of a tug-of-war, the first priority is to frame a conflict as a roundtable, consisting of many parties, many issues.

The structure and culture of a conflict are shared-and contributed to – by all the parties. “Blame” cannot be pinned in one, demonized party.

This ‘pulls the focus’ of reporting to penetrate the meta-conflict.

Portraying the nuance and complexity of lived experience, with an equal esteem for the needs and sufferings of all parties, can transcend the tendency to lump all stakeholders together into two ‘sides’.

Which is the better story- familiar bellicose rhetoric from the leaders or ‘official sources’ of the party; or creative ideas for transforming or resolving the conflict, even if suggested by others?

What indeed is required to resolve a conflict? Compromise, where all the parties end up accepting less of the same thing they were seeking in the first place or the creativity to transcend existing agendas and devise a hitherto unimagined way forward?

What does a resolved or transformed conflict look like? Can peace be measured by visible effects alone (a signed document plus a cease fire) or must invisible effects including store-up guilt and trauma, be taken into account?

Who makes peace – elites in halls of negotiation, or the people who must live with any eventual settlement? Or both? (Lynch, 2000 available at [www.conflictandpeace.org](http://www.conflictandpeace.org)).

It is submitted that a journalist schooled in the theory and practice of conflict analysis will be better placed to answer these questions hence the need for conflict analysis for journalists and other media professionals.

## **2.10 The Jos Crisis in Perspective**

Jos, the capital of Plateau State in North-Central Nigeria represents profound contradictions in the history and development of Nigeria. Located in the Middle Belt geo-political zone of Nigeria, the zone, like others in the country, has at various opportunities presented their demands from Nigeria claiming that successive governments had marginalized the zone. One of such opportunities was the Nigeria’s Truth Commission known as the Human Rights Violation Commission (or Oputa Commission) set up by President Olusegun Obasanjo in

1999. A group, Joint Action Committee On The Middle Belt (JACOMB) represented the region comprising Plateau, Benue, Nasarawa, Kogi, Kwara, Niger, Adamawa, Gombe, Taraba, Federal Capital, Abuja, Southern Kaduna, Southern Kebbi, and Southern Borno. The above list has included states that are not statutorily listed in the Middle Belt but have minority groups in the Northern Zones that are not from the Hausa/Fulani majority and hence, the group claims are marginalized in the scheme of things. According to JACOMB as quoted by Kukah(2011:364):

Immediately after the war, the General Yakubu Gowon-led government embarked on a so-called programme of Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation, whereby huge sums of money were purportedly spent especially in Igbo land to cushion the effect of the war. No Middle Belter was rehabilitated or reconciled. Many Middle Belters died, some were permanently wounded or became mentally imbalanced, yet the government did not deem it fit to rehabilitate them and/or their families...All this shows that the Middle Belters are the Buffalo Soldiers of Nigeria who are used when the need arises and then dumped when the spoil is ready for sharing.

They also listed further alleged cases of what they believed were conscious cases of discrimination against the zone:

- In the 70s, a French oil prospecting company, SATRAP, was said to have discovered oil in Benue, but nothing had been done about it;
- Oil had also been discovered in Kogi and the NNPC has 5 oil wells, but not much is being done because they are anxious to find oil in the North first;
- The Ajaokuta Steel Complex has not been well attended to because it is located in the Middle Belt;
- Benue Cement Company (BCC), the mainstay of the economy of Benue State in particular had been sold to a local businessman from the North;
- They alleged that Middle Belt officers are denied promotion in the services;



- There is refusal to tap the solid minerals in the Middle Belt;
- The people of the Middle Belt are the victims of arbitrary boundary adjustments in Nasarawa, Bauchi, Gombe and Niger States (Kukah 2011 : 364-365).

These kinds of allegations are common among various communities in the zone. Ironically, all other zones in Nigeria have a plethora of similar allegations in the peculiar blame game characteristic of the national question in Nigeria from colonial times to the present time.

Jos was generally known as a peaceful city and home to various ethnic groups even before Nigeria's independence from the colonialists in 1960. Jos, with its temperate weather and friendly people, was a favourite residential and vacation destination for Europeans and other foreigners. To a large extent, Nigerians of all ethnic groups co-habited peacefully. Other ethnic groups had been drawn to the city of Jos by the tin mines that dotted the city and the attendant railway construction of the colonial era. Jos was therefore host to migrant workers and traders. Between 1994 and 2011, however, Jos popped up in national discourse more because of recurrent violence that has turned the city into a theatre of bloodletting, deep hatred and acrimony.

Many Commissions of Enquiry have been set up to look into the Jos crisis but the crisis persists. Recommendations of the commissions were largely ignored hence engendering the culture of impunity that has characterized the protracted crisis. As noted by Mandara(2010:1x):

In the last 16 years, the reports and white papers of these Commissions of Inquiry have remained unpublished and inaccessible, even though the public's right to information is guaranteed by Section 39(1) of the Nigerian 1999 Constitution and Article 9 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. Only three of these reports and white papers were released this year (2010). The long denial of the public's right to know the contents of these reports by successive governments at the Federal and State level provided fertile grounds for speculations, distrust, and disregard for constituted authority which significantly contributed which significantly contributed towards escalating the crises. Similarly the various Commission of Inquiry reports and white paper blamed the continuous

crises in Jos on the failure by government on at National and State level to implement the various recommendations contained in earlier reports. The consequence of this has been the gradual creation of a sense of impunity by the actions of the perpetrators of this mass violence, which has culminated in turning Jos into a theatre of recurring crises with the scant regard for the sanctity of human lives. This laxity on the part of authorities creates a breeding ground for the escalation of the problem not only in Jos but potentially in similar areas in the country.

A look into the recommendations of the various commissions shows that they are similar from one commission to the other. Thus, the issues fuelling the crisis are never addressed after receiving the reports; they get filed away in government offices until the next conflagration. The table below illustrates the similarity of recommendations:

Table 2:4: Commission on Jos Crisis

<b>Issues</b>	<b>Niki Tobi Commission 2002/Recommendations</b>	<b>Bola Ajibola Commission 2008/Recommendations</b>
<b>Land Ownership</b>	*Government should provide grazing area and permanent routes for Fulani to feed their cattle.	*Government should address illegal land acquisition and mapping out of slums.

	<p>*Hausa-Fulani community should be encouraged to dialogue with other communities and accept ownership of Jos by the Afizeres, Anagutas and Beroms. Anything short of this will not make for peace.</p>	
<b>Security</b>	<p>*Laws should be respected and enforced.</p> <p>*Alhaji M.D. Yusuf, state Commissioner of Police during the 2001 crisis should be advised to retire or be dismissed for alleged bias for Islam and against Christianity.</p> <p>*urgent steps to be taken to fish out illegal aliens who are said to be in large numbers.</p> <p>*Religious fanatics should not be posted to head commands: fanaticism should be defined as a senior Police Officer being Christian or Muslim with extreme beliefs or behaviour in that religion or shows total bias for that religion.</p>	<p>*There should be security along recognised flashpoints</p> <p>*There should be relocation and provision of improved security at Bauchi Road Motor Park.</p> <p>*Provision of emergency response outfits and enforcement of regulations.</p> <p>*investigate the allegations against the armed forces of excessive use of deadly force, extra-judicial killings and dereliction of duty.</p> <p>*Check illegal migration of aliens.</p>
<b>Politics and Reconciliation</b>	<p>*Government should take recommendations seriously in order to discourage perpetrators from a repeat performance.</p> <p>*Government appointments should be made only after wide</p>	<p>*State government should set up a reconciliation commission to allow adversaries meet and resolve their differences.</p> <p>*Those who embrace reconciliation may be granted amnesty from</p>

	<p>consultations with stakeholders to avoid disaffection and misapprehension.</p>	<p>criminal prosecution.</p> <p>*There should be publication of previous reports of commissions; issuance of government white papers on the reports as well as gazetting of same.</p> <p>*Putting into motion an implementation committee that will look at means of implementing previous and current reports.</p> <p>*government should relocate slum markets such as Katako, Kasuwa and Nama to safer locations, which should not be delineated along the lines of apparently belonging to any ethnic grouping.</p> <p>*Market stall allocation should reflect the religious and ethnic spread and should not be predominated by any particular group...this way a whole market will not be ready target because it belongs to a particular ethnic group.</p>
<p><b>Religious Issues</b></p>	<p>*Use of loudspeakers on external walls of Churches and Mosques should be made illegal by the Plateau State House of Assembly.</p> <p>*Indiscriminate construction of places of worship in residential</p>	<p>*outlaw anti-social religious acts of using loudspeakers, road blockages and indiscriminate development of churches and Mosques within residential areas.</p> <p>*Ban blocking of streets</p>

	<p>areas of Jos and other towns to be outlawed.</p> <p>*Alhaji Tijani Abdulahi's Mosque at Congo-Russia</p> <p>, Jos where the crisis started should not be re-built.</p> <p>*Government should monitor the establishment of private schools and their syllabi to detect and eliminate religious fundamentalism.</p>	<p>during worship and enforce this.</p>
<b>Jos Local Government</b>	<p>*Restructure electoral wards in Jos North Local Government to correct imbalance</p>	<p>*State government should pursue re-delineation of electoral wards according to guiding criteria and based on population figures within the area.</p> <p>*Evidence before the commission leads to the inevitable conclusion that the ward delineation within Jos North Local Government area allowed fewer registered Hausa/Fulani voters to have more wards than the numerically superior native voters.</p> <p>*Present Jos North Local Government should be re-delineated into about three sustainable local governments with equal representative number of wards within each local government.</p>
<b>Treatment of</b>	<p>*All suspects as detailed</p>	<p>*persons named as being</p>

<b>suspects</b>	<p>by the commission should be handed over to the police to be investigated and prosecuted.</p> <p>*Unless those found culpable are punished, they will not be deterred and would do it again.</p>	<p>involved in alleged criminal acts should be investigated and prosecuted.</p>
<b>Compensation</b>	<p>*Commission collates damages to be worth a total of N3.36bn but observes that the state government does not have the financial means to pay compensation or damages to victims.</p>	<p>*Government should set up a compensations scheme to alleviate the sufferings of victims by paying compensation if not in whole at least in part.</p> <p>*Government should seek support from the Federal government in this respect.</p>

SOURCE: *Tell Magazine*, March 2011, pg.52

Figure 2:2: Map of Plateau State



Map of Plateau State Showing the 17 Local Governments.

Source: Plateau State Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (2008).

Jos was carved out of the Bauchi Province by the colonial administration. According to Best (2007:4), Plateau State has one of the largest concentrations of ethnic minorities in Nigeria with over 58 ethnic communities spread across 17 LGA's categorised into the Chadic and Benue-Congo language groups. The chadic speakers are the Ngas, Mwaghavul, Mupun, Goemai, Montol, Ron, Kulere, Doemak, Mernyang, Fier, etc. The Benue-Congo group are the Berom, Afizere, Anaguta, Amo, Buji, Jere, Irigwe etc. In addition, Jos is a cosmopolitan city with residents coming from almost every other ethnic group in Nigeria and other parts of the World. This was made possible by its colonial history as a tin-mining city, the construction of rail lines and a temperate weather which drew all and sundry to the city.

The above setting fertilised the conflict in the city with 'Indigenes' asserting ownership and 'settlers' demanding complete integration as citizens. Of course, political, economic and religious hegemony mobilized these divides to further their interests. The Berom, Anaguta and Afizerre people originally inhabited the territory, hence, their claims of being the indigenous peoples as opposed to other later inhabitants whom they regard as 'settlers'. The other inhabitants especially the Hausa/Fulani also claim ownership of Jos as they argue that, "Jos was established from about 1902 out of a virgin land, with nobody, precisely, none of the indigenous groups, in its immediate vicinity." (Best 2007:24). This claim is however refuted by the Berom, Afizere, Anaguta and other groups who posit that "they had securely settled and had autonomous administration in Jos along with the Anaguta prior to the coming of the colonialists. The colonialists after arriving and making Jos an administrative centre, then brought the Hausa to the city to assist as labour force in the tin mines." (Best 2007:28).

With these claims and counter-claims, the seed of conflict was sown and when it grew it resulted to intermittent violent confrontations. According to Galadima and Olaniyi (2009:197), the first conflict occurred in Jos in 1932, during the World Economic Depression and the second in 1945 at the end of the Second World War. In both cases, the Igbo trading community was attacked. Thus, the origin of the conflicts in Jos is not primarily religious but a stiff struggle for political and economic control between the indigenes and the non-indigenes. Contrary to the narrow interpretation widely given to the



Jos crisis as a religious one, “most of these conflicts have been fought under the platform of primordial and constructed identities” (Galadima and Olaniyi (2009:198).

Significantly, the cycle of attacks and counter-attacks among the conflict parties has been one major characteristic of the Jos crisis. This recurrence has been encouraged by the atmosphere of impunity that prevailed after each outburst of violence:

The judicial commissions of inquiry have not been productive. Despite numerous commissions, the violence has continued – and in some places has got worse. The severity of the violence in 2010 in the rural hinterland of Jos, in places like Kuru and Dogo Nahauwa, require serious investigations in which those responsible are held to account, but very little has been achieved. Some activists are now calling for an international investigation, notably from the International Criminal Court (ICC). Few people who committed murder and/or organised the mass killing of hundreds of innocent people have been arrested or prosecuted. As the farce between the state and federal commissions of inquiry after the 2008 violence indicated, there appears to be a problem with establishing the relative jurisdiction of the federal and state governments in responding to such crimes. Justice is normally an important element in conflict mediation and resolution, but this means the rule of law has to be applied, not just to one side or community but to all, and to individuals in positions of authority. (Higazi 2011:31)

A timeline of the crisis is provided below:

1932: The world economic depression led to pressure and tension between Igbo and Hausa communities.

1945: Economic grievance between Hausa and the Igbo ethnic groups. The crisis led to the dislocation of Igbos from their residences.

Sept. 2001 - Christian-Muslim violence flares after Muslim prayers in Jos, with churches and mosques set on fire. At least 1,000 people are killed; according to Sept. 2002 report by a panel set up by Plateau state government.

Nov. 2008 - Clashes between Muslim and Christian gangs triggered by disputed local government election kill at least 700 people in Jos, according to U.S.-based Human Rights Watch.

Jan. 2010 - Hundreds are reported killed after clashes between Muslim and Christian gangs in Jos, most by gunfire. Police estimate death toll at 326, although some community leaders put the figure at more than 400.

March 2010 - Hundreds of people are killed in clashes between Islamic pastoralists and Christian villagers in mostly Christian villages south of Jos. A Plateau State official said more than 300 people had died.

Dec. 2010 - At least 80 people are killed in Dec. 24 bombings as well as in clashes two days later between Muslim and Christian youths in Jos.

Jan. 2011 - Human Rights Watch says more than 200 people killed in violence over preceding month, with many hacked to death or burned alive in attacks on villages, and reprisal killings in Plateau state.

Aug.-Sept. 2011 - At least 70 people killed in clashes in central Plateau state since beginning of August. Cycle of violence started when Christian youths attacked Muslims as they gathered to celebrate end of Ramadan in Jos.

Nov 24 - Several people are killed in religious violence in central Nigeria as Christian and Muslim gangs fight over ownership of cattle and fertile farmland near Jos, the capital of Plateau state. Witnesses said they counted 10 dead bodies.

Source: Reuters News Agency Bulletin 25 Dec 2012.

Though the crisis has had many flashpoints, this study will examine the violent clashes that took place between January and March, 2010 and another one that took place in August and September 2011. Both carry the symptoms and features of the recurring violent crisis in Jos. During the January, 2010 crisis, in which about 200 people died and property destroyed, the

Fulani were badly hit (Higazi 2011:29). But in the reprisal attacks that took place in March, the Berom recorded more deaths

This was also repeated in the August and September attacks in 2011. Through content analysis, this study will interrogate the coverage pattern; noting the framing of the issues by the different newspapers chosen for this study against the back drop of their ownership, location, ethnic and ideological orientations and the implications for the peace process and conflict escalation and de-escalation possibilities.

### **2.11 Theoretical Framework**

A study of this nature requires sound theories to explain the guiding principles and constructs within which predictions and conclusions can be drawn. As explained by McQuail (2010:5), a “theory is a general proposition, itself based on observation and logical argument, that states the relationship between observed phenomena and seeks either to explain or to predict the relation, in so far as it is possible”. To Littlejohn (1996:3), a theory is a scholar’s “best representation of some state of affairs” based on systematic observation.

Baran and Davis have drawn attention to how scholars classify theories in different ways, depending on the needs of the theorists and on beliefs about the social world and nature of knowledge. They note that scholars have identified four major categories of communication theory – post positivism, hermeneutical theory, critical theory and normative categories – and although they share commitment to an increased understanding of social and communicative life, they differ in their goals:

1. their views of the nature of reality, what is knowable (their ontology);
2. their views on how knowledge is created and expanded (their epistemology); and
3. their views of the proper role of values in research and theory building (their axiology) (Baran and Davies, 2006: 30)<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For an in depth discussion, see Baran and Davis (2006)

The present study is guided by three theories, namely the social responsibility, framing and hegemony theories. The three theories can be classified into the normative (social responsibility), hermeneutics (framing) and critical (hegemony) theories.

A normative media theory explains how a media system ought to operate in order to conform to or realize a set of ideal social values. Hermeneutics, especially social hermeneutics, seeks to understand how those in an observed social situation interpret their own lot in that situation. Critical theory is, however, sceptical and critical of established social norms and, therefore, seeks emancipation and changes in a dominant social order. Post-positivist theory relies entirely on empirical observations, guided by the scientific method and considered more suitable in the physical sciences.

## **2.12 The Social Responsibility Theory of the Press**

The ills of the media, as noted in the Nigerian media, are not particular to the country. These ills – bias, sensationalism, lack of depth, demonization of the other, offence to minority, bribery and corruption, pandering to proprietorial interest and being lapdogs to government and powerful political and economic interest, etc. – date back to the early years of the press.

Emerging from the libertarian era, the press in America was accused of many transgressions in a period of crass capitalism. Critics argued that the operations of the press could no longer be left to the ‘self-righting principle’ as espoused by John Milton in *Areopagitica 1644* (Baran and Davis, 2006: 100).

Responding to pressure for reform of the media, Henry Luce, the CEO of the *Time* Magazine, funded an independent commission to make recommendations on the role of the press. Thus, the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press was established in 1942. The report of its findings was released in 1947. According to Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1956), the ideas put forward by the commission has become known as the Social Responsibility Theory of the Press which, among other recommendations, urged the media to, “provide a full, truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day’s events, in a context which gives them meaning”.

McQuail (1987:117-118), summarized the salient principles of the Social Responsibility Theory as follows:

media should accept and fulfil certain obligations to the society and these obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance;

the media should accept and apply these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions;

the media should avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence, or civil disorder or give offence to minority groups;

1. the media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view and to rights of reply;
2. the society and public have a right to expect high standards of performance, and intervention can be justified to secure the, or a, public good; and
3. journalists and media professionals should be accountable to society, as well as to employers and the market.

The principles above are unexceptionable, as they represent the requirements justly demanded by critics and admirers of the works of journalists worldwide. Albert (2001:31) observed that “public opinion is shaped by the content of media reports. To this extent, the media play important roles in crystallising, preventing or resolving community conflicts. Media men and women have social responsibilities. The most important is to see that what they report do not promote centrifugal tendencies in the society.”

There is a school of thought that has argued however that social responsibility theory (SRT) is not really a theory but a mere typology of media system. Indeed, scholars from the University of Illinois where the authors of *Four Theories*: Frederick Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm emerged have stridently rejected four theories because “by both its tone and format, represents itself as value-free scholarship, and many readers have accepted it as such. But a strong argument can be made that despite its value-free appearance it is driven by an agenda rooted in the context of its composition, specifically the cold war era global expansion of the U.S model of privately owned for-profit media” (Nerone 1995:7-8). The above is to say that it is not relevant to the post cold war era nor

was it ever universal in appeal. As a normative theory, the SRT and other theories presented by Siebert *et al* (1956) pays little attention to concentration of power in the private sector while going ahead to present them as political theories ignoring in the process “other elements (that) operate in what is called the private realm or civil society – in schools, churches, family and work places’ (Nerone 2005:21).

But the principles of the SRT have continued to appeal to media scholars as tools of analysis, more so, because Nerone *et al* did not propose alternative theories; and the need for a socially responsible press has increasingly become imperative in modern society.

The media have obligations to society in so far as the members of the society whose peace, progress and brotherliness will ultimately affect the media as a business enterprise which needs a tranquil environment to operate. Thus, it is in the enlightened self-interest of the press to adhere to the principles of the social responsibility theory.

### **2.13 The Framing Theory**

Framing theory is related to symbolic interaction and social construction of reality theories which argue that the expectations we form about ourselves and other people in our social world are one of the basic elements in social life. According to Baran and Davis (2006: 280), the formation of stereotypes, attitudes, typification schemes, and racial and/or ethnic or racial biases are socially constructed and they are:

1. based on previous experience of some kind, whether derived from a media message or direct personal experience;
2. quite resistant to change, even when they are contradicted by readily available factual information;
3. often associated with and can arouse strong emotions such as hate, fear, or love; and
4. may be free of our conscious control over them, especially when strong emotions are aroused that interfere with our ability to make sense of new information available in the situation.

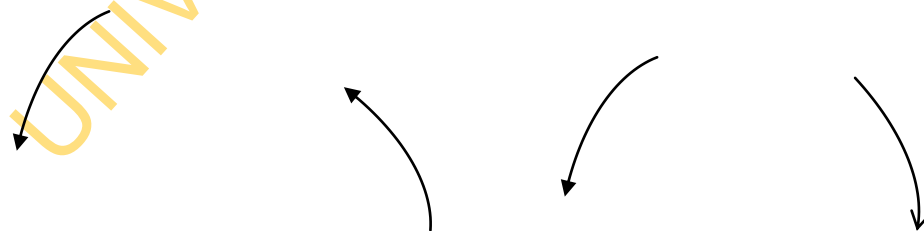
Erving Goffman (1974), a sociologist developed the Theory of Frame Analysis based on Ludwig Wittgenstein's linguistic philosophy. As human beings, we constantly and often radically change the way we define or typify situations in a world that is constantly changing. According to him, life operates much like a staged dramatic performance. A frame is a specific set of expectations used to make sense of a social situation at a given point in time. Davis and Baran (1981) illustrate Goffman's theory as shown below:

Figure 2:3: Goffman's Theory of Frame Analysis

**Exposure to mass media representation**

*Everyday encounters*

*of everyday communication*



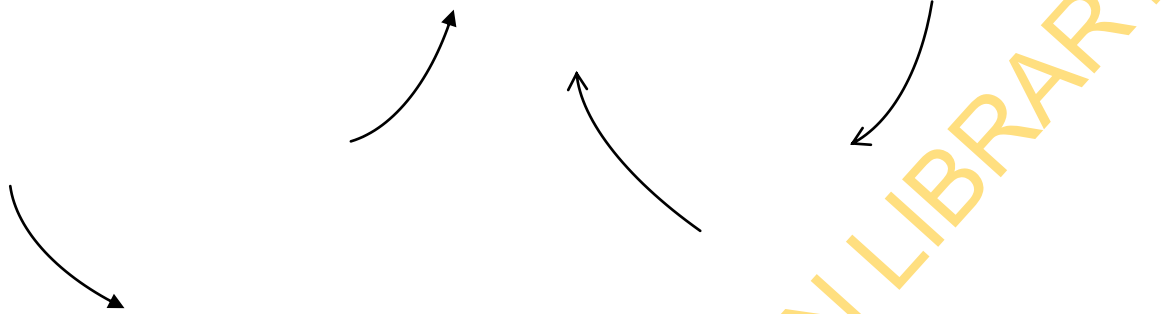
*Frames developed to*

*Attention directed toward cues interpret and plan Attention directed toward cues*

*presented by self and others human actions used by media professionals*

*in everyday situations*

*in media representation*



*Decoding of everyday*

*Communication*

*Decoding of media representation*

*of everyday communication*

Source: Davis and Baran (1981)

Goffman believes that we use the same cognitive skills to make sense of daily life as we do to make sense of plays. His theory also implies that social cues learned from using media could also be used to make the boundaries of social worlds in everyday life. Similarly, the creators of media content can incorporate everyday social cues in their productions (Baran and Davis 1981).

The statement above agrees with a widely held view that social cues presented by the media can influence the direction of understanding, and consequently, of attitudes and behaviour in conflict situations. Although some critics argue that this perception is a throwback from the bullet or hypodermic needle theory which perceives the media as having linear and direct effect on its audience. They argue that such perception has been discredited by the failure of many developmental projects based on such perception. But the 'limited effects' theorists



argue that media do operate through a nexus of other variables to produce effects on the audience. But this theory assesses how the media can elaborate and reinforce dominant public culture.

Framing theory advances from the Agenda Setting/Building theory of mass communication. Agenda Setting/Building can be viewed as an accessibility – based theory, which tells the audience *what* to think about, while framing goes further to suggest *how* to think about the issue by suggesting frames of reference. Framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences. (Scheufele and Tewksbury: 11). Framing can be viewed as both a macro- level and micro- level construct. At the macro -level it refers to how journalists and other communicators present information in a way that agrees with existing underlying schemas among their audience. The frames so transmitted may not necessarily be an attempt to deceive or spin a story. At the micro- level it refers to how people use information gathered as they form impressions and actions. This is particularly germane to Nigeria with low level of media literacy where a significant number of the populace believes that what they see on electronic media and what they read in the print media is unquestionable truth. The description given by Entman is apt here: “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation. (Entman 1993:52).

(McQuail 2010:380) quotes Entman (1993) as further summarizing the main aspects of framing by saying that, “frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies”. It will therefore be interesting and educative to assess how major print media in Nigeria framed the Jos violent crisis.

#### **2.14 The Theory of Hegemony**

The hegemony theory was formulated by the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937). According to Gramsci, in his *Prison Notes* a society can be dominated by one social class by

imposing its values and worldview as the social norm which is then perceived as a universally valid ideology. Meanwhile, it benefits only the ruling class. Watson (2003:18) defines hegemony:

In its simplest sense, hegemony means 'control over'; yet in referring to 'hegemonic control' we are not repeating the same thing using another phrase, but describing a special form of control, one based not upon coercion or force, but resulting from successful persuasion or enculturation. Hegemony is working when there is general consensus; that is when the mass of the population (or most of it) accepts the controlling influence and decision-making of that part of society termed, by the American writer C. Wright Mills, the power elite – those members of a community who hold or influence the holding of the reins of power. Hegemony is rule by won consent. Of all the agencies of hegemonic control the media are generally perceived to be the most powerful, hence the requirement for the power elite to exert pressure if not control over the media: better still, to own it.

Most importantly, their dominance is achieved not by overt force but by subtle imposition through the civil society institutions like educational institutions, religious institutions, media and cultural industry. Pitout (2012:280) quoting Lemon and Kellner (2001) summarised the characteristics of hegemony as:

1. Difficult to detect because on the surface it often appears as natural, normal and common sense;
2. Keeps the dominant groups on their toes because there are always groups in society that question, negotiate, oppose or resist it;
3. A dynamic process which changes constantly because it has to continuously be reworked, defined, and recreated;
4. Works through ideology and serves therefore as a means of ideological domination and control;

5. Hegemonic ideology as a the total beliefs system of a society is produced and distributed through social institutions like the school, family, mass media and all forms of social and cultural expression; and
6. The media are an instrument to express dominant as an integral part of the cultural environment.

Adamson Walter (1980) noted Gramsci's commitment to journalistic and political activity which he saw as a unity of theory and practice but achieved his greatest recognition as a theorist long after his death in the fascist prison. His *Prison Notes* was published posthumously. Adamson averred that:

Hegemony...is sometimes compared with domination, in which case, the reference is to the process of gaining legitimate consent within the functional universe of civil society, as opposed to simply holding it together through a monopoly on the means of violence. (Adamson 1980: 10)

The Marxian origin of hegemony is articulated in *German Ideology* cited by McLellan (1971: 158):

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas. The class which is the ruling material force in society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it, the ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expressed of the dominant material relationships. Raymond Williams's *Marxism and Literature* (1977) expatiated on the ramifications of hegemony:

1. Hegemony constitutes lived experience, "a sense of reality for most people in the society, a sense of absolute because experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of the society to move, in most areas of their lives"
2. Hegemony exceeds ideology, "in its refusal to equate consciousness with the articulate formal system which can be and ordinarily abstracted as 'ideology'"

3. Lived hegemony is a process, not a system or structure (though it can be schematized as such for the purposes of analysis)
4. Hegemony is dynamic, “It does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not all its own.”
5. Hegemony attempts to neutralize opposition, “the decisive hegemonic function is to control or transform or even incorporate [alternatives and opposition]” One can argue persuasively that “the dominant culture, so to say, at once produces and limits its own forms of counter-culture.”
6. Hegemony is not necessarily total, “It is misleading, as a general method, to reduce all political and cultural initiatives and contributions to the terms of the hegemony.” “Authentic breaks within and beyond it . . . have often in fact occurred

The relevance of this theory to media practice has also been underscored by McQuail (2010:558) when he referred to “a certain kind of power that arises from the all-embracing ideological tendencies of mass media to support the established power system and exclude opposition and competing values...a kind of dominant consensus that works in a concealed way without direct coercion.”

Significantly, Gramsci’s theory and political activism recognized the need to build a “counter-hegemony” that will upstage the dominant power relations which is in favour of the dominant powers (or hegemons). The media have been accused of being agents of power pandering to the whims and caprices of the dominant socio-political and economic hegemons.<sup>2</sup> This will inevitably lead the media to use frame of reference that will entrench the dominant (and mostly negative) societal viewpoint. A corollary to the above scenario is also to explore alternative frames and counter- hegemonic views on the operations of the media in Nigeria. This study is therefore, an attempt to explore this possibility using the coverage of the Jos violent crisis as the backdrop.

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<sup>2</sup> For more on this see Altschull (1984) *Agents of power*

## 2.15 Empirical Studies

Although, many of the charges against the media on conflict coverage have been based on conjectures and hunches, some attempts have been made to empirically test those charges through academic studies and reports. This section is, therefore, an attempt to recall and analyse these studies and relate them to the present work. In her study of the media coverage of the conflict in Northern Uganda, Goretti assessed the performance of two newspapers, *The New Vision* (government-owned) and *The Nation* (privately-owned) and reports that, "the government paper was largely biased towards government and confrontational in its reports, while the private paper used a more conciliatory tone and was more balanced by using various sources for their stories" (Goretti 2007:1).

Other findings of the study include: a fair coverage of peace initiatives that focused most on government efforts; raising of awareness of the war by journalists; with self-censorship owing to the Anti-Terrorism Act, which makes it a capital offence for a journalist to give information that can aid terrorism (Gorreti, 2007:3). The implication of the findings above is the pervasive influence of government on the media and the acquiescence of the media in pandering to the interests of the powerful in society. These interests can be manifested in overt acts (laws, regulations etc.) or (subliminal) influence of inducements to maintain the hegemonic influence of the rich and powerful. Another interesting finding by Goretti is the language and tone by both media. In relation to this she states:

Confrontational articles took the stance that there was a 'zero sum' conflict going on and used negative, emotionally charged words to characterize one of the sides, such as 'rebels', 'terrorists', etc, which tend to aggravate rather than reduce mistrust and fighting. Other articles were biased in that they were slanted heavily toward one side (Gorreti 2007: 6).

The language and tone test will also be applied in the present study to gauge the performance of the Nigeria print media in the coverage of the Jos violent conflict. Another study on the crisis in Northern Uganda was carried out by Acayo and Mnjama (2004). They combined content analysis of *The New\_Vision* and *The Weekly Topic/Daily Monitor* with interviews. One of the major findings is that the government-owned, *The New Vision* was more consistent in publishing information on conflict and conflict resolution in Northern Uganda. This situation was attributed to the fact that they enjoy protection from the government which has contributed to their consistency in the publication of material as compared with *The Monitor*. Their study also shows that the media:

actually do suffer from different forms of victimization or persecution – such as warning, arrest, harassment, assault, court proceedings and imprisonment by the government – due to the publication of information that is deemed to be contrary to governments view... journalists from *The Monitor* face a lot more victimization or persecution for reporting on conflict in Northern Uganda than their counterparts from *The New Vision* (Acayo and Mnjama 2004:37).

The study above highlights one of the major constraints hindering the performance of the media – intimidation and coercion by government which needs to be accounted for, while judging media performance in different circumstances. In another study, Irina Wolf (2006) studied the kind of information readers received about *Hizbut-Tahrif (HT)*, an allegedly extremist organization from *Vechenii Bishkek (VB)*, a Kyrgyz national newspaper. The Kyrgyz Republic is located in Central Asia and is one of the six independent Turkic states. Although, HT Party of Islamic Liberation founded in 1952 aimed to re-establish a caliphate and apply Islamic law to all spheres of life, publicly rejects the use of violent means to achieve its goal. There has been no evidence of involvement in any violent act. HT is banned in all Central Asian countries, and in Kyrgyz, is designated as an extremist organization by government. The researcher found out that:

During the five years covered by the study, VB journalists wrote more articles about HT than any other journalists working for major Kyrgyz print media. However, VB

failed to provide a complete picture of, and balanced information about, this organization due to political and social constraints upon journalists and the newspaper. Covering any positive aspects of this officially – banned and clandestine organization would conflict with the government’s opposition of HT, which still sets the agenda for this private, but pro-government Kyrgyz newspaper. (Wolf 2006:1).

The above questions certain assumptions about media diversity as a panacea for balanced coverage of events, including conflict situation. Here is a privately owned newspaper parroting the official government position to the detriment of a party in conflict with government. This agrees with Isola (2010:87) who studied the role of the mass media in the election violence that enveloped Western Nigeria in 1965 and 1983 when he said, “the truth about contemporary journalistic practice is also that the structural environment of reporting is restricted by economic and political factors, which are not unconnected to media ownership, political interests and commercial patronage”. He also noted that the each of the three newspapers analysed for the study gave prominence to any violent stories meted against the party they supported, a trend that negated the neutrality code of the press to cover all sides of an event in the public interest. In a study of the state of conflict-sensitive journalism and media responsibility with regard to print media coverage of religion-related conflicts in Nigeria, Agberemi (2006:3) found that:

“The print media coverage of religion related conflict has been far below standard... In many instances including in the case of Miss World Riots and the Danish Cartoon Riots, the print media has contributed to escalation through its coverage, thereby unwittingly increasing the intensity and duration of violence, while also creating scenarios that favour cyclical violence in the form of reprisals in geographies distant from the actual origin of the conflicts in question”.

A review of the coverage of the Niger Delta crisis by Nnimmo Bassey is, however, less condemnatory of the press. Although it condemned the practice of the press in counting losses only in terms of the big corporations rather than losses to the people:

Costs are counted in terms of what the oil corporation could not earn during times of conflicts. The cost of lives and the massive effects of environmental pollution are not highly rated (Bassey undated: 19).

He however concludes his report by stating that “some newspapers and magazines have, through rigorous research and newsgathering, been able to open up issues and make them understandable by the general public (Bassey op.cit). But Bilikisu Yusuf in her study was more categorical about the negative role of the media especially in the coverage of the Sharia crisis that rocked Nigeria in 2000:

The irresponsible reporting of the Sharia crisis also made it a bush fire that had the potential of spreading to other states. State correspondents of some newspapers apparently sat in their homes to manufacture stories and later shared this with their colleagues at the press centre.

Yusuf also documented many unbalanced stories on the Sharia crisis. One of such reports is a cover story on *Thisday* newspaper (March 19, 2000) titled “Can Obasanjo hold Nigeria together?” The report gave generous coverage to the views of Ohanaeze, an Igbo socio-cultural group, Odumegwu Ojukwu who led the Igbo secessionist bid in the late 1960s, Eastern Mandate Union (EMU) another Igbo group and Odua People’s Congress (OPC) and *Afenifere* two organizations championing Yoruba cause. No Northern Nigeria view was represented in the report. This becomes more odious as allegations of northern hegemony and Islamic dominance were made in the report (Yusuf undated: 27).

After a survey of newspaper coverage of conflict in South Western Nigeria, Wale Adeoye concludes:

In all, the media is equally motivated by the commercial value of headlines. Apart from *The Guardian* and *The Comet*, all the national dailies are guided by the banner headline philosophy. Because vendors bid their trade by hawking newspapers, banner headlines remain a veritable source of income. And in this contest, contradictory headlines usually dominate the newspapers.



In another study, Obijiofor (2008:23) analysed the objectivity and subjectivity in the Nigerian press coverage of the Niger Delta Conflict. One interesting finding is that the four newspapers studied – *Daily Sun*, *Punch*, *The Guardian* and *Thisday* – relied heavily on government/military as sources of their news stories “while the views of the diverse interest groups and activists in the Niger Delta region are under-represented or disproportionately represented”. He noted that this trend tended to demonise the activists and other interest groups in the Niger Delta conflict. In summarizing his study, Obijiofor said:

Overall, the Niger Delta conflict was reported by the Nigerian press in a way that suggested there were winners and losers in the crisis. The impression therefore was that journalists who reported on the Niger Delta conflict deliberately or unintentionally were “war journalism” oriented rather than “peace journalism” oriented. In order to understand the factors that influenced the way journalists covered the Niger Delta conflict, future researchers should endeavour to interview journalists and editors.

The recommendation to go beyond the reports and interview journalists and editors is considered important as it has been found to be a major loophole in many studies on media coverage of crises. The present study will attempt to block this loophole by interviewing editors and reporters, to elicit response on the on the possible reasons for what will be observed through content analysis. Other constraints hampering journalists’ performance will also be examined.

Igwe (2009) also studied the media and Niger Delta crises with the assumption that the media as opinion moulders can and do influence people in the way they think. He also sought to determine whether through reportage of the crises, the media contributed to the resolution of the issues at stake. Igwe (2009:239) found out that most of the reports merely covered events in their immediacy. The three newspapers reported oil spills, fire disasters and other forms of pollution but none, “bothered to do a post-disaster report, so as to inform the public as to what the oil companies or the government was doing or had done to ameliorate the situation.”

The above lends support to the view that the media in their coverage are episodic and do not report in a way favourable to seeking long-term solutions. Adebani (2009) studied the portrayal of the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) – the South West Nigeria based ethnic militia group, interrogating news reports in *New Nigeria* (based in the Northern part of the country), *Tell* (based in South West) and *The Guardian* (owned by a proprietor from the 'minority group'). He discovers that:

...while the Southern press often emphasized the need to represent the OPC phenomenon within the context of the history of inter-group relations, particularly in relation to perceived 'Hausa – Fulani hegemony', the Northern press, represent the phenomenon within present and future inter-group relations, particularly as it relates to the 'voluntary surrender of power' by the North and the perceived 'unfair' exercise of this power by the 'ruling Yoruba elite' (Adebani 2009:118).

He therefore recommended the need for the press, in its representation of inter-ethnic relations, to 'encourage the democratic virtues of tolerance, self-criticism and moderation' (Adebani 2009:128). A major concern of analysts of the Nigerian media is the ethnic coloration of the content which has led to the classification of the media in terms of geographical/ethnic location. Thus we have the Lagos – Ibadan axis or "*Ngbati*" press (meaning Yoruba press) and the "Northern" or 'Arewa' press. Thus, a study of the performance of the press in Nigeria must take into account the issues of location, political leaning and ownership. How these interplay to produce the present disposition of the Nigerian press is of interest to this study.

In their study of the media and ethno – religious conflicts in Kaduna, Abdu and Alabi (2007) refuted the diversity of the media by selecting two Northern based and two southern based Newspapers. They found out that, "In the case of Kaduna, given the religious animosity between Christians and Moslems, the southern Nigerian press has been known to show sympathy for the cause of the Middle Belt and Northern Nigerian Christians. The report on Sharia and the crises that followed in Kaduna did not betray these trends." (Abdu and Alabi 2009:139).

While assessing the Northern press, they also noted that objectivity and professional ethics were not adhered to while stories, “are all directed to the perceived anti-sharia or anti-Islam forces” (Abdul and Alabi 2009:142). Here, then, is a balance of forces at once negative and mutually reinforcing each other to further complicate the Nigerian national question. Whereas the press ought to rise above primordial sentiments, the operating environment in Nigeria would seem to have sucked the press into the muddle in the polity. The present study will also examine how the press in the geographic North and South of Nigeria performed in the coverage of the Jos violent crisis.

While commenting on the spate of violent crises in the northern part of Nigeria, Bishop Matthew Kukah harped on the need to be careful in assigning blames on the basis of religion or ethnicity. To him, it is a matter of criminality on the part of those who commit the atrocities. He also urged the security agents to perform their duties more professionally. He noted that the media have been misled by those who plan these criminal acts:

I think the media have to be more responsible in dealing with this very important issue. The media are constantly misleading people about Christians bombing Churches or Muslims bombing Mosques. The denomination of the person who is involved in a crime is not important (Kukah 2012:12).

The question of the responsibility of the media in the coverage of issues is a recurring topic of discussion in media literature. There are reports that have been commended as examples of responsible journalism but when it comes to conflict coverage the media are more often than not accused of missing the issues, focusing on the sensational rather than digging deep into the context of the conflicts and exhibiting biases.

Specifically, the coverage of the Jos crisis by the media has been a subject of discourse among academics, advocacy groups and other stakeholders. Indeed, allegations of incitement to violence have been levelled against the Plateau State Radio and Television Corporation (PRTVC) during the January, 2010 crisis. According to an account by Higazi (2011:25), PRTV broadcast a statement by the Police Commissioner in Jos, Mr Gregory Anyating to the effect that some Muslim youths caused a breach of peace by attacking

worshippers around St. Michael Catholic Church in Gwong area of Jos, “without any provocation whatsoever.” PRTV proceeded to broadcast this statement every 30 minutes accompanied by Bob Marley’s lyrics, ‘Get up, stand up, stand up for your rights<sup>1</sup>.’ Higazi concluded his account by noting that, “the impact of the media in stoking the tension is still not entirely clear from the evidence...but it appears to have had a negative role.” (Higazi 2011:26).

A Christian faith-based human rights organization, Christian Solidarity Worldwide (CSW), after detailing various incidents of violence in Central and Northern Nigeria, expressed the deep disappointment and outrage of non-Muslims on the biased coverage by certain sections of the foreign media, particularly the BBC Hausa Service. They accounted for this by making reference to the fact that, “the organization is staffed almost entirely by Hausa speaking Muslims...despite the fact that there are many fluent non-Muslim speakers.”

(CSW 2004:10). Hackett(1999:12) drew attention to “the high profile of the print media in Nigeria which means that under-, over- or mis-reporting of events can have significant social effects. Even if people cannot afford to buy a paper, they will generally read them at the newsstand, or borrow from other people.” Hackett noted that “the predilection of many newspapers for such descriptive labels as ‘fundamentalists’, ‘shiites’, ‘fanatics’, etc., notably when referring to Muslims is, I would suggest, extremely instrumental in shaping attitudes.” The views of Hackett lend credence to the assumption that how media frames a report may affect its perception by the audience. CSJ advises journalists to refrain from the use of negatively descriptive words and labels.

In a similar observation, Ibrahim (1989:69), after a review of 1987 Kaduna riots, berated the media thus: “the pro-Southern and pro-Christian press were not innocent in this affair-aggravating the situation by writing about the ‘Mullahs of easy violence’ in *The Guardian* of March 14. *The Standard* of March 13 and *The Punch* of March 14 reported damage to the Christian communities while ignoring that of the Muslims.”

The charges against the media show how they are perceived by audiences when it comes to conflict coverage. There are criticisms about language use, bias, sensationalism, ethnicity, among others. These charges are pointers to a possible non-compliance with the principles

of conflict-sensitive journalism. One explanation on the perceived fascination of the media with negative reporting can be gleaned from the definition of what is news which “tends to evoke a negative aura that in many settings has translated to seeing news as the exaltation of whatever is negative or extra ordinary.” (Owens-Ibie 2002:32)

An earlier evaluation of the press in the coverage of the Jos crisis was carried out by Galadima and Olaniyi (2007). Using content analysis of the print media, they studied the 2001 and the 2002 conflicts and found that the nature of media coverage accounted, largely, for the spread of the conflicts to other parts of Nigeria such as Anambra state and Kano state. They particularly noted that the press compounded the crisis, “by the use of rumours and unconfirmed reports”. (Galadima and Olaniyi 2007:206).

The study is a content analysis of the media reports on the 2001 and the 2002 Jos crisis. It provides insights into the contents but not much on the reasons for such. Also, it relies on the peace journalism perspective rather than the conflict-sensitive approach. These are gaps to be filled by this study as it combines content analysis with In-Depth Interviews with reporters and editors to interrogate issues thrown up by the results of content analysis. It also uses the principles of conflict-sensitive reporting while situating the results of the study within the socio-economic and political environment of media operations in Nigeria, with particular reference to the coverage of the Jos violent crisis of 2010 and 2011.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3.0

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This study interrogated the coverage of the Jos crisis by the print media in Nigeria especially their adherence to the demands of conflict- sensitivity through use of language, coverage of peace initiatives, gender and other sensitivities and the use of conflict analysis tools. It is also interested in examining whether ownership, location and control affected the framing of stories and the nature of constraints journalists faced while covering the crisis.

The study, therefore, adopted the descriptive research design to describe the relationship among the variables for the study. Descriptive research according to Key (1997:110) is used to obtain information concerning the current status of the phenomena to describe “what exists” with respect to variables or conditions in a situation (available at [www.oxstate.edu/ag/agedcm4h/academic/aged5980a/5980/newpage-110.htm](http://www.oxstate.edu/ag/agedcm4h/academic/aged5980a/5980/newpage-110.htm)). The descriptive approach is considered suitable for this study since it is interested in describing the relationship among the variables rather than establishing causal actions that can only be done in experimental approaches.

The major method used in this study is content analysis. This will be supported by In-Depth Interview (IDI) of editors and reporters. According to Berelson (1952:14) content analysis is the “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”. Explaining further, Babbie (2007:320) notes that it “is particularly well suited to the study of communications and to answering the classic question of communications research: ‘who says what, to whom, why, how and with what effect?’” IDI has been described as “a one-person-at-a-time, unstructured but not aimless conversation between the researcher or an interviewer and a respondent.” (Ojebode 2008:41)

Since this study is concerned with the interrogation of how the media reported the Jos crisis of 2010 and 2011, especially the application of CSJ principles, content analysis is considered the best method for the study. According to Prasad (2008:1), “the development of content analysis as a full-fledged scientific method took place during world war 11 when the U.S. government sponsored a project under the directorship of Harold Lasswell to

evaluate enemy propaganda. The success of the project contributed significantly to the emergence of the methodology in content analysis.”

Advantages of content analysis include the following as listed by Prasad:

1. It goes beyond the impressionistic observations about the phenomena and can help you make a quantitative expression about the phenomena;
2. it is an unobtrusive research technique useful to study sensitive research topics;
3. it is context-sensitive and therefore can process symbolic meanings of data since it can effectively capture qualitative content as well;
4. it is a safe method in the sense that if the researcher found that a portion of the necessary information was missing or incorrectly coded, it's possible to return to the text and supplement the missing data;
5. it can deal with large volumes of data especially in this age of computers; and
6. it is a shoe-string methodology, which is typically labour-intensive and requires minimum capital investment.(Prasad 2008:7).

Despite its advantages, content analysis also has its limitations; these include the fact that since inferences are limited to the content of the text only and coded according to the attribution given by the researcher, there is no guarantee that the sender or receiver shares the same attributed meaning. Also, it has been argued that “when it deals with semantic differences or differences in regard to the meanings of words, the findings can be less valid and reliable” (Prasad 2008:8) and that it is less effective in testing causal relationships between variables (Chadwick, et al.,1984). It is in realization of these limitations that the method is usually combined with other methods to reach realistic conclusions.

Hence, to elicit the ‘why’ of the media reportage pattern, IDI will be combined with content analysis. This agrees with the views of Hansen (2005:7) who noted that “several of the classic studies of news production combine observational methods (in news organizations) and interviews (with media professionals and sources) with content analysis of the ‘product’: the news.”

### **3.2 Population of Study**

The population of study is made up of all newspapers published in Nigeria in 2010 and 2011 as listed in the inventory of Nigerian newspapers and magazines compiled by the Nigerian Press Council (NPC). It is from the list that a representative sample of four newspapers has been purposively chosen. NPC is the ombudsman organization set up by government for the regulation of the activities of the print media in Nigeria. Most major newspapers and magazines in Nigeria are listed in the NPC inventory including *The Guardian*, *The Punch*, *The Trust* and *The National Standard* chosen for this study. (See Appendix vi)

### **3.3 Sample Size**

From this population, a representative sample of four newspapers was purposively chosen based on ownership type and structure, location and philosophical underpinnings. They are:

*The Guardian*

*The Punch*

*The Trust*, and

*The National Standard*

### **3.4 Profile of Newspapers Chosen**

*The Guardian* was established in 1983 by Alex Ibru, an Urhobo from South-South Nigeria. Regarded as a quality newspaper, it prides itself as “the flagship” of the Nigerian press and “an independent newspaper, established for the purpose of presenting balanced coverage of events, and of promoting the best interest of Nigeria. It owes allegiance to no political party, ethnic community, religious or other interest group.” ([www. Guardian news online.com](http://www.guardiannews.com)). Published in Lagos, *The Guardian* has correspondents in all states and major cities in Nigeria and is reputed for its in-depth coverage of national and international issues.



*The Punch* is also published in Lagos by private investors of South-West Yoruba ethnic origin. Established in 1976, it has consistently maintained a reputation as the widest circulating newspaper in Nigeria with correspondents spread across the nation. Apart from the general Code of Ethics for Nigerian Journalists, *The Punch* subscribes to a corporate code of ethics “guided by the principles of factual, balanced and fair reporting and commentaries (which) are the basis of public trust and confidence.” The newspaper also publishes on the back page of every edition an ethical statement forbidding its staff from accepting gifts or gratification thus, “We, Punch Nigeria Limited, do not demand or accept gifts or gratification to publish articles or photographs, neither do our journalists. Therefore, we implore you not to offer any to our journalists”. (*The Punch*, 2012:8).

*Daily Trust* was established in January, 2001 by investors from the Hausa/Fulani and other Northern Nigerian ethnic groups. From inception, it established a reputation as a counterforce to the Southern Nigerian dominated media landscape. *Daily trust* is the largest circulating newspaper in the North and has significant presence in the Southern parts of the country. In its official profile, *Daily Trust* frowns at the practice of journalists receiving gifts and gratifications:

It is the policy of media Trust that its editors and reporters should not solicit for gift or gratification either through begging, flattering, cajoling or blackmailing those they encounter in the course of their work. Where a gift can be graciously declined, we expect our staff to do so. However, where it is pressed on them, they will declare it so that the company can write a letter thanking the giver and donating the gift to charity. However, we expect those who sincerely patronize our publications as readers, advertisers and newsmakers, not to seek to influence our reporters and editors with bribe, gratification and gift.

Just like other media outfits, the lofty ideals in the profile, mission and vision statements remain the ideals on paper while the practice is usually another thing entirely. *The Nigerian Standard* is published by the Plateau State Government. Established in 1972, it has gone through periods of wide and low circulation depending on the government in power. Like most government-owned media in Nigeria, *The Nigerian Standard* functions as a mouth

piece of the government of the day and it is sustained by subventions from the state government.

Thus, the newspapers chosen are made up of two Lagos based newspapers – *The Guardian* and *The Punch* owned by private proprietors based in the Southern part of Nigeria who are both Christians. The third newspaper, *The Nigerian Standard*, was chosen because it is owned by the Plateau State government on whose territory the crisis is taking place. *Daily Trust* was chosen because it is based in the Northern part of Nigeria and has significant spread across Nigeria but perceived to be sympathetic to Northern and Muslim sentiments. A comparison of the coverage across these divides is expected to show interesting trends. A table of content categories has been developed.

### **3.5 Sampling Procedure**

As described, the newspapers have been purposively chosen from the universe of newspapers listed by NPC. The selection was based on certain characteristics of the Nigerian polity: religion, geography, ethnicity and ownership. This is to ensure that the study reflects the real character of the Nigerian press which affects their interventions in issues, including conflict reporting. The 2010 Jos crisis took place between January and March. The first spate of crisis started in the early hours of 17 January, 2010 and lasted till 20 January, 2010. During this period at least 200 people were killed, and property destroyed. This period saw the Berom and other ‘natives’ having an upper hand. This has been attested to by some studies. For example, Higazi (2011:29) reported that, “pastoralists were badly hit and many were displaced”, in the January, 2010 confrontation.

The second spate erupted on 7<sup>th</sup> March 2010 when pastoralists invaded Dogo-Nahauwa, a Berom village near Jos, in which more than 300 people were killed. This was in obvious retaliation for the January killings. Thus, the choice of January - March, 2010 crisis provides a balanced position from which to view the performance of newspapers and evaluate their biases or otherwise. Another series of confrontations took place between August and September 2011 in which an estimated 70 people were killed and property destroyed. The four newspapers selected were examined during the two periods of the crisis. The first

period covered 18 January, 2010 to March 2010. The second period covered August to September, 2011 when another violent crisis took place. The choice is dictated by the need to cover the two periods to find trends across newspapers and across periods. This periodization ensured that the observed trend was not a fluke.

### **3.6 Unit of Analysis**

The units of analysis for this study are the news stories and editorials published on the crisis in the selected period by the four newspapers. The news stories were chosen because they are the main features of the newspapers and they are produced under the pressure of deadline, which have consequences on the quality and the economics of production. The editorial of the newspaper, on the other hand, expresses the opinion of the newspaper as an organization and is produced under lesser pressure. A combination of the tone and language of both contents provided a rounded basis for assessment of their overall performance.

### **3.7 Content Categories**

A coding schedule was developed in analyzing selected news reports and editorials with the following content categories:

1. type of story (news/editorial);
2. position of story;
3. main sources of news (investigative/releases);
4. dateline of news story;
5. the main sources of the news story;
6. main speakers/actors in the news story;
7. gender of the main speaker;
8. story focus (personality, issue);
9. main theme (peace initiatives, crisis focus, other);
10. direction of news story/editorial (positive, negative, neutral); and

11. language/tone of news story/editorials (sensational, temperate, conciliatory or confrontational)

### **3.8 In-Depth Interview (IDI)**

For the in-depth interviews, an interview guide was developed to raise questions on journalists' perception of their roles in conflict situations, their awareness of the concept of conflict-sensitive journalism, their assessment of their performance in coverage of the Jos crisis, the use of conflict analysis tools, constraints on media performance and other questions thrown up by the results of the content analysis. In other words, the in-depth interview was conducted after the content analysis was concluded. Ten journalists covering the Jos crisis were interviewed.

### **3.9 Method of Data Analysis**

Descriptive statistics was used in analyzing data generated from the content analysis. Babbie (2007:450) explains that it is a “statistical computation describing either the characteristics of a sample or the relationship among variables in a simple way”. The data was presented using univariate and bivariate tables. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the results of the content analysis to ensure precision. Comparisons of performance by the newspapers on different variables were cross tabulated. According to Chawla and Sondhi (2011:303) “a cross-tabulation counts the number of observations in each cross category of two variables. The descriptive result of a cross-tabulation is a frequency count for each cell in the analysis.”

The results of the IDI were analyzed qualitatively to find points of convergence or divergence from the quantitative data.

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Ojebode, A, 2008. "Constructing and Applying an In-depth Interview Guide", paper presented at the Workshop on Audience Research for Campus Radio organized by Institute of Media and Society and Open Society Initiative for West Africa, Ilorin, February 12-15

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

This chapter presents analysis and interpretation of the data gathered for the study in order to answer the research questions posed. The data for the content analysis of newspapers sampled are analysed quantitatively with the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) using simple frequency tables and percentages while the data gathered from the In-depth Interviews (IDI) with journalists are presented qualitatively.

The following research questions were posed:

1. What is the general direction of language use in the coverage of the crisis?
2. Did the media focus on peace initiatives in the course of coverage?
3. Did the newspapers reflect gender-sensitivity in their coverage?
4. Did the media use conflict analysis tools in their coverage of the Jos crisis?
5. Did ownership and location influence their framing of the Jos crisis?
6. Did the journalists use investigative techniques in the coverage of the Jos crisis?
7. Are the journalists aware of the principles of conflict-sensitive journalism?
8. What constraints did journalists face in their coverage of the crisis?

This section of the chapter presents the demographics of the content analysed newspapers. The data for the content analysis were gathered through a coding schedule designed for the purpose. The data on demographics are presented in tables below.

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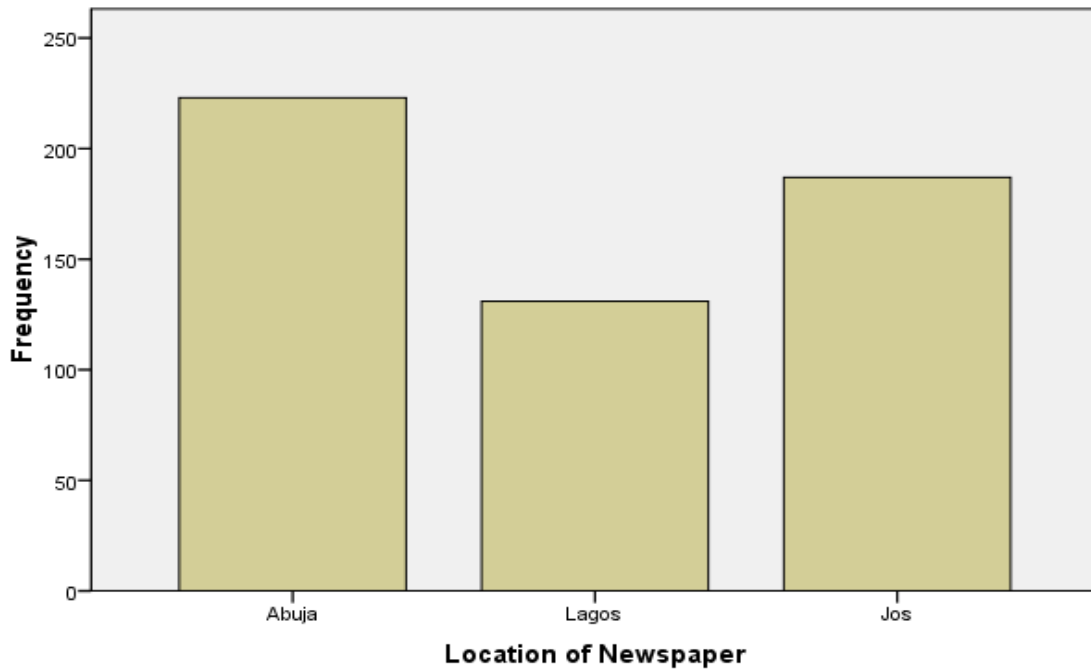
**Table 4.1**

*Frequency Count and Percentages of Location of Newspaper*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Abuja	223	41.2	41.2	41.2
Lagos	131	24.2	24.2	65.4
Jos	187	34.6	34.6	100.0
Total	541	100.0	100.0	

The results in Table 4.1 showed that 223 which accounted for 41.2% of the sampled cases are from Abuja while 131 (24.2%) are from Lagos. However, 187 which accounted for 34.6% of the sampled cases are from Jos. This result is graphically presented in Figure 4.1

**Figure 4.1**



In all, 541 (five hundred and forty one) news stories and editorials were content-analysed in four newspapers spread across the Northern and Southern parts of Nigeria. They are *The Daily Trust* and *National Standard* based in the Northern part and *The Punch* and *The Guardian* based in the Southern part of Nigeria. Traditionally, the Nigerian print media have been classified on the basis of location to describe the character and tendencies of its operations. Thus, we have the most vibrant arm of the press located in Lagos or South West with ownership by South West, south-south and South Eastern proprietors. This ownership spread is explained by the strategic importance of Lagos as the former capital of Nigeria and the commercial nerve-centre of the country. In contrast, the North has been regarded as the grave yard of newspapers following the death rate of newspapers based there until recently when vibrant newspapers have sprung up and survived. Northern elites have hitherto decried the dominance of the Southern Press and the attendant marginalization of Northern voices. Thus, the segmentation of the Nigerian press by location is significant in understanding and explaining their character which have implications for the framing of the reports of the various conflicts raging in the country.



As shown in table 4.1 above, the Northern- based newspapers (Abuja and Jos) account for 223(41.1%) and 187(34.6%) respectively while the Southern-based newspapers ( Lagos) account for 187(34.6%) of the sample. The disproportionate coverage figures can be explained by proximity to the scene of the Jos violent crisis in tandem with one of the determinants of news.

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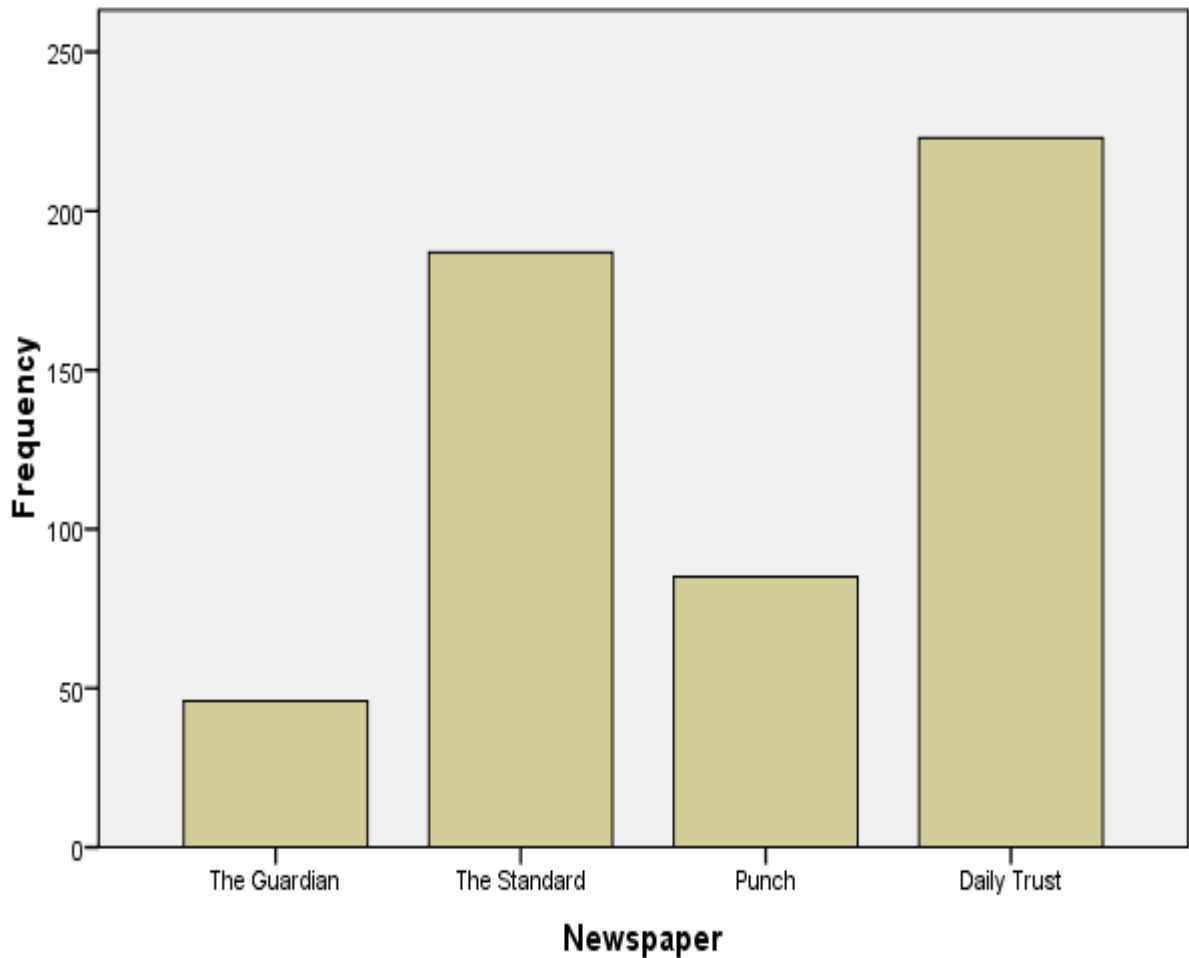
## Tables 4.2

### *Frequency Count and Percentages of Newspaper*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The Guardian	46	8.5	8.5	8.5
The Standard	187	34.6	34.6	43.1
Punch	85	15.7	15.7	58.8
Daily Trust	223	41.2	41.2	100.0
Total	541	100.0	100.0	

Results in Table 4.2 indicated that 46 (8.5%) of the sampled cases are from *The Guardian* Newspaper while 187 (34.6%) are from the *Standard* Newspaper. Conversely, 85 which accounted for 15.7% of the sampled cases are from the *Punch* Newspaper. 223 cases accounting for 41.2% are however from the *Daily Trust* Newspaper. This result is graphically presented in Figure 4.2

## Figure 4.2



The highest number of stories published on the Jos crisis in the sampled period comes from the *Daily Trust* with which accounted for 223(41.2%) of the total number of stories and editorials. This is not surprising given the location in the Northern part of Nigeria and the closeness to the centre of the crisis. But it might also appear intriguing that *Daily Trust* has beaten the Plateau state-owned *National Standard* to a second place with its 187(34.6%) score on a crisis based in its place of operation. This is, however, accounted for by the economics of production of state-owned newspapers which because of interference from governments have not been efficient. In the case of *National Standard*, it misses the news stand many times a week as a result of poor funding and dwindling sales unlike the other newspapers which kept faith with their readers day- after-day during the period of this

research. By March, 2010, *The National Standard* was published only on Mondays, Wednesdays and Sundays. But what it lacked in frequency of publication it tried to make up by the high number of stories per edition on the crisis.

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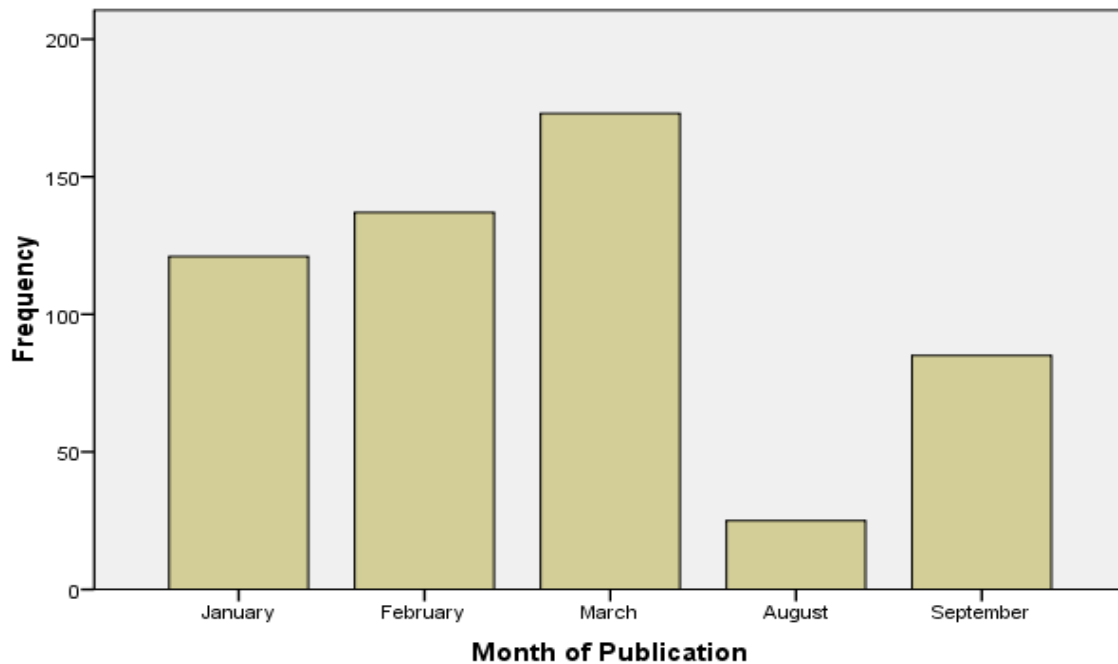
**Tables 4.3**

*Frequency Count and Percentages of Month of Publication*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
January	121	22.4	22.4	22.4
February	137	25.3	25.3	47.7
March	173	32.0	32.0	79.7
August	25	4.6	4.6	84.3
September	85	15.7	15.7	100.0
Total	541	100.0	100.0	

The results in Table 4.3 revealed that 121 which accounted for 22.4% of the sampled cases were taken from News published in January, whereas 137 (25.3%) were taken from news reports of February. However, 173 (32.0%) were taken from News published in March, while 25 which accounted for 4.6% of the sampled cases were taken from news reports of August with 85 (15.7%) from September. This result is visually represented in Figure 4.3

**Figure 4.3**



Tables 4.3 are a graphic reflection of the period of intensity of the crisis within the sampled period. It is also an indication of the pattern of coverage by the media which focus on a crisis that is current and gradually taper off as the crisis subsides. The January to March, 2010 crisis began with an attack in which the “natives” had an upper hand but by March the “settlers” revenged with a reprisal attack that dealt a heavy blow on the “natives”. The hue and cry over the reprisal attack by Fulani herdsmen on Berom villages attracted media attention. Similarly, the August to September crisis of 2011, started late August with the aftermath analysed in the following Month.

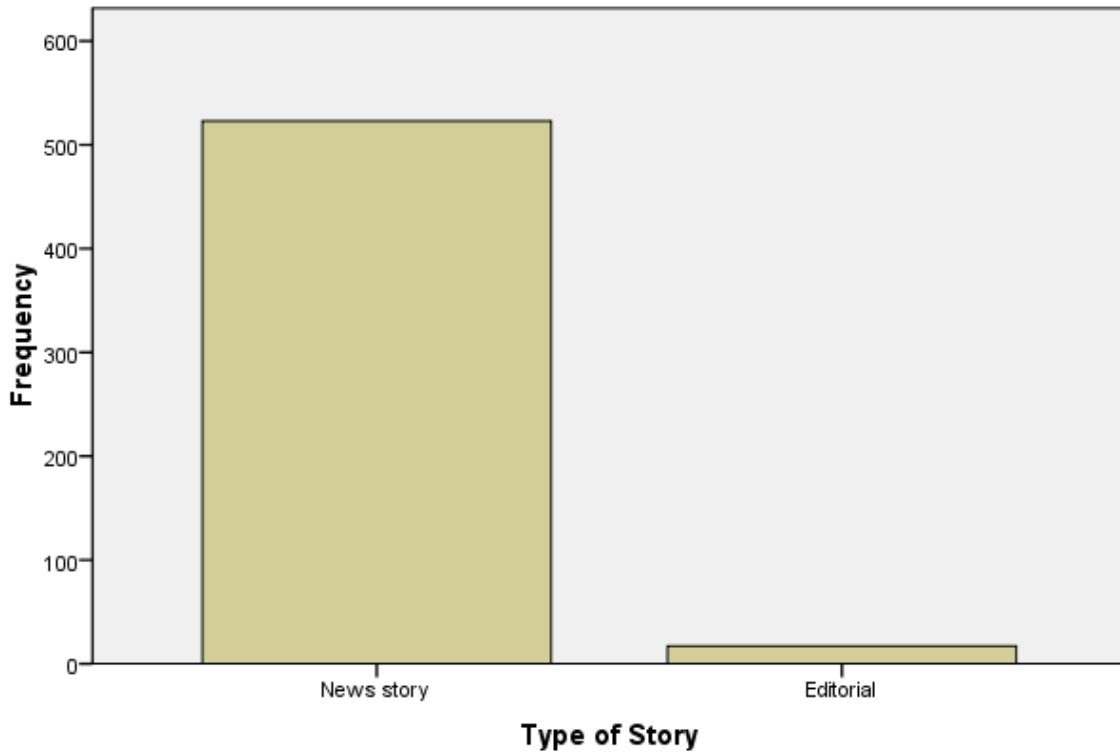
**Tables 4.4**

*Frequency Count and Percentages of Type of Story*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	News story	523	96.7	96.9	96.9
	Editorial	17	3.1	3.1	100.0
	Total	540	99.8	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.2		
Total		541	100.0		

Results in Table 4.4 showed that 523 which accounted for 96.7% of the sampled cases are news stories while 17 (3.1%) are editorial reports. This result is visually illustrated in Figure 4.4

**Figure 4.4**



The unit of analysis for the content analysis part of this study are the news stories and the editorials published by the four newspapers sampled. As shown in figures 4.4 above, 523(96.7%) of the sampled stories are news stories while only 17 (3.1%) are editorials. The main staple of newspapers worldwide is the news story. Editorials are the opinions of the newspaper on issues of importance to the society. Usually, one or two editorials are published daily unlike news stories that are usually many and can feature multiple angles on a particular issue or on a running story. The editorial is an interventionist publication stating the opinion of the newspaper and making recommendations. It is therefore not surprising that few editorials are published on the Jos crisis by all the newspapers sampled.

#### **Tables 4.5**

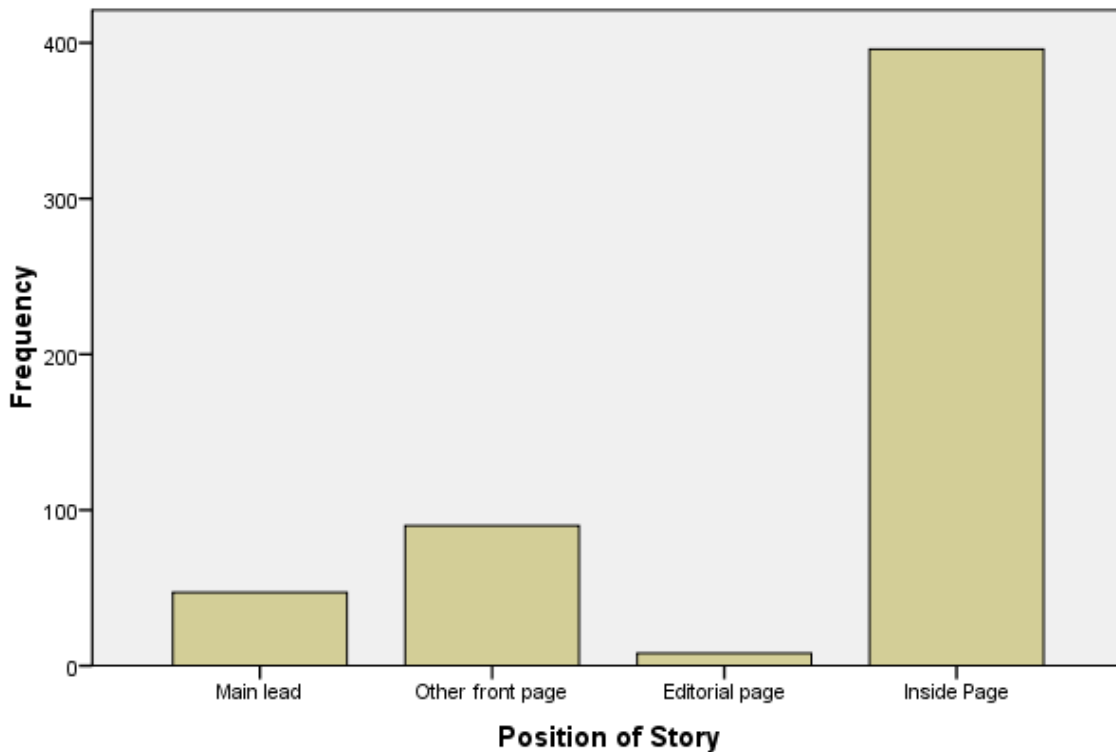
*Frequency Count and Percentages of Position of Story*



	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Main lead	47	8.7	8.7	8.7
Other front page	90	16.6	16.6	25.3
Editorial page	8	1.5	1.5	26.8
Inside Page	396	73.2	73.2	100.0
Total	541	100.0	100.0	

Results in Table 4.5 showed that 47 which accounted for 8.7% of the sampled cases are main lead stories while 90 (16.6%) are other front page reports. However, eight which accounted for 1.5% of the sampled cases are on editorial pages whereas 396 (73.2%) are inside page reports. This result is visually illustrated in Figure 4.5

**Figure 4.5**



Majority of stories on the Jos crisis were featured on the inside pages of the newspapers. Only 47 (8.7%) are main lead stories. It is significant to note another basic characteristic of news which is timeliness. Most of the news on the Jos crisis that made the front pages was featured at the onset of the conflagration especially within the first two days of eruption of crisis. By the third and subsequent days, the sense of recency is lost and is replaced with a more current issue. If the crisis is mentioned at all, it is confined to the inside pages in the shifting grounds of the gatekeepers' news judgement. The editorials are traditionally confined to inside pages known as "op-ed" (opinion-editorial) pages; but to underscore the importance of certain commentaries, it can be brought to the front pages.

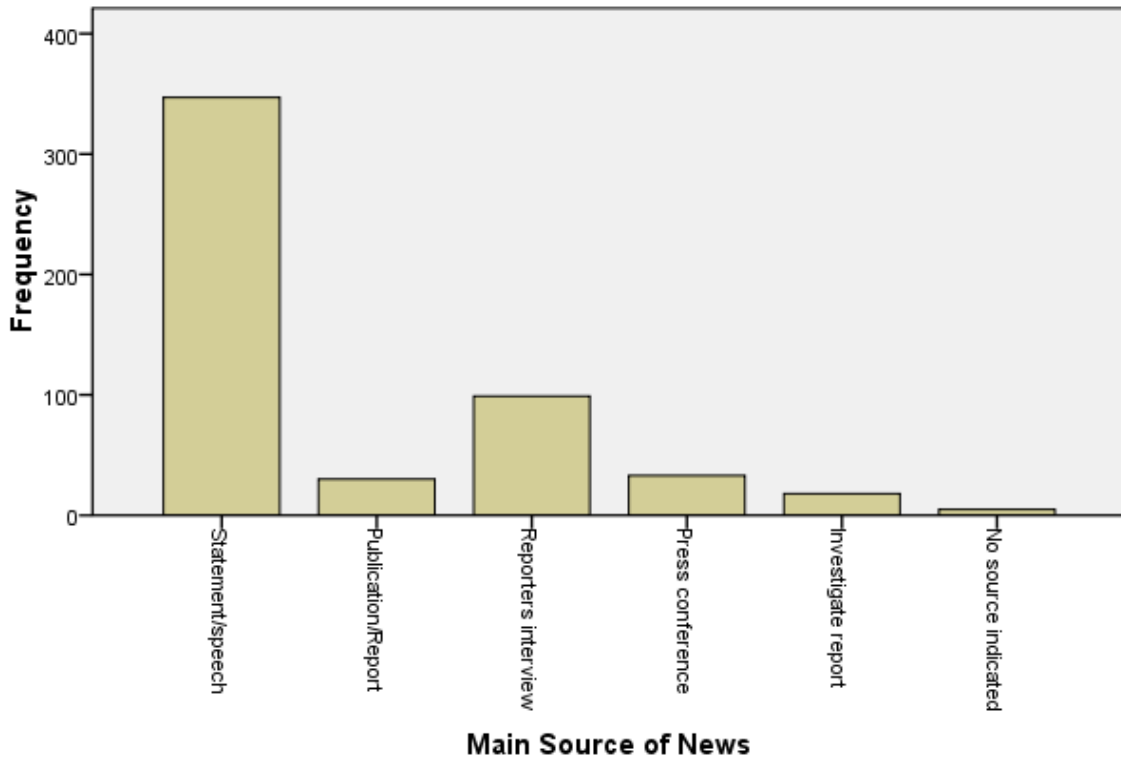
**Tables 4.6**

*Frequency Count and Percentages of Main Source of News*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Statement/speech	347	64.1	65.2	65.2
	Publication/Report	30	5.5	5.6	70.9
	Reporters interview	99	18.3	18.6	89.5
	Press conference	33	6.1	6.2	95.7
	Investigative report	18	3.3	3.4	99.1
	No source indicated	5	.9	.9	100.0
	Total	532	98.3	100.0	
Missing	System	9	1.7		
Total		541	100.0		

The results presented in Table 4.6 indicated that 347 which accounted for 64.1% of the sampled cases are statement/speech while 30 (5.5%) are publication/report. However, 99 which accounted for 18.3% of the sampled cases are reporters' interview. Whereas 33 which accounted for 6.1% of the sampled cases are press conferences, 18 (3.3%) are investigative reports. Yet, five which accounted for 0.9% are with no source indicated. This result is graphically presented in Figure 4.6

**Figure 4.6**



The tables above represent the architecture of news sourcing in the Nigerian media which shows the hegemonic dominance of news hand outs from news sources and the near absence of investigative and interpretative reporting. 347 (64.1%) of stories on the crisis were from statements/speeches from parties to the crisis while another 30(5.5%) are from publications or reports. Conversely, only 18 (3.3%) are investigative stories. Even though investigative reports may not match the other sources, it is contended that the number of investigative stories is too low given the magnitude of the crisis under focus.

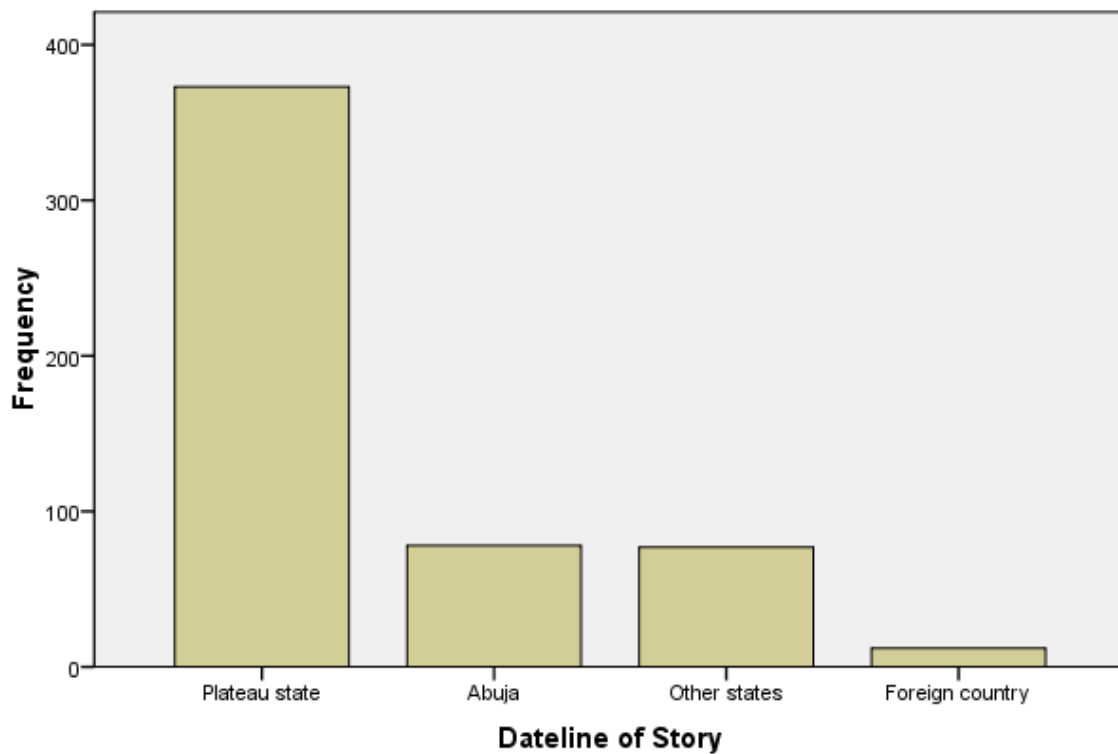
**Tables 4.7**

*Frequency Count and Percentages of Dateline of Stories*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Plateau state	373	68.9	69.1	69.1
	Abuja	78	14.4	14.4	83.5
	Other states	77	14.2	14.3	97.8
	Foreign country	12	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	540	99.8	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.2		
Total		541	100.0		

Results in Table 4.7 showed that 373 which accounted for 68.9% of the sampled cases have dateline of story from Plateau State while 78 (14.4%) are from Abuja. Nevertheless, 77 which accounted for 14.2% of the sampled cases are from other states though 12 (2.2%) are from foreign countries. This result is graphically presented in Figure 4.7

**Figure 4.7**



The results in Tables 4.7 reflect the expectation that the dateline, or where a story emanates, will be tilted in favour of the theatre of the crisis which is Plateau State. Given the interest of the Federal Government as the chief security provider for the nation and especially with the setting up of the military Joint Task Force (JTF) to quell the crisis, it ranks next narrowly beating other states. Neighbouring Bauchi State featured prominently as dateline for stories because of the influx of refugees of Hausa/Fulani ethnic groups fleeing from Plateau State and the open condemnation and hostility between the two states.

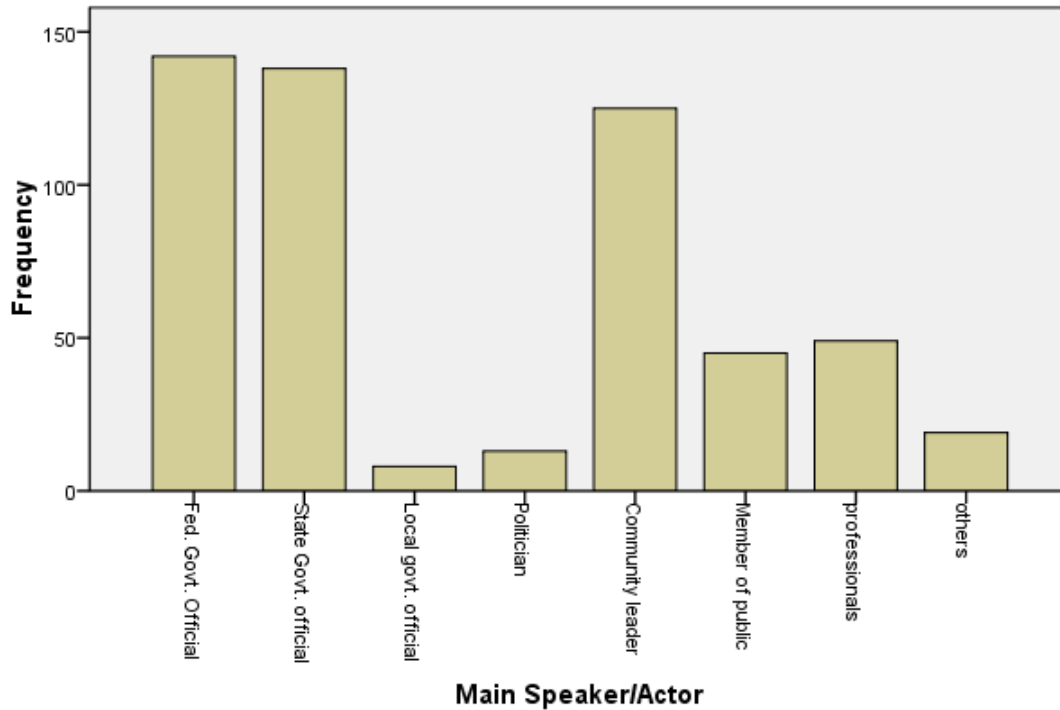
**Tables 4.8***Frequency Count and Percentages of the Main Speaker/Actor*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fed. Govt. Official	142	26.2	26.3	26.3
	State Govt. official	138	25.5	25.6	51.9
	Local govt. official	8	1.5	1.5	53.4
	Politician	13	2.4	2.4	55.8
	Community leader	125	23.1	23.2	79.0
	Member of public	45	8.3	8.3	87.4
	Professionals	49	9.1	9.1	96.5
	Others	19	3.5	3.5	100.0
	Total	539	99.6	100.0	
Missing	System	2	.4		
Total		541	100.0		

The results presented in Table 4.8 revealed that 142 which accounted for 26.2% of the sampled cases are Federal Government officials when 138 (25.5%) are State Government officials. However, eight which accounted for 1.5% of the sampled cases are Local Government officials. Whereas 13 which accounted for 2.4% of the sampled cases are politicians, 125 (23.1%) are community leaders. Yet, 45 which accounted for 8.3% are members of the public. The results also indicated that 49 which accounted for 9.1% of the

sampled cases are professionals while 19 (3.5%) are other unidentified main speakers. This result is graphically presented in Figure 4.8

**Figure 4.8**



The result in 4.8 above demonstrates the dominance of government as the main speaker and actors in the stories presented by the media. Federal Government was the main focus in 142 (26.2%) of the stories and closely followed by State Governments with 138 (25.5%) . When the figure for Local Government officials eight (1.5%) is added, we have 188 (53.4 %) focus on government officials. Hence, the narration of the crisis is woven mainly around what governments have been doing or saying or what they have failed to do or say. Other stakeholders' voices are muffled and marginalised by a press under the hegemonic influence of government activities. Community leaders come next to government 125 (23.1%). As observed during the coding process, community leaders were not really sought for



interviews but they had to issue press releases and organize press conferences to draw attention to their points of view. The same strategy was used by professional 49 (9.1%) which are made up of civil society groups and trade unions.

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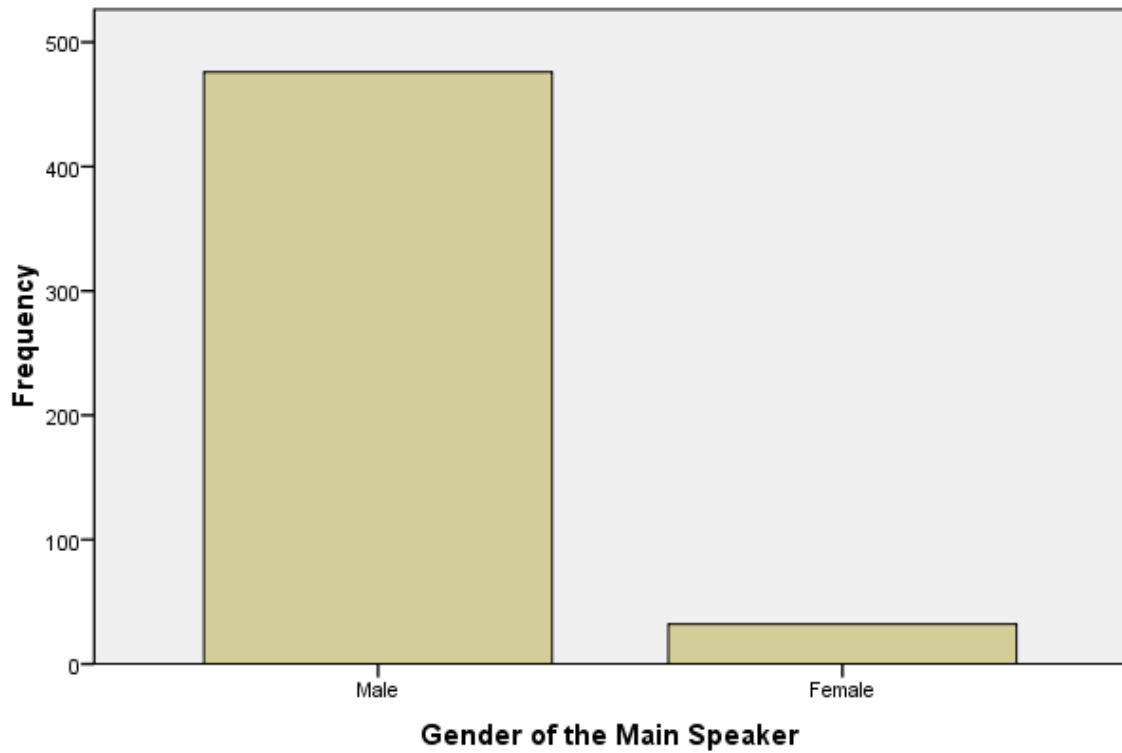
**Tables 4.9**

*Frequency Count and Percentages of Gender of the Main Speaker*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	476	88.0	93.7	93.7
	Female	32	5.9	6.3	100.0
	Total	508	93.9	100.0	
Missing	System	33	6.1		
Total		541	100.0		

The results in Table 4.9 showed that 476 which accounted for 88.0% of the sampled cases are with the gender of the main speaker being male while 32 (5.9%) are female. This result is graphically illustrated in Figure 4.9

**Figure 4.9**



Even though, women and children are known to be the main victims of communal crises their voices are hardly heard. It is no surprise that 476 (88.0%) of the speakers are male careening female voices to a mere 32 (5.9%). The gender bias of the media is a reflection of the status of women in society which, again, can be linked to the theory of hegemony, one of the planks on which this study is laid.

**Tables 4.10**

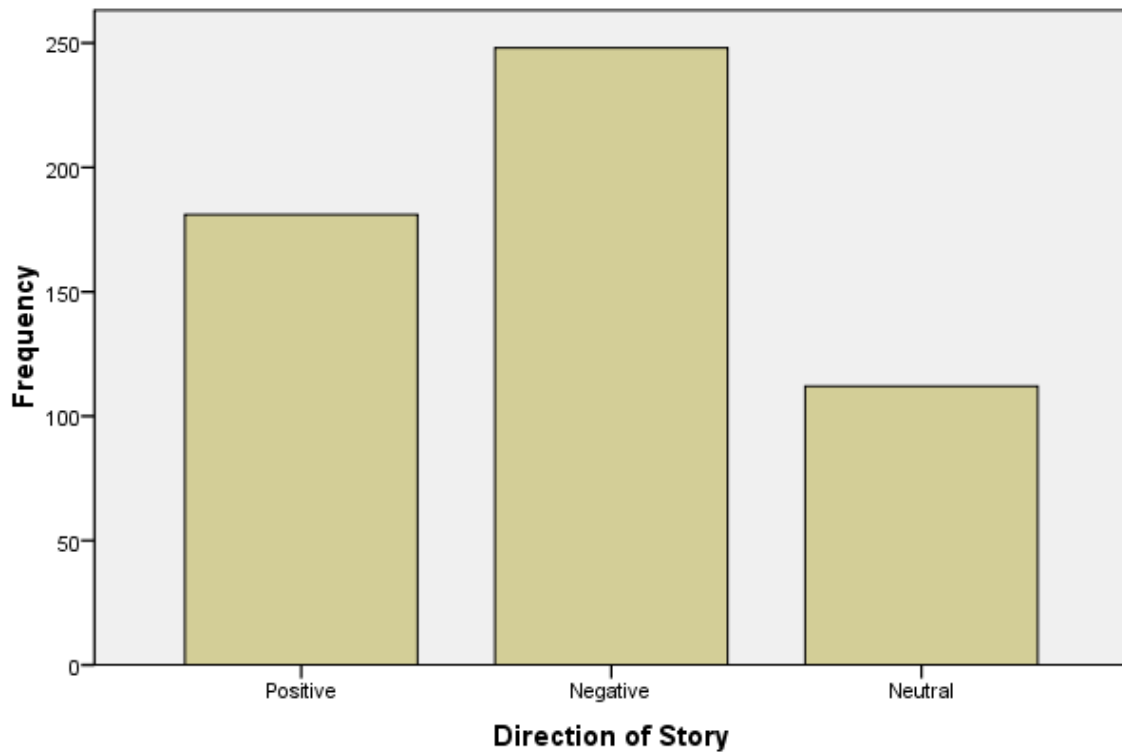
*Frequency Count and Percentages of Direction of Story*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive	181	33.5	33.5	33.5
Negative	248	45.8	45.8	79.3
Neutral	112	20.7	20.7	100.0
Total	541	100.0	100.0	

The results in Table 4.10 revealed that 181 which accounted for 33.5% of the sampled cases have direction of story being positive whereas 248 (45.8%) are negative. However, 112 which accounted for 20.7% of the sampled cases took neutral positions. This result is graphically presented in Figure 4.10

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**Figure 4.10**



The figures above show that most of the stories were framed in a way that is negative towards the resolution or management of the crisis. Negative stories are characterised by unnecessary gory details, sensational headlines, lack of balance and fairness and hence are coded as being capable of escalating the crisis rather than soothing frayed nerves. Neutral stories on the other hand are stories that are couched in a way that is not likely to engender reprisal attacks or inflame negative passions against other parties in the conflict but still falls short of proffering solutions or way forward. Positive stories, however, report the crisis with decorum and goes further through interviews or other means point to the possibilities of managing the conflict from further degenerating into crisis. Majority of the stories- 248 (45.8%) - are framed negatively while 181 (33.5%) are positively framed. 112(20.7%) can be said to be neutral. The preponderance of negatively framed stories points to the lack of conflict-sensitivity of the stories.

**Tables 4.11**

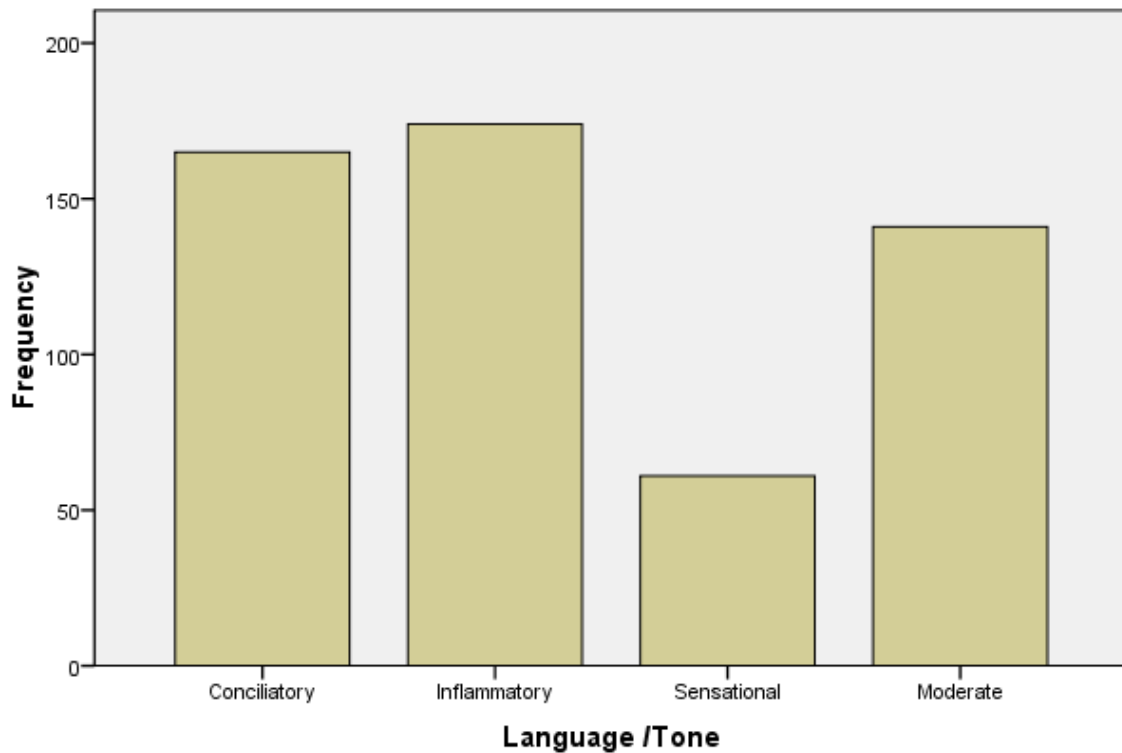
*Frequency Count and Percentages of Language /Tone*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Conciliatory	165	30.5	30.5	30.5
Inflammatory	174	32.2	32.2	62.7
Sensational	61	11.3	11.3	73.9
Moderate	141	26.1	26.1	100.0
Total	541	100.0	100.0	

The result in Table 4.11 showed that 165 which accounted for 30.5% of the sampled cases have language /tone which are conciliatory whereas 174 (32.2%) are inflammatory. Nonetheless, 61 which accounted for 11.3% of the sampled cases are sensational when 141 (26.1%) are moderate. This result is visually illustrated in Figure 4.11

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**Figure 4.11**



The result above is a graphic representation of the performance of the selected newspaper in terms of the language /tone of presentation which is core to this study. The highest score goes to the inflammatory category with 174 (32.2%) while stories that are adjudged conciliatory made up of mainly appeals for calm and restraint from stakeholders follow with 165(30.5%). Moderate stories account for 141(26.1%) of the total. But a better picture of the performance can be gleaned by combining the figures of both sensational and inflammatory stories given their potential to conflagrate the crisis. Both will show that 234 (43.5%) of the stories are capable of contributing to the already tense situation of the crisis and probably lead to demonization of one or the other of the parties to the conflict leading to the circle of reprisals that have characterised the Jos violent crisis.

**Tables 4.12**

*Frequency Count and Percentages of Main Theme of Story*

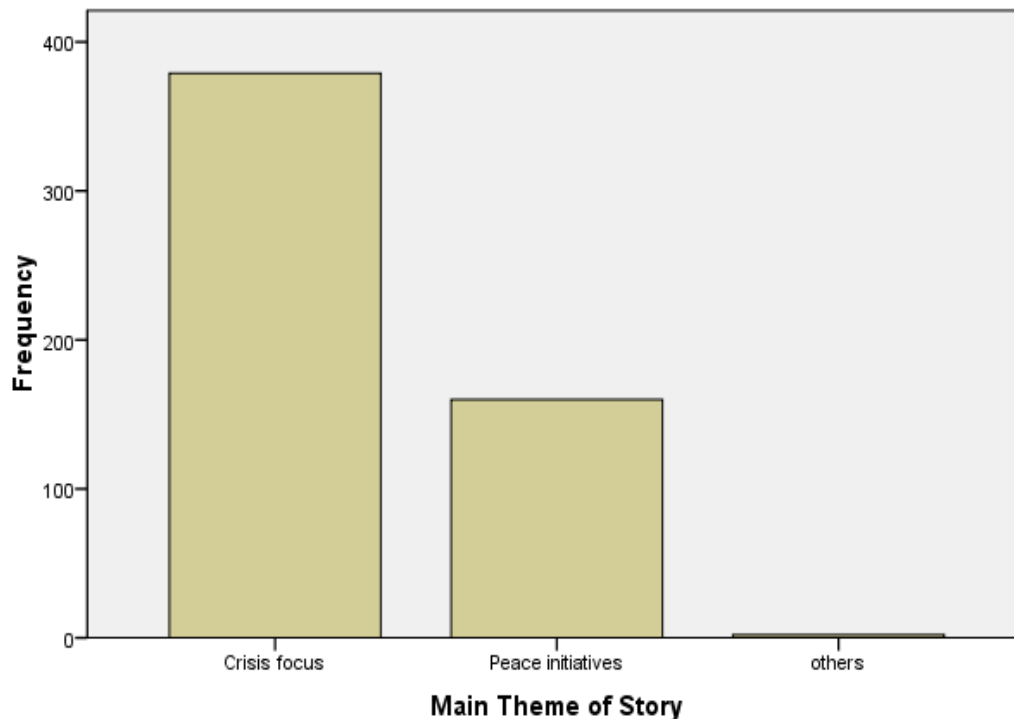
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Crisis focus	379	70.1	70.1	70.1
Peace initiatives	160	29.6	29.6	99.6
Others	2	.4	.4	100.0
Total	541	100.0	100.0	

The results in Table 4.12 indicate that 379 which accounted for 70.1% of the sampled cases are focused on crisis while 160 (29.6%) are peace initiatives. Conversely, only two which accounted for 0.4% of the sampled cases are other main theme of story. The result is graphically presented in Figure 4.12.

A major finding of this study is the fact that the media are unable to initiate significant stories that are aimed at presenting the way out during crisis reporting.

**Figure 4.12**





They are attracted by the booms of the guns and the sabre rattling by the conflict parties. This is poignantly indicated by the disproportionate number of stories 379 (70.1%) reporting from the crisis arena and only 160 (29.6%) are focused on the theme of peace initiatives. This supposed fascination of the media with the negative and the spectacular confounds peace advocacy groups but are explained by the classical definition of news.

#### **Tables 4.13**

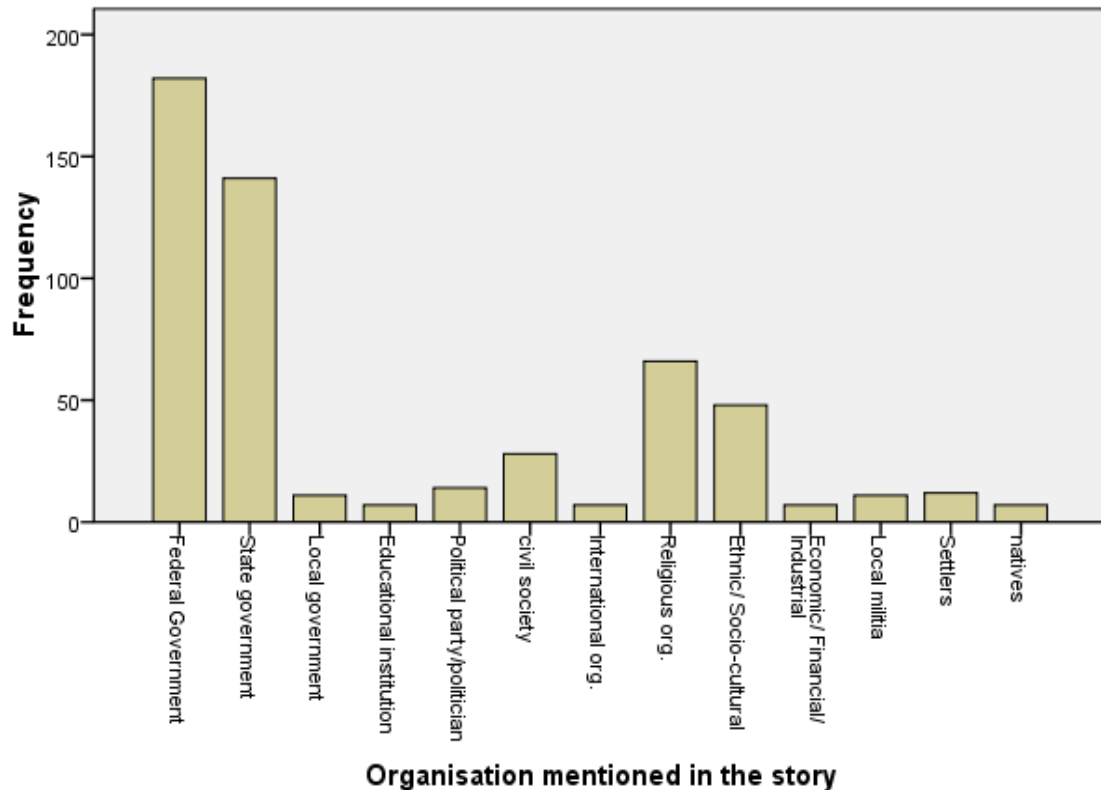
*Frequency Count and Percentages of Organisations*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Federal Government	182	33.6	33.6	33.6
State government	141	26.1	26.1	59.7
Local government	11	2.0	2.0	61.7
Educational institution	7	1.3	1.3	63.0
Political party/politician	14	2.6	2.6	65.6
civil society	28	5.2	5.2	70.8
International org.	7	1.3	1.3	72.1
Religious org.	66	12.2	12.2	84.3
Ethnic/ Socio-cultural	48	8.9	8.9	93.2
Economic/ Financial/ Industrial	7	1.3	1.3	94.5
Local militia	11	2.0	2.0	96.5
Settlers	12	2.2	2.2	98.7
Natives	7	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	541	100.0	100.0	

The results presented in Table 4.13 indicated that of the organisation mentioned in the story, 182 which accounted for 33.6% of the sampled cases was federal government while 141 (26.1%) was State Government. However, 11 which accounted for 2.0% of the sampled cases was Local Government. Whereas seven which accounted for 1.3% of the sampled

cases are educational institutions, 14 (2.6%) are political parties and politicians. Yet, 28 which accounted for 5.2% are civil societies. The results also revealed that seven which accounted for 1.3% of the sampled cases are international organisations while 66 (12.2%) are religious organisations. However, 48 which accounted for 8.9% of the sampled cases are ethnic and socio-cultural groups. While seven which accounted for 1.3% of the sampled cases are industrial organisations, 11 (2.0%) are local militia. Yet, 12 which accounted for 2.2% are with settlers when seven which accounted for 1.3% of the sampled cases are natives. This result is graphically presented in Figure 4.13

**Figure 4.13**



The over dependence of the media on government sources for news is graphically illustrated by figure 4.13. This is to the detriment of other stakeholders in the crisis. It also illustrates the dearth of independent and investigative reports. Most of the news are from press releases and conferences by government officials. In the results above, the federal government accounts for 182 (33.6%), closely followed state 141 (26.1%) and local governments 11 (2%) respectively. Taking together they account for 334 (61.7%) of organizations on which the stories are focused. The main actors of the violent crisis (local militia, settlers and natives) got a combined focus of 30 (5.5%). An independent analysis of the groups involved, their demands, strategies and other characteristics would have altered this significantly and clarified the issues involved as against the vertical information flow from government officials.

## ANSWER TO RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RQ 1: What is the general direction of language use in the coverage of the Jos crisis?

To gauge the direction of language use in the crisis, the coding schedule contained an item to judge whether language in which a news item or editorial was framed was largely conciliatory, moderate, inflammatory or neutral. An important requirement of conflict sensitivity in media coverage is the temperate use of language in a way that will not conflagrate a conflict situation either deliberately or owing to poor language skills. Either way, the result is the same. Scholars and other commentators have underscored the importance of language use in conflict situations. Iwara (2005:73) was apt when he said:

Language is like the atom bomb: depending on the use one makes of it, it can cause widespread devastation as it can be a resource for peace and harmony. So powerful, in fact, is language that it has sometimes been claimed that “the pen is mightier than the sword” where the “pen” is a metaphor for language and the “sword” for brute force and military might. Another metaphor makes language a double-edged sword that is capable of cutting both ways.

The imagery captured by Iwara above can be interpreted to mean that carelessness in language use while covering conflicts can be responsible for more death and destruction than the rampaging warriors on the field. An examination of language use in the reportage of the Jos crisis is illustrated in Table 4.11.

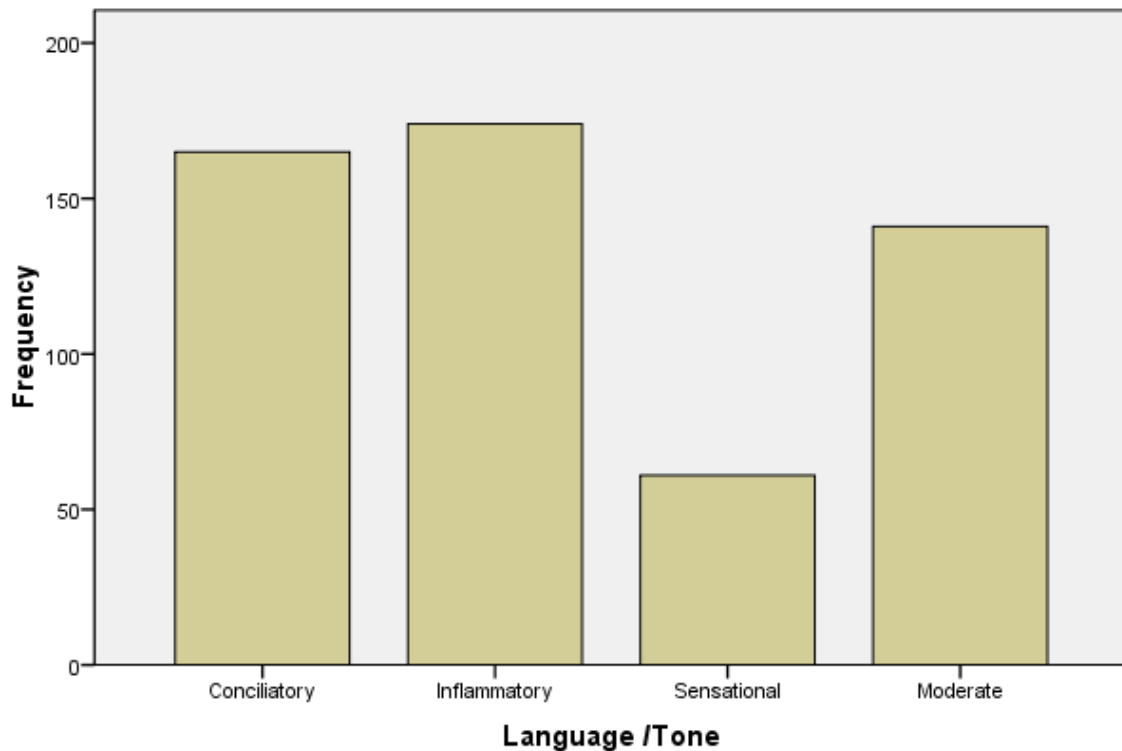
**Table 4.14**

*Frequency Count and Percentages of Language /Tone*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Conciliatory	165	30.5	30.5	30.5
Inflammatory	174	32.2	32.2	62.7
Sensational	61	11.3	11.3	73.9
Moderate	141	26.1	26.1	100.0
Total	541	100.0	100.0	

The result in Table 4.11 showed that 165 which accounted for 30.5% of the sampled cases have language /tone which are conciliatory whereas 174 (32.2%) are inflammatory. Nonetheless, 61 which accounted for 11.3% of the sampled cases are sensational when 141 (26.1%) are moderate. This result is visually illustrated in Figure 4.14

**Figure 4.14**



The result above is a graphic representation of the performance of the selected newspapers in terms of the language /tone of presentation which is core to this study. The highest score goes to the inflammatory category with 174 (32.2%) while stories that are adjudged conciliatory made up of mainly appeals for calm and restraint from stakeholders follow with 165(30.5%). Moderate stories account for 141(26.1%) of the total. But a better picture of the performance can be gleaned by combining the figures of both sensational and inflammatory stories given their potential to conflagrate the crisis. Both will show that 234 (43.5%) of the stories are capable of contributing to the already tense situation of the crisis and probably lead to demonization of one or the other of the parties to the conflict leading to the circle of reprisals that have characterised the Jos violent crisis.

To assess the performance of the media on this score, it can be argued that the media performed below expectations generally and is open to charges of contributing to the protracted Jos crisis through use of sensational and demonising language. Despite the fact that the instrument for this study was not designed to affirm causality between media output and direct effects as happens in experimental methods in physical sciences, the preponderance of negative and sensational stories is a pointer to a possible negative impact of the media on its audiences in the crisis in Jos. The media is perceived here to function along other variables (predisposition of the conflicting parties, instigation by opinion leaders and other socio-political and structural issues) in contributing to the protracted crisis.

A further breakdown of individual performance of the selected newspapers is presented in the cross tabulation in figure 4.15.

**Table 4.15**



*Cross tabulation of Newspaper by Language /Tone*

		Newspaper					
		The Guardian	The Standard	Punch	Daily Trust	Total	
Language /Tone	Conciliatory	Count	8	57	37	63	165
		% of Total	1.5%	10.5%	6.8%	11.6%	30.5%
	Inflammatory	Count	2	49	38	85	174
		% of Total	.4%	9.1%	7.0%	15.7%	32.2%
	Sensational	Count	0	33	8	20	61
		% of Total	.0%	6.1%	1.5%	3.7%	11.3%
	Moderate	Count	36	48	2	55	141
		% of Total	6.7%	8.9%	.4%	10.2%	26.1%
Total		Count	46	187	85	223	541
		% of Total	8.5%	34.6%	15.7%	41.2%	100.0%

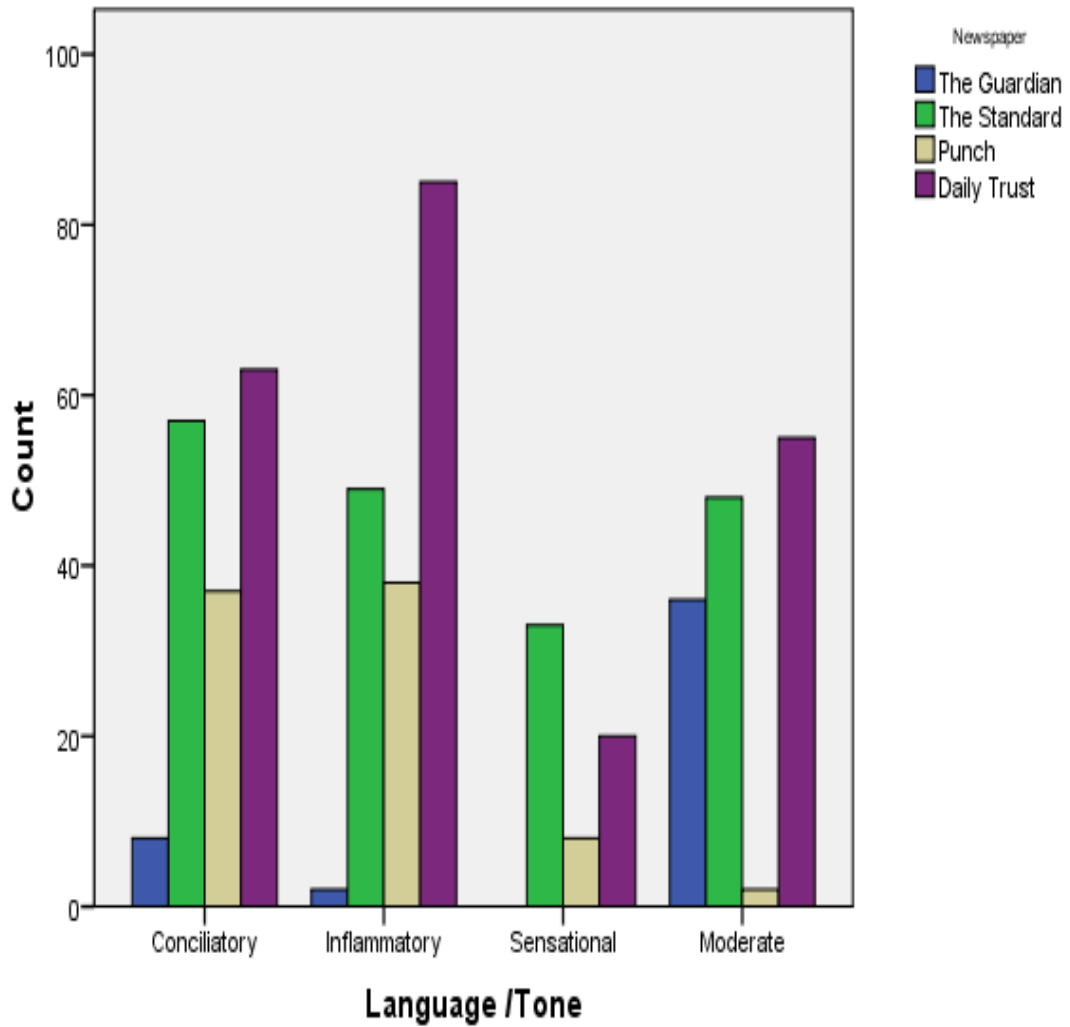
Pearson Chi-Square  $\chi^2 = 107.274^a$ ; df = 9; Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) = .000

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.19.

The results in Table 4.15 showed that there is a significant difference in the language and tone of story by newspaper ( $\chi^2 = 107.274$ ; df = 9;  $p < .001$ ). Whereas the direction of story

in *The Guardian* Newspaper is more of moderate, those in the Standard was conciliatory, Punch was both conciliatory and inflammatory while Daily Trust newspaper was inflammatory. On the whole, the language and tone of story was foremost inflammatory (174 accounting for 32.2% of the sampled cases) followed by conciliatory (165 accounting for 30.5% of the sampled cases) then moderate (141 accounting for 26.1% of the sampled cases) while sensational language (61 accounting for 11.3% of the sampled cases) came last. This result is visually represented in Figure 4.15

**Figure 4:15**



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The performance of *The Guardian* as more moderate in language use is consistent with its

vision statement as liberal organ committed to the best traditions of journalism. Other studies such as Kayode and Jimoh (2008) confirm the performance of the paper as more moderate in covering national issues. Thus, among the newspapers chosen for this study, *The Guardian*, through moderate use of language can be said to be more conflict-sensitive. This can be contrasted with *Daily Trust's* performance with high level of inflammatory language. *The standard*, however, leads in the number of sensational stories carried. The performance of *The Standard* is especially significant since its support of the Plateau State Government and the 'natives' is hardly concealed. In a sensational account of the March 7, 2010 attack by Fulani revenging the January, 18, 2010 attack by "natives", Bulus Gambo's news story in *The Standard* (Mach, 11, 2010: 1) is illustrative:

About 500 victims of last Sunday's massacre at Rasat, Zot and Dogo-Na Hauwa villages were Monday given a mass burial amidst gnashing of teeth, excruciating pains and disgust. The ceremony which started in the afternoon, saw surrounding villages trooping in in their numbers to witness the event which was described by most villagers as "the most difficult period" in the history of the entire villages attacked by the Fulani in Jos South Local Government Area of Plateau State. Our correspondent reports that as more dead bodies were being brought to the burial ground, it became apparent that the antagonists were for an all out execution spree... Single household casualties and deaths averaged 15 in one single village alone. Investigations further revealed that while most of the other dead bodies were yet to be discovered from the muddy, deep mining ponds as they were hacked down while fleeing helter-skelter while the other victims were taken away by their relations.

A critical analysis of the above will reveal too much editorialising for a piece that is supposed to be a news story; this belies the claim of objectivity and reveals the veiled call for revenge. The story could still be well told without "the gnashing of teeth, excruciating pain and disgust." It could also do without reminding the audience that the "antagonist were for an all-out execution spree" or "being hacked down while fleeing helter-skelter." These unnecessary negative details can only aggravate the crisis and fuel the cycle of reprisals that have characterised the crisis in Jos. It provides justification for those who claim that the media have contributed to the crisis through their reportage. Higazi had earlier reported that

the electronic media had contributed in fuelling the crisis. For example the State owned radio reportedly followed the Fulani attack by consistently playing Peter Tosh's popular song with the lyrics: "get up, stand up. Stand up for your rights" (Higazi 2011:25)

A panel of media professionals and scholars while analysing the performance of the media on the Jos crisis was reported by *The Standard* (2010:7) to have "cautioned against the bias, false and reckless reportage by some local and foreign media practitioners especially in a crisis situation in Nigeria." One of the panellists "lamented that it was unfortunate that owners of media outfits had diverted from the main objective of the journalism practice which was to report facts and not to take sides particularly in a crisis situation." In a different context, Wilson (1997:163) had noted the importance of communication in a conflict context when he averred, "it thus becomes clear that conflict can be manifested only through some communication behaviour. If we accept the view that conflict can only arise through some communication behaviour then it should be obvious that perhaps communication may be the channel to minimize that conflict." This view is also supported by Lynch (2000:3) when he noted that "portraying the nuance and complexity of lived experience, with an equal esteem for the needs and suffering of all parties, can transcend the tendency to lump all stakeholders together into two sides". The mediated form of communication as reflected in the selected newspapers points more to the possibility of escalating rather than de-escalating the conflict they report on. The findings of this study on the use of language show that it is bereft of conflict-sensitivity.

RQ 2: Did the selected newspapers focus on peace initiatives in their coverage of the Jos crisis?

**Table 4.16**

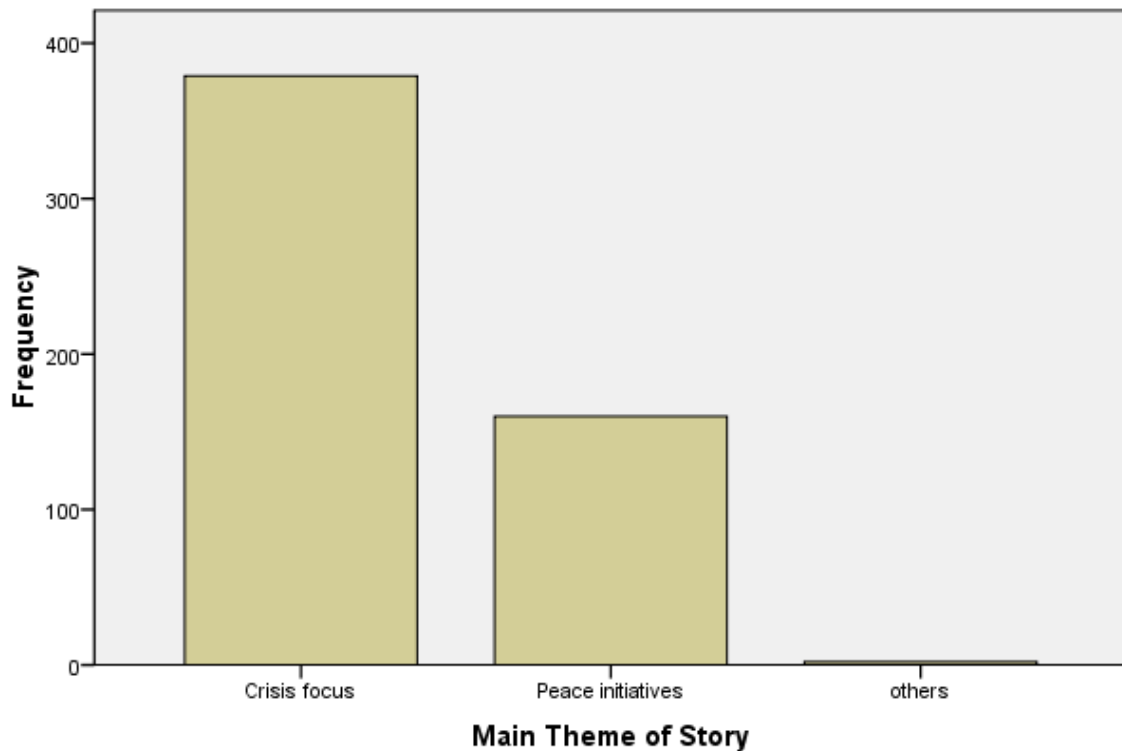
*Frequency Count and Percentages of Main Theme of Story*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Crisis focus	379	70.1	70.1	70.1
Peace initiatives	160	29.6	29.6	99.6
Others	2	.4	.4	100.0
Total	541	100.0	100.0	

The results in Table 4.16 indicated that 379 which accounted for 70.1% of the sampled cases are with main theme of story which are focused on crisis while 160 (29.6%) are peace initiatives. Conversely, only two which accounted for 0.4% of the sampled cases are other main theme of story. The result is graphically presented in Figure 4.16

**Figure 4:16**





One of the criticisms against the media during coverage of conflict is the exclusive focus on the conflict while ignoring other peace initiatives at work. They focus on the dramatic and the episodic outburst of violence and are therefore blind to the works of peace initiators even within the conflict zone.

The finding of this study shows the heavy focus of the selected newspapers on the crisis to the detriment of peace initiative. Figure 4.16 shows that more than 70% of the stories are focused on the crisis, counting the no of deaths and property destroyed while less than 30% are reports on peace initiatives. It is also significant to note that most of the peace initiatives stories only come to light during media coverage of the various tribunals set up by government to look into the crisis; they were hardly initiated through interviews or exclusive stories. A notable exception is the *Sunday Standard* editorial of January 31, 2010:

Dadin Kowa is a suburb of Jos, the Plateau State capital. It is known to be a mixed settlement where all tribes and

religions are amply represented, living in peace with one another since time immemorial. This perhaps accounts for its name, which translates as “The joy of all”.

While the streets of Jos and Bukuru were being enveloped by billowing clouds of smoke occasioned by the sectarian crisis of January 17, 2010, residents of this sprawling suburb stood by and watched with horror as settlements around them went into flames. This was more or less an exception to the prevailing chaos in Jos and environs. They merely sympathized and empathized with the victims.

The peace that was in Dadin Kowa at the time was the result of a collective resolve by members of that community to live together in peace irrespective of religion, tribe or political leaning. This resolve was made since 2001 between all the tribal and religious groups in the area who all agreed that under no circumstance would they go to war against one another. So when the January 17 crisis came up, they quickly called themselves and renewed their resolution to avert any breach of the peace. This was the same scenario with residents of the state and federal low cost, Jos where peace was maintained also.

*Sunday Standard* gathered that some youths from both Muslim and Christian sides who wanted to flout this agreement were quickly sanctioned and warned to desist from their intentions. In addition, their parents were made to sign undertaking with the police to ensure that their wards remained calm and law-abiding. Furthermore, the community and religious leaders all addressed a press conference, promising to keep peace within the area and set up vigilantes to ensure the monitoring and enforcement of this “NO AGGRESSION” pact.

Thankfully, this paid off immensely and nothing happened in the area up to this day. We feel that this community and its leaders stand out as a real model of how peaceful co-existence, religious tolerance, inter-ethnic love and respect for one another ought to be. Beyond that also, the Dadin Kowa community has demonstrated that it is quite possible to live together and peacefully so, irrespective of tribe or religion...

Despite the above, most of the stories in the newspapers focused on the crisis to the detriment of the peace forces and initiatives at work. This confirms the views of critics of



the media as summarized by Galtung (1993: xi) that, “Not only do the media have this perverse fascination with war and violence; they also neglect the peace forces at work. As the media work, they amplify the sound of guns rather than muting them”.

An explanation, not justification, however, can be found in what Dare (2013:64) called, “the morbid calculus of tabloid journalism.” Dare was commenting on a story in which Governor Sullivan Chime of Enugu State was wrongly reported to have died and the failure of the media to give prominence to the rebuttal that followed. He explained: “Since news signalises a rupture or disjuncture, Chime dead has greater journalistic salience and resonance than Chime alive.”

Also explaining this situation, Gadi Wolsfeld cited in Bratic and Schirch (2007:1) notes that there is a “fundamental contradiction between the nature of a peace process and news values, the media often play a destructive role in attempts at making peace. Those who run the media tend to favour four values: immediacy, drama, simplicity and ethnocentrism. These values make it difficult to use the media for peace.” Thus the voices of leaders calling for peace had lesser journalistic salience than the perpetrators of hate and violence in the media coverage of the Jos crisis. There is the failure of the press to adhere to the social responsibility theory which, among other things, requires the press to “avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence, or civil disorder.” (McQuai 1987). The corollary to this requirement is for the press to seek what will lead to peace in society by focusing significantly on peace initiatives during crises situations.

RQ 3: Did the newspapers reflect gender-sensitivity in their coverage of the Jos crisis?

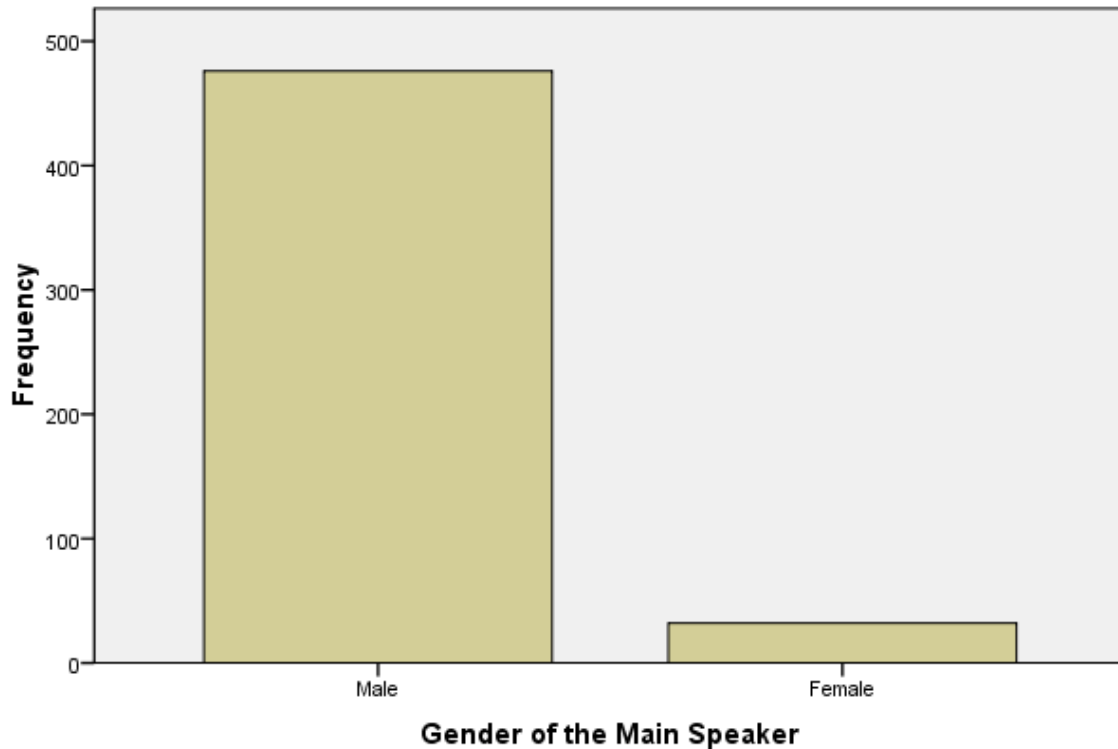
**Table 4.17**

*Frequency Count and Percentages of Gender of the Main Speaker*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	476	88.0	93.7	93.7
	Female	32	5.9	6.3	100.0
	Total	508	93.9	100.0	
Missing	System	33	6.1		
Total		541	100.0		

The results in Table 4.17 showed that 476 which accounted for 88.0% of the sampled cases are with the gender of the main speaker being male while 32 (5.9%) are female. This result is graphically illustrated in Figure 4.17

**Figure 4:17**



Even though, women and children are known to be the main victims of communal crises, their voices are hardly heard. It is no surprise that 476 (88.0%) of the speakers are male, careening female voices to a mere 32 (5.9%). The gender bias of the media is a reflection of the status of women in society which, again, can be linked to the theory of hegemony, one of the planks on which this study is laid. The exclusion of female voices by the media is another blind spot for the media that is largely owned and controlled by men. Worse still, in most media houses, the percentage of men to women journalists is skewed in favour of men reflecting the lack of diversity in their operations and, indeed, orientations. During the fieldwork to Jos for this study in March, 2013, there was only one female newspaper correspondent at the local chapel; they are largely confined to the Women pages sections of the newspapers and assigned to write “soft” stories. The levers of economic, political and other commanding heights of the polity are held by men to the detriment of the womenfolk.

Yet, according to the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM 2013:1), violence against women has reached alarming proportions and is a global pandemic “deeply rooted in gender inequality and discrimination.”

For such a critical sector of the human race, more attention ought to be focused on them to enable them contribute to the development of the society and the management of the varied challenges of society even during crises situations. Part of the requirements for a conflict-sensitive reporting is to be gender-sensitive since all stakeholders and parties to the conflict must be given voices in the management of the crisis. The result of this study has shown that gender-sensitivity was low and hence reflects the low level of conflict sensitivity by the selected newspapers for this study.

RQ 4: Did the newspapers use conflict analysis tools in their coverage of the Jos crisis?

The use of conflict analysis tools have been recommended to reporters by various scholars (Ross 2009), Jake and McGoldrick(2005), among others. Specifically, the UNESCO Conflict -sensitive Reporting Manual seeks “to provide reporters with a rudimentary capacity to analyse the process of violent conflict, including potential possibilities of conflict resolution.” (Ross 2009:14).

As reported earlier, most of the journalists interviewed claimed they were aware of the concept of conflict-sensitive journalism and the need to adhere to its principles. However, when asked if they used conflict analysis tools, two types of responses were elicited. Seven of the ten respondents betrayed lack of awareness of what the tools were while the other three who claimed awareness admitted to never using them. A respondent said:

I do not know what the tools of conflict analysis are but I know the need to be conflict-sensitive when reporting. By the time I watch my language, balance my story and apply fairness in reporting, I know I am close to conflict-sensitivity. Perhaps, those involved in conflict management may be the ones to go that deep.

Another respondent said:

I have read somewhere of the need for journalists to use conflict analysis tools. I think it was in a workshop that one of the resource persons mentioned it; so I am aware but, honestly, I do not know what it entails so I cannot claim to have used it in this or any other conflict I have covered” adding rhetorically, “where is the time to do all that?”

This general lack of use of conflict analysis tools is symptomatic of conflict coverage not just in Nigeria but worldwide. In the specific case of the Jos crisis, not only is there no proven case of its use but even the rudimentary demands of investigative reporting which could have exposed the lies and propaganda of all sides in the conflict was largely neglected. There seems, therefore, to be a correlation between the willingness and ability of reporters to use the investigative approach and the likelihood of acceptance of the use of conflict analysis tools. Both require the extra effort to dig deeper than the episodic conflagrations that drive conflict reporting. The table below shows the lack of investigative approach in the reportage of the Jos crisis:

**Table 4.18**

*Frequency Count and Percentages of Main Source of News*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Statement/speech	347	64.1	65.2	65.2
	Publication/Report	30	5.5	5.6	70.9
	Reporters interview	99	18.3	18.6	89.5
	Press conference	33	6.1	6.2	95.7
	Investigative report	18	3.3	3.4	99.1
	No source indicated	5	.9	.9	100.0
	Total	532	98.3	100.0	
Missing	System	9	1.7		
Total		541	100.0		

Thus, it can be concluded that the failure to use conflict analysis tools as admitted by the correspondent interviewed and the low level of investigative efforts (3.3%) consigns the media coverage of the Jos crisis to the run-off the mill reportage characteristics of media coverage of major crisis in Nigeria. The need to mainstream conflict sensitive reporting into the training of journalists is therefore, imperative.

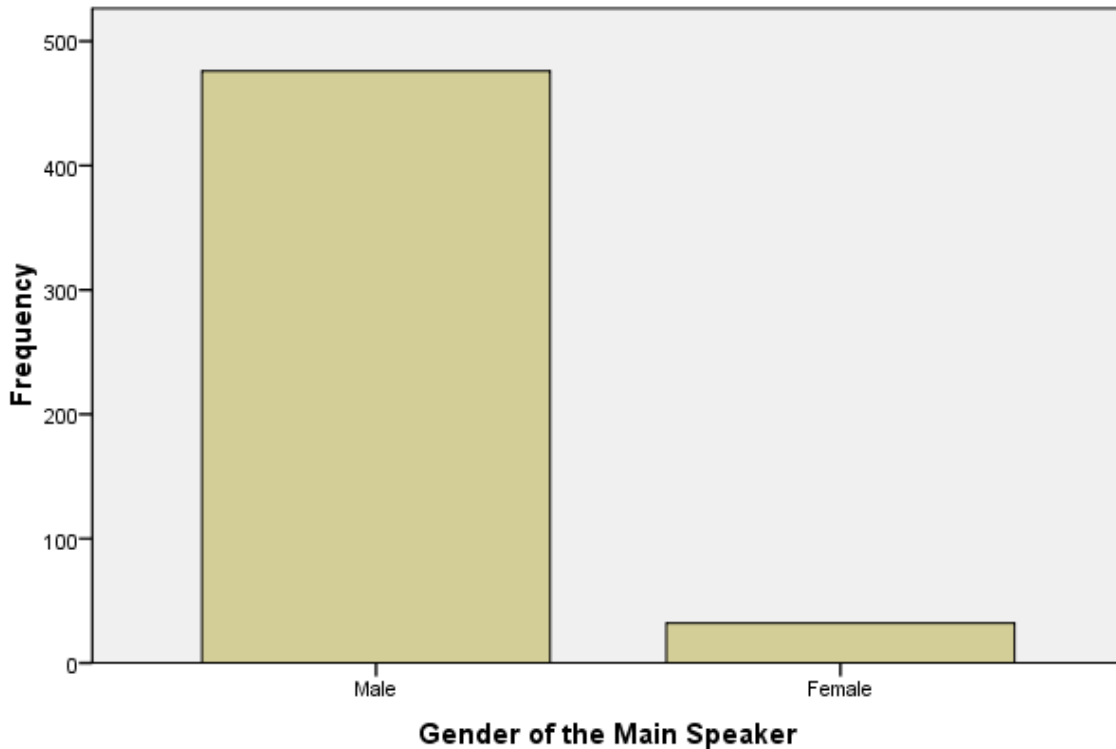
**Table 4.19**

*Frequency Count and Percentages of Gender of the Main Speaker*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	476	88.0	93.7	93.7
	Female	32	5.9	6.3	100.0
	Total	508	93.9	100.0	
Missing	System	33	6.1		
Total		541	100.0		

The results in Table 4.19 showed that 476 which accounted for 88.0% of the sampled cases are with the gender of the main speaker being male while 32 (5.9%) are female. This result is graphically illustrated in Figure 4.19

**Figure 4:19**



Even though, women and children are known to be the main victims of communal crises their voices are hardly heard. It is no surprise that 476 (88.0%) of the speakers are male, careening female voices to a mere 32 (5.9%). The gender bias of the media is a reflection of the status of women in society which, again, can be linked to the theory of hegemony, one of the planks on which this study is laid. The exclusion of female voices by the media is another blind spot for the media that is largely owned and controlled by men. Worse still, in most media houses, the percentage of men to women journalists is skewed in favour of men reflecting the lack of diversity in their operations and, indeed, orientations. During the fieldwork to Jos for this study in March, 2013, there was only one female newspaper correspondent at the local chapel; they are largely confined to the Women pages sections of the newspapers and assigned to write “soft” stories. The levers of economic, political and



other commanding heights of the polity are held by men to the detriment of the womenfolk. Yet, according to the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM 2013:1), violence against women has reached alarming proportions and is a global pandemic “deeply rooted in gender inequality and discrimination.”

For such a critical sector of the human race, more attention ought to be focused on them to enable them contribute to the development of the society and the management of the varied challenges of society even during crises situations. Part of the requirements for a conflict-sensitive reporting is to be gender-sensitive since all stakeholders and parties to the conflict must be given voices in the management of the crisis. The result of this study has shown that gender-sensitivity was low and hence reflects the low level of conflict sensitivity by the selected newspapers for this study.

RQ 5: Did ownership and location affect the coverage of the Jos crisis by the selected newspapers?

Ownership and location are critical variables in the ability of the media to report objectively, and by extension, conflict-sensitively. Studies by Nwuneli and Dare (1977), Sobowale(1986) and many others have shown the pervasive influence of ownership on the pattern of coverage by the media. In a developing country like Nigeria, government ownership, for example, has influenced the coverage of events in favour of government views especially as they depend on heavy subsidies from government. This has led to the refrain, ‘he who pays the piper, calls the tune’, being applied to media operations in Nigeria.

Of the four newspapers selected for this study, two are located in the southern part of Nigeria and the other two are located in the Northern part. In terms of ownership, three are owned by private investors and one by a state government. Cumulatively, the Southern-based newspapers (Lagos) account for 24.2% of the total number of stories as shown in Table 4.1 above. Northern-based newspapers (Abuja and Jos) account for 75.8%. Apart from being located in the crisis zone, the northern based newspapers’ proprietors are the main parties to the conflict. The standard is owned by the Plateau State Government on whose soil the crisis is raging between ‘natives’ (Berom, Anaguta, Afizere etc) and

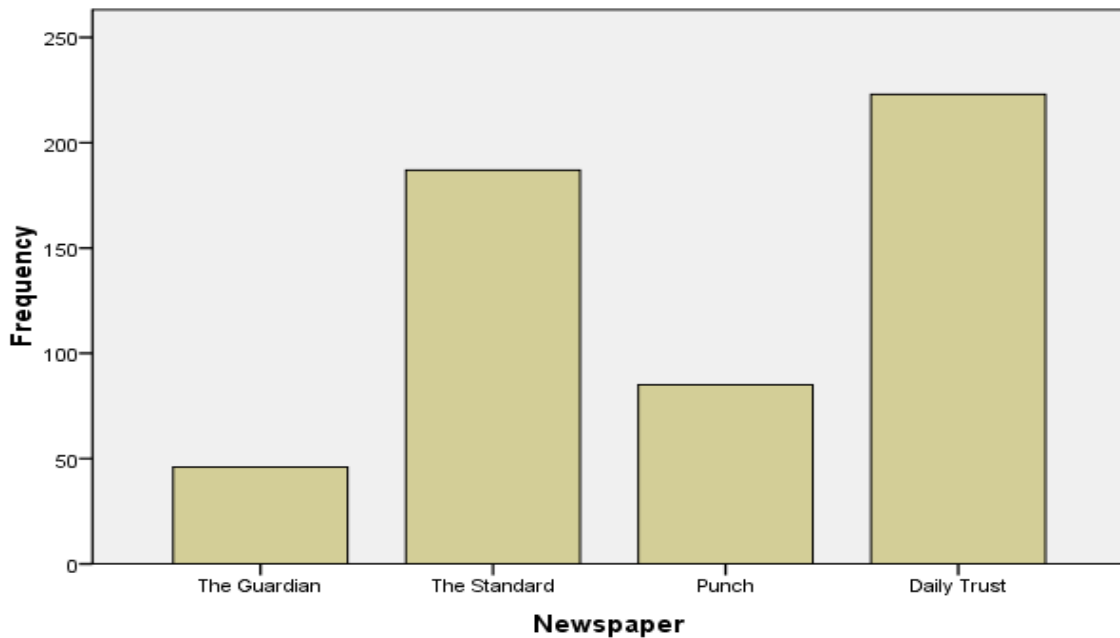
'settlers' (mainly Hausa/Fulani) although with collateral damage on other ethnic groups including Southerners. The Hausa/Fulani have majority share in the ownership of the Daily Trust who devoted substantial attention to the coverage of the Jos crisis hence 41.2% of the stories emanated from the *Daily Trust*. The figures from *Daily Trust* sharply contrast with individual southern newspapers' performances with *The Guardian's* (8.5%) and *Punch's* (15.7%) as shown in figure 4.20 and Table 4.20

**Table 4.20**

*Frequency Count and Percentages of Newspaper*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The Guardian	46	8.5	8.5	8.5
The Standard	187	34.6	34.6	43.1
Punch	85	15.7	15.7	58.8
Daily Trust	223	41.2	41.2	100.0
Total	541	100.0	100.0	

**Figure**  
**4.20**



In journalism theory and practice, closeness or proximity determines newsworthiness. This closeness or proximity is not only physical but includes psychological closeness. Thus, an event may happen in Tahiti but may resonate in an African media's choice because they share a psychological closeness (love of football, passion for human rights among others). So, even though the Southern Nigerian media and their audiences are physically remote from the scene of the crisis, it can be argued that they share psychological closeness to the crisis by reason of the presence of people from their zones that have lived in Plateau State for several decades. But because of a comparatively lower stake as conflict parties, the Southern media score low in terms of the level of attention given to the coverage. Put together, the two southern media do not measure to any of the Northern-based medium in the attention given to the Jos crisis.

The Southern Nigerian Media and their kinsmen in Plateau state do not lay the kind of claim to the citizenship of the state like the Hausa/Fulani does. The Hausa/Fulani position was well articulated by Alhaji Dasuki Nakande, former Minister of State for Information and Communications as reported by Shobayo (2010:47), "Exclusion is one of the basic causes of the crisis. This administration is carrying out politics of exclusion; this is the major cause of

the crisis, our community (Hausa) is totally excluded from the government...We are not contesting land with the Berom, we are already on the land”

Thus, the Hausa/Fulani are fighting on the basis of equal citizenship of Jos with the Beroms and, indeed, with other ‘native’ ethnic groups. Other Nigerian ethnic groups in Plateau state recognize and accept their migratory origins without trying to contend with the people of plateau state on the ownership of Jos, the administrative and commercial capital of the state. This position was recognized by the late ruler of Jos, Da Victor Pam who, according to *Nigerian Tribune*, reportedly observed that, “the Yoruba and Igbo settlers of Jos were as old as the Hausa/Fulani on the land, but have never claimed the land.” This stake in ownership has arguably percolated into the interest of the media controlled by the Hausa/Fulani (*Daily Trust*) and the one sympathetic to the interests of the ‘natives’ and government of Plateau State (*National Standard*) as demonstrated by the generous coverage of the crisis and their diametrically opposed positions on the major issues in the crisis. For example, on whether a state of emergency should be declared in Plateau State, *Trust* argued for a declaration of State of emergency that will get rid of the ‘incompetent’ Jonah Jang administration while *Standard* described those calling for a state of emergency as ‘enemies of progress.’ In an editorial in which it argued against the declaration of state of emergency, *National Standard* (2010: )observed:

Records must be put straight. The issue of indigeneship/settlership is not peculiar to Plateau State; it is obviously a national malaise. Plateau state is indeed very liberal when it comes to the dichotomy of indigeneship/settlership or even religion. Little wonder without hesitation, the government approved a piece of land for the establishment of Islamic University in Plateau State. Can that be said of most, if not all, the Shariah states in the North? In these places, it is an undeniable fact that churches are not granted pieces of land to build their worship centres.

Sometimes the adversary between the two organs moved from veiled accusation to direct attack as illustrated by a piece titled 'Jang Has no Genocide Case to Answer' carried by *Standard* in which Makama (2010:26) said:

Since November 2008, following the violence that followed peaceful elections in Jos North, the press and mouths of lesser endowed individuals have been awash with the use of the word 'genocide', particularly, *Daily Trust*. It is ironical that the same *Daily Trust* has dedicated endless reams and print to misinformed positions by one or two columnists namely Mr Adamu Adamu on challenging and denying the holocaust, even prompting a rejoinder from the Ambassador of Democratic Republic of Israel himself. It is the same *Daily Trust* suddenly discovering the word exists when conducting a campaign of calumny and mischief.

One other point of disagreement in the accounts of the two Northern based newspapers was the aggressor in the January, 2010 violent crisis. As the violence broke out, the then Commissioner of Police of Plateau State, Gregory Anyating who briefed newsmen said, "the crisis was caused by some Muslim youths who without provocation, attacked worshippers at the St. Michael's Catholic Church in the Nassarawa Gwong area." (National Standard 2010:) This line was carried by all the media sampled for this study as part of their major stories of the day. By next day, however, *Daily Trust* came out with a different account in which it interviewed a certain Alhaji Kabir Mohammed who refuted the Commissioner's account and instead said the crisis, "started at Dutse Uku when Christian youths tried to stop a Muslim man from renovating his house that was destroyed in the November, 2008 riot (Daily Trust 19 January, 2010). Since the account of the police Commissioner suited the proprietorial interests of *National Standard*, *The Guardian* and *The Punch*, no further efforts were made to dig beyond what he said. Conversely, *Daily Trust* felt the need to dig further, obviously because the account did not suit its interest. It is interesting to note that the Commissioner of Police was transferred shortly after the statement and the outrage that greeted his account of the cause of the crisis of 2010. The transfer was announced by the Police Headquarters in Abuja, the seat of the Federal Government.

Journalists interviewed on whether ownership affected their reportage generally denied such claims for their particular medium but claim to notice such influence in other media. *The*

*Guardian* correspondent said “Not at all; far from that. *The Guardian* is an independent Newspaper that promotes the best journalism practice by not taking sides in any dispute but some newspapers were founded to promote certain religion. In a crisis between adherents of two religions, you should expect such papers to take sides.” (Interview, March, 2012). Another correspondent admitted such influences when he said, “Yes, but very limited. There are times when religious interests came in such that reports sent from us were altered or blown out of proportion at the head office.”

Thus, it is clear that the press wrote from the prisms of their proprietorial interests. This tendency in the media has been at the base of criticisms of media performance while covering contentious issues. It is a basis for the disavowal of the possibility of objectivity by the media critics worldwide. Proprietorial interests, it is argued, blur the vision of the media leading to biased presentation and fawning adulation of their masters’ voices.

RQ 6: Did the selected newspapers use investigative techniques in the coverage of the Jos crisis?

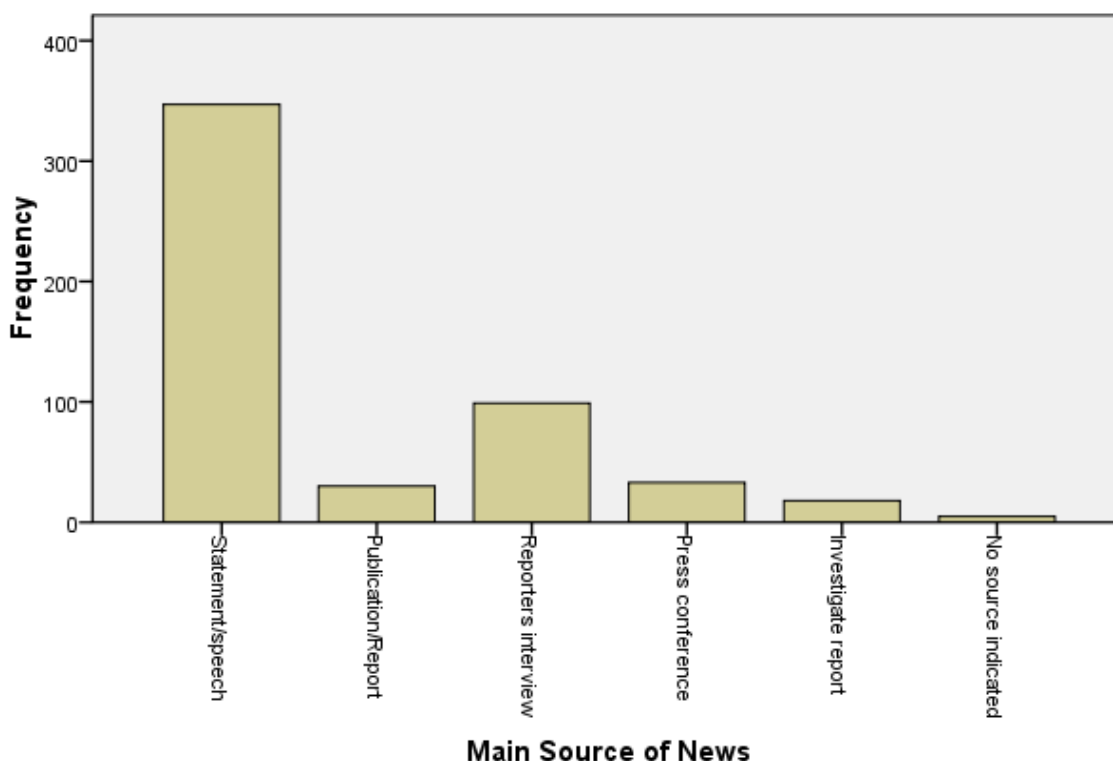
**Table 4.21***Frequency Count and Percentages of Main Source of News*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Statement/speech	347	64.1	65.2	65.2
	Publication/Report	30	5.5	5.6	70.9
	Reporters interview	99	18.3	18.6	89.5
	Press conference	33	6.1	6.2	95.7
	Investigative report	18	3.3	3.4	99.1
	No source indicated	5	.9	.9	100.0
	Total	532	98.3	100.0	
Missing	System	9	1.7		
Total		541	100.0		

The results presented in Table 4.21 indicates that 347 which accounted for 64.1% of the sampled cases are statement/speech while 30 (5.5%) are publication/report. However, 99 which accounted for 18.3% of the sampled cases are reporters' interview. Whereas 33 which accounted for 6.1% of the sampled cases are press conferences, 18 (3.3%) are investigative reports. Yet, five which accounted for 0.9% are with no sources indicated. This result is graphically presented in Figure 4.21

**Figure 4:21**





The tables above represent the architecture of news sourcing in the Nigerian media which shows the hegemonic dominance of news hand outs from news sources and the near absence of investigative and interpretative reporting. A total of 347 (64.1%) of stories on the crisis were from statements/speeches from parties to the crisis while another 30(5.5%) are from publications or reports. Conversely, only 18 (3.3%) are investigative stories. Even though investigative reports may not match the other sources in number, it is obvious that the number of investigative stories is too low given the magnitude of the crisis under focus. The nature and magnitude of the crisis provide any enterprising journalist a wide berth for investigative reporting which has been largely neglected by the newspapers in this sample. This trend corroborates widely held opinion about the low level of investigative reporting in the Nigerian media. Veteran journalist and media trainer, Lanre Arogundade lamented this situation:

Amidst declining media patronage, mostly reflected in low newspapers/magazines circulation, growing concern about

the state of investigative journalism in Nigeria today is understandable. While no detailed study has been carried out on the issue, some have suggested that the reading public is probably becoming increasingly frustrated with the fact that most newspapers and magazines seem to be reporting the same stories and events, and often from a similar perspective of those in the corridors of power. So bad is the situation that even among journalists, the prevailing feeling is that if you have read one newspaper then you need not bother about the others. In the opinion of those who belong to this school of thought, investigative reporting is increasingly lacking in the Nigerian media and something should urgently be done about it. (Arogundade 2004: 3)

This study provides evidence of the extent of the absence of investigative reporting and the heavy reliance on press releases and conferences from parties to the conflict. Before 2011, the Nigerian press and civil society groups had pressed for the passage of a Freedom of Information Bill; but with the National Assembly passing the bill into an act the press and the general public have failed to put the act into serious use. The Act makes public records and information more freely available, provides for public access to public records and information, protects public records and information to the extent consistent with the public interest and the protection of personal privacy, protects serving public officers from adverse consequences of disclosing certain kinds of official information without authorization and establishes procedures for the achievement of those purposes. Section 1, subsections 1-3 specifically empowers both the individual and, by extension, the media to demand and get public information:

- (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in any other Act, law or regulation, the right of any person to access or request information, whether or not contained in any written form, which is in the custody or possession of any public official, agency or institution howsoever described, is established.
- (2) An applicant under this Act needs not demonstrate any specific interest in the information being applied for.
- (3) Any person entitled to the right to information under this Act, shall have the right to

institute proceedings in the Court to compel any public institution to comply with the provisions of this Act.

With so much legal backing, it is disappointing to see the low level of investigative stories in the media generally. This situation is accounted for by the socio-economic environment of media production which does not encourage the patient, painstaking and resource requirements of investigative reporting.

Veteran journalist and columnist, Sonala Olumhense lamented the near-absence of investigative journalism in contemporary Nigeria in an interview with *The Punch* to mark his 30 years as a columnist:

I think it has changed for worse....The most significant concern for me is that Nigerian journalism now sometimes sounds like a bulletin of the Ministry of Information. Stories are not about what is being done or not done- or who is responsible for them- but quotations of government officials and smirking spokesmen. There are few, if any, investigations; where there is one there is no follow up. Journalism is not institutionally hunting down the big stories. In the tradition in which I was raised, government officials feared journalists; today, journalists fear government officials. Ask yourself, why? (Abidde 2013:80).

This study corroborates the views of Olumhense and Arogundade as shown in the disproportionate representation of government voices in the reportage of the Jos crisis. A cross tabulation to show the performance by individual newspapers yielded no significant difference since almost all of them depend on statements/speech or press conference as shown below:

**Table 4.22**

*Cross tabulation of Newspaper by Main Source of News*

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Newspaper

Total

			The Guardian	The Standard	Punch	Daily Trust	
Main Source of News	Statement/speech	Count	10	160	1	176	347
		% of Total	1.9%	30.1%	.2%	33.1%	65.2%
	Publication/Report	Count	1	1	23	5	30
		% of Total	.2%	.2%	4.3%	.9%	5.6%
	Reporters interview	Count	15	9	57	18	99
		% of Total	2.8%	1.7%	10.7%	3.4%	18.6%
	Press conference	Count	19	5	1	8	33
		% of Total	3.6%	.9%	.2%	1.5%	6.2%
	Investigate report	Count	0	6	3	9	18
		% of Total	.0%	1.1%	.6%	1.7%	3.4%
	No source indicated	Count	1	0	0	4	5
		% of Total	.2%	.0%	.0%	.8%	.9%
Total		Count	46	181	85	220	532
		% of Total	8.6%	34.0%	16.0%	41.4%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square  $\chi^2 = 422.492^a$ ; df = 15; Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) = .000

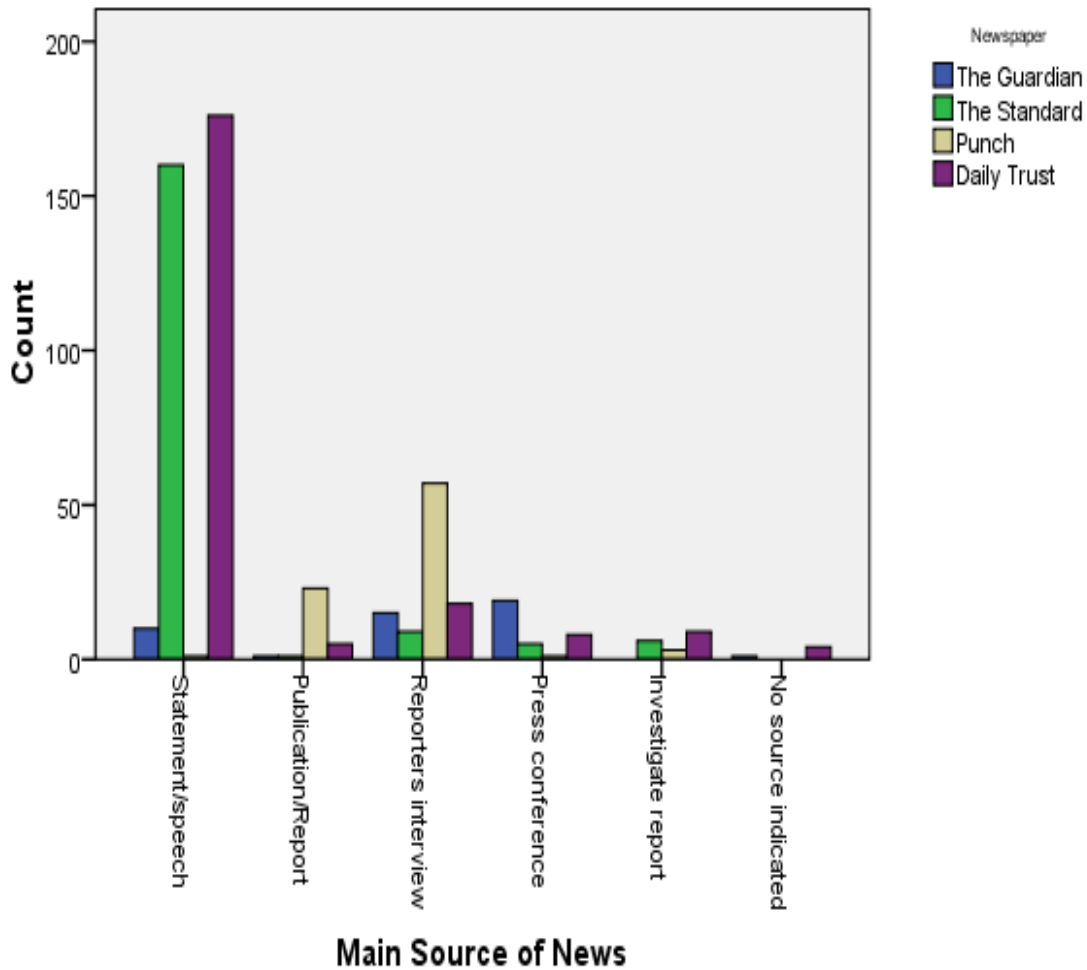
a. 9 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .43.

The results in Table 4.22 showed that there is a significant difference in the main source of news by newspaper ( $\chi^2 = 422.492$ ; df = 15;  $p < .001$ ). While the main source of news in *The Guardian* was press conference, those of *The National Standard* and *Daily Trust* were statement/speech while that of the Punch was reporters' interview. In the sum total, the main

source of news was foremost Statement/speech (347 accounting for 65.2% of the sampled cases) followed by reporters' interview (99 accounting for 18.6% of the sampled cases) while reports with no source indicated (5 accounting for 0.9% of the sampled cases) came last. This result is graphically presented in Figure 4.22

**Figure 4:22**





From the total of 18 investigative stories, *Trust* has nine, followed by *Standard* with six, *Punch* with three and *Guardian* with none. It is surprising however to note that *Standard* which is based in the crisis zone has been beaten by *Trust* based in neighbouring Abuja. This is accounted for by the poor funding of the newspaper as mentioned earlier, necessitating a heavy reliance on press hand outs especially from its proprietor, the Plateau State Government. The Lagos-based newspapers-*Punch* and *Guardian*- place a comparatively lower salience on the Jos crisis; hence their lower score on the investigative card. On the whole, it is evident that investigative reports are few and far between in the print media coverage of the crisis. This can be linked to the absence of conflict analysis tool by reporters. Conflict analysis as a tool necessarily involves the use of investigative reporting which in turn improves the quality of reporting and a high degree of conflict-sensitivity.

There appears to be a strong connection between conflict analysis, investigative reporting and conflict-sensitivity.

‘RQ 7: Are the journalists covering the Jos crisis aware of the concept of conflict-sensitive journalism?’

One of the questions in the interview guide asked the journalists about their awareness of the concept of CSJ and whether they have applied it in their coverage of the crisis. Only one of the respondents claim ignorance of the concept but he said he was aware of the need for objectivity. The other respondents’ answers are presented below:

Respondent one:

I am aware of the concept and I have applied it in the coverage. I give balanced reportage by hearing the view of both parties involved in the conflict.

Respondent two:

I am very well aware of the concept because I have attended workshops covering this topic. I apply it by avoiding inciting terms and phrases in my reports and by dwelling more on statements by security agencies like police, civil defence and STF (Special Task Force) on the crisis.

Respondent three:

Yes. It is the standard reporting technique which I apply by balancing my reports, by interviewing all the affected families (both Christians and Muslims) directly involved in the mayhem.

Respondent four:

Yes. I have applied it by balanced reportage in an objective manner where the cause of the crisis is brought to bare and a possible solution suggested.

Respondent five:

Yes. By detaching myself from what happened and by avoiding pitting one religion against

the others.

Respondent Six:

Yes. I was conscious to ensure that my reportage did not escalate the crisis or worsen the already bad situation on ground.

Respondent seven:

I am aware of the concept and I apply it by being careful the way I report the crisis. I must report in a way not to escalate the crisis.

Respondent eight:

Yes. It is applied by being professional and avoiding sensationalism.

Respondent Nine:

Yes. I am conscious not to allow sentiments in my report and sticking to the facts of the crisis and also by avoiding terms that might worsen the crisis.

From the statements above, it can be deduced that almost all the journalists claim to be aware of the concept of CSJ and believed that they applied it in the coverage of the Jos crisis. But it is obvious that their understanding of the concept differ widely. At best, each skirted aspects of the concept and none mentioned one critical aspect of CSJ- the need for conflict analysis while reporting the explosions in a crisis situation. Even though journalists claim to be aware of CSJ as a concept, they are unable to convincingly show how it was applied in their coverage. Indeed, the high level of sensational and inflammatory stories as shown by figure 4:22 above belies the claim of application of conflict- sensitivity in the coverage of the Jos crisis.

Q8: What constraints do the journalists face in the coverage of the Jos crisis?

To answer the above question, among others, an 11- item In-depth Analysis guide was designed and administered to journalists covering the Jos crisis at the time of this study.



Nine of the ten journalists interviewed mentioned personal insecurity as the major challenge they face in the coverage of the Jos crisis. As one of them put it, “The insecurity of the journalists on the beat is the greatest challenge because the warring factions would not want their actions to be published.” He recalled the day seven of them narrowly escaped death in the hands of some Fulani militia in Riyom LGA, “they came to attack while we were taking photographs of burnt houses in an earlier attack; we were dodging their bullets until we escaped.” Another journalist recalled that the Riyom attack on journalists took place “even in the presence of security personnel.” Incidents of attacks on journalists were from both sides of the major parties to the conflict as narrated by *The Guardian* correspondent who is a Muslim, “During the suicide bombing of Saint Finbar’s Church in Rayfield, some of the aggrieved youths who identified me as a Muslim attacked me.” With this situation of attack on journalists based on their religious beliefs, he said it got to a stage that the journalists had to restrict themselves to covering events taking place where their religious affiliations will not put them in danger thereby depending “on Christian Journalists for an event in a Christian-dominated area and *vice versa*.”

The implications of the above are manifold for the reliability of the generic stories sourced this way. First, it deprives the reader of the diverse angles from which the stories could have been written to give a composite view of the news. Second, a deliberate or inadvertent mistake in the story will be spread by all the correspondents to the detriment of truth, accuracy and fairness. Thus, the dictatorship of the hegemonic sources of news from a few journalists becomes contagious for all others.

A serious angle to the insecurity problem was the lack of insurance cover for journalists as mentioned by all the interviewees. Thus, in case of injury or death in the course of coverage, the journalist has nothing to fall back on as safety net. With this situation, the morale of the journalists can be assumed to be low and consequently his commitment to fearless investigative reports will be seriously impaired.

Next to the question of security is poor remuneration as mentioned by all journalists interviewed. As admitted by one of the journalists, it becomes difficult to resist the ‘brown envelope’ (a Nigeria journalist’s euphemism for monetary inducement) by partisan news sources who might want a story published or suppressed as the case may be.

Editorial and proprietorial influence was also listed by some of the journalists interviewed. As one of them put it “Some media houses are set up to protect certain interests like religion, region and ethnic groups. In doing this, their reports are biased thereby escalating the crisis...there were times when religious interests came in such that reports sent from us were altered or blown out of proportion at the head office.” (Interview: March 2013).

The situation described above touches on the question of secondary gate keeping which sometimes result from poor editorial skill or outright motive to misinform the readers for selfish reasons. When this happens, the press is open to charges of contributing to the escalation of the conflict they report on and as confirmed above, the manipulation of stories at the editorial offices did sometimes happen and can be seen as a major constraint for the professional performance of reporters on the field.

Another common constraint listed by journalists on the field is lack of necessary equipment to carry out their functions, especially modern communication gadgets and offices conducive for optimal performance. Even though most of them have access to the internet, they claim that bureaucratic bottle necks delay requisition for money to renew subscriptions or to service ancillary equipment for smooth operations.

The various problems listed by journalists partly explain the sometimes poor quality of the output. Personal security or even a feeling of it will embolden reporters to take extra steps to ensure professionalism in reporting. A situation where there is no sense of security and no insurance cover will only ensure that the journalist gives only minimum commitment to justify the next pay. If we add this to editorial and proprietorial influence and poor tools, then it is safe to assume that the ideals of conflict-sensitivity may be hampered.

## **DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

The findings have serious implications for the media, society and peace building efforts of both governmental and non-governmental institutions involved in conflict management. The finding that government ownership influenced the position of a government-owned

newspaper like the *National Standard* is consistent with earlier findings by Sobowale (1985:119) who investigated the influence of ownership on Nigerian newspaper coverage of national issues and found that “government papers deliberately played up the plus points of governments while they down played those stories that were unfavourable to the image of government.” Conversely, privately owned newspapers even though not subjected to direct censorship by the apparatus of government yielded to the dictates of proprietorial and geographical influences as exemplified by reports from *The Daily Trust* on the Jos crisis which betrayed an obvious anti-Plateau State government and governor as well as the so-called “natives” of the state. The apparent liberal reports from *The Guardian* and *The Punch* is accounted for by the relative lower salience of the issues involved in the Jos crisis to its proprietorial interests when compared to the two Northern newspapers in the theatre of conflict. Therefore, in the Jos Crisis, as in other major national crises in Nigeria since independence in 1960, the press has functioned more as appendages of the various power blocks rather than an objective chronicler of events in Nigeria. Altschull’s (1984) characterization of the “media as agents of power” is supported by the findings of this study. It is important to clarify the nature of power as not only the overt manifestations as seen in police harassment of journalists, torture and murder of journalists, draconian anti-press legislations and other overt acts but the insidious and pervasive use of influence by entrenched interests – socio-political, religious and other primordial and constructed identities peddled by hegemons. The other level of influence is wielded by the nature of education and knowledge possessed by media actors especially journalists and proprietors of media houses as to the proper role of the media in society. The implication of this is that Nigeria might have been saddled with media institutions and practitioners not sufficiently equipped to rise in proffering solutions to the national question beyond the manipulative influences of the wielders of power.

This study’s finding on the preponderance of sensational and inflammatory language confirms the charges by stake holders the world over about the media’s fascination with the sensational angles of stories. While clarifying the position of the Catholic Church on homosexuals against the backdrop of media misrepresentation of Pope Francis’ interview on the issue, Archbishop Emeritus of Lagos, Anthony Cardinal Okogie (2013:51) said, “the

media have given their classic coverage to this interview: sensationalism! Somehow they have convinced or rather confused many into thinking Pope Francis has changed the Church's position on homosexuals. Far from it.”

This study has somewhat given statistical evidence on the predilection of the media to take the sensational angle while reporting thus disagreeing with those who defend these charges against the media. Picard (1990:315) for example view charges of sensationalism and conflagrating conflict situations against the media as consisting of, “sweeping generalities, conjecture, supposition, anecdotal evidence based on dubious correlations, and endless repetition of equally weak arguments and non-scientific evidence offered by other writers on the subject.” This study does not agree with Picard's position.

Another related scenario to the use of language is the dominance of the crisis- focused stories as against stories adjudged to contribute to peaceful resolution of the crisis. This justifies Galtung's position that as the media work, they amplify the sound of guns while ignoring the peace forces at work. This indeed is the kernel of the argument of peace advocacy groups and other peace researchers and scholars against the media. They condemn the seeming fixation of the media on the scene of violence to the detriment of periodic peeps at the larger picture of the causes, course and possible solutions to the conflict. A conflict-sensitive media should be mindful of the need for peace, justice and unity in the society and rate such above the demands of market forces which favour sensationalism and the “when it bleeds, it leads” philosophy of journalism.

The muting of the female gender voices is consistent with several findings in peace and conflict literature and, indeed, other spheres of human endeavours. Women are known as major victims in violent crisis situations. Apart from their limited ability to defend themselves, they bear the brunt of bringing up the children as a consequence of having lost their male bread winners in the crisis. Given their relatively more peaceful dispositions as attested to throughout history, the structural bias entrenched in society ensure they are left out of debates on the way forward for society. As observed by Howard (2009:35), “gender disparity is one of the most common sources of violence, in a cultural-structural sense, but it is rarely recognised as an essential focus point in conventional reporting on conflict sources, and is marginalized. The impact of conflict on women, and the role of women in peace

building, is rarely given prominent coverage in reporting on conflict. Framing, the use of language and imagery, and even the traditional male structure of news organizations need to be considered to avoid stereotypes in reporting.” This study validates the observations of Howard above and points to a need for further sensitisation of the media on the need to mainstream gender in their reportage of conflict situations.

The dearth of investigative stories on the Jos crisis is symptomatic of the general malaise in the Nigerian press. With only 3.3% of stories arising from investigative efforts of the journalists, the situation can be linked to the lack of conflict analysis of the situation they are reporting on. In such a situation, no in-depth or critical perspective can be generated in the narrative of the Jos crisis beyond the handouts from conflict parties and government spin doctors. This is consistent with concerns raised in literature by scholars like Bratic, Ross and Kang-Graham (2008:1) when they pointed to the “well-documented elite domination, ethnocentrism, nationalism, and conflict escalation of the media” as particular points of concern within the field. The vaunted role of the press as the fourth estate of the realm is put to serious question when it cannot generate fresh and independent perspective on issues in society.

Apart from the overbearing influence of conflict parties and governments, the environment of operation puts some constraints on the journalists who operate amidst fear of their safety, poor remuneration, lack of insurance cover and other structural constraints. Thus, critiques of media performance and media development agencies need to factor these constraints into their interventions in getting the media to move to greater responsibility and professionalism. The tenet of the social responsibility theory to give news in a context that gives them meaning is similar to the calls by peace building groups for a media that is conflict sensitive. But this ideal cannot be fulfilled without a critical look at the social political and economic environment of news production. Dare (2000:175) echoed this point when he noted:

Even where the resources crucial to development are available, the print media, especially in Africa, will have to undergo some structural changes in order to be effective. They will have to be decentralized. They will have to embrace a definition of news that goes beyond what the

high and the mighty are doing, one that pays attention to process and is alert to trends. They will have to provide greater access and greater opportunity for public involvement in media operations, functioning as what McQuail (1994:131) has called “democratic-participant media” that recognize and uphold the public’s right to information, are actively committed to the project at hand, and serve as the vital link between senders and receivers of information.

Thus, the poor performance of the media in the coverage as shown in this study is not caused by the lack of a general knowledge of the demands of professionalism or even the tenets of peace and conflict-sensitive journalism, but the inability to surmount major structural constraints. Journalists covering the crisis profess a high level of awareness of the demands of conflict-sensitivity with some acknowledging participation in trainings and workshops on the concept but this is not reflected in their outputs. Given this scenario, a focus on the structural issues surrounding news production along with constant trainings and sensitization would seem the better option in achieving greater sensitivity in the works of journalists.

This study was anchored on three theories – framing, social responsibility and hegemony. With the poor performance of the media in the coverage, it can be argued, drawing from the theories, that the framing of the stories were not socially responsible owing largely to some hegemonic superstructure under which the media operated. Solutions to remedying the anomalies observed therefore, lie more in a re-examination of the superstructure supervening media operations so that they can contribute to societal development better. As noted by Dare (2000:173), “the print media can contribute to development by helping to build and sustain a constituency for democracy...they can educate the people on their fundamental rights, expose any abuse of such rights, and help bring about redress. By pronouncing against wrong, they can help develop and sustain a culture of openness and accountability.”

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study set out to examine the application of conflict-sensitive journalism principles in the coverage of the Jos crisis by selected newspapers in Nigeria. Specifically, the study was interested in the extent to which ownership and location affected the framing of the crisis by the various newspapers and the general direction of language use by the media. It also investigated the extent to which the media focused on peace initiatives in their reportage of the crisis and whether the media reflected media sensitivity during the coverage. The study was also interested in the dominant sources of news for the media and the use of investigative techniques by the media. Also of interest to the study is the extent of awareness of the concept of conflict-sensitive reporting and the general constraints journalists faced during the coverage of the protracted Jos crisis.

The study used the combination of quantitative content analysis and In-depth interview of journalists which was analysed qualitatively. A coding schedule was constructed to elicit data from news reports and editorials on the crisis by four purposively selected newspapers based on the geographical, ownership and political orientations of the media in Nigeria. An interview guide was also drawn up and interviews conducted with journalists covering the Jos crisis.

### 5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

#### **Influence of ownership and location on pattern of coverage**

There was a wider coverage by Northern based newspapers but they differ significantly on issues such as the party to blame on the crisis.

While *Trust* blames the Plateau State Government and Governor Jonah Jang, *National Standard* blamed the Hausa/Fulani “settlers” and commented positively on all actions taken by the Plateau State Government and Governor Jang in managing the crisis in Jos. The two southern based newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Punch*, provided a more balanced account of the crisis.



On whether there should be declaration of emergency, *Trust* supported the idea while *National Standard* opposed it and called those supporting the idea as unpatriotic and enemies of Plateau and anarchists. The declaration of state of emergency would have helped the Hausa/Fulani to dislodge the Jang administration and probably gain upper hand since as at the time a Hausa/Fulani was the president of Nigeria and their interest would assumedly be taken into consideration by their son, the president. Even the House of Assembly in neighbouring Bauchi state considered and recommended a declaration of State of emergency and was given generous and positive coverage by the *Trust* while the *Standard* condemned the call and the Bauchi legislators.

The rivalry between the two media houses in the North sometimes degenerated into an *ad hominem* argument towards the person and not the issue being debated. Writers are singled out for attack and the organisation derided. For example, Mr. Adamu Adamu (columnist for *Trust*) was described by *Standard* as peddling a mis-informed position and denying holocaust against Jews an issue outside the debate on the Jos crisis. Clearly therefore, their geographical location and ownership influenced significantly their framing of issues involved in Jos crisis. This is against the requirement of the social responsibility theory of the press and an indication of hegemonic forces influencing media content as against professional standards expected of the media. Such reports cannot pass of conflict-sensitivity.

#### **General direction of the language use in the coverage of the crisis**

The study discovered that inflammatory and sensational language dominated media discourse on the Jos crisis as against moderate and temperate stories. The use of language by the media is believed to have, along with other socio-political variables like the impunity that seem to be rampant from previous offenders, contributed to the cycle of reprisals characteristics of the Jos protracted crisis. Thus the performance of the media can be said to be below expected professional standards (use of sensational and inflammatory languages discussed above) and could contribute to the conflagration of the crisis.

#### **Focus on peace initiatives.**

One of the core requirements of peace and conflict sensitive journalism is the call on the media to also focus on peace initiatives while covering conflict situations (Galtung 1969 ), (Jake Lynch and McGoldrick,2005)

More than 70% of the stories on the Jos crisis focused on the conflict – skirmishes, gory accounts, guilty parties – to the detriment of peace initiatives and appeals. The media were transfixed on the scenes of the crisis with scant attention on other possibilities for conflict transformation. Only 29.6% of stories focused on peace initiatives and most of the stories were obtained at press conferences and venues of the several peace panels set up by the governments and not from investigative actions of the media. This is not surprising as there was no evidence of the use of conflict analysis tools by any of the media outlets reporting the Jos crisis. This follows the much criticized trend in the media of reporting negative and sensational aspects of crisis and not the “patient, long term work of thousands, millions of citizens.” (Galtung 1993: xi)

### **Gender Sensitivity**

Issues affecting women include gender discrimination which consigns them to roles ascribed to them by the male and exclusion from certain benefits as equal partners in project humanity. Consistent with other findings is the silencing of the female voices in the coverage of the Jos crisis. Even though studies have shown that women bear the brunt of crisis, the systemic muting of their voices in the coverage is wide-spread. Only 32% of the voices represented by the media are female while 88% are of the male gender. This gives the impression of a male dominated world both in peace and conflict situations in spite of the fact that society is replete with “brainy, bold and daring trailblazers, unlimited by the mere fact of being women, nor restricted as in old days when a woman’s place was considered to be in the kitchen.” (Iroh 2011:3).

The media’s social responsibility of reflecting “all sides” of a story is not served by the exclusion of female voices in conflict situations. It is a reflection of gender insensitivity by the selected newspapers in the coverage of Jos crisis. The major implication is the loss of alternative voices in the search for peace on the Plateau.

### **Use of Investigative approaches in the coverage**

This study also showed the dearth of investigative stories in the coverage of the Jos crisis. Most stories are mere handouts from partisan sources. Only 3.3% of the total stories on the crisis emanated from investigative works of the journalists, 64.1% are from speeches and statements obtained from press conferences and press releases. With such a situation dominant voices of parties to the crisis and their spin doctors dominate the media with their hegemonic tendencies. An investigate story, when well carried out, will provide more angles and voices in understanding the crisis and hence point the way to an enduring management and mitigation of the crisis.

### **Constraints of the journalists in the coverage**

Journalists covering the Jos crisis overwhelmingly mentioned personal insecurity as the major constraint they encounter on the field. In a situation where journalists dodge bullets and face hostile parties to the conflicts, the absence of insurance for the journalist jeopardies their ability to go the extra mile. Poor remuneration was also mentioned by the respondents. The multiplier effects of insecurity, lack of insurance and poor remuneration might have helped in accounting for the poor performance of the media in conflict situations. Poor remuneration is known to pre-dispose journalists to receive bribes euphemistically known as “brown envelopes” from conflict parties who want a particular narrative of the conflict situation.

### **Awareness of the concept of CSJ**

Results from the interview of journalists showed that nine out of the 10 journalists interviewed claim to be aware of the concept and requirements of CSJ. They pointed to the need for balance, fairness and objectivity as principles of CSJ. However, there appears to be a big gap between awareness and praxis as demonstrated by the analysis of the stories produced by these reporters. Results from the content analysis showed the use of emotive and sensational language, focus on the negative, gender insensitivity and lack of conflict analysis and investigative reporting which are essential requirements for conflict sensitivity. An explanation for this scenario is the structural environment from which the journalists perform their duties: a hegemonic dominance of entrenched voices of state and socio-political potentates, physical and psycho-social insecurity of journalists, among others.

## **5.2 CONCLUSIONS**

Contrary to the assumption by the mainstream media that they merely report conflict and do not contribute to conflict, this study presents evidence from a particular conflict theatre to debunk this claim. The study shows that through the use of sensational language, focus on episodic eruptions, lack of investigative approaches and failure to use conflict analysis tools, among other weaknesses, the media working with other variables and dispositions, do indeed create a fertile ground for conflict to fester. The study upholds the suspicions and allegations leveled by scholars, institutions and individuals on the predilection of the media to contribute to conflict through unprofessional conducts. This is consistent with earlier findings by Sobowale (1986) Goretti (2007), Obijiofor (2008 ), Bratic and Kang-Graham (2008), Galadima and Olaniyi (2009) and others.

Explanations for media performance in conflict situations can be explained by conditions both conditions inherent within the media operations and the general environment of operations. Internal conditions include insecurity, lack of insurance cover, the profit motive, incompetence and corruption while external factors include manipulation by conflict parties and governments, societal biases on gender and the general primordial crisis of citizenship nationhood in a developing country like Nigeria.

## **5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

1. Given the importance of a vibrant media and the special demands on the media in conflict situations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) designed a curriculum for conflict-sensitive reporting. (See appendix). It is recommended that all training institutions should adopt and domesticate the model curriculum to enable them produce journalists and other media workers skilled in the special demands of reporting on conflicts especially the need for conflict analysis to enhance their outputs.

2. Media establishments are also enjoined to initiate and sustain trainings on conflict-sensitive reporting for their workers at regular intervals to hone their skills in this area against the background of increasing cases of crisis in Nigeria.
3. The Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) should also sensitize members through workshops, seminars and similar forums on the imperative of conflict sensitive reporting.
4. It is also recommended that the 1998 Code of Ethics for Journalists be reviewed to include specific sections on the need and steps for conflict sensitive journalism in the practice of the profession in Nigeria.
5. Organizations and groups are encouraged to engage media professionals to study and understand media operations environment before engaging with the media. They also need to disaggregate the media into its component parts. This will enable them to know when and how to use the media rather than a glib reference to the need to see the “media as partners” in peace building.
6. For society to get the kind of media it deserves, the remuneration and working conditions of journalists must be seriously improved to shield them from being easy preys to those who seek to influence contents through inducements as often happen in conflict situations. A professional and independent minded journalist will be difficult to produce and sustain under conditions of financial insecurity.
7. As a matter of necessity, journalists should enjoy insurance cover as they carry out their often dangerous duties so that they are assured that in case of disability or death in the course of duty the family will have something to fall back on. This is a standard condition of service in Western countries after which our media are patterned.
8. The ombudsman job of calling the media to order when it errs has never been effective in Nigeria since the establishment of the Nigerian Press Council (NPC), the body charged with the duty. Even though it has been bogged down by crisis of legitimacy arising from its domination by government appointees, the time has come to strengthen it as a means of curbing the excesses of the media. Thus, the audiences

of the media can complain and get redresses for the observed infractions and other peccadilloes of the media that detract from the standards imposed by the social responsibility theory of the press.

#### **5.4 CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE**

1. This study has applied the conceptual seminal approach of Conflict sensitive journalism to assess the performance of the media in Nigeria as against the more generalist peace journalism approach common in the literature. Even in the literature beyond the shores of Nigeria, the use of the conflict sensitive approach is few and far between. This conflict-sensitivity test approach as shown in this study clarifies specific criteria for measurement of performance.
2. In terms of method, the study combines the quantitative content analysis with in-depth interviews of journalists covering an ongoing crisis, as it were, on the battle field to provide the environment of the media performance.
3. The results have provided research-based evidence on the pattern of reporting conflicts by the press in Nigeria which may influence the course of the conflict they report on.
4. It is also a quantitative measurement of the degree of culpability of the media on charges of sensationalism, gender insensitivity, bias, low level of investigative reports and failure to use conflict analysis tools.
5. The study also points to the hegemonic influences shaping the performance of the media. Specifically, journalists are influenced by proprietorial, economic and political interests.
6. The study also shows the sometimes negative role of secondary gatekeeping in the determination of the final output of the media given complaints by journalists on the field about distortions of their submissions at the point of editing and publication.

#### **5.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES**

1. Given the limitations and delimitations of this study, the following suggestions for further studies are recommended:
2. There is the need to replicate this study using the conflict sensitive approach in many other conflict contexts. This will help to validate the findings of this study.
3. The use of the other agencies of communication is recommended. Other researcher may look at online and the social media, broadcast media, interpersonal and group communication or a combination of two or more of these agencies.

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**APPENDIX I**

**CODING SHEET**

1. Case No		<input type="text"/>
2. Newspaper	1. The Guardian	<input type="text"/>
	2. The Nigeria Standard	
	3. Punch	
	4. Daily Trust	
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7. Position of Story	1. Main Lead	<input type="text"/>
	2. Other Front Page	



3. Editorial Page
8. Main Source of News
1. Statement/ Speech
  2. Publication/Report
  3. Reporter's Interview
  4. Press Conference
  5. Public Opinion Poll
  6. Investigative Report
7. No source indicated
9. Dateline of Story
1. Plateau State
  2. Abuja
  3. Other states
  4. Foreign country
10. The Main Speaker/Actors
1. Fed. Govt. Official
  2. State Govt. Official
  3. Local Govt. Official
  4. Politician
  5. Community leader
  6. Member of Public
  7. Professionals
  8. Others (Specify).....
11. Gender of the Main Speaker
1. Male
  2. Female
12. Direction of Story
1. Positive
  2. Negative
  3. Neutral
13. Language/Tone
1. Conciliatory
  2. Inflammatory

3. Sensational
4. Moderate
14. Main Theme of Story
1. Crisis focus
  2. Peace initiatives
  3. Other (specify).....
15. Organizations/Institutions mentioned in the story
1. Federal Government
  2. State Government
  3. Local Government
  4. Educational Institution
  5. Political Party/Politician
  6. Civil Society/Human Rights Org.
  7. International Org.
  8. Religious Org.
  9. Ethnic/Socio-cultural Org.
  10. Economic/Financial/Industrial Org.
  11. Local Militia
  - 12 Settlers
  - 13 Natives

**APPENDIX II**

**INTERVIEW GUIDE**

I am a doctoral student of the University of Ibadan conducting a research on newspaper reportage of the Jos crisis, particularly on adherence to the principles of conflict sensitivity. The research requires me to interview correspondents covering the crisis. To this end, I am soliciting your cooperation in responding to the questions listed below. Since the questions involve an assessment of your media organization, your anonymity will be guaranteed. Thanks for your cooperation.

Peter Jide Jimoh

Peace and Conflict Programme

Institute of African Studies

University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

What would you say has been your challenges in covering crisis situation generally?

What would you say is unique in the coverage of the Jos crisis

Can you recall a moment or moments of danger you have encountered in the coverage of the Jos crisis? (Either on the field or outside the field).

Are you aware of the principles of conflict-sensitive Journalism?

Would you say you have applied conflict-sensitivity in you reportage of the crisis?

In what ways(s) have you applied conflict sensitive journalism?

Are you aware of conflict analysis tools

(If answer to question 7 is yes then pose question 8, otherwise proceed to question 9).Did you apply these tools in your coverage of the Jos Crisis?

Would you say ownership of your newspaper has affected your reports on the crisis?

Please expatiate on your answer to question 9 above.

What changes, if any, would you recommend for media owners to help improve the coverage of crisis situations?

What have you observed among colleagues that you would like to advise them against?

Is there any other comment you would like to make?

APPENDIX III

NEWSPAPERS CONTENT-ANALYZED.

NEWSPAPER	DAY	MONTH	YEAR
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**APPENDIX IV**  
**CODE OF ETHICS**

**CODE OF ETHICS FOR NIGERIAN JOURNALISTS**

**PREAMBLE**

Journalism entails a high degree of public trust. To earn and maintain this trust, it is morally imperative for every journalist and every news medium to observe the highest professional and ethical standards. In the exercise of these duties, a journalist should always have a healthy regard for the public interest.

Truth is the cornerstone of journalism and every journalist should strive diligently to ascertain the truth of every event.

Conscious of the responsibilities and duties of journalists as purveyors of information, we, Nigerian journalist, give to ourselves this Code of Ethics. It is the duty of every journalist to observe its provisions.

**1. EDITORIAL INDEPENDENCE**

Decisions concerning the content of news should be the responsibility of a professional journalist.

**2. ACCURACY AND FAIRNESS**

- i. The public has a right to know. Factual, accurate balance and fair reporting is the ultimate objective of good journalism and the basis of earning public trust and confidence.
- ii. A journalist should refrain from publishing inaccurate and misleading information. Where such information has been inadvertently published, prompt correction should be made. A journalist must hold the right of reply as a cardinal rule of practice.

- iii. In the course of his duties a journalist should strive to separate facts from conjecture and comment.

### **3. PRIVACY**

As a general rule, a journalist should respect the privacy of individuals and their families unless it affects public interest.

A. Information on the private life of an individual or his family should only be published if it impinges on public interest.

B. Publishing of such information about an individual as mentioned above should be deemed justifiable only if it is directed at:

- i. Exposing crime or serious misdemeanor;
- ii. Exposing anti-social conduct;
- iii. Protecting public health, morality and safety;
- iv. Preventing the public from being misled by some statement or action of the individual concerned.

### **4. PRIVILEGE / NON-DISCLOSURE**

- i. A journalist should observe the universally accepted principle of confidentiality and should not disclose the source of information obtained in confidence.
- ii. A journalist should not breach an agreement with a source of information obtained as “off- the-record” or as “back ground information.

### **5. DECENCY**

- i. A journalist should dress and comport himself in a manner that conforms with public taste.
- ii. A journalist should refrain from using offensive, abusive or vulgar language.
- iii. A journalist should not present lurid details, either in words or picture, of violence, sexual acts, abhorrent or horrid scenes.



- iv. In case involving personal grief or shock, enquiries should be carried out and approaches made with sympathy and discretion.
- v. Unless it is in the furtherance of the public's right to know, a journalist should generally avoid identifying relatives or friends of persons convicted or accused of crime.

## **6. DISCRIMINATION**

A journalist should refrain from making pejorative reference to a person's ethnic group, religion, sex or to any physical or mental illness or handicap.

## **7. REWARD AND GRATIFICATION**

- i. A journalist should neither solicit nor accept bribe, gratification or patronage to suppress or publish information.
- ii. To demand payment for the publication of news is inimical to the notion of news as a fair, accurate, unbiased and factual report of an event.

## **8. VIOLENCE**

A journalist should not present or report acts of violence, armed robberies, terrorist activities or vulgar display of wealth in a manner that glorifies such acts in the eyes of the public.

## **9. CHILDREN AND MINORS**

A journalist should not identify, either by name or picture, or interview children under the age of 16 who are involved in cases concerning sexual offences, crimes and rituals or witchcraft either as victims, witnesses or defendants.

## **10. ACCESS TO INFORMATION**

A journalist should strive to employ open and honest means in the gathering of information. Exceptional methods may be employed only when the public interest is at stake.

## **11. PUBLIC INTEREST**

A journalist should strive to enhance national unity and public good.

## **12. SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY**

A journalist should promote universal principles of human rights, democracy, justice, equity, peace and international understanding.

## **13. PLAGIARISM**

A journalist should not copy, wholesale or in part, other people's work without attribution and/or consent.

## **14. COPYRIGHT**

- i. Where a journalist reproduces a work, be it in print, broadcast, art work or design, proper acknowledgement should be accorded the author.
- ii. A journalist should abide by all rules of copyright, established by national and international laws and conventions.

## **15. PRESS FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY**

A journalist should strive at all-times to enhance press freedom and responsibility.

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## APPENDIX V

### **Conflict-Sensitive Reporting: State of the Art**

A Course for Journalists and Journalism Educators

**By Ross Howard**

### **Conflict-Sensitive Reporting: State of the Art**

A Course for Journalists and Journalism Educators

By Ross Howard

The ideas and opinions expressed in this publication are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of UNESCO.

The designations employed and the presentation of material throughout the publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning its frontiers or boundaries.

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## **Preface**

Media play an increasingly important role in today's society. We know that freedom of expression and freedom of the press is having a clear bearing on development, democracy and dialogue. The free flow of information should not be hindered; on the contrary the media should have all the necessary space to contribute to disseminate information and knowledge with the objective of developing inclusive knowledge societies. At the same time journalists and editors must demonstrate their professionalism. Ethical and professional standards are required to make the best out of the pivotal role good journalism plays in today's societies. A key issue in this context is the way the media deal with conflicts. Unfortunately our world is still marked by a high number of conflicts and by the consequences of natural disasters. The media must report on these and their reporting should comply with high ethical and professional standards. In the past we have seen terrifying examples of how media have functioned in an inciting and inflammatory manner contributing to fuel conflict and civil war.

It is with the objective to strengthen the capacity of media professionals to report in a well researched, factual and non-biased way, and without contributing to conflict that UNESCO has asked Ross Howard to develop this curriculum for Conflict-Sensitive Reporting. It is intended to strengthen media's capacity to contribute to dialogue, mutual understanding and eventually reconciliation and peace.

I hope that this book will be used by journalism educators and by journalists all over the world. For the sake of peace, for development, and for the sake of democracy this is imperative.

**Abdul Waheed Khan**

## 1. Introduction: About this study

In much of the world, the violent conflict that the media must report on has changed. It is increasingly not traditional warfare between nations but now is violent strife among people within common or rough borders, often between communities and tribes and other interests. Violent conflict is increasingly a lawless and terrifying exploitation of civilians and resources by poorly-trained soldiers or paramilitary forces or private armies engaged in crime to sustain their violence. State authority and the rule of law are weak or collapsed. The low-intensity violence recurs erratically. The news media, with its new technologies and wider reach, is increasingly a target for misinformation, manipulation or suppression by interests seeking to profit from the violent conflict.

Nothing more clearly confirms the relationship between the news media and violent conflict than the contradiction between two current trends. The number of acute violent conflicts around the world fortunately is declining. But the number of journalists killed in those conflict-stressed places and elsewhere has sharply risen.

2 Journalists are increasingly targets of war-mongers because of the media's potential to influence the course of conflict resolution. Much of the news media's approach to reporting on conflict, however, has not changed. Conflict is a curious blind spot in journalism education and training. Traditional journalism skills development has not included study of how best to cover violent conflict, and has ignored any understanding of violent conflict as a social process. Other subjects demand that journalists have knowledge and expertise and experience, such as reporting on business and economics, public health, music, sports, or other topics. But the dynamics of violent conflict – its instigation, development and resolution – are not much understood by most journalists nor proficiently reported on. In today's increasingly changed environment of conflict more and more journalists find themselves ill-equipped to address the issue which demands so much of their attention and is devastating their community. Too much, the news media is accused of being part of the problem of conflict.

Working journalists in conflict-stressed countries are more acutely aware than colleagues in established democracies that as journalists and as citizens their work may seem insufficient, superficial and possibly harmful. “We cover it (conflict) simplistically, vividly, incessantly but we do not cover it with sophistication. We don’t cover causes, only consequences, and we don’t cover solutions,” says media development specialist Marie-Soleil Frere,<sup>3</sup> quoting journalists in Africa.

The need for some new approaches to reporting on violent conflict seems clear, especially to journalists in the most conflict-stressed places. Among journalism trainers consulted for this study several said that when the opportunity for reflection arises, journalism trainees often request techniques for reporting on conflict in their community.

The news media’s traditional role is often said to be to serve the public interest by being a reliable information provider, a forum for free speech and a watchdog of government. In their hearts many journalists believe their work can help make the world a better place. But in environments where such roles seem to make little difference to the perpetual cycle of violence, there is understandable frustration and disillusionment among journalists and their supporters.

In response, some well-intentioned journalists, academics and peace researchers propose a new practice of reporting that consciously works for peace and engages reporters in the roles of advocacy; but that response puts at risk those traditional roles and first principles that assure journalism any legitimacy among most citizens. It is news media’s independence and objectivity that gives journalists’ work its credibility and its influence in informing people who must make changes themselves towards peaceful resolution of their conflicts.

Instead of taking on more roles, journalism in conflict-stressed zones must strengthen its original roles. What is needed is some of that sophistication in reporting that Marie-Soleil Frere’s colleagues spoke of. With some understanding of conflict – why it turns violent, what are common causes, what motivates war-mongers and peace-makers and ordinary citizens, how societies resolve their conflicts without violence, who speaks of such things, and how to report on conflict without inflaming it –journalists can more confidently report

on conflict without compromising their principles. Part of being a reliable provider of information is not to advocate what should happen but to reveal what can happen, including peace.

For more than a decade some journalism trainers, instructors and researchers have attempted to develop training methodologies and content that responds to the need for more sophistication among journalists reporting on conflict, especially in conflict-stressed states. A handful of course outlines, training modules and pamphlets and books on conflict reporting have emerged, alongside the more rapid recognition in the wider world of peacebuilding research that the quality of journalism is integral to the process of conflict resolution. This study begins with an examination of that recognition of journalism's role in peacebuilding.

The study then examines attempts to define journalism's role and appropriate practices related to conflict resolution. And it presents a curriculum or course outline for an adaptable training programme to respond, as best possible, to the expressed and perceived needs of journalists reporting on violent conflict, especially within their own communities, countries and regions. This study also includes Field Notes or observations and recommendations for any trainers or course leaders presenting the course in Conflict-Sensitive Reporting in a conflict stressed environment.

It also includes Case Histories, describing two very recent initiatives to present conflict sensitive reporting training in violence-stressed states, Kenya and Somalia. And it includes a Resources List of several essential documents for course leaders to refer to in search of further guidance in both concepts and practices, examples of training modules and other resources in developing Conflict-Sensitive Reporting training initiatives. The concepts and techniques described in the curriculum are intended to provide guides to a rudimentary understanding of conflict and conflict resolution and the news media's role. The curriculum is a preliminary sensitization, an introduction to the substantive field of conflict analysis and conflict resolution that has developed over more than a half- century. The intention is to make reporting on conflict more insightful, more comprehensive and thus more influential,

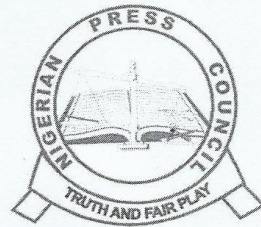
since being comprehensive includes making clearer the possibilities of resolving conflict rather than perpetuating it.

For more than 30 years agencies of development and peace such as UNESCO and individual countries have dedicated attention and funding to capacity-building among journalists and news media outlets in states in transition. Much of the underlying rationale for the training reflected the Western libertarian view of the news media as a non-partisan and independent institution that enables well-informed citizen decision-making by providing information, serving as a forum for free expression, and keeping government accountable. Many of these capacity-building initiatives were motivated by the belief that a reliable news media – meaning accurate, neutral and responsible in its reporting and methods – would contribute to achieving good governance and democratic development, and be an indirect support for human development. As part of their neutrality or objectivity, media workers were considered professionally disengaged from the outcome of their work. It was assumed that the strengthened local media would broaden and deepen the information and the debate that citizens need to live their lives and make important decisions about who governs for them.

Many of these assumptions and assertions have been proven well-founded. Hundreds of millions of dollars (US) cumulatively have been devoted to international aid for news media development, most of it for training and education and in some cases for material and equipment. An early example is the large effort of USAID in Latin America in the 1980s, followed later by USAID initiatives in the former Soviet Union. Support for media development accelerated with the decline of Cold War structures and attitudes. Success in integrating media-based programmes into humanitarian relief and health, agriculture and education programmes increased interest in what media could do for democratization. The removal of Cold War barriers enabled greater dissemination of news to previously inaccessible audiences. It also allowed media development initiatives in previously totalitarian countries. Technological advances gave the electronic media an almost global ubiquity and capacity to reach most remote places with economically affordable reception.



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								GSM: 0805210035 6 <a href="http://WWW.LEADERSHIPNG">WWW.LEADERSHIPNG</a>	<a href="mailto:LEADERSHIPGROUP24@GMAIL.COM">LEADERSHIPGROUP24@GMAIL.COM</a> <a href="http://WWW.LEADERSHIPNG">WWW.LEADERSHIPNG</a> GSM: 0805210035 6	YARA DUA WAY, UTAKO	TO BE THE NUMBER ONE NEWSPAPER IN NIGERIA				
LEADERSHIP SUNDAY	SEPTEMBER, 2004	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	WEEKLY	LEADERSHIP NEWSPAPER GROUP LTD.	COMPANY	SAM NDA ISAIAH	AWAL MUAZU S. LEADERSHIP GROUP41@GMAIL.COM GSM: 0805210035 6 <a href="http://WWW.LEADERSHIPNG">WWW.LEADERSHIPNG</a>	27 IBRAHIM TAHIR LANE, OFF SHEHU YARA DUA WAY, UTAKO <a href="mailto:LEADERSHIPGROUP24@GMAIL.COM">LEADERSHIPGROUP24@GMAIL.COM</a> <a href="http://WWW.LEADERSHIPNG">WWW.LEADERSHIPNG</a> GSM: 0805210035 6	27 IBRAHIM TAHIR LANE, OFF SHEHU YARA DUA WAY, UTAKO	FOR GOD AND COUNTRY  <a href="http://VISION">VISION</a> TO BE THE NUMBER ONE NEWSPAPER IN NIGERIA				
LEADERSHIP WEEKEND	SEPTEMBER, 2004	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	WEEKLY	LEADERSHIP NEWSPAPER GROUP LTD.	COMPANY	SAM NDA ISAIAH	SADIQ ABDULLATEEF LEADERSHIP GROUP41@GMAIL.COM GSM: 0805210035 6 <a href="http://WWW.LEADERSHIPNG">WWW.LEADERSHIPNG</a>	27 IBRAHIM TAHIR LANE, OFF SHEHU YARA DUA WAY, UTAKO <a href="mailto:LEADERSHIPGROUP24@GMAIL.COM">LEADERSHIPGROUP24@GMAIL.COM</a> <a href="http://WWW.LEADERSHIPNG">WWW.LEADERSHIPNG</a> GSM: 0805210035 6	27 IBRAHIM TAHIR LANE, OFF SHEHU YARA DUA WAY, UTAKO	FOR GOD AND COUNTRY  <a href="http://VISION">VISION</a> TO BE THE NUMBER ONE NEWSPAPER IN NIGERIA				
LEADERSHIP HAUSA	SEPTEMBER, 2004	HAUSA	NEWSPAPER	WEEKLY	LEADERSHIP NEWSPAPER GROUP LTD.	COMPANY	SAM NDA ISAIAH	AL-AMIN CIROMA LEADERSHIP GROUP41@GMAIL.COM GSM: 0805210035 6 <a href="http://WWW.LEADERSHIPNG">WWW.LEADERSHIPNG</a>	27 IBRAHIM TAHIR LANE, OFF SHEHU YARA DUA WAY, UTAKO <a href="mailto:LEADERSHIPGROUP24@GMAIL.COM">LEADERSHIPGROUP24@GMAIL.COM</a> <a href="http://WWW.LEADERSHIPNG">WWW.LEADERSHIPNG</a> GSM: 0805210035 6	27 IBRAHIM TAHIR LANE, OFF SHEHU YARA DUA WAY, UTAKO	FOR GOD AND COUNTRY  <a href="http://VISION">VISION</a> TO BE THE NUMBER ONE NEWSPAPER IN NIGERIA				
PEOPLES TIMES	MARCH, 2004	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	WEEKLY	PEOPLES TIMES LTD.	COMPANY	ROBINSON HERBERT	AUSTIN JOHNSON	SUITE C 31, EFAB MALL	SUITE C 31, EFAB	TRUTH, CONSCIENCE				

								AUJOHNSON 14GMAIL.COM M GSM: 0809810937 3, 0803605303 0	2, GARKI, AREA 11 PEOPLESTIM ES@YAHOO. COM WWW.PEOP LESTIMESNG .COM GSM: 0703747349	MALL 2, GARKI, AREA 11	CE AND HUMANITY  VISION TO FOSTER UNDERSTA NDING THROUGH KNOWLED GE					
NEWSDAY	2 <sup>ND</sup> JAN., 2002	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	DAILY	NEWSDAY NEWSPAPER LTD.	COMPANY	CHIEF EDET OKON ISONG	USMAN WAZIRI GSM: 0803977196 5 NEWSDAY@ YAHOO.COM WWW.NEWS DAYNGONW EB.COM	PLOT 497 PEACE PARK UTAKO GSM: 0803977196 5	PLOT 497 PEACE PARK UTAKO	YOUR RIGHT TO KNOW					
PEOPLES DAILY	2008	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	DAILY	PEOPLES MEDIA LTD.	COMPANY	RUFIA IBRAHIM	ABDULAZEEZ ABDULAH PMLNEWSDE SK@GMAIL.C OM GSM: 09- 8734478 WWW.PEOP LESDAILY.O NLINE.COM	PEACE PARK PLAZA UTAKO, ABUJA PMLNEWSDE SK@GMAIL.C OM GSM: 09- 8734478 WWW.PEOP LESDAILY.O NLINE.COM	PEACE PARK PLAZA UTAKO, ABUJA	PUTTING THE PEOPLE FIRST  VISION REPUTABL E, PROFITABL E, INNOVATI VE					
PEOPLES DAILY WEEKEND	2008	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	WEEKLY	PEOPLES MEDIA LTD.	COMPANY	RUFIA IBRAHIM	JAMILU NUHU MUSA PMLNEWSDE SK@GMAIL.C OM GSM: 09- 8734478 WWW.PEOP LESDAILY.O NLINE.COM	PEACE PARK PLAZA UTAKO, ABUJA PMLNEWSDE SK@GMAIL.C OM GSM: 09- 8734478 WWW.PEOP LESDAILY.O NLINE.COM	PEACE PARK PLAZA UTAKO, ABUJA	PUTTING THE PEOPLE FIRST  VISION REPUTABL E, PROFITABL E, INNOVATI VE					
ABUJA INQUIRY	2004	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	WEEKLY	GAZETTA COMM. LTD.	COMPANY	DAN AKPOVWA	EMMANUEL OGBECH THEINQUIR BUJA@YAH O.COMUK GSM: 0803302799	27B, OKE- AGBE STREET, OFF SAMUEL LADOKE AKINTOLA BOULEVARD	27B, OKE- AGBE STREET, OFF SAMUEL LADOKE AKINTOLA	GIVING VOICE TO THE PEOPLE	THIS NEWSPA PER WILL BE FAIR, TRUTHFU LAND CIVIL.				



								5 <a href="http://WWW.ABUJAINQUIRER.COM">WWW.ABUJAINQUIRER.COM</a>	GARKI II <a href="mailto:THEINQUIRER@YAHOO.COM">THEINQUIRER@YAHOO.COM</a> GSM: 08033027995 <a href="http://WWW.ABUJAINQUIRER.COM">WWW.ABUJAINQUIRER.COM</a>	BOULEVA RD GARKI II		HOWEVER WE SHALL BITE AND SCREAM IF NEED BE TO ENSURE THAT INJUSTICE IS NOT TOLERATED.			
BLUE PRINT	2011	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	DAILY	BLUE PRINT NEWSPAPER LTD	COMPANY	ZAINAB OKINO	IBRAHIM SHEME <a href="mailto:IBRAHIMSHEME@BLUEPRINTNG.COM">IBRAHIMSHEME@BLUEPRINTNG.COM</a> GSM: 07098214724, 08094000071 <a href="http://WWW.BLUEPRINTNG.COM">WWW.BLUEPRINTNG.COM</a>	26/27 MISSISSIPPI STREET, MAITAMA GSM: 07098214724, 08094000071 <a href="http://WWW.BLUEPRINTNG.COM">WWW.BLUEPRINTNG.COM</a>	26/27 MISSISSIPPI STREET, MAITAMA GSM: 07098214724, 08094000071	FOR TRUTH AND JUSTICE	BLUE PRINT IS COMMITTED TO THE TENET OF THE STORY HOPE TO OUR LIVES AS A NATION. WE WILL EAGERLY FIGHT THOSE THAT THREATEN NIGERIA'S WELLBEING. G. UNITY AND PROGRESS.			
SUNDAY TRUST	2006	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	DAILY	MEDIA TRUST LTD.	COMPANY	MANNIR DAN ALI	ABDULLAHI TASIJI ABUBAKAR SUNDAYTRUST.COM <a href="http://WWW.DAILYTRUST.COM">WWW.DAILYTRUST.COM</a> GSM: 08191141886, 09-6711379	20 P.O.W MAFEMI CRESCENT, OFF SOLOMON LAR WAY, UTAKO <a href="http://WWW.DAILYTRUST.COM">WWW.DAILYTRUST.COM</a> GSM: 08191141886, 09-6711379	20 P.O.W MAFEMI CRESCENT, OFF SOLOMON LAR WAY, UTAKO <a href="http://WWW.DAILYTRUST.COM">WWW.DAILYTRUST.COM</a> GSM: 08191141886, 09-6711379	TRUST IS A BURDEN	TO DISSEMINATE CREDIBLE INFORMATION FOR THE GOOD OF ALL STAKEHOLDERS	20,000 – 50,000	10,000 – 20,000	10,000 – 20,000
NATIONAL ACCORD	2006	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	DAILY	THE ACCORD NEWSPAPER LTD	COMPANY	TOM OHIANEMEN	EWACHE AFEFU <a href="mailto:NATIONALACCORD@GMAIL.COM">NATIONALACCORD@GMAIL.COM</a> <a href="http://WWW.NATIONALACCOR">WWW.NATIONALACCOR</a>	SUITE 005, TRANSPHARM PLAZA, OPPOSITE JABI MOTOR PARK <a href="http://WWW.NATIONALACCOR">WWW.NATIONALACCOR</a>	SUITE 005, TRANSPHARM PLAZA, OPPOSITE JABI MOTOR	A COMMON BOND	TO PROTECT THE INTEREST OF THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE	3,000 DAILY		

								DNEWSAPER.COM GSM: 0709821373 7	CORD@GMAIL.COM WWW.NATIONALACCOR DNEWSAPER.COM GSM: 0709821373 7	PARK NATIONAL ACCORD@GMAIL.COM WWW.NATIONALACCOR DNEWSAPER.COM GSM: 0709821373 7		ESPECIAL LY THE WEAK AND THE VOICELES S IN THE SOCIETY.			
THE ROAD	2008	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	DAILY	THE ROAD MAP MEDIA LTD	COMPANY	ABDULRAZ AQUE BELLO BARKINDO	ANDREW FADASON ROADNIGERI A@GMAIL.COM WWW.ROAD MAPNIGERIA .COM GSM: 0803314670 5, 0809085984 7	PLOT 564/565, 3 <sup>RD</sup> FLOOR BLOCK 'B' INDEPEND ENCE AVENUE, CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT ROADNIGERI A@GMAIL.COM WWW.ROAD MAPNIGERIA .COM GSM: 0803314670 5, 0809085984 7	PLOT 564/565, 3 <sup>RD</sup> FLOOR BLOCK 'B' INDEPEND ENCE AVENUE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT ROADNIG ERIA@GM AIL.COM WWW.RO ADMAPNI GERIA.CO M GSM: 08033146 705, 08090859 847	ON THE TRACK OF CHANGE	TO STAND FOR GOOD GOVERN ANCE, WE SHALL DEFEND THE INTEREST OF NIGERIA N STATE EVEN AGAINST THE LEADERS AND WE SHALL RAISE OUR PEN AT ALL TIMES IN DEFENCE OF WHAT IS RIGHT	10,000 – 20,000	10,000 – 20,000	10,000 – 20,000
NATIONAL TRAIL	2011	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	WEEKLY	TRAIL PUBLICATIO N LTD	COMPANY	ANJILI KWARI	ABDUL- AZEER SULEIMAN NATIONALTR AILBLAZER@ GMAIL.COM WWW.NATI ONTRAILING. COM GSM: 0806315182	10 ONITSHA CRESCENT, OFF GIMBIA STREET, AREA 11 NATIONALTR AILBLAZER@ GMAIL.COM WWW.NATI ONTRAILING. COM GSM: 0806315182	10 ONITSHA CRESCENT, OFF GIMBIA STREET, AREA 11 NATIONAL TRAILBLAZ ER@GMAI L.COM WWW.NA TIONTRAIL NG.COM	JUSTICE AND SOCIETY	WE HOLD OUR PENS TO FIGHT FOR JUSTICE AND SOCIETY THUS, WE ARE SOLDIERS OF THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE WE SHALL BLAZE THE TRAIL AT	3,000 DAILY		



										GSM: 08063151 82		ALL TIMES EVEN AGAINST PRINCIPAL TIES RULERS INJUSTICE AND WHATEVER HOLDS DOWN OUR FREEDOM.			
THISDAY	1995	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	DAILY	LEADERS AND COMPANY LTD	COMPANY	NDUKA OBAIGBEN A	IJEOMA NWOGUGU EDITOR@THI SDAYLEAVE. COM WWW.THISD AYLEAVE.CO M GSM: 0815555529 2	PLOT 1 SECTOR CENTRAL B JABI BUSINESS DISTRICT, OFF SOLOMON LAR WAY EDITOR@THI SDAYLEAVE. COM WWW.THISD AYLEAVE.CO M GSM: 0815555529 2	PLOT 1 SECTOR CENTRAL B JABI BIZ DIST OFF SOLOMON LAR WAY EDITOR@ THISDAYL EAVE.CO M WWW.TH SDAYLEAV E.COM 08155555 292	TRUTH AND REASON	TO ENSURE VIBRANT JOURNAL ISM	20,000 – 50,000	20,000 – 50,000	20,000 – 50,000
NIGERIAN PILOT	2011	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	DAILY	DOM COMMUNIC ATIONS LTD	COMPANY	DENNIS SAMI	OBINNA F. NWACHUKW U NIGERIANPIL OT@YAHOO. COM WWW.NIGE RIANPILOT.C OM GSM: 0809781698 7	BLOCK 'A' 1 AMAC BESIDE HERITAGE HOUSE WUSE ZONE 3 NIGERIANPIL OT@YAHOO. COM WWW.NIGE RIANPILOT.C OM GSM: 0809781698 7	BLOCK 'A' 1 AMAC BESIDE HERITAGE HOUSE WUSE ZONE 3 NIGERIAN PILOT@YA HOO.COM WWW.NI GERIANPIL OT.COM GSM: 08097816 987	NEWSPAPE R WITH CONSCIEN CE	DRIVEN, POLITICA L BUSINESS AND RELATED NEWS TO EMPOWE R NIGERIA NS	10,000 – 20,000	10,000 – 20,000	10,000 – 20,000
NEWSWEEK	1989	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	MONTHLY	COMPANY	NEWSWEE K PUBLICATI ONS LTD.	GARUBA DANGIDA	REMI ADEBAYO. NEWSWEEK1 989@YAHOO .COM WWW.NEWS WEEKNIGERI AN.COM GSM:	'B' CLOSE 1 <sup>ST</sup> AV. GWARINPA NEWSWWE K1989@YAH OO.COM WWW.NEWS WEEKNIGERI AN.COM	'B' CLOSE 1 <sup>ST</sup> AV. GWARINP A NEWSWW EEK1989@ YAHOO.C OM WWW.NE			3,000 – 5,000	3,000 – 5,000	3,000 – 5,000



								0803623297 6, 0806953768 4	GSM: 0803623297 6, 0806953768 4	<u>WSWEEKN</u> <u>IGERIAN.COM</u> GSM: 08036232 976, 08069537 684							
LEADWATCH	2008	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	MONTHLY	COMPANY	LEADWATCH PUBLICATION LTD	JOSEPH ODE	SHEGUN ADEYEMI <u>JOSSYODE@</u> <u>YAHOO.COM</u> GSM:080359 73114	NO. 4 AWKA CLOSE, SUITE 5F D6, NOBLE PLAZA AREA 10 <u>JOSSYODE@</u> <u>YAHOO.COM</u> GSM:080359 73114	NO. 4 AWKA CLOSE, SUITE 5F D6, NOBLE PLAZA AREA 10 <u>JOSSYODE</u> <u>@YAHOO.</u> <u>COM</u> GSM:0803 5973114	SETTING PACE IN DEVELOP MENTAL JOURNALIS M	TO BE ONE OF THE BEST DEVELOP MENTAL MAGAZI NE IN THE NATION	2,000 – 3,000	2,000 – 3,000	2,000 – 3,000		
KILIMANJAR O	2010	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	YEARLY	COMPANY	MEDIA TRUST LTD	PROF OKELLO OCULI	TADAFERUA UJORHA <u>WWW.DAILY</u> <u>TRUST.COM</u> GSM: 0803589705 5	20 P.O.W MAFEMI CRESCENT, OFF SOLOMON LAR ROAD, UTAKO DISTRICT	20 P.O.W MAFEMI CRESCENT, OFF SOLOMON LAR ROAD, UTAKO DISTRICT	TRUST IS A BURDEN  <u>VISION</u> TO BE A WORLD CLASS MEDIA COMPANY THAT EARNS PUBLIC TRUST	TO DISEMIN ATE CREDIBLE INFORMA TION FOR THE GOOD OF ALL STAKEHO LDERS	5,000 yearly				
AFRICAN LEADERSHIP	2005	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	MONTHLY	COMPANY	LEADERSHI P AND EVENT LTD.	KEN GIAMI	KINSLEY OKEKE <u>KINSLEY@AF</u> <u>RICANLEADE</u> <u>RSHIPMAGA</u> <u>ZINE.COM</u> <u>WWW.AFRIC</u> <u>ANLEADERS</u> <u>HIPMAGAZI</u> <u>NE.COM</u> GSM: 0803792063 9, 09- 8165687	13 MAMBILA STREET, OFF ASO DRIVE, ASOKORO. <u>INFO@AFRIC</u> <u>ANLEADERS</u> <u>HIPMAGAZI</u> <u>NE.COM</u> <u>WWW.AFRIC</u> <u>ANLEADERS</u> <u>HIPMAGAZI</u> <u>NE.COM</u> GSM: 0803792063 9, 09- 8165687	13 MAMBILA STREET, OFF ASO DRIVE, ASOKORO. <u>INFO@AF</u> <u>RICANLEA</u> <u>DERSHIPM</u> <u>AGAZINE.</u> <u>COM</u> <u>WWW.AF</u> <u>RICANLEA</u> <u>DERSHIPM</u> <u>AGAZINE.</u> <u>COM</u> GSM: 08037920 639, 09- 8165687	INNOVATI VE ENTREPRE NEURSHIP DEVELOPM ENT  <u>VISION</u> TO BE AN UNDISPUT ED VEHICLE OF CHOICE IN THE VANGUAR D OF SHOWCASI NG THE CONTINEN T CONTINUA	TO HERALD THE DAWN OF A NEW AFRICAN, AS THE CONTINE NT OF PROMISE AND GLOBAL LEADERS HIP	3,000 Copies (Abuja)	3,000 Copies (South Africa)	5,000 Copies in West Africa (Ghana and Liberia)		

THE POLITICO	DEC. 15, 2010	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	BI MONTHLY	COMPANY	VERITAS MEDIA LTD (RC 912496)	MUSTAPHA SHEHU	MUSTAPHA SHEHU THEPOLITICO EDITOR@YMAIL.COM WWW.POLITICO.COM GSM: 0803612415 3,080364688 18	PLOT 1238, LADOKE AKINTOLA BOULEVARD GARKI II THEPOLITICO EDITOR@YMAIL.COM WWW.POLITICO.COM GSM: 0803612415 3,080364688 18	PLOT 1238, LADOKE AKINTOLA BOULEVARD GARKI II THEPOLITICO COEDITOR@YMAIL.COM WWW.POLITICO.COM GSM: 0803612415 3,080364688 18	L GROWTH LEADERSHIP THROUGH POLITICS	AN ATTEMPT AT MAKING PRINT JOURNALISM MORE EXCITING AND INFORMATIVE TO NIGERIANS	5,000 per issue		
GOVERNMENT	JUNE 2012	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	WEEKLY	COMPANY	LEADERSHIP GROUP LTD.	SAM NDA - ISIAH	OLUFEMI JUNE LEADERSHIP41@GMAIL.COM WWW.LEADERSHIP.NG 08052100356	27 IBRAHIM TAHIR LANE, UTAKO.	LEADERSHIPGROUP24@GMAIL.COM WWW.LEADERSHIP.NG 08052100356	FOR GOD AND COUNTRY	WE STAND UP FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE	10,000 - 20,000		
NIGERIAN NEWS WORLD	1996	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	WEEKLY	COMPANY	DON COMMUNICATIONS LTD.	DENNIS SAMI	DOUEMI M. SIGHA EDITORNEWSWORLD@YAHOO.COM WWW.NIGERIANNEWSWORLD.COM 09-7831217	A 1 AMAC PLAZA, WUSE ZONE 3, ABUJA. EDITORNEWSWORLD@YAHOO.COM WWW.NIGERIANNEWSWORLD.COM 09-7831217	A 1 AMAC PLAZA, WUSE ZONE 3, ABUJA. EDITORNEWSWORLD@YAHOO.COM WWW.NIGERIANNEWSWORLD.COM 09-7831217	TO EDUCATE, INFORM AND ENTERTAIN	TO CONTRIBUTE TO DEMOCRATIC EGALITARIAN SOCIETY	10,000 - 20,000		
PEOPLE DEMOCRAT	2012	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	MONTHLY	COMPANY	VUUVUZEAL NIG. LTD	JUDE NDUKWU	GEORGE NDUKWU GEORGENDUKWU@GMAIL.COM WWW.VUUVUZEAL.COM 08060219952	SUITE A12 EFAB MALL EXTENSIONAL REA 11, GARKI, PEOPLESDEMOCRAT@GMAIL.COM GSM: 08060219952	SUITE A12 EFAB MALL EXTENSIONAL REA 11, GARKI, PEOPLESDEMOCRAT@GMAIL.COM GSM: 08060219952	UNITING NIGERIANS WITH ONE VOICE VISION TO PROMOTE THE CONCEPT OF	TO PROVIDE A SIDE OF THE NEWS AND REPORTS THAT YOU JUST CANT FIND	1,000 monthly		



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										08060219 952	COMMUNI TY IN THE NATION AND COME AND AWARD WINNING JOURNAL OF OPINION AND THOUGHT THROUGH BALANCE COVERAGE OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL THEMES	ANYWHE RE ELSE WITH A STYLE AND WITH TO KEEP YOU INTEREST ED AND INFORME D.			
PEOPLE AND POLITICS	2003	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	MONTHLY	COMPANY	DEGRACEL AND COMM. LTD.	SHEDDY OZOENE	JULIUS OGUNRO	NO 50 NILE STREET, OFF ALVAN IKOKU WAY MAITAMA PEOPLESAND POLIATICS@ YAHOO.COM WWW.PEOP LESANDPOLI TICS.COM.N G GSM: 080252724 7, 0803303113 2,	NO 50 NILE STREET, OFF ALVAN IKOKU WAY MAITAMA PEOPLES ANDPOLI ATICS@YAH OO.COM WWW.PE OPLESAND POLITICS.C OM.NG GSM: 08025272 477, 08033031 132					
PEOPLE MONTHLY	2005	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	MONTHLY	COMPANY	GREAT AND GAMALIEL LTD	CHIEF H UGBOLUE	MR. CHRIS NWAKOCHA TURNINGPOI NT115@YAH OO.COM WWW.PEOP LEMONTHLY. COM GSM: 0803601369 3	SUITE B1, BOBSAR COMPLEX, AREA 11 TURNINGPOI NT115@YAH OO.COM WWW.PEOP LEMONTHLY. COM GSM: 0803601369 3	SUITE B1, BOBSAR COMPLEX, AREA 11 TURNINGP OINT115 @YAHOO. COM WWW.PE OPLEMON THLY.COM GSM: 08036013	GIVING INFORMAT ION ADDING VALUE  VISION TO TOUCH LIVES AND IMPACT POSITIVELY TO THE SOCIETY	TO INFORM ENTERTAI N AND EDUCATE IN MANNER TO SET AGENDA FOR THE SOCIETY, CELEBRA TING			

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										693	THROUGH RESPONSIVE JOURNALISM	ACHIEVERS AND MOTIVATING THE POPULATION.			
ECONOMIC CONFIDENTIAL		ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	MONTHLY	COMPANY	IMAGE MERCHANTS PROMOTION	DONATUS ETUKUDO	SANYA ADEJOKU ECONOMICCONFIDENTIAL@YAHOO.COM WWW.ECONOMICCONFIDENTIAL.COM GSM: 0705172673, 080657912762	SUITE 003 SHALTI PLAZA, SAPELE STREET, GARKI II ECONOMICCONFIDENTIAL@YAHOO.COM WWW.ECONOMICCONFIDENTIAL.COM GSM: 0705172673, 080657912762	SUITE 003 SHALTI PLAZA, SAPELE STREET, GARKI II ECONOMICCONFIDENTIAL@YAHOO.COM WWW.ECONOMICCONFIDENTIAL.COM GSM: 0705172673, 080657912762	FACTUAL AUTHORITY ACCESSIBLE				
AFRICAN DECENT MAGAZINE		ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	BI MONTHLY	COMPANY	FESTFRUT COMMUNICATIONS	FUSTUS ASIKHIA	FESTUS EROMI-PAUL WWW.AFRICANDISENT.COM	PLOT 2311. OPPOSITE MINISTERS HILL BY ASO RADIO, KATEMPE GSM: 08037147253, 08034984111 WWW.AFRICANDISENT.COM	PLOT 2311. OPPOSITE MINISTER S HILL BY ASO RADIO, KATEMPE GSM: 08037147253, 08034984111 WWW.AFRICANDISENT.COM	GOOD GOVERNANCE, ENTERPRIS E CELEBRATING CULTURE. VISION TO BE A LEADING PROVIDER OF SOLUTION TO GOVERNANCE BY PROVIDING PUBLIC FRIENDLY DRIVE TO SMALL BIZ NEEDS. TO BECOME A MEDIA LEADER IN CULTURAL RENAISSA	TO BE THE MOST ACCEPTABLE MAGAZINE FOUND EVERYWHERE IN AFRICA AND TO PLAY THE PIVOT ROLE IN INSPIRING LEADERS HELPING THEM SHAPE, BELIEF IN EDUCATION, EMPOWERING SELF EMPLOYED			

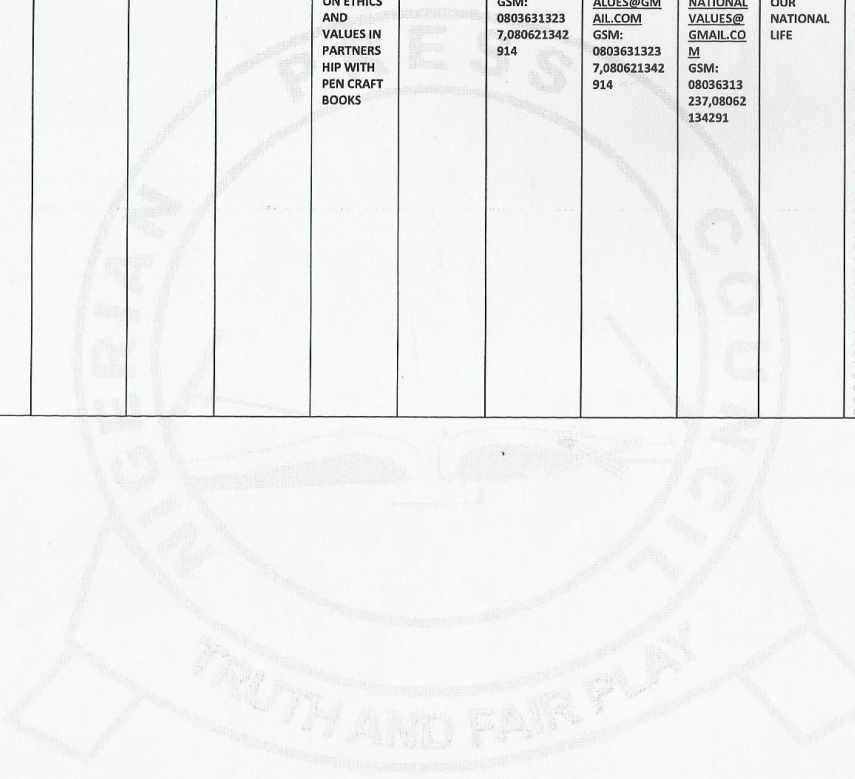
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DEVELOPME NT MONITOR	JAN. 2005	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	QUARTERL Y	COMPANY	MEDIA IDEALS FOR DEVELOPM ENT (MIDEV)	PETER O. EMUEKPER E	OSHONIMU ODU DEVMONITO RNG@YAHO O.COM WWW.MIDE VINTERNATI ONAL.COM GSM: 0803598662 7, 0802570713 2	TEAM WORK SUITE, 1 FLOOR STANDARD PLAZA, KUTSI CLOSE, OFF AMINU KANO, WUSE II	TEAM WORK SUITE, 1 FLOOR STANDAR D PLAZA, KUTSI CLOSE, OFF AMINU KANO, WUSE II	PROMOTIN G GOOD GOVERNA NCE, PEACE AND DEVELOPM ENT	TO HARNASS THE DIVERSE POTENTI AL OF THE MEDIA, TO ENHANCE SOCIAL POLITICA L AND ECONOM IC DEVELOP MENT IN AFRICA			
METROPOLE	2012	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	MONTHLY	COMPANY	SW4 MEDIA LTD SUITE 303 ZETO COURT 3, AREA 1	WAZIRI ADIO	OLADELE AKANNI INFO@METR OPOLE.COM. NG WWW.METR OPOLE.COM. NG 09-6230949	SUITE 303, ZETO COURT 3, OSHOGBO CLOSE, AREA 11, GARKI	SUITE 303, ZETO COURT 3, OSHOGBO CLOSE, AREA 11, GARKI	PULSE OF THE NATION'S CAPITAL				
NATIONAL VALUES	JULY, 2012	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	MONTHLY	COMPANY	OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL	VALENTINE OPALUWA EJEH	CLEMENT CHUKWUDIF U (KSM)	2 <sup>ND</sup> FLOOR, 1A ROOM 2- 26-2-40 FED	2 <sup>ND</sup> FLOOR, 1A ROOM 2-	TOWARDS REJUVENA TING	TO MAKE NATIONAL ETHICS AND VALUES			

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						ADVISER TO THE PRESIDENT ON ETHICS AND VALUES IN PARTNERS HIP WITH PEN CRAFT BOOKS		NATIONAL VALUES@GM AIL.COM GSM: 0803631323 7,080621342 914	SECT COMPLEX NATIONAL VALUES@GM AIL.COM GSM: 0803631323 7,080621342 914	26-2-40 FED SECT COMPLEX NATIONAL VALUES@ GMAIL.CO M GSM: 08036313 237,08062 134291	ETHICS AND VALUES IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE	PUBLICATION AN AVANT GARDE MAGAZINE, TO BE A CONSISTENT MEDIUM FOR THE DISSEMINATI ON OF INFORMATIO N ON THE VIRTUES OF ETHICAL BEHAVIOR THUS PROMOTING SENSE OF MORAL VALUES IN NIGERIA AND FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF ACCOUNTABI LITY IN PUBLIC OFFICES AS ENSHRINED IN OUR NATION AND NATIONAL ANTHEM, PLEDGE AND FLAG AND THEREFORE ENHANCE NATIONAL DEVELOPME NT.			
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Publication	Yr. of 1 <sup>st</sup> Publication	Language of Publication	Type of Publication (Mag., or N/paper)	Category: Daily or weekly	Publishing Company	Publisher	Editor-in-Chief Managing Director	Editor, e-mail, website	Corporate H/quarter Address, Te l, e-mail, website	Abuja Off. Address	Motto/ Vision	Mission /Mandate	Avg Cir. Monday -Friday	Avg Cir. On Saturday	Avg Cir. Sunday
THISDAY	1995	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	DAILY	LEADERS & COMP. LTD		NDUKA OBAIGB-ENA		35, CREEK RD., APAPA, LAGOS. BOX 54749, IKOYI, LAGOS. 080	PLOT 1SECTOR CENTRE 'B', JABI BUSINESS DISTRICT, SOLOMON TEL: 08076290 487; 08076262 90488	TRUTH & REASON				
THISDAY ON SATURDAY	1995	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	WEEKLY	LEADERS & COMP. LTD		NDUKA OBAIGB-ENA		35, CREEK RD., APAPA, LAGOS. BOX 54749, IKOYI, LAGOS.	PLOT 1SECTOR CENTRE 'B', JABI BUSINESS DISTRICT, SOLOMON TEL: 08076290 487; 08076262 90488	TRUTH & REASON				
THISDAY ON SUNDAY	1995	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	WEEKLY	LEADERS & COMP. LTD		NDUKA OBAIGB-ENA		35, CREEK RD., APAPA, LAGOS. BOX 54749, IKOYI, LAGOS. 0	PLOT 1SECTOR CENTRE 'B', JABI BUSINESS DISTRICT, SOLOMO TEL: 08076290 487; 08076262 90488	TRUTH & REASON				
THE GUARDIAN	1983	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	DAILY	GUARDIAN NEWSPAPER S LIMITED			MARTINS OLOJA	RUTAM HOUSE, ISOLO, LAGOS. P.M.B 1217, OSHODI, LAGOS 01-4489600; 2798269;		CONSCI-ENCE, NURTURED BY TRUTH				

									2798270; 07098147948; 07098147951L ETTERS@NGRG UARDIANNEW S.COM WEBSITE: WWW.NGRGU ARDIANNEWS. COM						
THE GUARDIAN ON SATURDAY	1983	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	WEEKLY	GUARDIAN NEWSPAPER S LIMITED			FELIX OGUEJIOFOR ABUGU	RUTAM HOUSE, ISOLO, LAGOS. P.M.B 1217, OSHODI, LAGOS  01-4489600; 2798269; 2798270; 07098147948; 07098147951L ETTERS@NGRG UARDIANNEW S.COM WEBSITE: WWW.NGRGU ARDIANNEWS. COM		CONSCI- ENCE, NURTURED BY TRUTH				
THE GUARDIAN ON SUNDAY	1983	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	WEEKLY	GUARDIAN NEWSPAPER S LIMITED			JAHMAN OLADEJO ANIKULAPO.	RUTAM HOUSE, ISOLO, LAGOS. P.M.B 1217, OSHODI, LAGOS 01-4489600; 2798269; 2798270; 07098147948; 07098147951L ETTERS@NGRG UARDIANNEW S.COM WEBSITE: WWW.NGRGU ARDIANNEWS. COM		CONSCI- ENCE, NURTURED BY TRUTH				
THE PUNCH	1974	ENGLISH	N/PAPER		PUNCH (NIG) LIMITED			MARTIN AYANKOLA (AG ED)	1, OLU ABODERIN STREET, ONIPETESI, IKEJA, LAGOS. P.M.B 21204, IKEJA TEL: 01- 7749311 EMAIL: LAGOSPUNC H@PUNCHN G.COM WEBSITE:	MILLENIUM BUILDERS' PLAZA, BLOCK A, 1 <sup>ST</sup> FLOOR, REAR WING, 251,  HERBERT MACAULAY WAY, CADASTRAL ZONE, OPP. NNPC TOWERS, CENTRAL BUSINESS					



									WWW.PUNCHNG.COM	DISTRICT							
SATURDAY PUNCH	1974	ENGLISH	N/PAPER		PUNCH (NIG) LIMITED				EMEKA MADUNAGU (AG. ED) 1, OLU ABODERIN STREET, ONIPETESI, IKEJA, LAGOS. P.M.B 21204, IKEJA TEL: 01-7749311 EMAIL: LAGOSPUNCH@PUNCHNG.COM WEBSITE: WWW.PUNCHNG.COM	MILLENIUM BUILDERS' PLAZA, BLOCK A, 1 <sup>ST</sup> FLOOR, REAR WING, 251, HERBERT MACAULAY WAY, CADASTRAL ZONE, OPP. NNPC TOWERS, CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT							
SUNDAY PUNCH	1974	ENGLISH	N/PAPER		PUNCH (NIG) LIMITED				TOYOSI OGUNSAYO (AG. ED) 1, OLU ABODERIN STREET, ONIPETESI, IKEJA, LAGOS. P.M.B 21204, IKEJA TEL: 01-7749311 EMAIL: LAGOSPUNCH@PUNCHNG.COM WEBSITE: WWW.PUNCHNG.COM	MILLENIUM BUILDERS' PLAZA, BLOCK A, 1 <sup>ST</sup> FLOOR, REAR WING, 251, HERBERT MACAULAY WAY, CADASTRAL ZONE, OPP. NNPC TOWERS, CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT							
DAILY SUN	2003	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	DAILY	THE SUN PUBLISHING LIMITED				STEVE NWOSU 2, COSCHARIS ST., KIRIKIRI INDUSTRIAL LAYOUT, APAPA, LAGOS. P.M.B 21776, IKEJA, LAGOS	2 <sup>ND</sup> FLOOR, GOUBA PLAZA, UTAKO DISTRICT, ABUJA TEL: 09-8700273-6	VOICE OF THE NATION	TO PRACTICE JOURNALISM IN THE CLASSICAL NEWSPAPER TRADITION OF PRESENTING THE NEWS AND FEATURES IN AN					

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									TEL: 01-8980932, 6211239 EMAIL: WWW.SUNNEWSONLINE.COM			EXCITING STYLE WITH IMPACT, OBJECTIVITY AND APPEAL THAT GENERATE RETURNS TO ALL STAKEHOLDERS: THE SOCIETY, THE INVESTORS AND THE PRACTITIONERS			
SATURDAY SUN	2003	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	WEEKLY	THE SUN PUBLISHING LIMITED		ONUOHA UKEH	, COSCHARIS ST., KIRIKIRI INDUSTRIAL LAYOUT, APAPA, LAGOS. P.M.B  21776, IKEJA, LAGOS  TEL: 01-8980932, 6211239 EMAIL: WWW.SUNNEWSONLINE.COM	2 <sup>ND</sup> FLOOR, GOUBA PLAZA, UTAKO DISTRICT, ABUJA TEL: 09-8700273-6	VOICE OF THE NATION	TO PRACTICE JOURNALISM IN THE CLASSICAL NEWSPAPER TRADITION OF PRESENTING THE NEWS AND FEATURES IN AN EXCITING STYLE WITH IMPACT, OBJECTIVITY AND APPEAL THAT GENERATE RETURNS TO ALL STAKEHOLDERS: THE SOCIETY, THE INVESTORS AND THE PRACTITIONERS				
SUNDAY SUN	2003	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	WEEKLY	THE SUN PUBLISHING LIMITED		FUNKE EGBEMODE	, COSCHARIS ST., KIRIKIRI INDUSTRIAL LAYOUT, APAPA, LAGOS. P.M.B  21776, IKEJA, LAGOS  TEL: 01-8980932, 6211239 EMAIL: WWW.SUNNEWSONLINE.COM	2 <sup>ND</sup> FLOOR, GOUBA PLAZA, UTAKO DISTRICT, ABUJA TEL: 09-8700273-6	VOICE OF THE NATION	TO PRACTICE JOURNALISM IN THE CLASSICAL NEWSPAPER TRADITION OF PRESENTING THE NEWS AND FEATURES IN AN EXCITING STYLE WITH IMPACT, OBJECTIVITY AND APPEAL THAT GENERATE RETURNS TO ALL STAKEHOLDERS: THE SOCIETY, THE INVESTORS AND THE PRACTITIONERS				

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								WWW.SUNN EWSONLINE. COM			INVESTORS AND THE PRACTITIONERS			
VANGUARD	1984	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	DAILY	VANGUARD MEDIA LIMITED			MIDENO BAYAGBON 01-7742861.	VANGUARD AVENUE, KIRIKIRI CANAL, APAPA, LAGOS. P.M.B 1007, APAPA. TEL: 018773962; 01-8944295 EDITOR@VAN NGUARDNG R.COM; NEWS@VAN GUARDNGR. COM; LETTERS@VA NGUARDNG R.COM	09- 2341102; 09- 2342704	MOTTO: TOWARDS A BETTER LIFE FOR THE PEOPLE			
SATURDAY VANGUARD	1984	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	WEEKLY	VANGUARD MEDIA LIMITED			CHIOMA GABRIEL 0806231528 6	VANGUARD AVENUE, KIRIKIRI CANAL, APAPA, LAGOS. P.M.B 1007, APAPA. TEL: 018773962; 01-8944295 EDITOR@VAN NGUARDNG R.COM; NEWS@VAN GUARDNGR. COM; LETTERS@VA NGUARDNG R.COM	09- 2341102; 09- 2342704.	MOTTO: TOWARDS A BETTER LIFE FOR THE PEOPLE			
SUNDAY VANGUARD	1984	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	WEEKLY	VANGUARD MEDIA LIMITED			JIDE AJANI	VANGUARD AVENUE, KIRIKIRI CANAL, APAPA, LAGOS. P.M.B 1007, APAPA. TEL: 018773962; 01-8944295 EDITOR@VANGU ARDNGR.COM; NEWS@VANGUAR	09- 2341102. 09- 2342704	MOTTO: TOWARDS A BETTER LIFE FOR THE PEOPLE			

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									DNGR.COM; LETTERS@VANGU ARDNGR.COM; SNUDAYVANGUA RD@YAHOO.COM											
NATIONAL MIRROR		ENGLISH	N/PAPER	DAILY	GLOBAL MEDIA MIRROR LTD			SEYI FASUGBA	MIRROR HOUSE, 155/161 BROAD ST, LAGOS; PMB10001, MARINA, LAGOS. 0702710740 7. MAIL@NATI ONALMIRRO RONLINE.NE T; WWW.NATI ONALMIRRO RONLINE.NE T	NICON INSURANCE HOUSE, 2 <sup>ND</sup> FLOOR, CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT AREA, ABUJA. 08070428 249	ALL THE FACTS, ALL THE SIDES									
SATURDAY MIRROR		ENGLISH	N/PAPER	WEEKLY	GLOBAL MEDIA MIRROR LTD			GBEMIS-OLA OLUJOBI	MIRROR HOUSE, 155/161 BROAD ST, LAGOS; PMB10001, MARINA, LAGOS. 0702710740 7. MAIL@NATI ONALMIRRO RONLINE.NE T; WWW.NATI ONALMIRRO RONLINE.NE T	NICON INSURANCE HOUSE, 2 <sup>ND</sup> FLOOR, CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT AREA, ABUJA. 08070428 249	ALL THE FACTS, ALL THE SIDES									
SUNDAY MIRROR		ENGLISH	N/PAPER	WEEKLY	GLOBAL MEDIA MIRROR LTD			BOLAJI TUNJI	MIRROR HOUSE, 155/161 BROAD ST, LAGOS; PMB10001, MARINA, LAGOS. 0702710740 7. MAIL@NATI ONALMIRRO RONLINE.NE T	NICON INSURANCE HOUSE, 2 <sup>ND</sup> FLOOR, CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT AREA, ABUJA. 08070428 249	ALL THE FACTS, ALL THE SIDES									

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									LAGOS. P.M.B 21777, IKEJA. TEL: 01773499; 0805341675 2INFO@DAIL YINDEPEND NT.COM.NG WWW.DAILY INDEPENDEN T.COM	OPPOSITE GUBABI ROYAL  HOTEL, WUSE ZONE 5, ABUJA. TEL: 08056180 195					
SATURDAY INDEPENDENT	2001	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	WEEKLY	INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER S LTD.			OLUMID-E IYANDA	BLOCK 5, PLOT 7D, WEMPCO ROAD, OGBA, LAGOS. P.M.B 21777, IKEJA.  TEL: 01773499; 0805341675 2INFO@DAIL YINDEPEND NT.COM.NG WWW.DAILY INDEPENDEN T.COM	ULO PLAZA, 35, SOKODI CRESCENT, OPPOSITE GUBABI ROYAL  HOTEL, WUSE ZONE 5, ABUJA. TEL: 09- 5237665	A VOICE OF YOUR OWN				
SUNDAY INDEPENDENT				WEEKLY	INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER S LTD.			OGUWIKE NWACHUKU	BLOCK 5, PLOT 7D, WEMPCO ROAD, OGBA, LAGOS. P.M.B 21777, IKEJA.  TEL: 01773499; 08053416752INFO @DAILYINDEPEND ENT.COM.NGWWW W.DAILYINDEPEN DENT.COM	ULO PLAZA, 35, SOKODI CRESCENT, OPPOSITE GUBABI ROYAL  HOTEL, WUSE ZONE 5, ABUJA. TEL: 09- 5237665	A VOICE OF YOUR OWN				



DAILY CHAMPION	1988	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	DAILY	CHAMPION NEWSPAPER S LIMITED		NWADIUTO IHEAKANWA	JUSTUS NWAKANMA	CHAMPION HOUSE, ISOLO INDUSTRIAL ESTATE, 156/158, OSHODI/APA EXPRESSWAY, ILASAMAJA, MUSHIN, LAGOS, P.O.BOX 2276, OSHODI, LAGOS WWW.CHAMPIONONLINENEWS.COM 014800872; 018714040.									
WEEKEND CHAMPION	1988	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	WEEKLY (SAT-SUN)	CHAMPION NEWSPAPER S LIMITED		NWADIUTO IHEAKANWA	THOMAS IMONIKHE	CHAMPION HOUSE, ISOLO INDUSTRIAL ESTATE, 156/158, OSHODI/APA EXPRESSWAY, ILASAMAJA, MUSHIN, LAGOS, P.O.BOX 2276, OSHODI, LAGOS WWW.CHAMPIONONLINENEWS.COM 014800872; 018714040.									
BUSINESSDAY		ENGLISH	N/PAPER	DAILY	BUSINESSDAY MEDIA LTD			PHILLIP ISAKPA	72, AMUWO-FESTAC LINK RD, BOX 1002, FESTAC, LAGOS. MAIL@BUSINESSDAYONLINE.COM 0802494184; 0809400176.		NEWS YOU CAN TRUST							

SATURDAY NEWSWATC H	JAN. 2013	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	WEEKLY	NEWSWATC H NEWSPAPER S LTD		MOSES JOLAYEMI	PATRICK ASONYE	ENERGY HOUSE; 159/161, BROAD ST. LAGOS. ADVERTS@D AILYNEWSW ATCHNG.CO M; SPECIALPROJ ECTS@DAILY NEWSWATC HNG.COM 0709-850- 4488	1 <sup>st</sup> & 3 <sup>rd</sup> FLOORS, CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT, ABUJA	MOTTO: TRADITION BUILT ON TRUTH. VISION: TO SUPPORT NIGERIA'S QUEST FOR JUSTICE ROUGH INTELLECT UAL APPROACH	TO FIGHT FOR JUSTICE USING INTELLECTUA L APPROACH, BALANCED, INDEPTH REPORTING; PROVIDING A VERITABLE PLATFORM FOR AFRICA'S GROWTH, DEPLOYING OUR GOD- GIVEN TALENT AND RESOURCES THROUGH ENDURING COMMITMEN T AND LOYALTY THAT WILL JUSTIFY PUBLIC CONFIDENCE.				
SUNDAY NEWSWATC H	JAN. 2013	ENGLISH	N/PAPER	WEEKLY	NEWSWATC H NEWSPAPER S LTD		MOSES JOLAYEMI	LANRE OYETADE	ENERGY HOUSE; 159/161, BROAD ST. LAGOS. ADVERTS@D AILYNEWSW ATCHNG.CO M; SPECIALPROJ ECTS@DAILY NEWSWATC HNG.COM 0709-882- 1624.	1 <sup>st</sup> & 3 <sup>rd</sup> FLOORS, CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT, ABUJA		TO FIGHT FOR JUSTICE USING INTELLECTUA L APPROACH, BALANCED, INDEPTH REPORTING; PROVIDING A VERITABLE PLATFORM FOR AFRICA'S GROWTH, DEPLOYING OUR GOD- GIVEN TALENT AND RESOURCES THROUGH ENDURING COMMITMEN T AND LOYALTY THAT WILL JUSTIFY PUBLIC CONFIDENCE.				



PLATEAU STATE

Publication	Yr. of 1 <sup>st</sup> Publication	Language of Publication	Type of Publication (Mag., or N/paper)	Category: Daily or weekly	Publishing Company	Publisher	Editor-in-Chief Managing Director	Editor, e-mail, website	Corporate H/quarter Address, Tel, e-mail, website	Abuja Off. Address	Motto/Vision	Mission/Mandate	Avg Cir. Monday -Friday	Avg Cir. On Saturday	Avg Cir. Sunday
THE NIGERIAN STANDARD	1972	ENGLISH	NEWS PAPER	WEEKLY	PLATEAU PUBLISHING CORPORATION NO. 5 JOSEPH GOMWALK ROAD, PMB 2112 JOS.	PLATEAU PUBLISHING CORPORATION	STEVEN WAZIA	STEVEN WAZHI <a href="mailto:STEVENWAZHI@YAHOO.COM">STEVENWAZHI@YAHOO.COM</a> 455610, 454329	NO 5, JOSEPH GOMWALK ROAD, PMB2112, JOS, PLATEAU STATE	LANTANA CRESCENT, KARU NYANYA FH ESTATE, ABUJA. 09-2346390	-	-	10,000	-	-
REALITY NEWSLINES	APRIL 2005	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	BI-WEEKLY	NEWS LINE REALITY MEDIA INT. 3 <sup>RD</sup> FLOOR JOSEPH GOMWALK HOUSE, STANDARD ROAD, JOS PLATEAU STATE	PRINCE VALENTINE ADESE	PRINCE VALENTINE ADESE	PRINCE VALENTINE ADESE <a href="mailto:VALREALITY@YAHOO.COM">VALREALITY@YAHOO.COM</a> M 08036158016	8 <sup>TH</sup> FLOOR, J.D. GOMWALK HOUSE JOS, PLATEAU STATE	-	LETTING THE PEOPLE KNOW/ TO BRING INFORMATION TO THE RICH AND THE POOR WITHIN THE STATES COVERED	TO SERVE THE AREAS IN NEED OF INFORMATION NOT COVERED BY EXISTING MEDIA OUTFITS	2000-5000	-	-5
THE AFRICAN MAGAZINE	2006	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	MONTHLY	NETWORK AFRICAMAGAZINE COMMUNICATION.	DAVE J. BOK	DAVE J. BOK	HELEN DAVE <a href="mailto:THEAFRICANMAGAZINE@YAHOO.COM">THEAFRICANMAGAZINE@YAHOO.COM</a> 08094560584	7 <sup>TH</sup> FLOOR JOSEPH GOMWALK BUILDING, GOMWALK WAY, JOS, PLATEAU STATE.	PLOT 560 DONOKO OFIA STREET AREA 11, (FCT) P.O.BOX 719 ABUJA	OBJECTIVE AT ALL TIME	TO DISSEMINATE INFORMATION ABOUT AFRICA TO THE WORLD	2000 - 5000	-	-
NEWS GATE	2000	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	WEEKLY	NEWS GATE COM. LTD	NEWS GATE COM. LTD	CHIEF NANYAH A. DAMAN (JP)	CHIEF NANYAH A. DAMAN (JP) <a href="mailto:DNANYAH@YAHOO.COM">DNANYAH@YAHOO.COM</a>	NO 7 DOGON-KARFE, JOS.	-	TO TRANSFORM THE SOCIETY FROM A	GETTING TO THE UNREACHED.	5000 - 10000	-	-

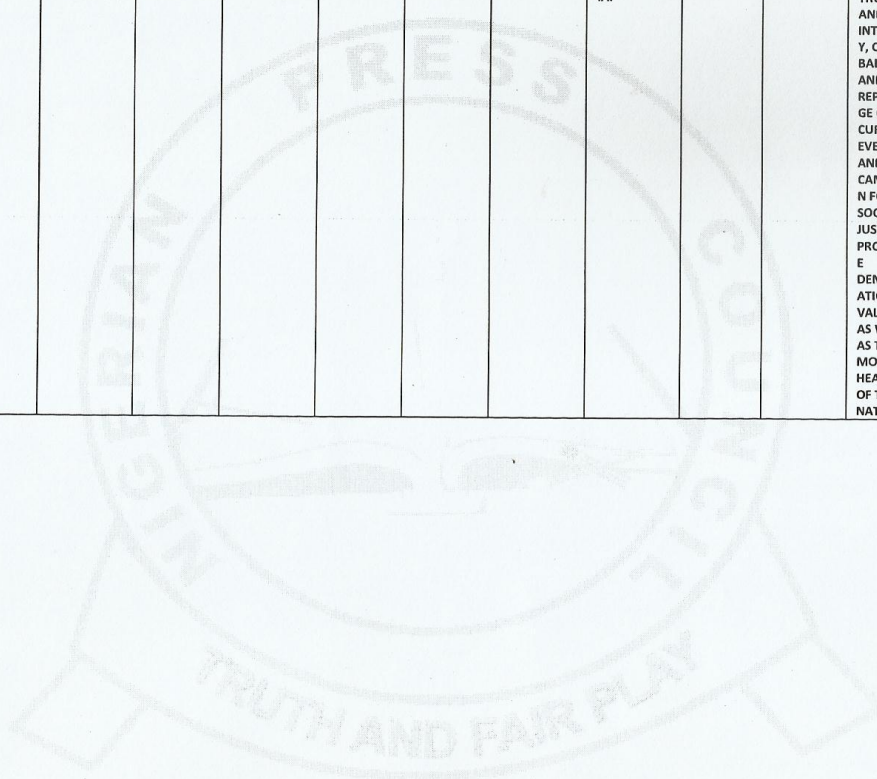




INTERNATIONAL				MONTHLY	COMMUNICATIONS			WSPAPER@Y AHOOCOM 0803481069 2; 0709543103 8	CLOSE, ROCKHAVEN JOS, PLATEAU STATE		BECOME ONE OF THE BEST MEDIA ORGANISATION				
EAGLE EYE	AUG. 12, 2006	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	BI-MONTHLY	ECO COMMUNICATION.	CHARLES EJOH O.	CHARLES EJOH O.	EAGLEEYENE WSPAPER@Y AHOOCOM 0803481069 2; 0709543103 8	7A TAFAWA BALEWA ST. OPP. CHARCOAL MARKET, JOS PLATEAU STATE		TOWARD AN INFORMED SOCIETY/TO BECOME ONE OF THE BEST MEDIA ORGANISATION	TO PROTECT THE COMMON MAN VIS-À-VIS TO PRACTICE AN OBJECTIVE JOURNALISM	10000	-	-
GLOBAL NEWS	1993	ENGLISH	MAGAZINE	MONTHLY		AUWAL AHMED	AUWAL AHMED	GLOBALNEW SNIG@YAHOO.COM 0803700594 7; 0807071907 5	BUKURU EXPRESS ROAD, OPP. JOS, SOUTH LGA		TO INFORM AND ENLIGHTEN THE GENERAL PUBLIC AS THEIR WATCH DOG/ FORUM ON BUSINESS, POLITICS, CULTURE, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND SPORTS	TO HAVE A VIBRANT PRESS IN THE NORTH THAT CAN MATCH IT SOUTHERN COUNTER PART.	7000	-	-
NEW TITLE THE POINT	2012	ENGLISH	NEWSPAPER	WEEKLY	MEDIA POINT COMMUNICATIONS	TOM KUBUA	TOM KUBUA THEPOINT WSPAER@Y AHOOCOM 070300727 3; 0803606436 4; 0709511151 2	TEMPORARY OFFICE: SABON- BARKI, OFF CRUDAN GUEST HOUSE, BUKURU, P.O. BOX 13149 JOS		TO PUBLISH, RAISE THE STANDARD OF THE PEOPLE, THE SOCIETY, AND TO GLORIFY	TO PRESENT A COMMUNITY BASED- NEWSPAPER THAT REPORTS THE	1500	-	-	

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										PLATEAU STATE, NIGER IA.		GOD.	NEWS WITH TRUTH AND INTEGRIT Y, OFFER BALANCE AND FAIR REPORTA GE OF CURRENT EVENTS AND CAMPAIG N FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, PROMOT E DEMOCR ATIC VALUES AS WELL AS THE MORAL HEALTH OF THE NATION			
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