Egede International Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies (EJIMA). Vol. 1 (1), pp. 183—197.

2019

**ISSN:** 

# NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF FULANI HERDSMEN ATTACKS ON HOST COMMUNITIES: A STUDY OF THREE NATIONAL DAILIES FROM JANUARY -APRIL, 2018.

Onyebuchi Chima Alexander Ph.D Imo State University, Owerri greatonyebuchi@gmail.com

Obayi Paul Martin Ph.D Godfrey Okoye University, Enugu frobayi@gmail.com

&

Nwagu, Festus Obinna Imo State University, Owerri nwagufestus11@gmail.com

This study sought to examine the coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities in Nigeria as reported in the selected national dailies with the aim of finding out the frequency of news coverage, its level of prominence depth of coverage and direction of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities. The study adopted content analysis research method. It was anchored on the social responsibility theory of the press. The study made use of manifest contents of the newspapers. Coding sheet was the instrument of data collection. Composite week sampling was used to arrive at the sample size. Inter coder reliability was tested using Holsti's (1969) percentage reliability. The researcher selected three national dailies for this research: they are The Punch, Daily Sun and The Guardian newspapers of Nigeria. The study lasted for a period of 4 months (Jan. –April 2018). Findings revealed that the level of frequency in newspaper coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities is high. Findings also reveal that the direction is largely unfavourable, the depth of coverage is largely between 1-5 inches and most of the stories were on the inside page. The researchers recommended that newspaper should champion the de-escalation of crisis through the selection of mild words in it

objective new sentiments.	'S	coverage	and	reportage	devoid	of	ethno-religious	and	political	bias	and

#### Introduction

Nigeria, like many other countries of the world, is replete with pockets of crises and attacks in its territory. Ever since the marriage between the Northern and Southern Protectorate in 1914 which led to the birth of the entity known as Nigeria, the country has continued to bleed as a result of inter ethnic, religious, political and financial crisis. Some of the crises were the Nigerian Civil War of 1967, Kaduna Riot in year 2000, 2002 Miss World Riots, etc.

Other crises that have torn the nation apart include: the election crisis which greeted the annulment of the June 12, 1993 Presidential election by the then Military Head of State, Gen.Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida.

Another crisis is the killings by the Jama'atul Ahl-Sunnati Lil Dawa'ati wal Jihad, otherwise known as Boko Haram, which frown against western education and whose activities since 2009 have led to the death of more than thirty thousand people mostly in the North Eastern States, sacking of communities, loss of lives and properties, total anarchy and fear and kidnapping, bombing of worship centres, schools and markets and public buildings, etc.

The latest crisis is the Fulani herdsmen and host communities crisis otherwise known as farmer/ herder clash which has led to the average of two thousand deaths since 1998 and more than 904 deaths in the first four months (January 1- April 30, 2018), (*The Eagle online*, 2018). The problem emanates from accusation and counter accusation by herders over cattle rustling, hostility and murder of their kinsmen and their cows by the farmers and the accusation by farmers of unauthorized trespass and destruction of farmland by the herders and their cows, etc. The group is now ranked fourth most dreaded militant group globally according to a report by Global Terrorism Index (2014)

Report indicates that herdsmen killed 168 people in January of 2018 alone and about 904 people in the first four months (*The Eagle online*, 2018). However, since the advent of Fulani herdsmen attacks in Nigeria, newspapers has been flooded with screaming headlines; most of which have been said to be inciting, others abetting while some others could be said to be moderate.

This study therefore, sought to analyze selected newspapers in other to unravel the frequency, prominence, direction and depth of coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks of host communities.

#### **Statement of the Research Problem**

The media cover events and the importance attached to such events is determined by its placements on newspapers and broadcast bulletins. Are Nigeria media given adequate coverage to herdsmen attacks on host communities? Are the stories covered in the media prominently displayed or are they tucked inside the pages of the newspapers? How frequent does news of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities appear in Nigeria newspapers? Is the direction of news reportage favourable, unfavourable or neutral?

This study sets out to unravel the coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities in Nigeria as reported in the selected dailies in other to discover their pattern of coverage.

## Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to analyze the pattern of newspaper coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks in Nigeria. Specifically, the study sought to:

- 1. Find out the frequency of newspaper coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities.
- 2. Find out the prominence accorded the reportage of Fulani herdsmen attacks.
- 3. Ascertain the direction of newspaper coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities.
- 4. Identify the depth of newspaper coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities.

#### **Research Questions**

- 1. What is the level of frequency of newspaper coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities?
- 2. What is the prominence of stories of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities?
- 3. What is the direction of newspaper coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities?
- 4. What is the depth of newspaper coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities in the newspaper?

#### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### Who are the Fulani herdsmen?

The Fula or Furbe people also known as the Fulani in Hausa language are a mass population widely dispersed in all of Africa, but mostly predominant in West Africa and Central African countries. The Fulani generally speak the Fula language as their native language but due to migration and interaction with natives, they seem to have abandoned their native language for Hausa language, which is mostly spoken in Northern Nigeria.

Eyekpimi (2016) notes that a significant number of them are nomadic, herding cattle, goats and sheep across the vast grass lands of their environment, keeping isolate from the local farming community, making them the world's largest pastoral nomadic group.

#### Causes of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities

Abass (2012) cited in Olayoku (2014) notes that the major source of tension between pastoralists and farmers is basically economic, with land related issues accounting for the majority of the conflicts. This can then be situated within the broader context of the political economy of land struggle, traceable to a burgeoning demography in which there is fierce competition for fixed space to meet the demands of the growing population (Olabode & Ajibade 2010; Solagberu 2012) cited in Olayoku (2014). The socio-economic consequences of agropastoral conflicts at the social level, lead to misunderstanding between the crop farmers and nomadic farmers or grazers, create some mistrust, tension and open confrontations between the opposing groups. An example could be drawn from the 2016 invasion of Uzo Uwani community in Enugu State by herdsmen who slaughtered over 40 persons and destroyed properties (*Vanguard*, April 26, 2016).

Ubelejit (2016) writes that communal conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and host communities usually arise when grazing cattle are not properly controlled and consequently graze on cultivated plants like cassava, maize etc. in farms of host communities. Attempts by the owners of such farms to register their grievance of destruction of their livelihood (food crops and cash crops) by the cattle of Fulani herdsmen is always stoutly resisted thereby degenerating into communal conflicts. Continuing, he posits that "when the communities attempt to moderate their activities or request their exit, the Fulani herdsmen become aggressive and attack the host community sometimes with the assistance of hired mercenaries." He concludes that "Fulani herdsmen are completely dependent on pastures which the desertification of the Sahel region has

depleted and this makes them go all out to get these pastures thereby making them susceptible to resistance which they fight back and communal conflicts escalates."

#### **Empirical Review**

A study by Akinyetun, T.S. (2016) entitled, "Staff to gun: Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria" revealed why the Fulani herdsmen have changed their tactics from the use of staff to the use of guns and the effect it has so far and will continue to have on the Nigeria society in the form of reutilization of violence, reprisal attacks, offshoot of another deadly sect, increase in illegal arms proliferation, intensification of ethnicity, increased kidnappings and attack and encroachment of right.

Another study was conducted by Idowu, A. J. & Taofik, O.B. (2017) titled Pastoralism as a New Phase of Terrorism in Nigeria, which sought to examine the Fulani pastoral farmers and local communities clashes in Nigeria as a form of budding terrorism and threat to national unity and security. It established that the persistent conflict has a negative effect on the people and further established that policies and programs were not effectively implemented with generated issues that influenced the persistence of conflicts between farmers and herdsmen within the country. The study further analyzes the cause, evolution, dynamics and solution to the conflicts generated from the farmer- herder clashes in Nigeria.

A similar study was done by Imo, C. K. (2017) entitled, "The demographic implications of nomadic herdsmen and farmers clash in Nigeria" which its finding revealed that, "whenever violent clashes occur, the nomadic herdsmen attack and kill scores of villagers in the course of a contest for grazing fields and water, there are usually reprisal attacks." The research discovered that this scenario has, time without number, thrown up tribal, ethnic, regional, religious and political sentiments that threaten the corporate existence of Nigeria. It therefore recommended that government should ensure that those involved in the allocation of land for farming should imbibe responsibility and not allocate along cattle route or over grazing lands to avoid encroachment by nomadic herdsmen. This according to the study will enhance productivity and achievement of Sustainable Development Goals 2, and 6, which emphasize the need to adequately achieve food security and sustainable management of resources for the teaming Nigeria population.

Olu-Adeyemi, L. (2017) also carried out a study, titled, "Deprivation, frustration and aggression: An interrogation of Fulani herdsmen terror in Nigeria". According to his findings, depletion of natural resource can lead to competition for scarce resources and this competition can also lead to deprivation of the weak and vulnerable access to these resources. On the issue of frustration, it means that one's access to means of livelihood (farming or grazing as the case may be) is being thwarted by another or possibly by particular circumstances and that one's reaction to this thwarting is that of annoyance. Olu-Adeyemi (2017) further adds that if a herdsman loses his flock to drought and water scarcity, he may be frustrated because of the loss of livelihood. From this reality, he may be aggressive and since, he cannot channel it to the natural causes, he may in the long-run channel it to any person or group that obstructs his migration to a safe area.

#### **Theoretical Framework**

This project was anchored on the social responsibility theory of the press. It is more related to this work because the theory states that the media must be socially responsible to the masses. McQual,1987 cited in Baran (2009,p.466) notes that the media must meet the expectation of being socially responsible to the people by setting high standard of professionalism, truth, accuracy, and objectivity and must be self regulating within the frame work of the law. Continuing, he posits that "...the media should be pluralistic and reflect the diversity of the culture in which they operate, and give access to various points of view and right of reply...." This theory is apt for anchoring this study because the basic tenets presupposes that the media owe it to the Nigerian people to cover news stories on Fulani herdsmen responsibly. By so doing, they prioritize the safety and unity of the nation because anything short of this, could amount to panic.

#### **METHODOLOGY**

The research design used is content analysis. Content analysis was considered appropriate because it enabled the researcher examine the coverage of the herdsmen attack on host community by the three selected newspapers.

This research work is on the coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities. Therefore, the population of this study is on three major national newspapers in Nigeria which are: *The Guardian*, *The Punch* and *Daily Sun* newspapers of Nigeria. The choice of these papers is because they have wider circulation, enjoy good patronage and are available. The number of newspapers that represent the total number of days in the months of study is 120. For the three papers, the population was  $120 \times 3 = 360$ .

The composite week sampling technique was used because it is the most appropriate sampling technique according to Wimmer and Dominic (2011). The procedure involves constructing the days of the week to have just one week in a whole month. This means that all the days of the week are grouped in their likes. The composite sampling was designed in such a way that the dates randomly selected for the first newspaper, *Daily Sun* applied for the other two papers; *The Guardian* and *The Punch* newspapers.

Code sheet was the instrument of data collection for this study. It contains the variables in relation to the research content categories. The inter coder reliability of the study from the coding of two coders, the trained coder and the master coder, using Holsti's (1969) formula reveal a reliability of 0.8, 0.9, 0.9 and 0.8.

#### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

#### Presentation and Analysis of Data

This chapter analyzes in a tabular form data collected using simple percentage and frequency tabular presentation for clarity and easy understanding. The tables below show the data and the analysis in simple percentage.

**Table 1 Units of Analysis** 

Newspapers	News	Editorial	Feature	Column	Total	%
Daily Sun	58(17.8)	0(0)	15(25)	5(22.7)	78	37.3
The Guardian	63(19.4)	3(23.1)	3(5)	4(18.2)	73	34.9
The Punch	49(15.1)	2(15.4)	6(10)	1(4.5)	58	27.8
Total	170(81.3)	5(2.4)	24(11.5)	10(4.8)	209	100

Source: field survey, 2018.

Data presented in table 1 show that a total of 209 items were published within the study period. *Daily Sun* published a total of 78 items; *The Guardian*, 73 items while *The Punch* published 58 items. Of the 78 items published by *Daily Sun*, 58 were news stories; 15 were feature stories

while 5 were columns. *The Guardian* published a total of 73 items of which 63 were news stories; 3 were editorials; 3 were feature stories while 4 were columns. Of the 58 items published by *The Punch*, 49 were news stories, 2 were editorials, and 6 were feature stories while 1 was in column category. From this statistics, 170 items were news stories, 5 editorials; 24 features stories and 10 columns appeared in the dailies.

Research question one: What is the frequency of newspaper coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities?

Table 2: Summary table showing the frequency of coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities.

Option		Percentage			
Frequency	Daily Sun	The Guardian	The Punch	Total	%
Fulani Herdsmen	78(18.6)	73(17.4)	58(13.8)	209	49.8
2019 Election	80(19)	41(9.8)	27(6.4)	148	35.2
Boko Haram	24(5.7)	17(4)	22(5.2)	63	15
Total	182(43.3)	131(31.2)	107(25.5)	420	100

Source: field survey, 2018

Table 2 reveals that of the 420 items coded above, 209(49.8%) of the stories centered on Fulani herdsmen while 2019 election got 148(35.2%) and news stories on Boko Haram appeared 63 times totaling 15 percent. The implication is that activities of Fulani herdsmen were given a higher coverage in the newspapers compared to the other two i.e. 2019 election and Boko Haram. So it could be deduced that the coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks in the dailies is high.

Research question two (2): What is the degree of prominence of stories of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities?

Table 3: Summary table showing the level of prominence attached coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities.

Option		Frequency	Percentage		
Frequency	Daily Sun	The Guardian	The Punch	Total	%
Front page	16(7.7)	11(5.3)	19(9.1)	46	22
Inside page	60(28.7)	61(29.2)	38(18.2)	159	76.1

Center spread	2(1)	1(0.5)	0(0)	3	1.4
Back page	0(0)	0(0)	1(0.5)	1	0.5
Total	78(37.4)	73(35)	58(27.8)	209	100

Source: field survey, 2018.

Table 3 above shows that the three selected newspapers published a total of 46 or 22% of the news stories in the front pages,159 or 76.1% of the stories were place inside the pages, while 3 representing 1.4% were placed at the centre spread and 1 or 0.5% placed on the back page. The result shows that the inside page items 159(76.1%) are greater than other variables combined.

Research question three (3): What is the direction of newspaper coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities?

Table 4: Summary table showing the direction of coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks of host communities

Options		Percentage			
Dir. of coverage	Daily Sun	The Guardian	The Punch	Total	%
Favourable	9(4.3)	6(2.9)	1(0.5)	16	7.6
Unfavourable	49(23.4)	42(20.1)	40(19.1)	131	62.7
Neutral	20(9.6)	25(12)	17(8.1)	62	29.7
Total	78(37.3)	73(34.9)	58(27.8)	209	100

Source: field survey, 2018

The above table 4 indicates that out of the 209 items coded. 16(7.6%) were favourable, 131(62.7%) unfavourable while neutral category got 62(29.7%). The table reveals that the number of unfavorable items is greater than all other options i.e. favourable and neutral combined. The implication of this is that stories on Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities are largely unfavourable.

Research question four (4): What is the depth of newspaper coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities in the newspaper?

Table 5: Summary table showing the depth of news stories on Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities.

Option		Percentage			
Frequency	Daily Sun	The Guardian	The Punch	Total	%

1-5 inches	52(24.9)	38(18.2)	38(18.2)	128	61.2
6-10 inches	9(4.3)	30(14.4)	15(7.2)	54	25.8
11-15 inches	16(7.7)	4(1.9)	5(2.4)	25	12
16- Above	1(0.5)	1(0.5)	0(0)	2	1
Total	78(37.4)	73(35)	58(27.8)	209	100

Source: field survey, 2018

The table 5 above reveals that of the total of 209 items recorded as depth of coverage, 128(61.2%) fell within the depth of 1-5 inches; 6 -10 inches got 54(25.8%); 11-15 inches got 25(12%) and stories between 16 and above got 2(1%). The implication is that not much depth or space was given to stories on Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities.

#### **DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

### Frequency of newspapers coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities.

The result of the study indicates that 209(49.8%) of the stories sourced from the three selected newspapers centered on Fulani herdsmen while news on 2019 election got 148(35.2%) and news stories on Boko Haram appeared 63 times totaling 15 percent. The implication is that activities of Fulani herdsmen were given a higher coverage in the newspapers compared to the other two i.e. 2019 election and Boko Haram. So it could be deduced that the coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks in the dailies is very high.

#### Direction of newspapers coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities.

The direction of newspaper coverage of Fulani herdsmen attack on host communities is largely negative (unfavourable). Findings indicate that 16 news stories sourced from the three selected dailies amounting to 7.6% of the stories analyzed were favourable i.e. positive, while 131(62.7%) news stories were negatively reported (unfavourable). However, 62(29.7%) news stories were neutral as to the direction of coverage. This means that at a reliability coefficient of 0.9(62.7%) of the stories reported on the pages of the selected newspapers were negatively reported. This report is in agreement with the study on analysis of newspaper coverage of terrorism in Nigeria, conducted by Onyeukwu (2012) which indicated that 57.0% of the news stories reported on the pages of the selected newspapers were negatively reported. This means that the Nigerian newspapers that were studied greatly condemned the atrocities committed by the Fulani herdsmen on the host communities.

Although the media performed their surveillance role of highlighting the dastardly act committed by the herdsmen, they should be careful in their news framing because "mischievous and irresponsible reportage and comments from certain sections of the press on religious issues actually heighten or promote religious riots or crises" Momoh et al., (1987) cited in Onuegbu (2012). According to Akin cited in Sule (2015), "the greater the conflict the greater the audience, which are imperatives to the financial success of media outlets." Cohen-Almagor (2005) cited in Iheanacho (2018) notes that "media are terrorist best friend and the success of terrorist groups depends on the amount of publicity they generate." Therefore, the media must avoid publicizing unsubstantiated news reports in other not to be seen as media terrorist.

#### Depth of newspapers coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities.

The result shows that news between 1-5 inches sourced from the three dailies amounted to 128 (61.2%) while news stories between 6-10 inches got 54(25.8%). Also, news between 11-15 inches recorded 25 news contents totaling 12 percent while news content measuring 16 and above got the least which is 2(1%). The result shows that the newspapers did not accord much investigative report to the Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities as 61.2% of the stories between 1-5 inches were buried in the inside page. This result is consistent with that of Gever (2014) who documented that media reports on the herdsmen–farmers conflict were devoid of investigated reports, that they were episodic and that conflict was generally underreported. Also, the first null hypothesis which stated that newspapers do not create enough space for news on Fulani herdsmen attack was accepted.

# Degree of prominence accorded to newspapers coverage of Fulani herdsmen attacks on honities

Result of the analysis showed that the papers did not give high prominence to the Fulani herdsmen attacks on host communities. Table 3 shows that the total number of stories on the front page was 46 i.e. 22% compared to inside page which had the highest: 159 or 76.1% and centre spread and back page which had 3(1.4) and 1(0.5). The second null hypothesis – newspapers do not give prominence to the herdsmen–farmers conflict was rejected. This result is consistent with the research carried out by Abdulbaqi and Ariemu (2017) on Newspapers Framing of Herdsmen-Farmers' Conflicts in Nigeria and Its Implication on Peace-Oriented Journalism and also the research conducted by Gever and Essien (2017) on Newspaper coverage

of the herdsmen–farmers conflict in central Tiv Land, Benue State, Nigeria in which the inside pages had the highest number of stories.

#### Conclusion

The press has a great role to play in the de-escalation of crisis in the country. Although this task is enormous and demands courage, good journalistic ethics and skills. The task can be accomplished if and when the press avoids the clash between journalism as a social service and mass media as a commercial enterprise. They must be careful in their news framing and avoid reporting the herdsmen as brutish, brutal, militant, jihadist, Islamic fundamentalist, etc. because such reportage only make people see them as devilish and unforgiving, thereby escalating the crisis.

#### Recommendations

- The frequencies of coverage of herdsmen attacks on host communities by the press must be checked because given too much publicity to the herdsmen atrocities encourage them to commit more.
- The press should engage more in investigative news reportage instead of presenting news based on hear –say. This means that the press should give more depth of coverage to the attacks. This will help government and relevant agencies in tackling the root cause of the crisis.
- The press should focus more on developmental news instead of concentrating on crisis
  and violent news as bad news creates apathy, fear and feeling of insecurity. They should
  champion the de- escalation of conflict instead of just dwelling on reporting negative
  news.
- The press should avoid given much prominence to herdsmen attacks on host communities in other not to be seen as media terrorist.

#### References

- Abbass, I.M. (2012). No retreat, no surrender: Conflict for survival between Fulani pastoralists and farmers in Northern Nigeria. *European Scientific Journal*, 8(1), pp. 331-346.
- Abdulbaqi, S.S. & Ariemu, O. (2017). Newspapers Framing of Herdsmen-Farmers' Conflicts in Nigeria and Its Implication on Peace-Oriented Journalism. *The Creative Artists*, 11(2), Akin, J. Mass Media. *Beyond Intractability*. Eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/mass\_communication
- Akinyetun, T. S. (2016). Staff to gun: Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria. *Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*, 4(8).
- Baran, S.J. & Davis, D.K. (2009). Mass communication theory: foundations, ferment, and future. Belmoth, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Cohen, B.C. (1963). The press and foreign policy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University press.
- Eyekpimi, O. (2016). History of Fulani herdsmen and farmers clashes in Nigeria. From <a href="https://infoguidenigeria.com/fulani-herdsmen-farmer-clashes">https://infoguidenigeria.com/fulani-herdsmen-farmer-clashes</a>
- Gever, C. V. & Essien, C. F. (2017). Newspaper coverage of the herdsmen–farmers conflict in central Tiv land, Benue State, Nigeria. *Media, War & Conflict* 1–19. DOI: 10.1177/1750635217741912
- Global terrorism index 2014 Institute for Economics and Peace

  http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Global-Terrorism-Index-Report-2014.pdf
- Idowu.A.J. & Taofik,O.B. (2017). Pastoralism as a New Phase of Terrorism in Nigeria. *Global Journal Of Human-Social Science*: H Interdisciplinary.17(4).
- Iheanacho, C. O. (2018). Public perception of newspaper reportage of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria (A study of residents in South East, Nigeria). A Ph.D thesis, Imo State University, Owerri.
- Imo, C. K. (2017). The demographic implications of nomadic herdsmen and farmers clash in Nigeria. *International Journal of Development and Management Review (INJODEMAR)*.12(1), 1.
- McQuail, D. (1987). Mass communication theory: An introduction. Beverly Hills, LA: Sage.
- Olabode, A. & Ajibade, L. (2010). Environment Induced Conflict and Sustainable Development: A Case of Fulani-Farmers' Conflict in Oke-Ero LGAS, Kwara State, Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*. 12(5). pp 259-273.
- Olayoku,P.A.(2014). Trends and patterns of cattle grazing and rural violence in Nigeria (2006 2014).66 Nigeria Watch Project. IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, n°34
- Olu-Adeyemi, L. (2017). Deprivation, frustration and aggression: An interrogation of Fulani herdsmen terror in Nigeria. *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal*, 4(15), pp. 1-13.
- Onuegbu, E. N. (2012). Print media coverage of religious crises in Nigeria. A study of *Daily Trust,The Guardian, The Nation* and *The Sun* newspapers. A Masters' degree dissertation. University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

- Onyeukwu, G. O. (2012). Analysis of newspaper coverage of terrorism in Nigeria, using *New Nigeria, Tribune, Champion* and *The Guardian* newspapers. A Masters' degree dissertation. University of Nigeria, Nsukka.
- Solagberu, R. 2012. Land Use Conflict betweenFarmers and Herdsmen –Implications for Agricultural and Rural Development in Nigeria. In Solagberu, R (ed) *Rural Development: Contemporary Issues and Practices*. Rijeka/Shanghai: In Tech. pp 99-118
- Sule, R. N. (2015). Ethno-religious conflicts, mass media and national development: The Northern Nigeria experience. A Ph.D thesis. University Of Jos.
- The Eagle online (2018, April 30). Over 904 killed across eight States in first four months of 2018 Group. <a href="https://theeagleonline.com.ng/over-904-killed-across-eight-states-in-first-four-months-of-2018-group/">https://theeagleonline.com.ng/over-904-killed-across-eight-states-in-first-four-months-of-2018-group/</a>
- Vanguard news (2016, April 26). Bloodbath in Enugu as Fulani herdsmen kill 40
- Wimmer, R.D., & Dominick, J.R. (2011). *Mass media research: An introduction* (9<sup>th</sup> ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.