

## **ANALYSIS OF THE FRAMING OF THE 2008 JOS VIOLENCE IN SELECTED NIGERIA NEWSPAPERS**

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### **Abstract**

*This paper provides an analysis of how the Nigeria print media framed the long running, perennial crisis in Jos, central Nigeria with particular focus on the framing of the Jos 2008 violence by Daily Trust and The Guardian newspapers. It is a content analysis of the economic, ethnic, historical, political and religion frames used in reporting the crisis. The two major parties involved in the crisis are Hausas/Fulanis/Muslims and Indigenes/Christians. The study looks at the frames used in reporting the crisis and whether the two newspapers identified the same parties as victims, implying that the other party is the perpetrator of the violence. Findings from a content analysis of 196 issues of the two newspapers show that the political frame was mostly used to report the crisis and that both parties to the crisis were mostly identified by the two papers as victims.*

**Keywords:** Jos 2008 violence, framing, print media, *Daily Trust*, *The Guardian*

### **Introduction**

On Thursday, 27 November 2008, local government elections were held throughout Plateau State of Nigeria. The body conducting the election, Plateau State Independent Electoral Commission (PLASIEC) decided that the final results for all the local governments would be announced only in Jos, the state capital. For security reasons, according to the commission, it refused to inform the political parties contesting the elections where the collation centres would be until the morning of the election day. The commission did not use the Jos North Local Government Secretariat, where collation of results was done in the past, as the collation centre. In addition, the parties were told that Solomon Lar Amusement Park would be the collation centre but this was changed to Kabong Primary School. Both locations are on the outskirts of Jos town. Initially the opposition party, the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP) was leading when the results of 16 out of the 20 wards in Jos North Local Government Area (Jos North LGA) were announced. This lead was overturned with the announcement of the remaining results in favour of the ruling party, People's Democratic Party (Ostien, 2009). The candidate of ANPP for Jos LGA Chairmanship election, Aminu Baba was a Hausa/Fulani/Muslim whose group claimed indigeneship of Jos on account of having lived there for a long time and producing the town's traditional ruler (Sarkin Jos) between 1902 to 1947 (Egwu 2009, as cited in Ostien, 2009). The Hausa/Fulani/Muslims call themselves Jassawa which in Hausa language means the people of Jos (Samuel et al, 2024). On the other hand, the People's Democratic Party's (PDP) candidate, Timothy Buba, was a Berom/Christian. Berom is one of the ethnic groups that are insisting that since the Hausa/Fulani came much later after they had settled in the area, they are the original indigenes. Other tribes that also claimed original indigeneship and regard the Hausas as settlers are the Anagutas and the Afizeres who are also mostly Christians (Ostien, 2009).

When the PDP candidate was announced as winner of the election, the ANPP (mostly Hausa/Fulani/Muslims) supporters who insisted that their earlier lead in the results announced was unassailable, protested. They took their protest into town and it became violent as the supporters of PDP (mostly Beroms/Anagutas/Christians) also joined the fray. Before long, the

riot turned into a very violent clash between so-called settlers and indigenes. The riots started on Friday 28 November 2008 and by the time it was over, hundreds of people had lost their lives and properties worth millions of naira were destroyed (*Weekly Trust* and *The Guardian*, 29<sup>th</sup> November 2008). This is the background of the events that the print media covered, and whose framing this study seeks to analyse.

### **Brief history of Jos**

Jos was established in 1916 and was a peaceful cosmopolitan city, playing host to several ethnic groups and people from other countries. Overtime, built-up tension began to manifest between the the Beroms, the Anagutas and the Afizeres who are mostly Christians and are referred to as indigenes and Hausa/Fulanis who are mostly Muslims and referred to as settlers, leading to conflicts. In November, 2008 another conflict occurred that reinforced the ethno-religious and political tension in the city. Lives and properties were affected (Plateau State Government 2001; The 1994 Jos crisis Judicial Investigative Panel; Ostein 2009).

The conflict drew global public and media attention and as is the case with issues of societal interest some tagged it settlers and indigenes conflict, economic or religious conflict among others ("Hausa are settlers in Jos – *Manjang Weekly Trust* December 6, 2008 page 4; "We Should Learn From The South Where Muslims And Christians Live In Peace." *The Guardian*, December 20, 2008 Page 9; "Sultan cites hunger, poverty in Jos Crisis" *The Guardian*, December 17, 2005 front Page; "NLC demands Gov Jang's resignation" *Daily Trust* December 4, 2008 Page 2). Traditionally, media deploy several techniques to represent stories, one of these techniques is news framing. It is unclear how some of the national dailies in Nigeria framed the 2008 Jos conflict, hence, this study analyses how two national newspapers, *The Daily Trust* and *The Guardian* framed news on the crisis.

There is a need to examine how the media have performed their traditional function of reporting news to see if this reporting has reflected the realities of the crisis. Has the news framing of the perennial crises occurring in Jos and its surrounding been helpful in resolving the crises or has this framing somehow just reflected what has been happening or has it in any way inflamed positions of the parties involved? As recently as late December, 2023 there were riots occurring around Jos environs. There is, therefore, the need to try to analyse the role the media in their reporting these crises to see what contributions, if any, it can make in addressing issues surrounding the conflicts.

### **Statement of the Problem**

The terms "indigene" and "settler" have become very contentious in Nigeria. These terms, when linked together with ethnicity and religion as in the case of Jos in recent times, provide a very explosive mix. Studies have been conducted on the series of crises that have bedevilled Jos in recent times. These studies have tried to find out why these crises may have occurred and who may have been responsible (Ostien, 2009; Je'adayibe, & Kudu, 2010; Okechukwu, 2016; & Abdullahi *et al*, 2024) and have attributed cause of the crises to religious, political and economic factors. How have the media reflected these factors in their coverage? Abdullah *et al* (2024) reviewed the reporting of the various crises by the media and Nwokedi *et al* (2024) did a content analysis of two national newspapers' coverage of crises in Jos, Plateau State between 2022 and 2023. This study provides a link by content-analysing the news framing of the 2008 Jos crisis by the print media to give a more comprehensive view of how the media have framed the various crises that occurred at different times in Jos in particular, and Plateau State in general.

## Research Questions

- i. What frames were adopted by the selected newspapers in their coverage of the Jos November 2008 crisis?
- ii. Is there any difference in the parties identified by the two newspapers as victims?

## Framing News

Lechler (2010) defines news frames as "patterns of interpretation that are used to classify information and that aid audiences in processing information efficiently...they stress certain aspects of reality and push others into background: they have a selective function". In this way certain attributes, judgments and decisions are suggested. Entman (1993, p.52) states that to frame is to "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the items described". Framing could present a crisis as religious or political when in reality the issues relating to the crisis could be more complex. Entman (1993) explains that frames have several locations, including the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. This study examines frames located in the text, the communication content of newspapers.

Gittlin (1980) describes frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol-handlers routinely organise discourse". Journalists use frames in presenting, selecting and reporting news. In recognizing what is newsworthy, in interpreting news to the audience, in the way news are presented, in deciding what to select and what to exclude, a previously determined frame is used. Gamson and Modigliani (1987) explained that in the news, a frame is often described as a "central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them, the essence of the issue". What this suggests is that frames provide context to the news. In reporting a crisis, a frame may provide a historical background, may relate similar crisis in the past, and suggest that the crisis is economic or political in nature.

The provision of context to the crisis is distinct from reporting what actually happened. Vreese (2005) discusses this distinction and states that scholars "agree that frames are *specific textual and visual elements* or framing devices. These elements are essentially different from the remaining news story which may be considered *core news facts*".

What all definitions and explanations of frames discussed point to is that they provide context and interpretation to particular and perhaps, better understanding of news. This is done through a selective inclusion and exclusion of elements through: emphasis of aspects of news and pushing others into the background; the promotion of a certain perspective of the news to the exclusion of others; and the provision of a consistent, central idea that unites seemingly disparate news events and episodes.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) classification of frames into five is very useful in looking at the frames used in the two newspapers, *Daily Trust* and *The Guardian* that this study analyzes. These are conflict frames which emphasises conflict between individuals, groups, institutions, countries; human-interest frames which brings a human face, an individual's story or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem; responsibility frames which assigns responsibility for causing or solving; and morality frames which is used in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. Finally, there is economic consequences frames which presents issues or events in terms of the economic consequences they will have.

## **Methodology**

Content analysis was deployed as research methodology. Also, message characteristics of the samples studied were clearly stated (they must be expressly news on the conflict) and selected from the study population (*Daily Trust* and *The Guardian*) to see how source characteristics affect the content of the message. Is the framing of the coverage by *Daily Trust* different from that of *The Guardian*? At the end of the analysis, the frames are coded into defined frame categories.

## **Population and sampling**

The population of the study consists of all Nigerian newspapers and the sampling technique is a mix of stratified and purposive sampling. The two newspapers were selected to represent two dimensions of the reality of Nigeria- geographical (north and south) and religious (Islam and Christianity) aspects as decided by the researcher. Stratified sampling was adopted to divide the population of the study into north/south, Muslim/Christian. From a further analysis of the population, it was clear that one newspaper could represent and stand for two of the four concepts (North, South, Muslim and Christian). This means one newspaper can represent North/Muslim construct and another the South/Christian construct. The *Daily Trust* newspapers was selected to represent North/Muslim because it is a northern-based national newspapers that covered the crisis and is perceived as northern/Muslim because of ownership and location while *The Guardian* newspaper was selected to represent South/Christian. The criteria used for choosing this newspaper include the fact that it is a national newspaper based in the southern part of the country and its ownership is Christian. This is in line with the normative theories of Pluralist, Marxist, and Glasgow University Group theories of media ownership which argued that ownership of newspapers have an impact on editorial content. Other studies have also supported this position (Amos & Joseph, 2023; Okuchukwu, 2014).

## **Sample Size**

The 2008 Jos crisis started on Friday 28<sup>th</sup> November and newspaper coverage of the crisis started the following day. Both the papers have Saturday and Sunday editions and they are part of the sample size. The study's population was chosen using the census method because of the size of the sample and the fact that coverage was done on a daily basis Each edition of *Daily Trust* and *The Guardian* newspapers from 29<sup>th</sup> November 2008 to 28 December 2008 make up the sample size of the study. Thus, 30 editions each of the two newspapers were analyzed as it was considered adequate to cover a single civil disturbance. One month's coverage was chosen as cut-off time because it was considered sufficient to establish a pattern of framing of the crisis (Chyi & McCombs, 2004). It was observed that by the end of the third week, coverage of the crisis by the newspapers had petered out and was almost non-existent by the fourth week.

## **Unit of Analysis and Frames**

The unit of analysis for this study is any reference to the Jos crisis in the *Daily Trust* and *The Guardian* newspapers. All the news items and pictures, including editorials and letters on the Jos crisis appearing in the two newspapers constitute the units of analysis. These units of analysis were coded into five categories/frames. These are: political frame- ascribing political motives, control of government and resources as causing the crises; historical frame- providing a historical context to the crises; ethnic frame- that sees the conflict in terms of one ethnic group against another; economic consequences frame- presenting issues or events in terms of the economic consequences it will have; and religious- explaining the crisis as basically between Christians and Muslims.

## Method of Data Collection

The *Daily Trust* and *The Guardian* editions of 29th November to 28th December 2008 had a total of sixty editions which were analyzed to identify the units of analysis, that is, any reference to the Jos crisis in the areas earlier highlighted. This unit of analysis were collected and coded based on the frames earlier mentioned.

## Method of Data Analysis

Data collected are presented and the information elicited was analyzed. The data is presented in tables with each using a simple content count of the unit of analysis using simple percentages, where necessary, especially for comparisons. The data presented is discussed and analyzed in line with the research questions. After discussion and analysis of data, recommendations are made in line with highlighted problems.

## Findings

A total number of 196 units of analysis from 60 issues were identified in *Daily Trust* and *The Guardian* from 29th November, 2008 to 28th December, 2008. Table 1 presents the number of items on the crisis on a daily basis for the period covered.

**Table 1: Number of Items on Jos Crisis: 29-11-2008 TO 28-12 – 2008**

DAILY TRUST																															
Date	29/11	30/11	1/12	2/12	3/12	4/12	5/12	6/12	7/12	8/12	9/12	10/12	11/12	12/12	13/12	14/12	15/12	16/12	17/12	18/12	19/12	20/12	21/12	22/12	23/12	24/12	25/12	26/12	27/12	28/12	
No. of Items	4	6	12	13	13	8	10	9	10	7	4	5	6	4	4	4	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	3	1	0	1	2	142

THE GUARDIAN																															
Date	29/11	30/11	1/12	2/12	3/12	4/12	5/12	6/12	7/12	8/12	9/12	10/12	11/12	12/12	13/12	14/12	15/12	16/12	17/12	18/12	19/12	20/12	21/12	22/12	23/12	24/12	25/12	26/12	27/12	28/12	
No. of items	2	8	2	2	2	2	3	1	2	2	4	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	54

The Table shows that because *Daily Trust* is based in Abuja in the north of the country near the crisis area, its coverage of the crisis was much more extensive, almost tripling that of *The Guardian* in the number of items on the crisis. *The Guardian* is based in Lagos in the south of the country, far away from the crisis location, and therefore did not enjoy the advantage of proximity to the site of the crisis that *Daily Trust* had.

An important point to note is the difference in the way the two newspapers present their stories. For example, if there are three items of news on the crisis, say a statement by Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), a news conference by Inspector General of Police and another statement by Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) all on Jos crisis, *Daily Trust* would present them as three different stories. *The Guardian* on the other hand would present them as a single story. *The Guardian's* stories are often extensive; sometimes they spread over three pages.

Therefore, this should be borne in mind when looking at the relatively fewer stories on the crisis in *The Guardian* compared to *Daily Trust*

### What frames were adopted by the selected newspaper in their coverage of the November 2008 Jos crisis?

Findings show that the frame mostly used in reporting the crisis by the two newspapers is the political frame. This is the case for both *Daily Trust* and *The Guardian*. The use of the political frame is followed by that of the ethnic frame by *Daily Trust*. For *The Guardian*, the use of religious frame followed that of political frame. In the *Daily Trust*, the use of religious frame is followed by historical and economic frame in that order. After the use of the religious frame, we have the ethnic frame followed by the economic frame and then the historical frame in *The Guardian*. Table 2 gives the number of items and their percentages in each frame for each newspaper Table 2

<b>News pape r</b>	<b>Econo mic (E1)</b>	<b>Ethnic (E2)</b>	<b>Historic al (H)</b>	<b>Politic al (P)</b>	<b>Religious (R)</b>	<b>Total/Pe rcentage</b>
Daily Trust	4	35	6	83	14	
	2.8%	24.6%	4.2%	58.5%	9.9%	100
The Guard ian	3	6	2	35	8	
	5.6 %	11.1 %	3.7 %	64.8 %	14 .8 %	100

Table 2 shows that *Daily Trust* and *The Guardian* framed the Jos November 2008 crisis mostly using the political frame. Eighty-three items out of a total of 142 responses (representing 58.5%) are on political frame for items in *Daily Trust*. For *The Guardian*, out of a total of 54 items, 35 of the items (representing 64.8%) are on political frame. This is remarkable because it means that, for both *The Guardian* and *Daily Trust* (58.5% and 64.8%), the November 2008 Jos crisis is mostly political in nature; that while it is even more political for *The Guardian* than for *Daily Trust* it can be concluded that both newspapers gave the coverage of the crisis a political frame.

Next to the political frame, the *Daily Trust* used the ethnic frame in 35 out of 142 items (representing 24.6%) giving the crisis an ethnic context. This may mean that the Berom/Anaguta/Afizere/Hausa and indigenes/settlers ethnic factors cannot be ignored in the crisis. Religious frame came third in *Daily Trust* with 14 (9.9%). For *The Guardian*, the religious frame is the second most important frame used in covering the crisis. Eight items out of 54 (14.8%) are on religious frame. This is followed by the ethnic frame with six (11.1%) out of 54 items. The paper, to a lesser extent, provided religious and ethnic contexts in its coverage of the crisis. Ethnic and religious frames in the two newspapers come immediately after political frame. Ostien (2009) and Je'adayibe and Kudu (2010) both described the series of crises in Jos particularly the November 2008 crisis, as "ethno-religious". Both of them opined that, although the immediate cause of the Jos 2008 crisis was political, ethnic and religious reasons were the fundamental causes of the crisis.

Next in number of frames is the historic frame for *Daily Trust*. This frame is used to put the crisis in the context of other crises that have occurred in the area and to explain the history of the parties involved in the crises. Only six items (4.2%) fall into this frame, this may be because of the nature of newspaper reporting which concentrates on current and

immediate cause instead of doing in-depth treatment of issues. Still, considering the fact that a major cause of the crisis- the issue of who first settled in Jos and therefore an indigene and who is not- is historical, one would expect that items with an historical frame would have been more. The least important frame for *Daily Trust* is the economic frame, with four items (2.8%) despite the obvious negative economic impact of the crisis. For *The Guardian*, the economic frame has three items (5.6%). Compared to *Daily Trust* with 2.8%, it gave more prominence to explaining the crisis in terms of economic impact. The frame with the least number of items for *The Guardian* is the historic frame, with two items (3.7%).

Therefore, *Daily Trust* and *The Guardian* mostly presented the Jos 2008 crisis in political terms by framing most of the items (58.5% for *Daily Trust* and 64.8% for *the Guardian*) using a political frame. Next, *Daily Trust* used the ethnic frame to explain the crisis (24.6%) while *The Guardian* used the religious frame (14.8%). The frame that is third in importance for *Daily Trust* is the religious frame (9.9%) and for *The Guardian*, it is the ethnic frame (11.1%). The fourth in terms of number of frames used is the historical frame for *Daily Trust* (4.2%). For *The Guardian*, the fourth most important frame is the economic frame, which has 5.6%. The frame that has the least importance attached to it in the framing of the Jos crisis by the two newspapers, is the economic frame (2.8%) for *Daily Trust* and the historical frame (3.7%) for *The Guardian*.

### Is there any difference in the parties identified by the papers as victims?

One of the research questions of this study is whether there is a difference in the identification of the victims by *Daily Trust* and *The Guardian*. Since the parties to the crisis can generally be said to be Hausa/Fulani/Muslims on the one hand and Indigenes/Christians on the other hand, the identification of one party as the victim implies that the other party is the aggressor. The framing of the parties as victims is important in looking at how framing of an ongoing crisis can inflame or douse tension.

**Table 3: Identification of Victims by the Newspapers**

NEWSPAPER	HAUSA/FULANI/ MUSLIMS AS VICTIMS	INDEGENES/ CHRISTIAN AS VICTIMS	OTHERS AS VICTIMS	BOTH AS VICTIMS
<b>DAILY TRUST</b>	27	3	5	46
<b>THE GUARDIAN</b>	3	4	1	27

From the news articles and picture captions, *Daily Trust* has 27 items identifying the Hausa/Fulani as victims, three identified indigenes/Christians as victims; five identified others, apart from Hausa/Fulani/Muslims or Indigenes/Christians, as victims and 46 items identified Hausa/Fulani/Muslims and indigenes /Christian as victims. While a greater majority (46) of items identified both parties as victims in *Daily Trust*, a very significant number (27) specifically identified the Hausa/Fulani/Muslims as victims and only three identified indigenes/Christian as victims and five items identified others. For *The Guardian*, 27 items identified both parties as victims, three items identified Hausa/Fulani/Muslims as victims, four items identified indigenes/Christian as victims and one identified others as victims.

Just like *Daily Trust*, in *The Guardian* majority of the items (27) identified both parties as victims. However, only three items specifically identified Hausa/Fulani/Muslims as victims; four items identified Christian/indigenes and only one identified others as victims. Therefore, in the two newspapers, the majority of their items identified both parties as victims with *Daily Trust* having 56.8% and *The Guardian* having 77.1%. It can be argued that refraining from

identifying any party as victim when a paper is reporting an ongoing crisis is the best policy so as not to escalate the situation. When you have a situation such as that of Jos where the crisis has a religious dimension, and in a region (Northern Nigeria) where religious crisis often occurs, it may even be more imperative to refrain from identifying the victims so as to avoid reprisal killing in other parts of the country. National security and interest is often invoked in applying this policy. *The Guardian* applied this policy more than *The Daily Trust* (77.1% to 56.8%). However, this policy has a tendency to engender a sense of conspiracy on the part of the victims who were not named.

*The Daily Trust* identified Hausa/ Fulani /Muslims as victims in 27 out of 81 items (33.3%) while *The Guardian* identified the same party as victims in only 8.6% of the items. This may be due to the proximity of *The Daily Trust* to the site of the crisis or because it is largely owned by Hausa/Fulani/Muslims. On the other hand, it could be because it is more familiar with the locale of the crisis as well as the demographics of Jos; it had more facts available to it. For example, the media- local and international- through their representatives were shown hundreds of corpses of Muslims that were deposited in Jos central mosque. *The Daily Trust* carried the story but *The Guardian* did not. For *The Daily Trust*, the number of items (and percentages) identifying indigenes/Christian as victims is three (3.7%) and for *The Guardian* it is four (11.4%). For others, other than Hausa/Fulani/Muslims and indigenes/ Christian, *The Daily Trust* has five (6.2%) and *The Guardian* has one (2.9%).

An important question that arises from the identification of victims by the two newspapers in a crisis involving two parties is, if one party sustains more losses than the other would it be correct to reflect this reality? After all, the fundamental function of the media is to report the truth and reflect the reality. A newspaper, like all mass media, must be fair. As Okoye (2007:149) notes, citing the *Washington Post's* code of ethics, "no story is fair if it omits facts of major importance or significance". Obviously, the media must strike a balance between reporting the truth and the security interests of the society. The point is that the identification of Hausa/Fulani /Muslims as suffering more losses by *The Daily Trust* (33.3% compared to 3.7% for indigenes/ Christians) may be a true reflection of the reality of the crisis. *The Guardian* identification (Hausa/Fulani/Muslims -8.6% and indigenes/Christian- 11.4%) may also be because of the policy of national security. The fact that the two newspapers may be reporting the same situation using different journalistic principles- reporting the truth and protecting a society's security interest- may be a pointer to the difficulty of balancing these two principles in particular instances, especially in a crisis situation.

### **Discussion of Findings**

This study examined how the print media, specifically *The Daily Trust* and *The Guardian*, framed the Jos 2008 crisis. It examined the frames the two papers used in covering the crisis and the identification of victims by the two newspapers. Five frames-economic, ethnic, historical, political and religious were used. The study found that the Jos crisis was mostly reported using the political frame by the two newspapers. As for the identification of victims, the findings are that the two newspapers identified both parties as victims in most of their items. Both newspapers have a significant percentage of items on the crisis falling into either the ethnic or the religious frame. This reflects two important dimensions to the crisis. These two factors of ethnicity and religion are difficult to distinguish and are used interchangeably. As Samuel, et al (2024) pointed out, there is a frequent conflation of religion and tribe; Hausa and Fulani are mostly Muslims and tend to be described as 'settlers', whereas the Anagutas, Beroms and Afizeres most of whom are Christians see themselves as 'indigenes' of the State. The finding is also consistent with that of Nwokedi et al (2024) which found that the religious

frame was used most by newspapers in their framing of crisis in Jos between 2022 to 2023. This study is a contribution to the framing of crisis reporting, specifically the framing of the reporting of a crisis in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society such as Nigeria by print media that have different ownerships, interests and orientations.

### **Conclusion**

This study content-analysed the 2008 Jos crisis from the point of view of how it was framed by the print media in their reporting. *Daily Trust* and *The Guardian newspapers* were the study population. It was found that out of the five framing categories designed for this study, the political frame was mostly used by the two newspapers. This was followed by the ethnic frame for the *Daily Trust* and the religious frame for *The Guardian*. This was interchanged as the religious frame and was the third most used by *Daily Trust* and the ethnic frame the third most used by *The Guardian*. This is a reflection that there may be major political undertones to the crisis. The fact that the ethnic and religious frames were second and third respectively for the newspapers also reflects underlying ethnic and religious factors.

### **Recommendations**

It is recommended that research into the framing of the series of crises in Jos by other newspapers other than *The Daily Trust* and *The Guardian*, and other media covering other periods in recent times should be carried out to provide a more comprehensive view of media framing of the Jos and other crises. It is also recommended that news framing of conflicts should deemphasise cleavages and divisions when reporting ongoing conflicts to avoid escalation and give room for future reconciliation and healing.

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