Newspaper Representation of Identity in Ethno-religious Crisis at KasuwanMagani, Kaduna State

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Abstract

This study examined newspaper representations of the ethno-religious crisis at Kasuwan Magani. The study relied on Agenda Setting Theory. The study provided empirical evidence of the representations of ethno-religious identities in the crisis narratives. It used quantitative content analysis of two Nigerian newspapers - Daily Trust and The Nation - the study made two major contributions that revealed the representation of ethnic and religious identities of the actors in the Kasuwan Magani crisis. First, it established that the ethno-religious identities of the conflicting parties are Adara Christians and Hausa Muslims. Secondly, the study also established the reported causes of the crisis as land and resources. It was found that the selected newspapers accorded low prominence to the Kasuwan Magani crisis with the placement of a majority of stories on the inside pages and far less on the front and back pages. The study concluded that the selected newspapers' representation is capable of reshaping public impression, reinforcing intolerance, and amplifying the coverage of Kasuwan Magani crisis. The study recommended that the media should ensure that they report sensitive issues such as the Kasuwan Magani crisis from a more unbiased and objective frame.

***Keyword**: Newspaper, Identity, Religion, Crisis, KasuwanMagani*

Introduction

Ethnic and religious issues are part of the most recurring issues in Nigeria's political landscape. Abdu (2002) observes that, since the early 1980s, ethno-religious conflicts have become a recurring decimal in Nigeria, especially in the country's Northern region. Worrisome is the degree at which the ethnic groups treat each other with suspicion and often clash at the slightest provocation.

Nigeria as a country has suffered from many ethno-religious crises since its independence in 1960 that have since evolved in terms of causes, intensity, people involved in the crisis, preventive measures, and general impacts. The Nigerian state is a multi-

ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious polity, with a diversity of ethnic groups (Danfulani, 2009; Smyth &Robinson, 2001). The issue of identity representation is clear considering the way Nigeria is divided along the lines of religion, language, culture, ethnicity and regional identity (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005).

Virtually no part of Northern Nigeria is spared of one conflict or the other. Alas! The spate of ethno-religious conflict has been on a steady upsurge. In his study, Faruk (2019), observes that Governor Nasir El-Rufai in an interview with *The Vanguard* (published August 19, 2016) noted that ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna was recorded in 1987, 1992, 1993, 2000 and 2002. Faruk added that the International Center for Investigative Reporting has also estimated that from 2009 to 2016, the body has recorded over 41 attacks with hundreds of death and thousands of property being destroyed in Southern Kaduna.

There is an impressive amount of literature concerning conflicts across Nigeria's six geopolitical zones that were triggered by either ethnic or religious factors. Ibrahim (2000) notes that ethno-religious and communal conflicts in Nigeria are linked to citizenship within the context of identity, which is rooted in the politics of inclusion or exclusion. Studies have shown that media coverage of these conflict issues has not been encouraging and has had far-reaching implications for the state.

Ethno-religious conflict is not peculiar to any part of the Northern region as it spreads to all segments, for instance, Maitatsine crisis in Kano, 1980; Zuru 1980; Maiduguri 1982; Yola 1984; Ilorin 1984; Bauchi 1984; and Kano 1984. Others are the crises in Kafanchan in 1987, Gure-Kahugu 1987; Birnin Kebbi 1990; Katsina 1991; Tafawa Balewa 1991; Kano 1991; Jalingo 1992; Kaduna Polytechnic 1992; Kasuwar-Magani (Kaduna) 1994; Kaduna 2000; Jos 2001; Kano 2001; Tafawa Balewa (since 2000) and Nasarawa 2001; Jos 2004, 2008, and 2010. There have also been the Chamba-Kuteb crises in Taraba State 2013, the Tiv-Jukun crisis 2013, the Bassa- Igbira crisis in Toto 2012 and a host of others (Rafeal, 2016; Hussaini, n.d).

According to Babangida (2002, p.11), the consequences have been "waste of enormous human and material resources in ethnically and religiously inspired violent encounters, clashes and even battles, threats to the security of life and property, the heightening of the fragility of the economy and political process". Gwamna (2011) notes that ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna began to manifest with the 1987 Kafanchan riot and that this introduced a dangerous dimension of religious crisis between Christians and Muslims.

By far the most worrisome of these crises are the recent upsurge in Southern Kaduna, specifically Kasuwan Magani crisis, farmers-herders conflict. It is now an undoubted fact that the ethnic crises often degenerate into religious crises and vice versa. Their effects undoubtedly are always quite devastating. In the pre-independence era, Nigeria was seen to operate a professional media system. However, with the seeds of regional ethnocentrism growing, the media became increasingly centrifugal in ideas and operations during the post-independence era. Studies that point to the media's poor handling of the Kaduna conflict are numerous (such as Musa & Ferguson, 2013; Zeng & Akinro, 2013; Rasaq, 2012; Golwa, 2011; Galadima, 2010).

Successive administrations such as that of General Yakubu Gowon have also struggled to create institutions that create an imagined political community that will foster peace and unity, thereby creating a state or multi-ethnic nation. But unfortunately, many of the government's policies and programmes like the National Youth Service Corps scheme designed to consolidate and engender tolerance amongst the diverse ethnic and religious groups have often been poorly conceived, counter-productive, ineffective or misunderstood (Huber, 2013).

Amidst ethno-religious crisis, the media has not been exonerated; looking at the role it plays in conflict situations (Faruk, 2019). Scholars and social pundits have accused the media of worsening ethno-religious crises through biased, unfair, sensational and

irresponsible coverage and reporting (Soola, 2009; Onuegbu, 2012; Auwal, 2015; Basorun, 2015).
The mass media in Nigeria has been a vehicle in the sustenance of national development and a medium of conflict resolution, but none has made this role more decisive than the representation of conflicts/crises. For instance, Mustapha (2004) observes that this is because Nigeria is a country divided by religion, and ethnicity.

The media are capable of shaping public understanding and policy response to problems of conflict, promoting peaceful coexistence, religious tolerance, and cultural accommodation among people, particularly in a very multi-religious and multi-cultural society like Nigeria. Several scholars have (Ozohu, 2013; Nacos, 2007; Hoffman, 2006; Wilkinson, 2000) confirmed that the media are capable of inflaming or mitigating conflicts depending on the way they report it. Advertently, the media can be involved in seeking solutions to conflicts they report thereby promoting peace as an ingredient for national integration and unity.

Most times the coverage of such crises by the Nigerian press has been described as partisan and thus promotes polarization of the country along regional lines as well as unethical reporting. Commenting on the impact of newspapers framing on the audience, Oso and Pate (2007) note that the political elites through their use of ethnic and other divisive strategies used the press to whip up emotions, and recruit and mobilise the lower classes as cannon fodders in their political warfare for state power and resources. This has been the case during elections and also the various social conflicts the country has witnessed in recent times.

Given the inherent power in the media to shape public understanding of issues (Ozohu-Suleiman, 2017), it is considered that media reportage on this conflict is capable of orienting or disorienting the public towards ethno-religious crises, thereby underscoring the need for research on how the media have been responding to the conflicts/crises in their reportage. While there are varying manifestations of ethno-religious conflicts, the problem herein lies in the Nigerian media's reporting of such events in a

nuanced angle at the expense of other angles. This observation follows largely from the negative antecedents, in which mass media have been used to inflame disagreements and mobilize public support for conflicts in various parts of the world.

Against this backdrop, this research aims to examine the newspaper representation of identity in ethnic and religious crisis in Kasuwan Magani, Kaduna State. The study is set out to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the newspapers' representation of ethno-religious crisis in Kasuwan Magani?
2. What is the frequency of the coverage of the crisis in the selected newspapers?
3. What is the level of prominence accorded to the crisis in the selected newspapers?
4. What are the dominant frames used in the coverage of the Kasuwan Magani crisis by the selected newspapers?

Media, Ethnicity, Religion, and Conflict: A Conceptual Clarification

Identity as a concept

Alubo (2009, p. 9) has defined identity as 'a combination of socio-cultural characteristics which individuals share, or are presumed to share, with others based on which one group may be distinguished from others. It is the perception of people about themselves and how they view others with whom they live and interact in their social environment. Whether it involves social groups within local communities or people living outside their home country – the diaspora community, the struggle for social identity remains a subject which draws the attention of many scholars across disciplines. Ogunyemi (2007, p. 17) argues that 'one of the dimensions of representation is identity.

The efforts by minority groups to take ownership of their representation in the public sphere are a form of exercise in

identity formation and production. This assumption suggests that people want to be recognised by their social status (e.g., control of ancestry, political or religious association) which distinguishes them from others in a given community. Thus, it often leads to social inequality.

Several scholars (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005; Plessis, 2001; Faleti, 2005; Arena & Arrigo, 2006) have identified various classifications and separately contended that identity has remained a major element that generates and reinforces conflicts, competition for state control and ownership of resources. Osaghae and Suberu, (2005) broadly defined identity as any group attribute that provides recognition or definition, reference, affinity, coherence and meaning for individual members of the group, acting individually or collectively. They further explained identity from the perspective of Geertz's (1963) famous distinction between primordial ties which are basically ascriptive and based on the "givens" of life (tribe, kinship, and ethnicity among others), and civil ties, which hinge on industrial society-type aggregations like class, political party affiliation, interest group membership, and so on (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005).

Media, Ethnicity, Religion and Conflicts

The handling of social identities in the media has received considerable attention in scholarship because journalists can construct realities and shape attitudes (Mano, 2015; Tenenboim-Weinblatt, Hanitzsch, & Nagar, 2016). Studies have revealed that many journalists in Nigeria often align with conflict actors within their ethnic and religious communities by using enemy frames in their narratives (Gambo & Hassan, 2011; Musa & Ferguson, 2013; Oso, 2011; Umechukwu, 2001).

Ethnicity and religion are among the major causal factors of conflict across the globe; others being racism, cultural pluralism, and xenophobia. These represent a diverse community in which social groups struggle for identity – a sense of being and belonging. Not only do these groups want to be recognised in their

rights; they often resort to conflict, or even violence, when their expectations are not met (Shorkey& Crocker, 1981; Young, 2009).

The debate on the multidimensionality of conflict has been sustained over the years. While ethnic-racial determinists (e.g., Mano, 2015; Neuberger, 2001) have identified ethnicity and racism as a major trigger to conflict, the multidimensional determinists (e.g., Kaigama, 2012; Kim, 2009) argue that several factors account for this. However, the conflict in Nigeria revolves around ethnicity and religion because there exist an ethnic majority and minority consciousness and seeming religious fundamentalism (Dowd, 2014; Gbilekaa, 2012; Pate, 2011). Studies reveal that ethnicity and religion are inseparable (Appleby, 2000; Fox, 2004). This is because 'religion is more than just a set of beliefs; it also encompasses community practices, socialisation functions, organisational structures, and a range of other features' (Neuberg et al., 2014, p. 199).

Nigeria is tagged one of the 55 conflict-stricken Third World countries where factors such as ethnicity and religion have influenced the behaviours of social groups leading to perpetual conflict (Galadima, 2011; Kim, 2009). Its multi-ethnic groups are tied to various religious organisations with Muslims and Christians constituting the majority. Some Nigerians got converted to Islam since 1804 - most of them from the north, while Christianity was introduced in the southern part of the country in 1842 (Agbiboa, 2013b). Both religious groups have had a large following across the country although each still dominates the region of its birth. When people are engrossed in religiosity – the extent to which religion is ingrained in their lives, as it is in Nigeria (Dowd, 2014), it can 'contribute substantially to intergroup conflict' because there is 'incompatibility of values and competition over tangible resources' (Neuberg et al., 2014, pp. 198-199).

A body of research shows that journalists play a significant role in intrastate, interstate and global conflicts and the narratives they produce are inflated (Novak & Davidson, 2013; Rodgers, 2012, 2013; Seib, 2013). Many conflicts in human history: the World

War II, Yugoslavian conflict, the Cold War (Saleem & Hanan, 2014), the Rwandan genocide (McNulty, 1999; Rasaq, 2012), the Bosnian conflicts (Banks & Murray, 1999), Ugandan war (Leopold, 1999) and the Russian-Georgian war of 2008 (Hummel, 2013; Nitsch & Lichtenstein, 2013) were either incited or aggravated on the account of pattern of framing by journalists.

Theoretical Framework

Agenda-Setting Theory

Agenda-Setting theory was employed in this research. The basic premise of the agenda-setting theory is that how the media reports on particular issues influences or shapes public awareness and debate about that issue (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, cited in Franklin et al., 2005). Cohen (1963) holds that editors act as gatekeepers of mass mediated messages. Part of this theory's assumption is that the media can provide, sustain and do a prominent coverage of an issue and marginalise others. The theory also assumes that individual members of society reflect on such issues already raised and treated by the media as salient and then make personal submissions based on their subjective reasoning.

The central proposition of the agenda-setting theory submitted by Cohen (1963), who propounded the theory, suggests that the media do not tell us what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling us what to think about a particular issue. This typically denotes that mass media has the potential to draw people's attention to certain issues and allow for conclusions already raised in the public agenda. Hence, the agenda-setting power of the media resides in more than the amount of space or time devoted to a story and its rank in the broadcast(McCombs & Shaw, 1972, cited in Baran & Davis, 2006). Also important is the fact that there is a great consistency between media sources across all media in the choice and type of coverage they give to an event. The more consistency and repetition signal to people regarding a story or news, the more important such issue or event becomes to the public.

The adoption of this theory in this research was crucial, as it allows for the evaluation of the amount of prominence and attention

Nigerian newspapers often dedicate to issues of conflict/crisis. The framework has helped to explain how the media take a stand in its reports in terms of stories, articles and editorial writing with the aim of tailoring the attention of the people towards a particular aspect of the conflict/crisis. This step will go a long way in directing public attention on the true nature and state of the conflict/crisis.

Methodology of the Study

Research Design

Content analysis may be considered as exploratory or descriptive or both in terms of design (Anastas, 1999). The design for this study based on the purpose is exploratory and descriptive as noted by early basic content analysis theorists that emphasized its exploratory and descriptive uses (Berelson, 1952; Holsti, 1969). Researchers use exploratory research designs when they know little about a topic, or where few prior definitions, few concepts, and little theory are available on a topic thereby employing small sample (Drisko & Maschi,2015). This informed the selection of only 96 editions for the analysis, with descriptive design employed to describe the content in the line with the categories set for the study. The design based on the timing is cross sectional as observed that basic content analysis studies often employ cross-sectional research designs, in the sense that they explore and/or describe the characteristics of a specified sample at one point in time or over a short span of time (Menard, 2002; Mann, 2003; Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 2005; Bryman, 2012; Drisko & Maschi, 2015).

Categories and Measurement

Studies have shown that content analysis may use either deductive, a priori coding, or inductive coding techniques, or a mix of both techniques (Neuendorf, 2001; Drisko&Maschi, 2015). In this study therefore, the design at the level of coding is both deductive/a priori and inductive/emergent.The researcher first identified the main categories a priori which are identity of parties, frequency, prominence, and story direction.

The measurement of all the categories, in this study, is at nominal level. At this level,numbers or symbols are used to classify people, objects, or characteristics. One other distinct feature of the nominal measurement is that all categories are exhaustive and mutually exclusive. This means that each measure accounts for every possible option and that each measurement is appropriate to only one category (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010).

Method

The study adopted quantitative content analysis method; the method is relied upon to get relevant data from the newspapers that will address the research objectivesof the study. It is through content analysis method that the frequencies and prominence accorded the categories can be coded.Scholars such as Neuendorf, (2001) who give preference to quantitative content analysis, do so because apart from being systematic and objective, it also gives emphasis in quantifying the frequency of occurrences of the phenomenon under study. Gunter (2002) however noted that scholars who differ on this position, point to the limitation of quantitative content analysis for failing to recognise the importance of the veiled meaning that underlies any media text. This methodological gap contributed to the increase in the use of qualitative content analysis approach.

Content Population

The population is made up of all conceivable elements, subjects or observation relating to particular phenomenon of interest to the researcher (Asika, 2009). The population of this study comprises all the editions of *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* newspapers from 2nd January to July 2nd 2019 spanning 7 months.

Sampling Technique and Size: The study used purposive sampling technique. In content analysis, some scholars have claimed that there may be times when purposive sampling is useful (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010). Riffe and Freitag (1997) cited in Shehu and Faruk (2018) confirm the popularity of purposive sampling in content analysis. They found that 68% of all the

content analyses in Journalism Quarterly from 1971 to 1995 used a purposive sample (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010). The newspapers to be analysed were purposively sampled based on their wide readership in the country. As for the editions, ninety (96) editions were randomly sampled.

Coding Scheme and Reliability Test: Coding sheet was employed as the instrument of data collection. It was designed with a priori categories along with emergent categories. The coding sheet contained all the variables captured by the research objectives with the aim of answering it during discussion.
After conducting intra-coder reliability test with an interval of two weeks, 12 editions were randomly picked from both the*Daily Trust* and *The Nation* newspapers. The data was subjected to Re Cal 2 internet-based software to calculate the reliability. The result showed a reliability coefficient of between 94 and 100 for percent agreement, and between .72 and 1.0 for Scott Pi, Cohen Kappa and Krippendorff's alpha. Stemler (2001) noted that reliability is substantial if it yields Kappa coefficient ranging between .61 and .80. This range of value is similarly held as substantially reliable in Scott Pi and Krippendorff's alpha.

Unitization: Articles are adopted as the units of analysis for the study. Unit of analysis is the smallest unit of content that is coded into the content category. The units of analysis, however, vary with the nature of data and the purpose of research. Consequently, the unit of analysis can be a single word, a letter, a symbol, a theme, a news story, a short story, a character, entire article, an entire film or a piece of programme (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994).

Data Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation

This section contains the discussion of the findings of the research. The data collected were represented in figures and further interpreted for better understanding.

Identity of parties

Adara	**Christians**
Hausa	**Muslims**

Category 1: Formats of coverage

This category was developed to answer our first research question, which is to determine the select newspapers' representation of ethno-religious identity in Kasuwan Magani crisis.

The coding for this category was based on article (n=96) in the selected newspapers as unit of analysis. Tables one (1) and two (2) show the general distribution of frequency of coverage, story categories and prominence accorded the conflict in the selected newspapers.

Table 1: Frequency of coverage

Name of Newspaper	No of stories on Image projects	%
The Nation	46	46
Daily Trust	50	50
Total	**178**	**100**

Daily Trust had the highest number of stories on Kasuwan Magani crisis, with 50 stories. While *The Nation*had 46. The mean score of stories was 48 only. This means that the select papers both reached the average in the number of stories.

Table 1: Story Category

Article	***Daily Trust***		***The Nation***	
	F	**%**	**F**	**%**
News Story	**37**	**70.1**	**41**	**75**
Article/Feature	**8**	**17.2**	**6**	**15.6**
Interview	**0**		**0**	
Photo news	**0**		**2**	**4.7**
Editorial	**3**	**9.4**	**1**	**4.7**
Total	**50**	**100**	**46**	**100**

Table one (1) shows story categories used in presenting the Kasuwan Magani crisis in the select newspapers. The two newspapers presented the crisis through news report (n=78, 75.1%), and feature (n=14, 16%).*The Nation* treated the crisis more in its editorial (N=3; 9.4%) than *Daily Trust* (N=1; 4.7%). This suggests that the predominant story format of coverage was news report (n=78, 75%) across the select newspapers. *Daily Trust*

(n=41, 75%) covered the crisis more through news report than *The Nation* (n=37, 70.1%). Aside from news report, two other major formats utilized by the selected newspapers in their respective coverage are: article/feature (32%) and editorial (14.1%) accordingly.

Table 2. Level of Prominence (Story placement) Accorded the Kasuwan Magani Crisisby the Select Newspapers

Variables	**Newspaper**		**Total**
	Daily trust	***The Nation***	
Front page	4(2.8)	2(6.3%)	3(4.4%)
Inside pages	57(94.4)	32(93.8%)	89(94.1%)
Back page	1(2.8)		1(1.5%)
Total	**62(100)**	**34(100)**	**96(100)**

Table two (2) shows the position of stories published by the select newspapers. A majority of the stories on the Kasuwan Magani crisis were on the inside pages across the select newspapers (n=89, 94.1%). In reporting the crisis, *Daily Trust* (n=57, 94.4%) placed stories on the inside pages more than The *Nation* (n=32, 93.75%). *The Nation,* however, gave more prominence to the Kasuwan Magani crisis through its front pages (front page, n=6, 9.2%), while Daily Trust had (n=1, 2.8%). Therefore, the select newspapers mainly accorded low prominence to the Kasuwan Magani crisis. Nonetheless, the *Daily Trust* gave more prominence to the crisis in its coverage than *The Nation*newspaper.

Category 2: News Frames Adopted for the Kasuwan Magani Crisis

This category was developed to answer our fourth research question, which seeksto identify the dominant frames adopted in the coverage of Kasuwan Magani crisis in Kaduna in the select newspapers.The coding for this category was based on the articles (n=96) in the

selected newspapers as units of analysis. Tables 3 shows the general distribution of story frames on the conflict in the selected newspapers.

Table 3: Story Frames

Frames	*The Nation*		*Daily Trust*	
	F	%	F	%
Violence	**17**	**43.8**	**11**	**29.4**
Crisis	**14**	**31.3**	**27**	**43.1**
Responsibility	**5**	**15.5**	**8**	**11**
Morality	**2**	**6.3**	**9**	**14**
Human Interest	**1**	**3.1**	**2**	**2.6**
Total	**39**	**100.0**	**57**	**100.0**

Table 3 shows that the frames in the coverage across the selected newspapers.

It shows that crisis frames are the most prevalent in the coverage of Kasuwan crisis in Kaduna State (n=41, 74.4%). *Daily Trust* recorded the highest crisis frames (n=27, 43.1%), while *The Nation* had (n=14, 31.3%), whereas economic consequences recorded (n=11, 20.3%) in the coverage of Kasuwan Magani crisis in Kaduna; morality frames recorded (n=13, 26.5%). From the above, it can be deduced that the frames are not solution-oriented.

Discussion of Findings

The study placed a premium on analysing the coverage of Kasuwan Magani crisis in Kaduna State by select Nigerian newspapers. 96 contents on the crisis were identified and analysed from the entire 96 weekday editions of *The Nation* and the *Daily Trust* published from January 2 to July 2, spanning 7 months. Findings of this study show the ethnic and religious identity of parties in the crisis, frequency of coverage, level of prominence accorded the crisis by the select newspapers, and the dominant frames.

It is instructive to note that the level of prominence the media accord to issues in their coverage is fundamental to how the public would come to see such issues as important. Findings reveal the identity of the parties in the Kasuwan Magani crisis as Adara-Christians and Hausa-Muslims. The result also showed that coverage of the crisis by the select newspapers tended overwhelmingly towards information relay to the detriment of

interpretative reporting and information analysis, as the stories on the crisisare presented majorly through news reports (75%) as against feature articles (26.2%), and editorials (5.8%).

Prominence given to the Kasuwan Magani crisis by the select newspapers was measured using position of story; stories on the front page and back page signify high prominence, stories on the editorial page depict medium prominence, while stories on the inside pages signify low prominence. Findings show that out of a total of 96 stories across the selected newspapers, a majority of the stories were concentrated on the inside pages (n=89, 91.1%), stories on the front page were 6 (7.5%), and stories on the back page were 1 (1.5%). Going by the criteria set in determining the level of prominence, high prominence accounted for 7.5 per cent, and low prominence accounted for 91.1 per cent of all stories published by the two newspapers within the period of study. When the newspapers are considered independently in their coverage of the conflict, findings show that high prominence was accorded more by *Daily trust* (5.1%) than *The Nation* (2.4%).

The dominant news frames adopted by the select newspapers in reporting the Kasuwan Magani crisis were analysed. Findings of this study show that the responsibility 38 (64.2%) frame was the predominantly used news frame by the select newspapers. The second most prevalent frame in the newspapers' narrative of the Kasuwan Magani crisis was conflict frame 28 (35.8%). This suggests that incidents and issues relating to the crisis in Kasuwan Magani in Kaduna were not responsibly framed as it promotes more of crisis and violence, as an attempt to protect self. It was observed that reporters of the selected newspapers focused more on conveying resolution frame-indicators provided by attributed stakeholders in their news reports while paying less attention to agenda for the resolution of the crisis in their news reports.

It is imperative that journalists strengthen their reportage and avoid name calling and narrow presentation of crisis/conflicts; this can have a significant impact on resolving the crisis/conflict and create room for dialogue among the parties in the conflict. At the same

time, the media must maintain its essential standards of accuracy, fairness and balance, and responsible conduct (Howard, 2009). *Daily Trust*tried to avoid all that, maybe in order not to create tension hence escalating the crisis between the Adaras and Hausas in Kasuwan Magani.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Consequent upon its findings, this study concludes that the select national newspapers were not very responsible and diligent in carrying out their surveillance function-gathering and providing timely reports on occurrences on the Kasuwan Magani crisis in Kaduna. *Daily Trust* newspaper particularly exemplified this by the volume of its coverage on the crisis; however, the newspapers' execution of their correlational function was not as strong as expected.

A vast majority of stories on the Kasuwan Magani crisis were presented through news report genre, outnumbering, interpretation and analysis of the crisis done through column articles, news analyses and editorial pieces. Therefore, it is safe to say that the newspapers were overly episodic and less expository in their coverage of the Kasuwan Magani crisis.

Overall, the select newspapers accorded low prominence to the Kasuwan Magani crisis by placing a majority of the stories on the crisis on the inside pages of their editions. The finding revealed the crisis frame as the dominant news frame. To this end, the narrative of the select newspapers, rather than reflecting on the root causes and manifestations of the crisis, actually revised the conventional recurring construct on the crisis. It is expected that this framing pattern would have an influence on how the newspapers' readers and the Nigerian public at large interpret the crisis and perceive the actors in the crisis.

Consequently, they are more likely to hold an aggressors-versus-victims' interpretation as against an aggressors-versus-aggressors reading to the conflict; perceiving Hausas as the aggressors and

Adaras (and members of their community) as the victims, rather than as combating parties.

Consequently, the study recommends that media should ensure that they report sensitive issues of crisis from a more unbiased and objective tone; media should ensure that the opinion of the marginalized group is given space and help in resolving crisis by bringing it to an end. The media should adhere to the core tenet of social responsibility in order to help in getting a peaceful country.

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