

Appraisal of Ethical Issues in the Media Framing of the Conflict in Peoples' Democratic Party

Adegboyega Segun Ademola

Caleb University Business School, PO box 21238, CMD road, Magodo, Kayode Olusola Crescent, Lagos

Abstract

The core aim of this study is to provide media outfit, journalists and would-be journalists with higher education for peace with the aim of promoting among all journalists and politicians a spirit of understanding, tolerance, and peaceful coexistence, to stimulate cooperation among people, and to help lessen obstacles and threats to our internal democracy. Therefore, the study estimate the value of how newspapers in Nigeria, particularly Daily Trust, The Nation and Punch newspapers are setting agenda of conflict/peace journalism in reporting crisis ridden opposition party in their sustainability effort towards solidifying internal democracy; especially the issue of intra-party democracy which is vital to the development of the nation. In specific terms, the study focus on the recent crisis in Peoples' Democratic Party by raising three objectives based on Johan Galtung classification of conflict/peace journalism. Empirical literatures were reviewed in line with the objectives of the study. A selected random sampling of 180 editions of selected newspapers published between August, 2016 to March, 2017 was reviewed using content analysis and discourse analysis research method. Results shows that conflict journalistic frame was the dominant frame adopted by the selected newspapers and stories that employ elite/government sources were prevalent and thereby contributed in escalating the tension between the two warring factions by focusing on groups differences and reaction to early stories. The framing and the social identity theories were also used to explain the study and it was discovered that the way the media have set the agenda and frame the conflict in Peoples' Democratic Party has gone in a long way in determining party members' drive for positive change and identity, self-esteem and social comparisons they make, this to large extent contributed to defection of members to other parties seeking an avenue to protect their political interest and office. Both the quantitative and qualitative data were clearly presented and analysed which helped in answering the research questions.

Keywords: Conflict Sensitivism, Ethics, Framing, Internal Democracy, Intra-Party Conflict, PDP.

1. Introduction

Human societies are characterized by political conflict, an inevitable aspect of human interaction, an unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions (Zartman, 1997). In a pluralistic society like Nigeria, political conflict has been a peculiar trait of Nigeria political scene before and after independence, a crisis Nigeria has struggled to curtail since independence; ostensibly because of diverse political points of view on successful blueprint of the operations of her democracy (Nwafor & Ogbodo, 2015).

Momoh in his keynote address before 1999 military-civilian transition gave an account of the first North and South legislative council meeting in Lagos where Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa who later became Nigeria first Prime Minister, said:

“Many (Nigerians) deceive themselves by thinking that Nigeria is one...particularly some of the press people. This is wrong. I am sorry to say that this pretence of unity is artificial and it ends outside this chamber. The southern tribes who are now pouring into the North in ever-increasing numbers and are more or less domiciled here, do not mix with the northern people...and we in the North look upon them as invaders.”

The above statement is an evidence of differentiation in political policies, interests, agenda and lack of unity and political tolerance among the country's founding fathers which has today set the pace for political bend or break of the nation's sovereignty. Above all, this has led Babarinsa (2003) to identify Nigeria's major obstacle in attaining development as her inability to manage her political fortune. Intra-party crises are not exclusive character of one party in Nigeria. It is a common practice among Nigerian political parties. But, the extent of the intra-political conflict in the PDP and its implications on nation's political sphere raises fundamental questions on the sustainability of Nigerian democracy.

Apparently, Peoples' Democratic Party has always been engulfed with internal crisis long before the recent crisis (*see Popoola, 2015*). The defeat of the party in the 2015 general poll led to the resignation of Ahmadu Adamu Mu'azu as national chairman of the party. Prince Uche Secondus, the then Deputy National Chairman was then made to act as chairman, pending the election of another substantive chairman from the same geopolitical zone Mu'azu hailed from with the party's prescribed a period of six months for the Acting Chairman. After periods of uncertainty surrounding the expiration of the prescribed six months, Senator and Former governor of Borno State Ali Modu Sheriff was appointed as the chairman of the party championed by the effort of Governor Ayo Fayose (Ekiti state) and Nyesom Wike (Rivers state) in February, 2016. The appointment of Senator Ali Modu Sheriff was met by serious oppositions by critical party organs. This later culminated to a full

blown power tussle among party bigwigs in the party.

In order to salvage the political image and fortune of the party, Sheriff was removed as chairman of the party and Senator and Former governor of Kaduna state Ahmed Makarfi was appointed as the caretaker chairman, a move that polarized the party among supporters and political gladiators. Aftermath, are evident cases of disunity and crisis of internal democracy, polarization of the party into two faction groups (Ahmed Makarfi led PDP and Ali Modu Sheriff led PDP) characterized by massive party members defection, weakening opposition parties, thereby moving the country towards a one-party state. As indicated above, its persistence provides a bleak future on the sustainability of democracy in Nigerian political system.

Considering its implications on quality of governance, peace and stability, democracy thrives in the presence of vibrant opposition. Any threat to the existence of opposition is therefore a threat to democratic sustenance (Olaniyan & Amao 2015, p. 80). Additionally, the way the media report these political parties during the time of crisis is essential to the growth of democracy in any society. The media shape what we see and hear about conflict. Over the years, Nigeria media have been alleged to be one of the contributors to the political pitfalls of the nation's democracy by looking at issues through the prism of ethnicity and religion (Popoola, 2015). Nowhere are the media desperately needed to support political, economic and social development than in developing countries like Nigeria. It is of the belief that the way the selected newspapers frame the conflict in PDP will go a long way in influencing the perception and understanding of the publics about the conflict.

1.1 Objectives of the study

Following from the above, the broad objective of the study is aimed at finding out whether Nigerian newspapers set agenda of peace and are ethical in their framing of PDP crisis. The study is aimed at the following specific objectives based on Johan Galtung classification of conflict/peace journalism:

1. To determine the dominant journalistic frame in the coverage of Peoples' Democratic Party conflict;
2. To appraise the salient indicator of conflict/peace journalism manifested in the selected newspapers reportage of the crisis in PDP;
3. To determine if the coverage of the conflict by the selected newspapers are socially responsible.

2. Political Party

Political party is a structure through which members of a system participate in the political process; it is an organization formed specifically to pursue electoral objectives (Ayeni-Akeke, 2008). According to Baldwin et al. (1997, p.86) "political party is composed of people with similar beliefs who have united to accomplish specific goals". Lemay's definition of political parties captures the entire objectives of a political party in a democratic setting when he defined political party as any group of politically active persons outside a government who organize to capture government by nominating and electing officials who thereby control the operations of government and determine its policies (Lemay 2001).

Plethora of books have been produced to capture the essential functions of political party by political scholars (*See Adeniyi, 2008; Ayeni-Akeke, 2008; Opeibi, 2009; Almond, 2010*). Baldwin et al. (1997) contends that political parties fulfill a variety of important functions in a democracy, he identify that political party provide a channel of communication between the people and the government, recruit and train political leaders and also organize and educate the public and provide alternative choices for the electorate. Omotola (2009) however, observe that the functions of political parties are beyond functions that are government related, such as making government accountable and exercising control over government administration; and electorate related functions such as political representation, expression of people's demand through interest articulation and aggregation as well as structuring of electoral choices; but also linkage related functions, playing an intermediary and mediatory role between the government and the electorate.

The functions of political parties in any political set up are virtually the same all over the world. Hofmeister and Grabow (2011) argue that without political party, democracy cannot function because they are the most important connecting link between state and society. They further argued that a democratic state cannot be governed by parties with undemocratic structures. The idea of Mersel (2006) is that political parties must be democratic not only externally in their operations, but also internally in the organizational functions. These include: candidate selection, leadership selection, policy making, membership relations, gender, minorities, youth and party funding. These internal political values are visibly lacking in Peoples' Democratic Party, and a situation whereby a party neglect internal planning and functions leads to intra-political crisis to the detriment of its internal democracy.

Additionally, the adopted political system and societal coloration of any society will determine the level of responsibility a political party will play and discharged to the public. Opeibi (2009, p.12) also contributes to this by stating that "most political parties in different societies evolve as a reflection of the socio-political and cultural variables that exist in that environment". For many in Nigeria, personal or group(s) political ambitions are factors that influenced the formation and structure of some political parties in the country. Recent in history,

were the formation of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) in 2010 to protect the political ambition of President Muhammadu Buhari who as at the time realized his ambition to contest the 2011 Presidential election is not guarantee in ANPP; Chris Okotie also founded Justice Party after he was schemed out of National Democratic Party (NDP) and Fresh Democratic Party to contest the 2003 and 2007 general elections respectively; Alhaji Ganiyu Galadima was the founder and national chairman of Allied Congress Party in Nigeria through which he contested for the 2015 presidential election; United Democratic Party was also headed by Godson Okoye who patronized himself as the national chairman and National secretary of the party to contest Anambra gubernatorial election in 2010.

2.1 Media role in the sustainability of Internal Democracy in Nigeria

Between 1966 and 1999, Nigeria had eight military regimes, each of the sequence of events that led to military intervention in Nigerian politics was politically motivated due to the failure of civilian governments to deliver on the electoral promises they made to the electorate, coupled with the inability of the elected representatives to resolve their political differences in accordance with the laid down procedures (Oboh, 2008). According to Oboh (2008, p.9) unfortunately then, “the Nigerian press could not play a meaningful role towards assisting to resolve the politically-occasioned national crises imposed on our nascent democracy by the politicians”.

Additionally, Nigeria media has a part in military intervention that took place in 1966 due to their ferocious coverage of the political happenings during the period as well as the inflammatory headlines of the Nigerian newspapers which according to Oboh (2008) contributed to fueling the crisis that arose from the disagreement between Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the leader of the Action Group (AG) and Chief S.L. Akinola. Unfortunately, the current position of the Nigerian mass media on seemingly controversial national issues is not substantially different today from what it was yesterday. To this end, this study will therefore described in details what should be the role of Nigeria media in their effort as the fourth estate of the realm to resuscitate the flagging democracy of the nation.

The role of mass media in Nigeria society in political and sociological terms towards the sustainability of internal democracy can be explained along the postulation of Lasswell (1948), a political scientist and one of the pioneer scholars in Mass communication studies as: Surveillance of the environment, correlation of parts of the environment; and transmission of national cultural and political heritage from generation to generation. Schramm also simplified Lasswell's postulation as watcher, forum and teacher. The word surveillance means the mass media is to inform and provide information to the society and keep watch on the activities of the government and correct uncomplimentary occurrences. According to Daramola (2003) the surveillance function often corresponds to what is generally called news handling. This includes the collection and distribution of information about events in the political environment and by been conflict sensitive with degree of early warning signals in their reportage, avoiding reports capable of inflaming passion and offensive words. In other to exercise control over the sustainability of internal democracy, the media should provide knowledge of potential threats and opportunities within Nigeria political system.

The second function as identified by Harold Lasswell is correlation of part of the society. Nigeria society will continue to exist to the extent that its members are in some form of disagreement on the successful operation of her democracy. This disagreement will always pose a political crisis that threatens the existence of her democracy and the media can provide a platform/forum on how to react to events that threaten their political environment. Correlation refers to the interpretation of information about events in the environment and giving prescription for action in response to these events (Daramola, 2003). The Nigeria media through their editorial or opinion functions can be a correlator of the internal response.

The existence of Nigeria democracy depends on the ability of its members to share common values and to agree on what constitutes democratic acceptable behaviours. This also depends on the ability of the members to transmit the values and norms of the society from one generation to another. Thus, the transmission of socio-political heritage is a vital function of the media to sustain democratic norms and values. Modernization has brought about a very large community that interpersonal communication alone cannot work effectively. The power of teaching and passing information to the people revolves on the media and it was expected that the media will carry on this responsibility of disseminating information to the people to give them information about political environment in such a way that they are going to be informed citizenry which is number one requirement of a democratic society.

According to Ochonogor (2008, p.125) "the constitutional provision for Nigeria journalists prescribes certain responsibilities on the media, that is, to discharge their duties of informing the people objectively, accurately and without bias". This invariably implies that journalists should observe certain ethical codes in the conduct of their duties. Therefore Nigeria media should focuses in bringing details of all major political situations, decisions and scenarios with conformity with the ethics of journalism. Hence people can better understand their rights and make better decisions.

2.2 Framing

Framing theory is important to underpin this study because one of the ways through which the media can influence their target public is through News Framing. Framing involves selecting certain features of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a text 'in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation' (Entman, 1993 cited in Vladisavljević 2015). Herman and Chomsky (2000) cited in Saleem (2007) also maintain that the media framing plays a vital role in presenting, shaping or destroying the picture of an event or story. Saleem (2007, p.134-135) further states that literatures on framing indicates that,

1. Media frames can play a vital role in stimulating opposition to or support for an event or issue,
2. Media frames provide moral judgment, causal interpretation and remedy/solution for media-focused problems,
3. Media frames generally represent specific ideology,
4. Media frames including attractive words, metaphors, phrases etc also help to determine the "tone" of media coverage of an event or issue.

In view of these postulations as noted by Saleem (2007), this study therefore tends to analyze the selected national newspapers on the basis of ethical standards of how credible are Nigerian newspaper outlets in their framing of political impasse in Peoples' Democratic Party, are they conflict sensitive oriented and are the reports capable of inflaming passion, are the language used offensive words, what issues are being projected.

Mass volume of news stories in a newspaper edition today consist of politics, conflict as well as economic issues. However, a strong link exists between the mass media and political conflict. Buttressing this viewpoint, Ojebuyi and Ekennia (2013, p.98) posits that "in the modern democratic society, political conflicts constitute substantial proportion of the media contents, and the patterns of reporting these conflicts have a serious implication for the democratic institution". According to Adeyinka, Daramola and Amos (2015, p. 49) "the function of the media during crises is a question of coverage or angle of reportage". The extent and nature of coverage involves whether or not they adequately cover emerging crisis and whether or not the coverage was executed professionally, objectively or whether or not the events mirrored were over-sensationalized, politicized and badly reported (Unah, 1995 cited in Adeyinka, Daramola & Amos, 2015).

The media are by far the most important source of information about politics and conflicts for most people, which grants them a considerable influence over citizens' perceptions, opinions and behaviour. By reporting on some conflicts but not on others, and by representing conflicts they report on in particular ways, the media strongly influence the dynamics and outcomes of conflicts, and thus also shape the prospects of success of conflict parties (Vladisavljević, 2015). Media framing of political conflict is one of the unique characterization or presentation of issues that the media communicate certain meanings to audiences apart from just stating facts (Ojebuyi & Ekennia, 2013). The media have an independent effect on political processes through their ability to transform political events into stories. The media carrying out this duty face the dilemma of keeping the story balanced, equal representation and unbiased angle of report.

It is no gain saying however, that the media align themselves with parties in conflict. Studies of mass media coverage of important national issues in Nigeria in the past suggest that many of the reports tactically take sides on issues of ethnic, political, regional or religious considerations (Popoola, 2015). Although the coverage of political conflict have had a longstanding presence in Nigerian media, in the main these reportage have been infrequent and characterized by their stereotypical and unfavorable nature. According to Nwafor and Ogbodo (2015), it is very common to easily understand the ethnic undertones that characterize Nigerian newspapers content. "That is to say that one can easily decipher the ethnic cleavages that Nigerian media lend their witting and unwitting support based on the framing patterns". (Nwafor & Ogbodo, 2015, p. 3). Nwafor and Ogbodo (2015) in their study, analysed the framing of group identities in two Nigerian national dailies and findings assert that majority of the editions carried stories with sectional undertones; and many of the reports showed unsupportive slants to opposing ethnic groups.

2.3 Media frame of Conflict and Peace Journalism

According to Seow and Maslog (2005) cited in Nicole (2009, p.19) "the news coverage of conflict, including the reporting about war, is grounded in the notion of conflict as a news value. As a result, conflict reporting is often sensational and a mere device to boost circulation and ratings." Against this journalistic settings, the notion of 'peace journalism' was established in the 1970s by Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung who argues that the media have a tendency to report conflict and war in a way that could maintain or even escalate hostilities (Hyde Clarke, 2011, p.43). According to Galtung (1965) some media contributes to polarize the conflict through some language orientations. He later called this kind of information, war journalism. To counteract this effect there should be another kind of journalism: the peace journalism.

Galtung (1998) defined war journalism as the prevalent media practice of covering a conflict as if it was a two-party battle that would inevitably end with victory for one party and defeat for the other. According to

Galtung (1998) this is akin to the model of sports journalism in which reporters focus on winners and losers in their coverage of sport events because the athletes are locked in win-or-lose games. Peace journalism, on the other hand, would shift focus away from a win-lose scenario. It would talk of ways to both transform the conflict into an issue that affects more than just two parties and provide an opportunity to resolve the conflict (Najma & Waqas, 1998). Conflict journalism plays up conflict as an arena where participants are grouped starkly into two opposing sides ('them vs. us') in a zero-sum game and focuses on visible effects of war (casualties and damage to property). In contrast, peace journalism is a broader, fairer and more accurate way of framing stories, drawing on the insights of conflict analysis and transformation (Nicole 2009).

According to Nicolas Gavilan (2011), peace journalism model could be summarized in four normative points:

- The journalist must analyze the conflict to be able to inform about violent facts. This analysis must include the roots and causes, the confronting parties and their objectives.
- The information should present an orientation to conflict solution, giving relevance to proposals, negotiations, agreements, etc.
- The journalists should pursue truth in a symmetrical manner, that is, reality –positive and negative– of the contending parties, not just from one side.
- The orientation of the information must be towards the voice of common people and not just for the elites.

The basic model of peace/conflict framing for quantitative analysis of this study was the modified coding categories used by Lee and Maslog (2005) and Adisa (2015) driven by Galtung's peace journalism theory (Galtung, 1986, 1998). Essential indicators of both peace and conflict journalism used as the content categories of this study are listed below:

1. Visible or invisible effects of conflict
2. Differences or agreements
3. Elite or people orientation
4. Reactive framing or preventive framing
5. Good and bad tagging
6. Partisan or non-partisanship
7. Zero-sum or win-win approach.

The language-based criteria included:

1. Demonizing language

2.4 Social Identity Theory

The central hypothesis of Social Identity theory propounded by Henri Tajfel and John Turner, in the 1970's is that group members of an in-group will seek to find negative aspects of an out-group, by enhancing their self-image. The concept of ingroup and outgroup will help to understand the effect of media framing on Peoples' Democratic Party socio-political identity. Our sense of identity in other words is closely bound up with our various group memberships. Group memberships are an essential part of the self. Our self-esteem also depends in large measure on how we and others feel about the groups we belong to (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Exposure to negative/positive media messages is a valuable tool to shape/destroy group(s) social identity through media framing. The media do not just affect the perception of the public about an issue or group but also goes a step further in affecting the relationship of members (ingroup) and members of other groups (outgroup). Social Identity theory posits that a portion of one's self-concept is dependent on the importance and relevance placed on the group membership(s) to which an individual belongs (Turner & Oakes, 1986). The theory suggests that individuals' drive for positive identity and esteem influences the social comparisons they make.

The Peoples' Democratic Party is polarized along two groups within the party (The Ali Modu Sheriff faction & Makarfi faction). The favourable coverage of one group (e.g The Ali Modu Sheriff faction) against the other group (Makarfi faction) to some extent will affect the way member(s) of Ali Modu Sheriff faction (ingroup) perceive Makarfi group (outgroup) and vice versa. This process may actually promote broader favorable impressions to the relevant outgroup members (Makarfi faction) to decamp to ingroup (Ali Modu Sheriff faction) because individuals' drive for positive identity and esteem. According to Abrams and Giles (2007) when it comes to negative images, it may be the case that viewers actively work to buffer themselves from the harmful effects of exposure to negative images of their ingroup in the mass media.

According to Mckinley, Mastro and Warber (2014, p.1051) media messages have the potential to:

- Influence the importance/relevance of, and ability to prime, different group memberships;
- Contribute to viewers' perceptions about the features/dimensions that characterize different groups;
- Provide norms of treatment for different groups;
- Define the status and standing of different groups; and ultimately;

- Normalize these notions by suggesting that media representations are consensually accepted.

According to Mckinley et al. (2014) research suggests that exposure to positive media images can improve majority of peoples' attitudes towards a group along a variety of outcomes ranging from general support and positive judgments to sympathy regarding issues of discrimination. Therefore, with positive media representation of group, people are motivated to maintain distinctions towards such group and vice versa.

3. Methodology

The researchers adopted the quantitative (Content analysis) and qualitative (Discourse analysis) approach. This work analyzed three Nigerian national dailies (Daily Trust and The Punch and The Nation). These three newspapers were selected purposively to meet the following objectives: circulation strength, and their wide range of coverage of political and national issues. Similarly, the three newspapers were chosen because of their different ideological posture. The total number of 180 editions were selected across the three newspapers using random sampling technique, this to the researcher makes the probability of selecting all editions to be high during the study period between August 2016 to March 2017 (the peak of the rivalry among the warring factions of PDP). During this period high profile form of bikery, rivalry, allegations, court cases among PDP officials, political elites, public officials etc. were prevalent. It is no gain saying that this period also attracted much of media attention on the activities in Peoples' Democratic Party as a result of the internal political rivalry.

The categories of the content of the selected newspapers are conflict and peace Journalism. The coding classifications for this study were adapted from Lee and Maslog (2005)'s 13 coding categories which were initially updated from Galtung's peace and conflict indicators. This has also been a proven success in study conducted by Adisa (2015). It was from these that this study adapted eight indicators of conflict framing and eight indicators of peace framing as shown in table below:

Table 1: Tabular Representation of unit of categories

Conflict Journalism	Peace Journalism
1. Visible effects of conflict: Casualties	1. Invisible effects of conflict: Emotional trauma, damage to society, damage to democratic system
2. Differences oriented: Report may leads to conflict	2. Solution oriented: Report may leads to solution to the conflict
3. Elite-oriented: Focuses on leaders and elites as actors and sources of information	3. People-oriented: Focuses on common people as actors and sources of information
4. Reactive framing: Convey the current political conflict intensification but totally obscures the reasons that provoked it in the first place	4. Proactive/preventive framing: Anticipates and warns about implications of groups, seeks reconciliation and prevention
5. Dichotomy: Good guys and bad guys or victim and villain	5. Avoid labeling of good and bad guys
6. Partisan: Biased for one side in the conflict	6. Non-partisan: Neutral, not taking sides
7. Zero-sum orientation: One goal: to win	7. Win-win orientation: Many goals and issues, solution-oriented
8. Use of Demonizing language: Use of language such as vicious, brutal, barbaric, inhuman, tyrant, savage, ruthless, fanatic.	8. Avoid demonizing language: Report on more precise descriptions, titles or names that the people give themselves

These categories were adopted from Galtung's classification on peace/war journalism as adopted by Lee and Maslog (2005), Adisa (2015).

Research findings STUDY I

4. Presentation of Quantitative Data

From all the three newspapers, a total 767 measurement units (frames counts) were identified and treated to answer the research objective 1 and 2.

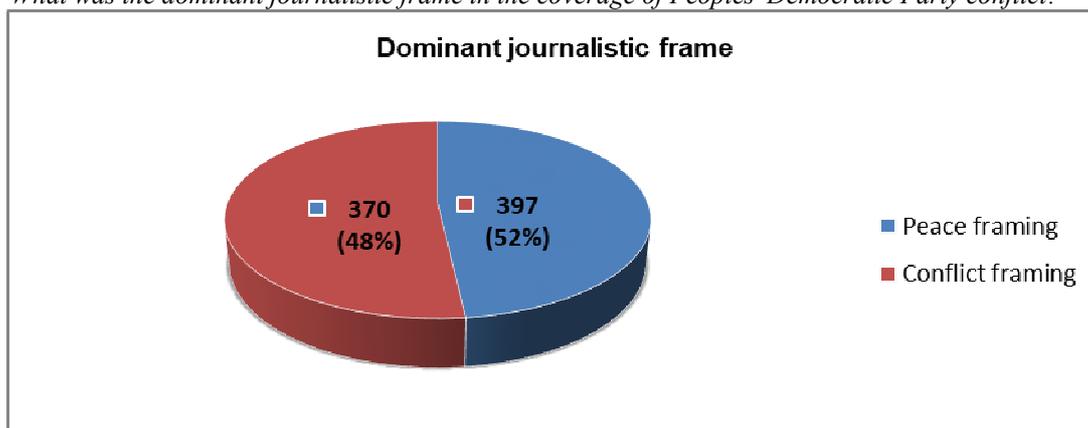
Table 1: Dominant journalistic frame across selected newspapers

Indicators	Newspapers			
	Daily Trust	The Nation	Punch	Total
Conflict framing				
Visible effects	10	06	05	21
Group differences	13	26	20	59
Elite/government sources	24	35	23	82
Reactive framing	22	25	18	65
Good or bad tagging	12	15	16	43
Partisanship	12	15	12	39
Zero-sum orientation	17	22	16	55
Demonizing language	09	15	09	33
	119	159	119	397(52%)
Peace Framing				
Invisible effects	08	16	08	32
Groups' agreement/common interest	08	06	04	18
People oriented sources	10	20	12	42
Proactive/preventive framing	10	18	10	38
No good/bad tagging	20	26	15	61
Non-partisan	20	31	15	66
Win-win option	12	15	12	39
Avoid demonizing language	24	32	18	74
Total	112	164	94	370(48%)
Cumulative total	231	323	213	767(100%)

The coverage of PDP crisis in Daily Trust, The Nation and Punch newspapers from August 2016 to March 2017 (one of the peak conflict times in PDP) was measured on Galtung's theoretical model and the overall coverage in the selected newspapers was more tilted towards conflict journalism 397(52%) frame count than peace journalism 370(48%) frame count as shown in table 1.

Conflict journalism frame indicators exceeded peace journalism frame indicators. In the conflict journalism frame, the majority of frequency counts were those that employ "Elite/government sources" indicator, 82 (21%). In the peace journalism frame, the majority frequency count was reflected in stories that "avoid the use of demonizing language" indicator, 74(20%). The most salient indicators supporting conflict journalism frame were "Elite/government sources" 82(21%), "Reactive framing" 65(16%). Most stories with a conflict journalism frame focused on the conflict arena, protest activities and court cases.

RQ1: What was the dominant journalistic frame in the coverage of Peoples' Democratic Party conflict?



In the above *figure*, it is clearly shown that Conflict Journalism framing has a slightly higher percentage than Peace journalism. Therefore, conflict journalism framing is the dominant journalistic frame adopted in the coverage of Peoples Democratic Party crisis. Study's finding overall contrast showed that conflict indicators with 52% are most salient compared with peace indicators that showed 48% as displayed in the figure above. Conflict journalism frame has 397 frame counts and peace journalism frame has 370 respectively. Table 1 also provides the break-down of how these indicators appear across the three newspapers. According to Galtung (2002) conflict journalism is oriented to conflict, is highly influenced by propaganda, it focuses on the opinion of the elites and it focuses on zero-sum game, that is, one part wins all and the other part loses all which are evident

in the data presented.

RQ2: To appraise the salient indicator of conflict/peace journalism manifested in the selected newspapers reportage of the crisis in PDP?

The salient indicator of conflict journalism manifested in the selected newspapers reportage is the elite/government sources, according to Nicolás Gavilán (2011) elite/government sources is oriented to conflict intensification, highly influenced by propaganda, it focuses on the opinion of the major players in the conflict. In other words, the coverage of the crisis has majorly focused on leaders, elites as source of information. Examples utilized in the coverage of the PDP political crisis are spokesperson/press officer announcements, press releases/conferences, and political leaders' opinions. This has in large measure contributed to the escalation of the conflict by giving much cognizance to reactions to an earlier story by major players in the conflict thus adopting more of a reactive framing. The study also discovers that the selected newspapers in supporting peace journalism frame mostly utilized "avoid demonizing language" 74(20%) peace indicator.

STUDY II

4.2 Presentation of Qualitative Data

This section devised the use of Discourse analysis for the study to generate relevant data through the use of two broad content categories which were developed in order to determine and analyze the reportage of the conflict by the selected newspapers. The two principal content categories were:

1. **Incitement/escalated stories:** Under this category, stories that fuel conflict and rivalry between factions in Peoples' Democratic Party as well as stories that will bring hatred or excite disaffection against the party as a whole or any of the two factions in the face of right thinking member of the society as regard political conflict in Peoples' Democratic Party.
2. **Non-incitement/Resolution stories:** Under this category, stories oriented to conflict transformation, to inform with veracity, and it understands peace as a solution of a conflict where all the involved parties receive some benefits; focuses on the structure of societies in conflict.

4.2.1 Newspaper: Daily Trust

The Daily Trust newspaper position its pages as a battle ground for major players in the crisis. It published outbursts of Femi Fani-Kayode and Ali Modu Sheriff for public consumption, ignoring the potential consequences of such reportage. Attention were only focused on the events rather than the issues, these are demonstrated in the stories below:

Fani-Kayode: Sheriff came to destroy PDP

A former minister of aviation, Chief Femi Fani-Kayode, has said the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) used a former governor of Borno State, Senator Ali Modu Sheriff, to destroy the All Peoples Party (APP) during the administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo...He said anytime Sheriff was a card carrying member of an opposition party, he became a "mole, a spy and tries to destroy it from within" on behalf of the party in power. He also claimed that President Muhammadu Buhari was using him to destabilise the PDP.

In a quick reaction, Daily Trust reported one of the several reactionary outbursts of Senator Ali Modu Sheriff thus:

Sheriff had, Sunday night on a political programme on Channels Television, said: "You listened to Fani-Kayode? That guy called me Boko Haram and I was about to take him to court when he sent 20 highly placed men, including Goodluck Ebele Jonathan to beg me. He came himself also."

In the same story and in response to Sheriff's statement, the newspaper features the outburst of both men by publishing vengeful verbal exchange between the two individuals. Still in the same story Femi Fani-Kayode's outburst was captured by Daily Trust:

Fani-Kayode, who is the director of publicity in the 2015 PDP Presidential Campaign Organisation, described Sheriff as a 'liar'. He said the former governor had failed in his plot to destroy the PDP because 99 percent of party members had dumped him.

"Lying Ali Modu Sheriff told Channels TV last night (Sunday) that I sent people to beg him for claiming that he was Boko Haram. These are the lies of a desperate and drowning man. He came to destroy the PDP and if we did not rise up against him and kick him out when we did, he would have succeeded in his mission...(August 16, 2016, Pg 37).

The tone of this reportage tends to aggravate the conflict the more as well as bring hatred or excite disaffection against the personality of those captured in the news story. However, in the midst of the confusion that follows after the removal of Eyitayo Jegede as the aspirant of PDP gubernatorial candidate in Ondo State, the newspaper gave undue prominence to utterances from major players in the conflict that can only aggravate the already tensed conflict as captured below:

INEC officials risk imprisonment over Ondo gov'ship-Sheriff

The factional National Chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Senator Ali Modu Sheriff, has said that officials of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) risk imprisonment if they refused to

declare Barrister Jimoh Ibrahim as candidate of the party for the November 26 governorship election in Ondo State.. (October 27, 2016, Pg 39).

The newspaper seemed to have set the stage for Ali Modu Sheriff faction of PDP to mount more pressure on INEC to boost and press for its demand, thereby creating a conflicting ground for the intending elections. The Daily Trust newspaper did little to focus on stories that mention groups' agreement and common interest but rather makes reference to groups' differences and conflicting issues that usually aggravate groups' conflict. Such reportage is evident below:

Makarfi-led PDP calls for postponement of Ondo guber election, as Sheriff kicks

The Senator Ahmed Makarfi-led National Caretaker Committee of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) has called on the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to postpone the November 26 governorship election in Ondo State.

Reacting to the statement in the same report by Senator Ali Modu Sheriff faction of PDP, Daily Trust report:

"But the Senator Ali Modu Sheriff-led factional of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) has kicked against call for postponement. In a statement in Abuja, the Deputy National Chairman for the Sheriff faction, Dr Cairo Ojouboh, said on behalf of his boss, that such a call by the Caretaker Committee was "malicious, offensive and irresponsible."

Sheriff urged the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), the judiciary and members of the public to disregard the call (November 20, 2016, Pg 4).

The below news story which seems innocuous tends to result in the National Caretaker Committee attempting to refute the below excerpts assertion by further flexing their political muscles and the destruction of any existing attempts to achieve peace or reconciliation.

Makarfi planning to form new party- Gulak

A former political adviser to President Goodluck Jonathan, Barr. Ahmed Gulak, has accused the chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) National caretaker committee, Senator Ahmed Makarfi and the party's Board of Trustees (BoT) chairman, Senator Walid Jibrin, of treachery and anti-party activities.

Gulak explained that Makarfi erred by allegedly planning to form a new political party, stressing that history would judge him on the negative side if he pulled out with his supporters from the PDP...

But in a reaction the spokesman for the Markarfi-led caretaker committee, Prince Dayo Adeyeye, said Sheriff and his team were agents of the APC, "paid by the ruling party to destabilise" the PDP (Dec 14, 2016, Pg 38).

This coverage lack ability to be helpful in resolving the political crisis but widened the gap between the two factions. The below headline and excerpt of the content of the news story tend to continue to do a lot of damage to the relationship between Makarfi faction and Sheriff faction of PDP. It was captured by Daily Trust thus:

Sheriff out to destroy PDP- Fani Kayode

A former Minister of Aviation, Chief Femi Fani-Kayode, yesterday described the PDP national chairman, Sen. Ali Modu Sheriff, as "a traitor and agent of destruction," who he claimed is biting the fingers that fed him. The former minister also said those preparing to work with Sheriff are "misguided and naive," adding that whoever called for members of the PDP to rally behind chairman Sheriff "is a fool."

Fani-Kayode, in a statement yesterday said: "He is worse than the bubonic plague, not only is he a curse to our party but he is also an affliction to our nation... (February 24, 2017, Pg 52).

Shortly after the pronouncement of Appeal Court order, the newspaper took to the position of referring to Senator Ahmed Makarfi as 'sacked National Caretaker Chairman', a bias use of word that may greatly annoy the Makarfi faction of PDP which was captured below:

Makarfi, PDP gobs meet to tackle Sheriff

The sacked National Caretaker Chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Sen. Ahmed Makarfi and governors of the party will meet today to decide on their next line of action following their defeat by Sen. Ali Modu Sheriff at the Court of Appeal...Many foundation members of the PDP, apparently devastated by Friday judgement by the Port Harcourt Appeal Court, have started canvassing for an alternative platform ahead of 2019, clearly accepting defeat from what political watchers described as 'Sheriff's untiring fight'. (February 20, 2017, Pg 51).

PDP crisis won't affect Ekiti gov'ship- Fayose

Governor Ayo Fayose said yesterday that the leadership crisis rocking the PDP will not affect the chances of its candidates in the next year's governorship election in Ekiti state...Fayose described Sheriff's success as one that would not last, saying whoever celebrated it "only celebrated nonsense." According to him, "Sheriff and his gang are only daydreaming. If they think they can inherit the party illegally, that is a pipe dream; those planning to invade the PDP secretariat should be warned. They must not toy with fire," Fayose said... (February 20, 2017, Pg 51).

Hanitzsch (2004, p. 88) argues that peace journalism seeks causes and way out to the conflicts on all sides and gives voice to the views of all adversaries, in view of this assertion by Hanitzsch (2004), the above excerpt was published immediately after the Appeal Court ruling which the newspaper should have avoided in other not

to fan the ember of the already escalated conflict by focusing more attention on news that proffer solution to the conflict.

4.2.2 Newspaper: The Nation

Following from the above, the nation newspaper also published stories focusing mainly on political differences and conflicting issues that usually stimulate groups' conflict rather than making a positive impact in resolving the crisis. Below are some of the stories:

2019 presidency ticket cause of PDP crisis- Sheriff Accuses Wike, Secondus of working for external forces Draws battle line with Rivers Gov

"He said: "Wike and Secondus are working to give the party ticket in 2019 to a man in APC, a man that is not even bold enough to leave the APC and join us. He was a founding father of the PDP. "I don't have to mention him. Secondus himself told me that he and Wike always meet this man to strategise plans on 2019. I told him that it is wrong. If the man is bold enough, let him come and join us now..."

"Wike is full of arrogance and impunity. He is too small to pocket PDP. I will not allow him. There are people who can carry the flag within the party. PDP will not be sold." (August 20, 2016, Pg 6).

Considering the fact that the interview was conducted on a broadcast station (AIT), there was no need to repeat the same report in the newspaper. This forms part of insensitivity to the conflict and definitely escalatory in nature by reporting verbatim.

Jimoh Ibrahim's rally a sham says Makarfi faction

The Ahmed Makarfi faction of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Ondo State has described the Monday rally by some self acclaimed PDP members in Ore, Odigbo Local Government Area of Ondo State as a sham. According to its factional Publicity Secretary, Banji Okunomo, the show was another incident of "some masquerades dancing naked in public"...He said original PDP member did not show up at the rally because "everything about Ibrahim is deceitful"...

The rally is not only a sham but a further portrait of Jimoh Ibrahim as one who is in for the spoiler's job in the November 26 governorship election. Other serious minded governorship candidates, including the authentic PDP candidate, Eytayo Jegede, held their campaign launch in Akure, the state capital, Jimoh took his to Ore, a boundary town, which is closer to Ogun State (November 16, 2016).

The excerpt above would only worsen the situation, the declaration that the rally was another incident of "some masquerades dancing naked in public, is conflict inciting and the newspaper also fail to balance the report by only reporting the view of Makarfi faction on the rally.

At the beginning of the year, The Nation conducted an interview on the conflict, the newspaper sought the opinion of Rivers State Democratic Party (PDP) Chairman Felix Obuah and he spoke on the conflict between the two factions. Excerpts of the interview that could aggravated the conflict are below:

Obuah: APC can't defeat PDP in Rivers

As far as I am concerned, there is no problem in the PDP. We had a convention in Port Harcourt, where we appointed a caretaker committee and the committee is doing well...So, whoever is parading himself as PDP national chairman like Senator Ali Modu Sheriff, is an agent of destruction planted by the APC, but we are not bothered. We are matching on and they will never have their way in River in Rivers State or any other place in Nigeria (January 11, 2017, Pg 30).

PDP leaders in verbal exchange as IBB urges caution

People's Democratic Party (PDP) leaders continued yesterday with their brickbats over leadership. Senator Buruji Kashamu urged the Ahmed Makarfi faction to forget appealing week end's Court of Appeal judgement which validated the leadership of Ali Modu Sheriff but to cooperate with him...

But the Ekiti State Governor Ayo Fayose said: "Sheriff and his gang are day-dreaming...If they think they can inherit the party illegally, that is a pipe dream." Former Minister of Aviation Chief Femi Fani-Kayode described Sheriff as "the angel of death to the PDP, who is worse than the bubonic plague". He said Sheriff "is not only a curse to our party but he is also an affliction to our nation". (February 20, 2017, Pg 2).

Still in the same page of the newspaper, Fani-Kayode was captured verbatim:

Fani-Kayode: Sheriff's supporters misguided

Former Minister of Aviation Chief Femi Fani-Kayode, yesterday described members of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) seeking support for Ali Modu Sheriff as "naive and misguided". In a statement, he said: "Those that say that they will work with Ali Modu Sheriff are misguided and naive.

"Worse still anyone that calls for members of the PDP to rally behind him and recognise him as our National Chairman is a simpleton and a fool. "I say this because the man is evil: he is an agent of destruction and no good come out of him. I was the first to see him for what he was and "I said so publicly. Then came the PDP Ministers Forum who also stood their ground. At first no-one believed us until eventually 90 per cent of our party members lined up behind those of us that opposed Sheriff and that supported Makarfi..."

"Sheriff is nothing but a traitor who is biting the fingers that fed him...This is a man whose fundamental purpose

and ambition in life is to sell the PDP down the river and to help the ruling APC and the Buhari government to destroy us and win the presidential election in 2019. "Sheriff is the Angel of Death to the PDP. He is worse than the bubonic plague: not only is he a curse to our party but he is also an affliction to our nation (February 20, 2017, Pg 2).

This is definitely escalatory in nature. This shows negligence on the part of the newspaper as the language used to convey such abusive words could have annoy members of the Ali Modu Sheriff faction thereby aggravating the conflict to an extent where the conflicting sides and those in support of them trade blames and engage in verbal exchanges through the newspaper. In the same edition of the newspaper, The Nation reports the differences of two faction leaders thus fanning the emblem of the crisis, the Newspaper report thus:

Sheriff's victory temporary, says Fayose

Ekiti State Governor Ayo Fayose yesterday declared that Friday's Court of Appeal judgment which affirmed Senator Ali Modu Sheriff as the National Chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) will not last. He said all organs of the PDP would not allow Sheriff to inherit the party illegally as they have thrown their weight behind the sacked Senator Ahmed Makarfi- led National Caretaker Committee... (February 20, 2017, Pg 12).

All these sought to de-emphasize peace and enhance the battle for supremacy between the warring factions. This definitely is not responsible and peace journalism and is capable of instigating a faction against the other.

PDP crisis: it's Sheriff's crown, Makarfi's crowd

Although the Appeal Court has given the crown to Sheriff, Makarfi is still holding on the PDP crowd. While Sheriff has only a handful of followers on his side, Makarfi has all the critical organs and party stakeholders lining up behind him. At a stakeholders meeting convened by the Makarfi camp on last week, the governors, the National Assembly caucus, the league of ex ministers, the Board of Trustee and prominent chieftains were present. They took their turn to express their opposition to Sheriff's headship of the party. According to them, the former Borno State governor is not a fit and proper person to lead the PDP.

However, Jonathan kept addressing Sheriff as "my chairman" after the meeting, a gesture many have interpreted to be a tacit endorsement of Sheriff by the former President.

But with the judgement of the appellate court, Sheriff remained chairman, whether his opponents like it or not. And until the cross appeal filed by the Makarfi camp is decided, the PDP must learn to face the reality of having Sheriff as National Chairman (February 28, 2017, Pg 31).

The news analysis which was supposed to be solution oriented was laden with suggestive tone to explain the conflict which could have done so much to escalate the conflict, the notion that Makarfi was supported by critical organs of the party with larger crowd and Sheriff holding the crown suggest that Sheriff may not have the critical organs behind him but he is the chairman with the mantle of power. So unfortunate was that the conflict did not subside, rather it escalated the more without proposals for resolution.

4.2.3 Newspaper: The Punch

The reportage of the Peoples Democratic Party conflict by The Punch newspaper was a replica of the incriminating and inciting stance adopted by Daily Trust and The Nation newspapers. The newspaper did little or no reconciliation and peace reporting.

We won't allow Fayose, Wike hijack PDP, says Sheriff:

A factional National Chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party, Ali Modu Sheriff, has said he will not allow the Ekiti State Governor, Ayodele Fayose, and his Rivers counterpart, Nyesom Wike, succeed in the alleged plot to hijack the party...He said, "We will not let PDP to be hijacked by a few people like Governor Fayose and governor of Rivers State. They have a script that they want to act, but I am a man of principle..."

This reportage by The Punch newspaper tends to exposed Governor Ayo Fayose of Ekiti State and Governor Nyesom Wike of Rivers State as the instigator of the disagreement within the party. However, subsequent stories show several instances of name calling and use of abusive language, and making of allegations which are unsubstantiated and one-sided.

Obasanjo, Sheriff teaming up to destroy PDP- Fayose

Ayodele Fayose, governor of Ekiti State, has criticized Ali Modu Sheriff, factional leader of the Peoples Democratic Party, over his visit to former President Olusegun Obasanjo. Sheriff held a closed door meeting with Obasanjo at his hilltop mansion in Abeokuta on Saturday, The Cable reports. He later told journalists that he decided to consult the former party leader over the crisis in the PDP. But Fayose described the visit as the "coming together of PDP enemies", alleging that both men collaborated to destroy the All Nigerians Peoples Party. "The meeting was a coming together of collaborators in the total annihilation of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)," Fayose said in a statement issued on his behalf by Lere Olayinka, his media aide. "No genuine lover of the PDP will go to the house of a man who openly destroyed his membership card and work assiduously to ensure the party's failure in the 2015 presidential election, to seek advice on how the way forward for the PDP. Sheriff can as well begin to sleep in Obasanjo's house, it is good riddance to bad rubbish. Since Obasanjo is no longer a member of the PDP and he has consistently maintained that he can never return to the PDP, only those in the same league with him can go about visiting him," he said. (September 4, 2016, Pg 3).

Apparently, this reportage is against the practice of responsible and tenets of peace journalism nor does it show any signs that gate keeping has been observed in news production process. This report was a rude remark on the character of Senator Ali Modu Sheriff. This later fuel the crisis and gave birth to other report as excerpt below:

Stop insulting my person, enough is enough, Sheriff tells Fayose

Sheriff, on Thursday, warned the Governor of Ekiti State, Ayodele Fayose, to desist from making what he described as "derogatory remarks" against him, saying "enough is enough...On Fayose, Sheriff said, Let me make it clear to some of the party members, particularly, Ayo Fayose. I will not condescend to his level. I must be very clear to him, party has rules and we will look at the constitution at the appropriate time to do the right thing. He made it a point of duty; every day, he will be insulting Ali Sheriff. I want to tell him that enough is enough."

I still regret bringing Sheriff- Fayose

...Also speaking on the judgement, the Governor of Ekiti State, Mr. Ayodele Fayose, said he was still regretting the role he played in bringing Sheriff to lead the party. Fayose, who spoke with journalists in Abuja in his capacity as the chairman of the PDP Governors Forum, said he backed out of the deal when he realized that Sheriff did not mean well for the party...Fayose said, "several times I have regretted bringing sheriff, I still regret it, but I have reversed my action. I took responsibility and I must say that I took that decision with good heart."

"But the outcome of the Court of Appeal in Port Harcourt that reinstated Sheriff against the will of the people, is nothing but a rape on our democracy. If the people truly symbolises what a party is, then the machination of our detractors and the anti-democratic organs will not prevail at last." (February 18, 2017, Pg 8).

Sheriff, a General without soldiers in PDP, says Fayose

The Ekiti State Governor, Mr. Ayodele Fayose, has described a factional National Chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party, Senator Ali Modu Sheriff, as a General without soldiers in the party. He challenged Sheriff to go for a popularity test with his rival, Senator Ahmed Makarfi. The governor said apart from Makarfi having more members, the caliber of people posing as Sheriff's supporters were political nonentities...

"Senator Ali Modu Sheriff is a General without soldiers let alone having a battalion...in quantity and quality of support, Makarfi is shoulder higher above Sheriff who is only deluding himself with the rent-a-crowd politicians that he goes to town with...On the possibility of working with Sheriff, Fayose described the former Borno State governor as a political poison that should be avoided...Sheriff is an agent of All Progressive Congress. He is a mole being used by the Federal Government to weaken and destabilise the PDP so that the APC will not have any virile opposition," the governor stressed.

Fayose also described Sheriff as too desperate and ambitious. Fayose said Sheriff once flew into Port Harcourt from Abuja to meet him and Governor Nyesom Wike of River State over the party's leadership matter when he realised they were withdrawing their support for him because of his alleged scheming. "He (Sheriff) flew from Abuja to meet us in Port Harcourt. He came, prostrated, he held a Quran in his left hand and was saying, 'Fayose, du Allah, I beg, don't let me be ashamed.' The governor vowed that he and other members of the party belonging to the Makarfi-led faction of the PDP would never accept Sheriff a their national chairman (February 22, 2016, Pg 10).

Like many other reports, the excerpt above shows several instances of name calling and the use of abusive language and making of allegations which are unsubstantiated and one-sided which the newspaper should have avoided reporting verbatim.

RQ3: How socially responsible was the coverage of the conflicts by the selected newspapers?

As shown in the evidences provided in the analysis of the latent and manifest contents of the selected newspapers, most of the stories carried by the newspapers were socially irresponsible. There was a strong and indisputable relationship between data generated from discourse analysis approach and quantitative data gathered. It was discovered that all the selected newspapers deployed considerable absolute majority of their coverage to reportage that tended to escalate the conflicts rather than de-escalate it.

The findings of this study however alluded to the fact that the selected newspapers ignored their expected role of being socially responsible. Outbursts, abusive words and defamatory languages between members of opposition groups were published and therefore contributed to the collapse of the peace initiatives in resolving the political crisis. As presented through the qualitative data analysis, outburst between Femi Fani-Kayode and Ali Modu Sheriff, Governor of Ekiti State, Peter Ayodele Fayose, Senator Ahmed Makarfi, Jimoh Ibrahim and other major players in the political conflict were published to further polarize the political party and intensify the crisis. Consequently, the reportage of the conflict by the selected newspapers was largely socially irresponsible and this trend has become another constraint to the development of democracy in Nigeria.

5. Conclusion

Based on the above findings, the researcher concludes that the selected newspapers have so far performed better

in projecting conflict journalism than peace journalism in reporting PDP crisis. This implies that the selected newspapers have not really reported the PDP crisis in socially responsible manner. The findings stated above are obvious attestations to this declaration. The findings revealed that the newspapers have also failed to focus on news stories that advocate invisible effects of the conflict such as damage to democratic system, values, political institutions. This must not be allowed to continue if Nigeria media desires to engage in proper conflict reportage and peace building.

In line with social identity assumptions, this study also found that the nature of newspapers framing on PDP crisis such as naming calling, inciting reports, as well as stressing some specific social context such as groups' differences, intensify the conflict to a point that it appears the crisis will stay longer than usual mostly till the next general election. In other words, the newspapers frames affect the political party's identity as a dying political party basically by making conflict oriented frames more salient than peace oriented frame. This is evident in Peoples' Democratic Party crisis as different political office holders and supporters of PDP defected to the Ruling party (All Progressives Congress) citing the ongoing division in the party and the failure of the party to project their political ambition as the reason for their defection. Among these defectors are:

1. Chief Rex Onyeabor (Former National Secretary and a member of the Board of Trustees of the Peoples Democratic Party);
2. Hon. Saleh Hassan Anthony, a member of the House of Representatives;
3. Hon. Emmanuel Ukoete, a member of House of Representatives;
4. John Enoch, a Senator representing Cross River Central;
5. Nelson Effiong, the senator representing Akwa Ibom south senatorial District;
6. Edwards Pwajock, a member of House of Representatives;
7. Tony Nwoye, member of House of Representatives, Anambra State;
8. Emmanuel Udende, member of House of Representatives, Benue state;
9. Adamu Kamale, Madagali/Michika Federal Constituency of Adamawa, a member of House of Representatives;
10. Adeniyi Akindele, ex-lawmaker representing Akure North in the Ondo State House of Assembly.
11. Senator Yele Omogunwa and other political office holders and supporters in Peoples Democratic Party who defected to other political parties citing the division in the PDP and the failure of the party to project their political ambition as the reason for their defection.

Therefore, it can be concluded here that the way the media has set the agenda and frame the conflict in Peoples Democratic Party has gone in a long way in determining party members' drive for positive change and identity, self-esteem and social comparisons they make, this to large extent contributed to defection of members seeking an avenue to protect their political interest and office.

Additionally, following the adjudication of the Supreme Court on the conflict in PDP declaring the caretaker committee headed by Senator, Makarfi as the authentic chairman of the party. Vanguard newspaper also publishes insensitive stories with insensitive headlines below:

- i. **Sheriff is a tool for destabilizing opposition parties- Fani-Kayode**
- ii. **Sheriff 'll not go unpublished for causing PDP members so much pains – Fayose**

The above, assert to the fact that Nigerian press are not conflict sensitive in their framing of political crises by only giving credence to conflict oriented journalism rather than peace journalism.

6. Recommendations

Journalists must display professionalism by making sure they do not allow the sentiments of political affiliations, political and economic factors to determine the direction of their reports. They must be guided with the tenets of conflict sensitive, responsible and peace journalism which demands balanced, fair and factual reports. This will help create proper understanding of the issues at stake in order to facilitate early resolution of conflict. Media and conflict reportage should be effectively taught in journalism schools, mass communication departments and other journalism related fields in Nigerian tertiary institutions. This will enhance a better understanding of the dynamics of conflicts by journalists and as well engender a more responsible reporting of conflict situations in the news media.

Therefore, this study is advocating for the inclusion of Conflict Sensitive form of journalism into curriculum of journalism schools, mass communication departments and other journalism related fields in Nigerian tertiary institutions to educate would-be journalists and facilitate social responsible reportage in the coverage of crisis related issues in the country.

References

- Abrams, J., & Giles, H. (2007). Ethnic identity gratifications selection and avoidance by African Americans: A group vitality and social identity gratifications perspective. *Media Psychology*, 9, 115–134.
- Adeyinka, R., Daramola, A., & Amos, K. (2015). Terrorism, Boko Haram and the role of the media in the fight

- against insurgency in Nigeria. In O. Olusola & M. Popoola (Eds.), *Journalism practice and terrorism in Nigeria: Issues, trends and Techniques* (pp. 42-61). Ibadan: John Archers Press.
- Adisa, R. M. (2015). News framing: A comparative content analysis of newspapers framing of ethnic issues in Nigeria. *KSU Journal of Mass Communication*, 4, 18-32.
- Ayeni-Akeke, O. A. (2008). *Foundation of political Science*. Ibadan: Ababa Press Limited.
- Babarinsa, D. (2003). *House of War*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books and Tell Communication.
- Baldwin, D., Booi, L., Jones, D., Spiral, T., Ramsay, D., & Berube, B. (1997). *Ideologies* (3rd ed.). Canada: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- Chris, C. O., & Olaifa, T. (2011). Challenges of internal democracy in Nigeria's political parties: The bane of intra-party conflicts in the Peoples' Democratic Party of Nigeria. *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, 11(3), 24-34.
- Daramola, I. (2003). *Introduction to Mass Communication* (2nd ed.). Lagos: Rothan Press.
- Galtung, J., & Ruge M. H. (1965). The structure of foreign news. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2(1), 64-91.
- Galtung, J., (1998). *Tras la violencia, 3R : reconstrucción, reconciliación, resolución : afrontando los efectos visibles e invisibles de la guerra y la violencia*. Bilbao: Bakeaz.
- Galtung, J. (2002). Peace journalism: A challenge. In K. Wilhem and H. Luostarinen (Eds.), *Journalism and the New World Order*. Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Hanitzsch, T. (2004). Journalists as Peacekeeping Force? Peace journalism and mass communication theory. *Journalism Studies*, 5(4), pp. 483-495.
- Hofmeister, W., & Grabow, K. (2011). *Political parties: Functions and organization in democratic societies*. Singapore: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.
- Hyde-Clarke, N. 2011, *Political Posturing and the Need for Peace Journalism in South Africa: The Case of Julius Malema*, *Communicatio*, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 41-55.
- Lee, S. T. & Maslog, C. (2005). War or peace journalism? Asian newspaper coverage of conflicts. *Journal of Communication* 55(2): 311–329.
- Lemay, M. C. (2001). *Public Administration*. California: Wadsworth.
- Mckinley, C. J., Mastro, D., & Warber, K. M. (2014). Social Identity Theory as a framework for understanding the effects of exposure to positive media images of self and other on intergroup outcomes. *International Journal of Communication*, 8, 1049-1068.
- Mersel, Y. (2006). *The dissolution of Political Parties: The problem of Internal Democracy*. Retrieved on 25 September, 2016 from www.icon.oxfordjournals.org/content/4/1/84.abst_ract
- Najma, S., & Waqas, N. (2016). Waziristan: escalation and de-escalation orientation of war and peace journalism Op-eds in Pakistani Newspapers. *Conflict Studies Quarterly*, 17, 73-92.
- Nicolas, G. (2011). Framing the news: from political conflict to peace. How the framing theory and the political context model can enhance the peace journalism model. *Universidad Panamericana*
- Nicole, Y. (2009). Framing analysis of a conflict: War/peace journalism. *The Journal of the South East Asia Research centre for Communications and Humanities*, 1(1), 17-32.
- Nwafor, K. A., & Ogbodo, N. J. (2015). Media frames of group identities in the 2014 national dialogue in Nigeria: An analysis of the Daily Sun and Leadership newspapers. *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(3), 1-23.
- Oboh, G. E. (2008). Nigerian mass media and national conflict: The imperative for democratic development. In F. Omu & G. E. Oboh (Eds.), *Mass media in Nigerian democracy* (pp. 1-18). Ibadan: Stirling-Horden Ltd.
- Ochonogor, I. C. (2008). Mass media ethics and the sustenance of democracy in Nigeria. In F. Omu & G. E. Oboh (Eds.), *Mass media in Nigerian democracy* (pp. 116-130). Ibadan: Stirling-Horden Ltd.
- Ojebuyi, B. R., & Ekannia, C.U. (2013). Godfatherism, ownership influence and media treatment of political conflicts in Oyo state. *Covenant Journal of Communication*, 1(2), 97-117.
- Olaniyan, A., & Amao, O. B. (2015). Election as warfare: Militarization of elections and Nigeria. *International Affairs Forum*, 70-81.
- Omotola, J. S. (2009). Nigerian parties and political ideology. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, 1(3), 612-634.
- Opeibi, T. O. (2009). *Discourse, politics and the 1993 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria*. Lagos: (n.p.).
- Popoola, M. (2015). *A discourse on personality-induced conflicts in Nigeria's politics: The media and their narratives*. Ibadan: John Archers Press.
- Saleem, N. (2007). U.S. media framing of foreign countries image: An Analytical Perspective. *Canadian Journal of Media Studies*, 2(1), 130-162.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Turner, J. C., & Oaks, P. J. (1986). The significance of the social identity concept for social psychology with reference to individualism, interactionism, and social influence. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 25,

237–252

Vladisavljević, N. (2015). Media framing of political conflict: A review of the literature. Belgrade: University of Belgrade.

Zartman, W. (1997). Governance as conflict management: Politics and violence in West Africa. Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press.