

Impact of news frames on ethnic groups' conflict behaviour

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Abstract - *The government of Nigeria and many African countries have taken several steps to reduce tension and prevent ethnic conflicts, but the persistent of the conflicts raise questions about the effectiveness of their mechanisms. In view of this, scholars have called for research to examine the perspectives of the actors in conflict in order to understand the motive and other things behind ethnic conflicts. The study adopted qualitative research method with in-depth interview approach guided by the two concepts of framing- the media frames and the audience frames. Series of in-depth interviews with 26 ethnic group leaders were thematically analyzed using NVivo 10 software. Data analysis revealed that some catalysts among which are newspaper framing, government failure and intolerance stimulate the conflict behaviours among ethnic groups and leaders. Significantly, the set of data presents new insights into motive behind ethnic group leaders' conflict behavior and possible solutions to the phenomena. It was suggested that rule of media engagement should be strengthened through media self-regulation but with government monitoring.*

Keywords: *News framing, ethnic conflict, ethnic group, conflict behaviours.*

INTRODUCTION

Ethnic conflicts across many regions of Africa and Asia present the international community with wrenching dilemmas and difficult decisions [1, 2] because it has been cases of old conflicts worsen, new ones surfacing [3]. Unfortunately the government of Nigeria and many African countries have taken several steps to reduce tension and prevent conflicts, but the persistent ethnic conflicts raise questions about the effectiveness of their mechanisms. Meanwhile, the Structural Conflict Theory has established that what influences conflict in any society goes beyond what we see as the immediate cause [4] therefore, in every

conflict, though usually unnoticed, there are helixes wrapped in conflict behaviours. A case in point was the conflict behaviours which paved the way for the 1994 Rwanda genocide that was obviously wrapped in ethnic animosity but was ignored by the locals, neighbors and international communities until it claimed over 800,000 lives [5, 6]. Similar insouciance and consequences were experienced in Ethiopia, Bosnia and recently in Central African Republic and Darfur since 2003 and now in Southern Sudan (even with secession in 2011) to the peril of all citizens and neighbouring countries. Already, Trott [7] has identified the need for research to examine the perspectives of the actors in conflict in order to understand the motive and other things behind ethnic conflict. Also, the inability of Nigeria to prevent and stop prevalent ethnic conflicts in several regions of the country has given rise to strong concern and at the same time stimulating new interest in ethnic conflicts research [8]. Therefore, in determining those forces which shape, direct and trigger the course of ethnic conflicts in developing societies like Nigeria, two of the most important elements requiring investigation are media [9] and ethnic group [10, 11].

In view of these, it becomes essential to assess and probe one of the main actor in ethnic conflict, the ethnic group leaders, in order to understand how actually the newspaper framing has served as catalyst for their conflict behaviours. One of the significant contributions of this study may possibly be that it is among the few study in Nigeria that directly seek to explore the mainspring of ethnic conflict which is conflict behaviour from the principal actors. Therefore, findings that are based on ethnic group leaders' perspectives are presented here.

Media framing and Ethnic group leaders' conflict frames

In line with the scope of this study, Guichaoua [12] and Wiegenstein [11] affirmed that many

researchers have detected that majority of the people in civic, social-political, cultural and ethnic groups did not always look to the mass media for information or influence but rather looked to individuals they knew and respected—the so-called opinion leaders and in this context, ethnic group leaders who are heavy users of the media and usually form a frame – conflict behaviour. It has been established by Turow [13] that these leaders take advantage of the knowledge and insights gained from the media to make decisions, which then influenced the decision making of the people around them.

Though, several studies [14, 15] which investigated the role of media in inciting violence discovered that there has been a very close linkage of media and violence however, a strong call for examination of conflict helix and media roles or independent of media [15] makes this kind of study imperative. Newspaper framing, just like other communications, plays a key role in stimulating public expectations that influence whether conflict behavior or the tensions behind conflict are intensified or ameliorated [16]. Strategic newspaper framing can help shape peace and unity among ethnic groups even in a situation of misunderstanding. Although, according to Kalyango and Vultee [15] previous studies have improved understanding of how people use media in conflicts and how newspaper performance affects democratization, security, and other essential factors, however, much ground remains to be look at and understood, one which is how citizens evaluate their media in times of conflicts/post-conflicts. This argument is equally amplified by Puddephatt [17] that In spite of the increasing number of violent conflict in the world there is still little understanding of how modern internal conflicts are triggered.

METHODS

This study's method was guided by the two concepts of framing- the media frames and the audience frames. According to Scheufele [18] frames need to be considered schemes for both how media present news as well as how the audience comprehend and apply news. Therefore, it becomes important for researchers to distinguish between them in determining the best research methods [19]. In view of this, the study adopted qualitative research method with in-depth interview approach in other to adequately probe into the ethnic group leaders' catalyst for conflict behaviour on ethno-political

conflict in Nigeria. The sampling design was based on snowballing method due to sensitivity of the issue and difficulty of locating the participants [20, 21]. Series of in-depth interviews on 26 ethnic group leaders were conducted between April and June 2014 and data were analyzed thematically using NVIVO 10 software. The 26 interviewees were the sum total of the two each selected purposively from the 13 identified ethnic groups across the six geo-political zones in Nigeria. Resulting from the interviews was the generation of coding frames consisted of conceptualizing elements that explained the perspectives and lived experiences of the ethnic group leaders on ethnic conflicts in Nigeria. Meanwhile, before the commencement of the interviews, written and verbal consent of the ethnic group leaders were obtained as noted by Creswell [20] that the fundamental role for ethical consideration in research is to prevent maltreatment, such as psychological, physical, economic, social, or legal for interviewee, interviewer and others involved in the research activities. Then, subcategories were further developed in order to deepen the probing for rigorous and reliable findings. In the light of this, the following research questions were explored:

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study aimed to determine the catalysts for ethnic leaders' behaviours responsible for conflict in Nigeria; and the perceived solutions to ethnic conflict in Nigeria

FINDINGS

Based on the objectives set out for this study, the informants were probed to know their perceptions about the catalysts for ethnic conflict behaviours, perceptions about the role of newspaper framing in conflict behaviours, and perceptions about the perceived solutions to ethnic conflicts in Nigeria.

In line with literature review carried out in this study and the gaps established which pointed to the fact that arguments that underscore the singularity of specific factor should be avoided. The proper understanding and analysis of ethnic conflict call for a careful and holistic assessment of root sources in addition to contiguous causes. Since, ethnic conflicts are dynamic and multidimensional phenomena therefore, the analysis have a duty to focus on the improvement of models founded on theories of multiple causation [22] which will bring sound contributions towards solutions to the

problem. Similarly, this study’s data analysis revealed that some catalysts among which are newspaper framing, political tensions and intolerance stimulate the conflict behaviours among ethnic groups and leaders.

Ethnic group leaders’ conflict behaviours

Conflict behaviours, which are the mainsprings of most ethnic conflicts, according to Musa and Ferguson [23], Adisa [24] are built up in ethnic group leaders through many contributory factors. Based on this, Halirru [25] calls for investigation to identify the causative factors accountable for development of conflict behaviours of the protagonists of conflict in Nigeria. The same reason informed Otomer and Wehr [26] statement that once the possible causes of conflict behaviours are identified, it will be possible to explain why a particular conflict exist and it would be easy to prevent it. In line with this, the study discovered the contributory factors to conflict behaviours which otherwise have been the catalysts of conflicts in Nigeria. The emerged conceptions are grouped into themes and sub-themes. Therefore, figure 1 visualizes the findings.

Theme one: General Catalysts for ethnic group leaders’ conflict behaviour frames

So many activities and actions of people in the society are part of what bring about conflict according to the

findings from this study. In the same vein that Igbinijesu [27] asserts that Nigeria has not been without its fair share of ethnic conflicts which are usually caused by tribalism, attitudes of ethnic leaders, agitation for resource control, land and trade related disputes. Though there are numerous possibilities of predictors of ethnic conflicts, however, the analysis of the interviews using NVivo software found that the general catalysts for ethnic group leaders’ conflict behaviours are due to Nigeria government failure, newspaper framing, attitudes of ethnic groups, domination of some ethnic groups, and political and electioneering activities.

Newspaper framing role in conflict behavior frames

Though some literature have expressly accused the media for its involvement as source of hatred [28] and in the emergence and escalation of conflicts [15, 29], but most of them did not clearly identify how this is done. According to Lecheler and de Vreese [30] and Onwuzuruigbo [31] the extent and scope that newspapers framing influence conflict behaviours in ethnic leaders who rheostat the hearts and minds of ethnic group members are still underexplored. Similarly, Schoemaker and Stremlau [32]described as serious gaps in evidence, the dearth of indicators to directly accuse media for conflict involvement.

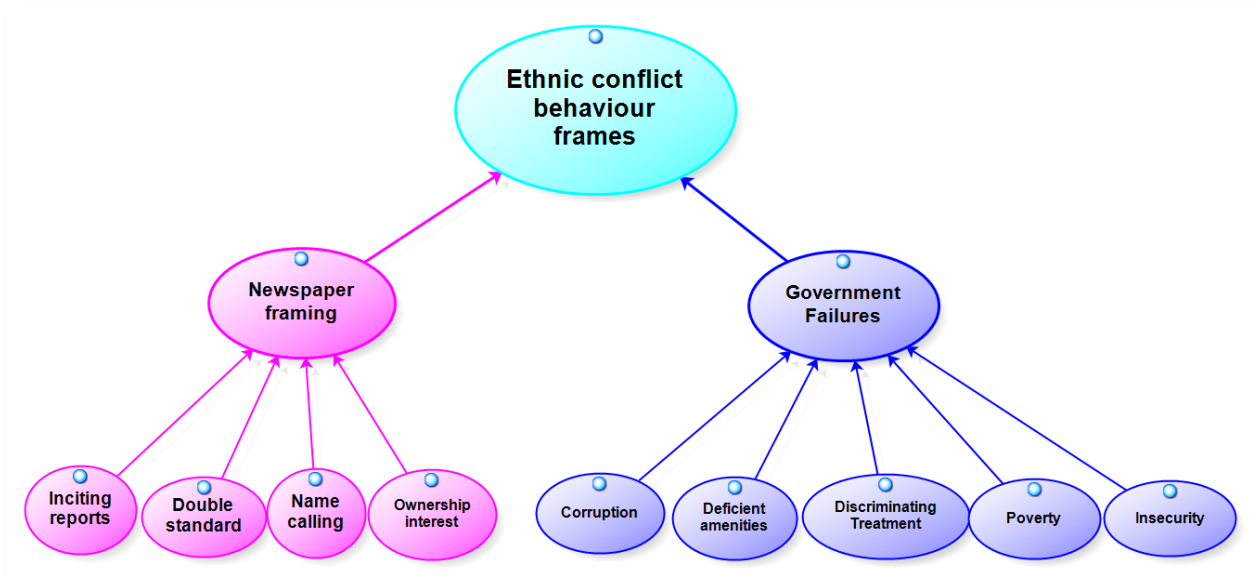


Figure 1: Catalysts for ethnic group leaders’ conflict behaviour frames



Figure 2: Thematic mapping of how newspaper framing promote conflict behaviours

Therefore, the evidence from this study's interviews showed that all the interviewees were of the view that newspaper framing play significant role, though along with other contexts, in the conflict behaviours that mostly culminate into ethnic conflict. Their responses highlighted five specific ways through which newspaper framing contributes as indicated in the NVivo output figure 2.

Inciting reports: As identified by the Informants, Frohardt and Temin [33] also note that, aside the active use of media to stimulate conflict, media also contribute to conflict involuntarily, most times through passive incitement to violence mostly because journalists have poor professional skills. Inciting role of media in conflict prone society has been acknowledged as dangerous trends that easily influence behavior of people involved in the early stage of conflict. For instance, Kalyango and Vultee [16] reiterated that it was the inciting reports from the media in Rwanda that stimulated the hatred behavior which eventually led to ethnic cleansing of more than half a million Tutsi ethnic group.

Significant numbers of the ethnic group leaders interviewed, regardless of their ethnic groups' affinities, described the inciting reports on the pages of newspapers as unhelpful and dangerous to the co-existence of the ethnic groups in Nigeria. According to Informant H21 "They (newspapers) poison the minds of ethnic groups against each other". This claim was also confirmed by Informants IB23 and IB6. Stating the fundamental trend of the incitement, Informant H11 blamed it on, "Unguided talk from both the media, elite in the society, politicians, and ethnic leaders on matter relating to ethnic. They talk not

mind the ripple effect and how the public will react to what they say".

Ownership interest: Ownership plays an important role in determining what is reported in the media. Though, in Nigeria, newspaper (including electronic) ownership pattern is dual ownership which is government ownership and private ownership. However, what is curiously interesting is that the ownership of some of the newspapers is shrouded in secrecy [34, 35] which gives impetus to manipulation of media for selfish interest.

Also holding the same view, Informant H10 noted that, "everybody is trying to own a newspaper for the purpose of promoting their ethnic interest, political interest and economic interest". Similarly, Informant Y22 stressed that, "ownership impact is too much on the performances of newspapers", while Informant IB18 captured the situation thus, "ownership influence still hold sway in the daily coverage of events".

Double standard: The issue of double standard in media coverage of ethnic issues has been identified mostly as conflict oriented [36], because it is the application of different level of attention, different tone and circumstance of coverage for similar situations and ethnic groups. This no doubt affects the relationship between ethnic groups in Nigeria. Significant numbers of the Informants (IJ14, Y15, Y24, F26, H21, H10, F1, IB6, IB7) were of the view that double standard which is evident in newspapers news in Nigeria, has negative impact on the behaviours of some ethnic groups towards others. For instance Informant Y15 stressed that, "Media do show open support to some ethnic group which is not too good where there are multi-ethnic groups". These

perceptions of the ethnic group leaders indicate that double standard being play by newspapers as reflected in their framing, go a long way to poison the minds of ethnic leaders against other ethnic group.

Name calling/ Labeling:Name calling emerged from the interview as one of the key to the formation of behavior that snowball into conflict. Name calling or labeling is an incivility in newspaper framing that categorizes people involved in the news into either good or bad [37, 38]. This practice indirectly removes blames on one group and relatively passing it to other [39, 40, 4]. It is a newspaper negative representation and dichotomy that affects the behaviours of groups in conflict [23]. Confirming the implication of this practice by newspapers, Informants IJ25, F1, H21 and several others disclosed that when newspapers tag them with different negative names, they tend to be irrational, and angry. From these point of views, it can be seen that name calling by newspapers contributes to what eventually become the behaviours of ethnic group leaders.

Government Failures and conflict behaviours

Government failures which is a sub-theme emerged from the ethnic group leaders’ perceptions of reasons for ethnic conflict in Nigeria, summed up a situation where the government becomes unable to take care and satisfy the basic needs of the citizen. Meanwhile, Halirru [25] notes that whenever a state fails to meet the needs of her people, there is high

likelihood for such people to withdraw from state circle and turn to their ethno-political and religion circle with high hope of eliminating their marginalization, in line with the assumption of Structural Theory of Conflict [42].Therefore, the ethnic leaders identified five indices of government failures which are the reasons for what stimulate some ethnic conflicts in Nigeria.

Corruption and conflict behaviours: While identifying the impact of corruption on the resurgence of ethnic group conflict, Ukiwo [43] indicated that the political and corruption in governance bring about the failure of democratic government to deliver social services and good economic policy and in turn led to the resurgence of ethnic groups which employ different kind of ammunicions. Corruption among the political leaders is the still very prevalent in all aspects of social system in Nigeria. Many of them heartlessly enrich themselves corruptly and exploit those not privileged as they go unchallenged.

These same perceptions were expressed by the ethnic leaders that were interviewed. For instance, Informant H21 claimed that the, “political leaders are so corrupt and insensitive to peoples’ needs”, Informant Y17 concluded that, “the fact that government too abandoned some ethnic groups also create problem of peace”. According to Dike [44] one important evil of corruption is the fact that it brings about political hostility then leads to social insurgency and most times military takeovers.

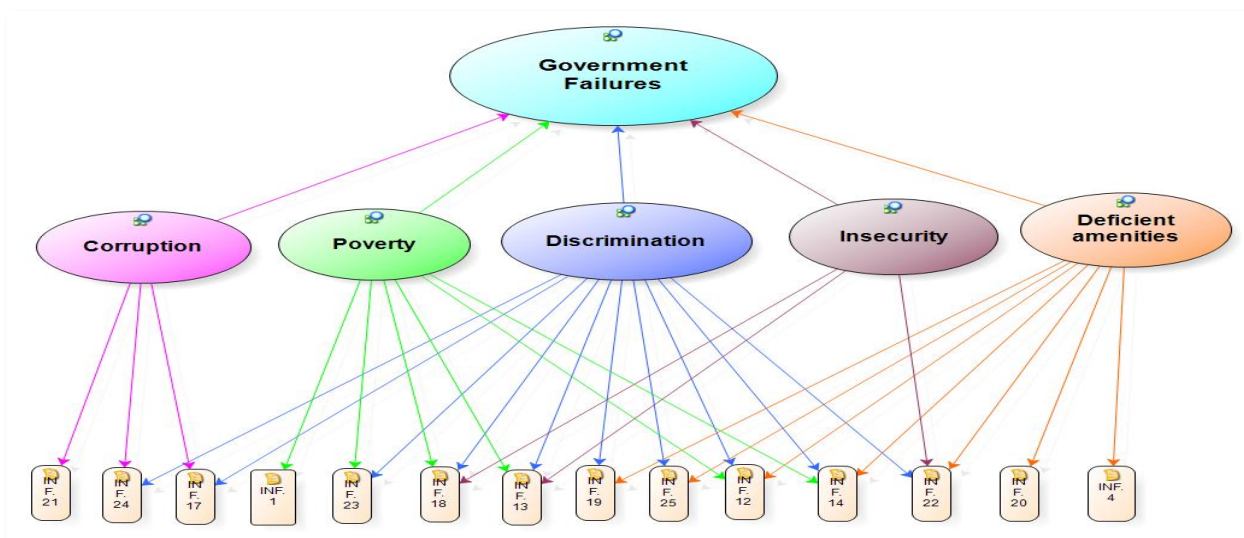


Figure 3: Indices of government failures that impact ethnic leaders’ conflict behavior

Poverty and ethnic group conflict: It has been observed that responding to the Millennium Development Goal task to halve ‘extreme’ poverty by 2015 [45] will equally help in reducing many of the conflict that bedevil the developing countries. This is imperative because, according to Draman [46] poverty has been constantly cited as one of the primary factors accountable for conflicts in many parts of Africa. Similarly, this study discovered that poverty is a result of government failure and indirectly a reason for conflict especially as it concerned ethnic conflict in Nigeria. For instance, Informants IB23 and F1 vehemently stated the implication of poverty and went to advise the government thus, “Government must eradicate poverty. Poverty is a source of worry and anger in the land so people have become so desperate”. Alike, frustration was also expressed by Informants IJ14 and IJ12, who stated the fundamental motives behind their attacks and conflict with governments was poverty due to long neglect of their areas. Therefore, the problem of poverty which lead to frustration cannot be separated from the reason for conflict.

Discriminating/inequality treatment: It has been noted that a lot of Nigerians display high level of intolerance behavior which results to conflict due to many discriminating and inequalities that dominate the activities of government across level of governance [26].

In consistent with the issue of discrimination and its implication on the ethnic relation among group and people, most of the ethnic group leaders interviewed alluded to it as a reason for grievances and then conflict emergence. For instance, Informant IJ12 claimed that, “Whoever is in power try to take care of

his people and other get frustrated and you know, a frustrated person can do anything negative”. Similar, complain was expressed by Informant Y13 and others.

Deficient social amenities: As important as these amenities are to the cherished existence of any community, either rural or urban, on the other hand, they are seriously deficient and unequally distributed in some societies, one of which is Nigeria [47, 48]. According to the ethnic leaders interviewed, it is mostly as result of government failure and deliberate abandonment. This observation was equally echoed by most of the Informants. For instance, Informant Y22 stressed that, “government failure in the area of security, economy and some vital amenities are the motive for some of the conflict behaviours of ethnic members. Many people are frustrated with the system”. This perception was similarly shared by Informants IJ12, IJ14, and IJ25. Given this scenario, one theory appears relevant to explain and confirm the happenings. The realistic conflict theory claims that in a society where valuable resources becomes deficient there is possibility for direct competition which in turn breeds hostility between groups.

Theme two: Solutions to ethnic conflicts

Nigeria government’s several steps to find a lasting solutions to protracted ethnic conflicts have not manifested into success thus raising questions about the effectiveness of the mechanisms. In view of this therefore, from this study’s findings, some factors emerged as the possible solutions. Aside the need for the media to be either regulated or self-regulated in their framing, the other emerged solutions centered on the need for government to be sensitive to the needs of the people.

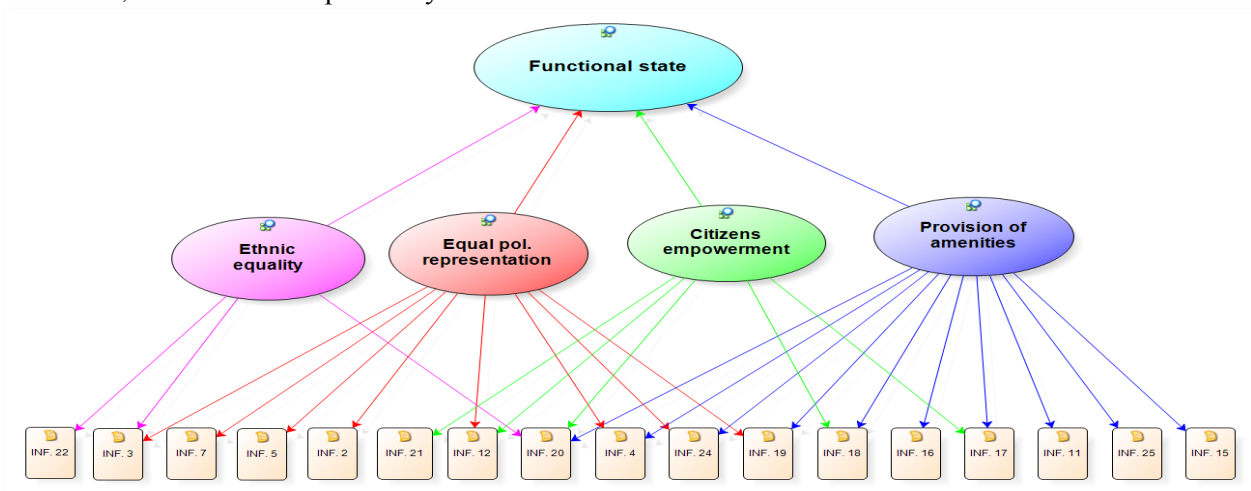


Figure 4: Rebuilding of functional state as solution to ethnic conflicts

Government restoring of functional state

Nigeria faces developmental and ethnic challenges in the economic, political, as well as social dimensions. Though analytically distinctive, however, these problems are fundamentally related because they all summed up to stimulate conflict. Therefore, the remedies (figure 4) required the government to first restore functional state which can serve as the possible solutions to ethnic conflicts.

Ethnic equality: As part of actions required to ensure functional state that will eventually translate to peaceful coexistence, it was expressed that good governance and functional state represents a situation of equability and satisfactory fulfillment of expectations of all ethnic groups, tribes and religions and therefore, it is paramount according to Informant Y22. "Government should be fair to all including the minority groups". Similarly, Informant IJ20 said, "government both at the state and federal levels... have to ensure that nobody and no ethnic group is denied what is due to it". Where all these are applied, then Informant F3 was optimistic that it will be, "steps to let every ethnic group knows that we are the same in Nigeria, we are equal and free to live anywhere in the country". These perceptions no doubt are germane to finding a lasting solution having been offered by principal actors in most of the ethnic conflicts in Nigeria.

Equal political representation: The political settings of imbalance in political appointments and ethnic jingoism always result to disagreement about the rules of the game in ethnic representation. In view of this therefore, if practice of equal representation is adopted, it is most probably serve as solution. More so, given that the history of ethnic groups' formation and conflict in Nigeria have a strong link to the problem of representation. Therefore, a lasting solution to this problem is to acknowledge that the federal structure and unequal political appointment have manifested into deep cracks and demands urgent action to mend it. Same opinion were expressed by Informants IB7 and IB5 who called for fairness to all by letting political appointment go round all the main ethnic groups.

Citizen empowerment: Poverty is violence and structural violence kills faster than bullets, for this reason it is very important as part of solution to incessant conflict to pay attention to the multifaceted links between poverty and violence [48]. The same reason why Shittu [49] advocates for attention and

empowerment of the People of Niger-Delta who have for long been in conflict with the government due to deprivation and poverty caused by environmental pollution from oil exploration as well as the masses in the Northern region who have become instrument for conflict due to poverty and the south-west and south-east in order to curb the menace of militancy. In view of this fact Informant Y17, IJ20 and others stressed that if government plan adequately for the citizens, there is high hope that peace will reign because joblessness of the militant wing of ethnic group who are mostly youth is one reason for the involvement in conflict.

Provision of amenities: One of the major factors that fuel ethnic conflict across Nigeria has been near lack of amenities for wellbeing of the people. According to Omofonmwan and Odia [50], most of the communities, especially in the Niger Delta, lack the following amenities which are basic to healthy living: Poor health facilities, environmental degradation, scanty, and in some cases lack of transportation facilities, poor housing, infertile soil owing to crude oil spilling, inadequate educational facilities, insecurity, and poor electricity power supply where it exists, and lack of potable drinking water. Where all these are being experienced is disposed to conflict [51].

Therefore, a better strategy as a solution and prevention of conflict is for the government expenditure to be channeled to provide these basic amenities as well as infrastructural development. No wonder that the majority of the Informants called for government to step up efforts in the distribution of resources and amenities. Informant Y17, for instance urged the that, "government both at the state and federal levels must recognize and consider others minority ethnic groups in allocation of resources and other amenities such as roads, electricity etc". The same concern was raised by Informants H11, Y15, Y16 and F19 who reiterated that there would be solution if the government can be fair to all.

Government Regulation

Media regulation/self-regulation: Media self-regulation in the society is described as the combination of standards, ethics, application of the appropriate codes of behaviour that are necessary to support the freedom of expression and the process of how those behaviours will be monitored or held to [17].

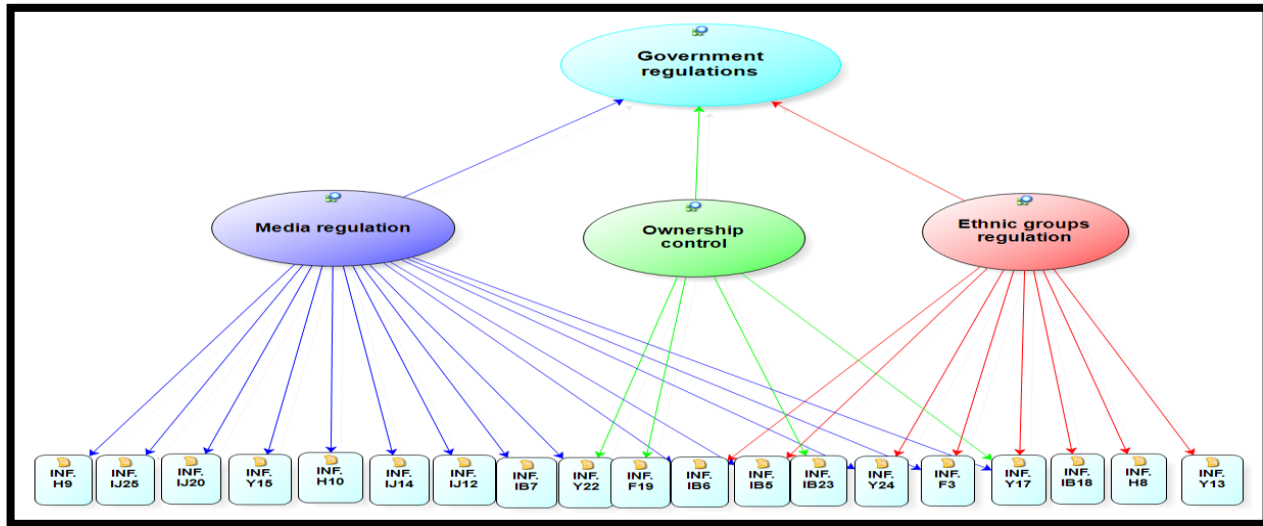


Figure 5: Regulation of media and ethnic groups' activities as a solution

In view of their perceptions about media framing, some informants as well as study have advocated for full government regulation. Government regulation of the media would mean a government strengthening or instituting form of law or rules that will control, alter or influence media behaviour while self-regulation means that the profession rather than the government is doing the regulation [52]. As part of solutions some ethnic group leaders suggested media regulation as a solution. For instance, Informant IJ12, declared that, "Newspapers play a great role in ethnic conflict in the sense that call for reexamination of their role". On the other hand, Informant H10 noted that as part of the solution, "the newspapers should be checked by the government for their recklessness on issues concerning ethnic groups". Other Informants such as IJ14, Y15 and Y17 however called for either self-regulation or government regulation as long media can perform better.

Ownership control: Further than playing its main role of informing, educating and entertaining the readers, the press has remained a chief propaganda tool for use and abuse by proprietors, political and government elites, as well as people of influence in society [53]. Majority of the Informants expressed similar sentiment and therefore called for government regulation of ownership of the press as a measure.

Ethnic group regulation: Several arguments and justifications have been advanced for the increase of the phenomenon of ethnic groups in Nigeria. Adetiba [54] for instance said that the proliferation of ethnic groups which have become one of the challenge for Nigeria was due to the aggressive pursuit of the

principle of self-determination. Based on this, the Informants are of the view that the multiplying emergence of ethnic groups be regulated by the government.

DISCUSSION

The first objective of the study was to determine the catalyst for behaviours responsible for ethnic conflict in Nigeria, while the second was to determine the perceived solutions. This study found that newspapers are culpable in the emergence and escalation of ethnic conflict as a result of series of incitement framing, double standard, heavy ownership interest and name calling which made some groups get angry, irritated and unhappy, therefore further widening the differences and level of the hostility. These revelations will serve as eye opener towards addressing the incessant conflicts. Given these leaders' perceptions, the pattern of ownership of newspaper is crucial in determining the role that newspapers play on issues such as ethnic relations and conflicts.

Also, the findings in spite of the grievous dimension that ethnic conflicts is taking across Nigeria, the government seems to lack the dimensions to prevent the impending conflicts as well as putting a stop to the intractable ones. For that reason, Nigeria has been experiencing a situation where longstanding conflicts worsen, and the new ones sprouting. Although, given the enormity, the task of addressing the seeds of ethnic conflicts is complex, but solutions can come if the government should work out feasible strategies, agenda for peace, reach promise with

visible ethnic groups, work on the social institutions, provide amenities and build trust and confidence of people in itself.

In view of this therefore, it is important and expedient for the Nigeria government to embark on far-reaching policies and introduce subsidies to agricultural and support the programmes to reduce poverty and unemployment as being practiced in other countries where it is evident that peace can be sustained through it.

Based on the discoveries of this study, a significant theoretical contribution can be identified. The consequence of newspaper frames on the ethnic group frames can be established. Influence was exhibited in form of changes in the leaders' conflict frames and behavior which many of them directly and indirectly affirmed to be from the media. Already, Chong and Druckman [55] have stressed that framing effects can be confirmed as long as there is change in the opinion which can be traced to how the issue was presented.

Similarly, the study confirmed the structural theory arguments which contended that intractable conflict is likely under conditions of comparable demand, equal power of militancy of groups as well as obvious ethnic domination. For instance, when the size and number of groups within society are relatively many and relatively equal in population conflict becomes more likely. This is what is playing out in Nigeria as alarmed by the ethnic group leaders themselves.

CONCLUSIONS

Significantly, the data presents new insights into motive behind ethnic group leaders' conflict behavior and possible solutions to the phenomena. Majorly, newspaper framing play significant role, though along with other contexts, in the conflict behaviours that mostly culminate into ethnic conflict. Then it can be concluded that the main activity of Nigeria newspapers that carries great influence on the audience frames is from the inciting reports they are exposed to almost on daily basis. On the other hand, the failure of the government to meet the needs of the people served as platform for group's formation and eventual stimulation to conflict by the media. The fact that what are mostly understood and addressed as the cause of conflict in a developing society are far from the reality but hidden root foundation with a link to the same government who spearheads the search for the solutions. Though, there are lot of diverse opinions

about the exact relationship between poverty and conflict. While one school of thought contends that poverty causes conflict, the other school of thought claims that it is conflict that causes poverty. But the most important thing is that poverty is both a cause and a consequence of conflict and that poverty might lead to conflict when other factors, such as poor economy, insecurity etc. are present. This study established that government failure is significant to attitude and behavior of people and group in the society.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of these therefore, the following recommendation are imperative: that the Nigerian government must shed its insensitivity and confront the problem with sincerity and purpose. In fact, issues that are so loudly echoed by the numerous ethnic groups in the country should be subjected to dialogue and conference of ethnic nationalities. Also, rule of media engagement should be strengthened through media self-regulation but with government monitoring. This study's limitation is therefore required to be improved on through a content analysis of newspaper framing of ethno-political conflict in a multiethnic society like Nigeria. This will as well be in line with the two concepts of framing, the media frames and the audience frames which Scheufele [18] stressed, need to be considered schemes for both how media present news as well as how the audience comprehend and apply news.

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