Media and the Management of Electoral Violence: A Study of General Elections in Bauchi State, Nigeria 2007-2011

Musa SALEH[1], Yusuf Musa YAHAYA[2], and **Sagir MUKHTAR[3]**

[1,2] Department of Political Science Bauchi State University, Gadau NIGERIA

[3]Public Relations Unit, A.D Rufa'i College of Education, Legal and General Studies, Misau NIGERIA

Abstract

Electoral violence is one of the major challenges affecting peaceful coexistence across the globe. Bauchi State is not an exception because the prevalence of electoral violence within the state has caused a public outcry. This study investigated media and the management of electoral violence: A study of General Elections in Bauchi State, Nigeria 2007 to 2011. A quantitative research design was adopted. The research instrument used for data collection in this study was a questionnaire designed. The internal consistency of the reliability test was 0.72 and it is acceptable. The data collected was computed using percentages and frequency distribution tables. The hypotheses were subjected to inferential statistics while Chi-square was tested at α 0.05 level of significance. The study findings reveal the majority of the respondents agreed that poor remuneration, poor journalism, ethnicity, and religious and political affiliation are factors responsible for electoral violence within the study area. The study findings also confirmed that media organizations played a vital role in terms of media sensitization, the autonomy of the media houses, media regulation, and professionalism of the media houses addressed the electoral violence in the Bauchi metropolis. The study concludes that poor remuneration of the journalists allowed them to collect brown envelop and cause conflict during the election, and poor journalism allowed the media houses to spread biased information across the communities. The study recommends that the remuneration package of the journalist should be increased from time to time, and regular media sensitization should be encouraged in order to avoid hate speech.

Keywords: Democratization, Election, Electoral violence, Media, Peaceful coexistence

Introduction

Bauchi State's population has increased since the 1970s, from about 2 million people to close to 6.8 million in 2015. Moreover, the Bauchi State population is estimated to be more than 8.2 million. The government of the state improves access to important resources including employment opportunities, education, healthcare service, and greater investment in family planning in Bauchi State to reduce the level of rapid population growth. Over the past decades, the population within the state has grown higher and will continue to do so. The current growth rate is about 3.6 percent every year, Bauchi State population will continue to double soon (Health policy Report, 2017).

   Bauchi State has a population of 4, 643, and 066 as of the 2006 census, the state is located in the North East of Nigeria (NPC, 2008). The state was created in 1976 with twenty different ethnic Local Government Councils, with two dominant religions of Christianity and Islam. The state has about fifty five (55) ethnic groups; among them: Hausa, Fulani,

Gerawa, Sayawa, Jarawa, Bolawa, Kare-Kare, Zulawa, Bijim, Bankalawa, Barebari, Sangawa, Limirawa and Ngas among others. Bauchi State covers a total land area of 49,259.01 square kilometers representing about 5.3% of Nigeria‟s total land mass (Yalwa, 2016). The economic activities of the people revolve around farming. Thus, nomadic farming and cultivation of crops such as groundnuts, beans, rice, corn, cotton, and millet are the major occupations of the people in most rural areas. The population comprises the entire number of people or objects living within the area of research (Indrayan, 2008). For the purpose of this research, the population of the study is geographically confined to government officials and media staff who were purposively selected as the target audience (National Population Commission, 2008).

Background of the Study Globally, the act of electoral violence took place on a daily basis such as ethnic hatred, political fanaticism, and religious extremism among others. The occurrence of violent conflict has been at the Centre of media political awareness (Iruonagbe et al., 2013). Alanamu (2005) argues that electoral violence has existed over a period of time, the current electoral violence is quite disturbing frequently and the opportunity of the perpetrators of such acts of violent conflict are available within the political system. According to Anifowos (1982), electoral violence can be defined as any form of physical threat that is used by a group of people to harm another person within a political system, including the intent to kill, injure, or damage property, as well as the destruction of people's behavior outside of the political system. In general, electoral violence entails people killing and threatening one another. It also involves people destroying their property in an effort to cause psychological and emotional harm to someone else (Alemika, 2011).

Sometimes, mass media played a vital role in escalating electoral violence through unprofessional journalism, biased reporting, criminal partisanship, deliberate falsification, manipulating publishers, favoritism, manipulation of access to news, and others. Accordingly, the Nigerian mass media is confronted with the problem of freedom, the freedom of information bill has not yet been passed, and political officeholders who have the right to free speech sabotage press freedom by influencing journalists to fabricate stories and spread political propaganda. Furthermore, the political system of Nigeria has used a variety of strategies to deal with media political communication activities since the colonial period to the independence era, including military and civilian administrations. (Iruonagbe et al., 2013). The election is seen as a very vital and also essential means to the democratization process and good governance across the globe. Accordingly, many scholars in the world expressed their position that any democracy without constant free and credible fair elections which means there is no good democracy (Alemika & Okoye, 2011). Generally, the electoral process in Nigeria helps in making smooth democratization and guide the country in good governance since the voters are expected to choose good leaders through the ballot papers.

Oso (1997) asserts that anti-colonial resistance and patriotic propaganda were birthplaces of Nigerian media. Therefore, the media is a strong organization, a concentrated institution dedicated to the advancement of a harmonious and equal society (Imhonopi & Urim, 2004; Imhonopi, 2012). The main responsibility of the media is to provide accurate, objective reporting and, wherever feasible, to look for the truth. The Nigerian media has generally demonstrated a strong dedication in this area, particularly when it comes to violent crime. According to Ekeanyanwu (2007), the media serves as a vehicle for gathering and disseminating information, promoting education, keeping an eye on things, and enlightening and mobilizing society, the media is a component in the

interaction between the government and the governed. According to newspaper accounts, there was electoral violence in various states during the 2019 general elections, including Enugu State in Nigeria. For instance, on March 9, during the Enugu gubernatorial election, an election observer was slain. A guy lying on the ground in a pool of blood is seen in a horrific video by the Premium Times newspaper while a man who appears to be a relative sob over the lifeless body (Okakwu, 2019).

Several states in the north witnessed the post-election violence of 2011. The violent conflict escalates as a result of President Goodluck Jonathan's victory of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) over General Muhammadu Buhari the candidate of the Congress for Progress Change (CPC). The outbreak of post-election started early hours of Monday 18 April 2011 across Bauchi, Kaduna metropolis, Kano, Gombe, Yobe, and other states. The Perpetrators of the electoral violence destroyed several places of worship and many people lost their lives. Most of the state metropolis imposed a curfew from 5 am to 6 pm to stop the conflict from escalating and lasted for a month. Bauchi State has witnessed ethnoreligious conflict, post-election violence, and Boko haram insurgency. The above crises directly affected the people's lives and their property. Based on this, media played a significant role in peace sensitization through radio, television, and other social media platforms (Saleh, 2020).

Statement of the Problem Since its independence, Nigeria has seen election violence. For instance, during the 1999 post-election violence, over 450 individuals were left defenseless and hundreds of lives were lost. A lot of people were murdered and a lot of property was destroyed during the 2011 presidential election (Bekoe, 2011; Crisis Group, 2014). The public uproar has resulted from the occurrence of election violence in Bauchi State. Due to persistent and severe vote manipulation in the 2007 and 2011 elections, which resulted in several deaths and property destruction as well as the addition of terrorism, the majority of the state's citizens lost faith in democratic democracy (Saleh, 2020). Nevertheless, despite the efforts made by certain media outlets to control electoral violence, others including unregistered media and Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp users involve manipulation in order to further their own agendas. Additionally, certain mass media outlets have been known to deliberately fabricate information in order to stir up unrest in a state or nation while also engaging in unprofessional and biased reporting. Media professionals invest trust in the audience members through media reportage, but the masses appear to view media reporting as unethical, unprofessional, and irresponsible media practitioners (Patrick et al., 2022).

Numerous academics studied Nigeria's elections, electoral violence, media, and democracy (Alemika, 2011; Bekoe, 2011; Crisis Group, 2014; Saleh, 2020). However, none of the scholars cited above specifically address the role of the media in addressing election violence in Bauchi. Therefore, this chapter sought to fill the following gap: to identify the causes of electoral violence and to analyze the role played by the media in managing electoral violence in Bauchi State, Nigeria 2007 to 2011. This research sought to achieve the following question: What are the factors responsible for media reporting on electoral violence in Bauchi State, Nigeria?

Literature Review

Globally, the media is essential for managing conflicts and promoting peace. More important information has recently been made available through media other than Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook thanks to the internet and print newspapers, radio, and television (Allen & Schaer, 2016). According to Cortright (2008), the media has been crucial in

fostering lasting peace on a global scale. Nevertheless, peace and violence are opposing each other in terms of ideas, but they are interconnected. Violence has several meanings and interpretations. Eventually, peace has different interpretations and meanings. Most importantly, media play a vital role in managing any threat or violence in any particular society and inculcating a culture of peace. Therefore, it is imperative to understand the role of media, in promoting peace (Zachary, 2014).

In addition to reducing violent conflict and fostering peace, media can be utilized as a tool for political propaganda. A different viewpoint is that journalists shape the stories they report based on their experiences. The owners of media platforms have a business and financial interests, and they offer articles and programs to the general public through television shows, online or print newspapers, and other media. In some nations, corporate entities are very important in regulating any kind of story (Zachary, 2014; Howard, 1971). Several studies indicated that media is one of the tools for escalating conflicts or promote conflicts. For instance, the Hutu and Tutsi communities are encouraged to engage in violent conflict by the Rwandese Radio and Television Libre des Miles Collines (RTLM) and other media outlets. Over 1,200 Tutsis were massacred as a result of the hostilities, and many more were displaced (Mutua, 2001). In some North African and Middle East countries such as Libya, Yemen, Tunisia, and Egypt media play a vital role in conflict escalation and also overthrowing their governments through mass media. Saudi Arabia and Morocco are facing serious challenges in changing their governance. For instance, State-owned media outlets presented a single side view of the Libyan conflict (Times Magazine, 2010).

Mass media can be used both positively and negatively to escalate or manage violent conflict and to support long-term peacebuilding initiatives (Amisi, 1997). Several pieces of research suggested that mass media contribute a lot to motivating violent conflict. Some of the journalists are taking part in killings, highlighting emerging violent conflicts, highlighting hat speech and downplaying genocide during conflicts as well as deliberately creating misleading reports that would provoke people' to engage in violence (Wairagu, 2003; Howard, 2003). In Cote d'Ivoire, during the 2010 general elections, the media participate in spreading some the misinformation which promote violence, while some the journalists engage themselves in conflicts and intimidation while some media films particularly the FM radio stations engaged in hate speech that would be brought hatred and also open post-election violence (Media Foundation for West Africa, 2011; BBC, 2008). The issue in this respect, as stated by Iredia (2007:12), the former Director-General of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), is that, the people must be helped to base their reasonable decisions and cast their ballots during elections. They must possess all the knowledge required to choose the best aspirants or candidates who can assure excellence in the administration. We in the media must take responsibility for the fact that Nigeria's elections have failed when such public awareness is missing.

Dukor's (1999:283) states that the "basic freedom to receive and disseminate knowledge is to serve and provide a "fundamental right to receive and impart information" that would influence media on politics. This becomes the benchmark for evaluating both the media's function and "the overlooked duty of...states to safeguard the ethics of the right to know... in an ideal democracy," according to the article. The Nigerian Press Council claims that politicians and the government have been manipulating the media in Nigeria. As a result of repetitive, impolite, and indiscrete reporting of events and topics, media outlets have become increasingly polarized based on ethnicity, which has a detrimental impact on their ability to report on power struggles and other political

squabbles. As a result, the media are now ready instruments for individuals who are actively participating in the power issue during times of crisis (Fidelis, 2022).

Conflict coverage dominates the media, not peace building. This is a risky phenomenon that might be seen as the media interfering with the process of establishing peace. Due to the inclination to downplay conflict and violence, many people mistakenly believe that conflict is natural and peace is abnormal. Numerous studies show that the media has a stronger negative influence on conflict than it does on peace building and conflict prevention. Understanding these ideas and how the media decides to present "peace" news and entertainment is crucial for conflict prevention and peace building practitioners. In fact, the media may contribute much to peacemaking and conflict resolution. In this regard, it should be noted that, in addition to the traditional media like newspapers, radio, and TVs, the recent development of digital technology in conjunction with optical fiber and satellite linkages has provided unparalleled access to information. Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram are a few examples of social networking sites that show the power of modern global media (United Nations, 2019).

In 1964, the official media were once more utilized to claim that, in the election for the federal House of Representatives that year, more than 50% of the candidates of the ruling party were returned uncontested without voting in numerous locations. Again, this ran counter to the observation made by Dare (1989:6) that Nigerians were aware that the announcements were fraudulent since, in some circumstances, the returning officials vanished and were unable to be reached after collecting the paperwork for the legitimate candidates. Okolo (1993:16) stated that several media outlets operating in Ibadan, the regional capital, in 1965 reported various versions of the same election results that were held in the western area in October of that year. Eastern Nigerian Broadcasting Services was the media outlet in question.

Conflict management indicates the first instance, the perspective of the so-called "third party" (a mediator, conflict advisor, conflict manager, or supervisor), which is to help or engage to assist both conflict parties and eventually one of them (Reimann, 2005: 7). USAID (2005) defined conflict management as 'activities that seek to reduce the threat of violent conflict by promoting peaceful resolution of differences, establishing a framework for peace and reconciliation. Conflict management is a process whereby disagreement between two groups of people were reduced and brings positive change or taking effective measures when it is made (Oachesu, 2016). Conflict management, whether undertaken by the parties in conflict or whether involving the intervention of an outside party, is to affect the entire structure of a conflict situation to contain the destructive components in the conflict process (hostility, use of violence) and help the parties possessing incompatible goals to find some solution to their conflict (Digvijaysinh, 2013). In other words, conflict management "involves designing effective macro-level strategies to minimize the dysfunctions of conflict and enhancing the constructive functions of conflict to enhance learning and effectiveness in an organization" (Rahim, 2002). Conflict management refers to the process of using preferred strategies to handle a conflict with the goals of limiting negative impact and enhancing positive impact (Qi, 2015).

Theoretical Framework The *social responsibility theory* tenets take the position that the media needs to assume moral and legal responsibilities for what they publish for the general good of society (Siebert et al., 1972). This theory creates a platform to make media reporting truthful, accurate, and objective. Media practitioners try as much as possible to be socially responsible, transparent, and fair balanced while respecting dignity, privacy,

and rights (Schudson, 2001). The fundamental principle of Social Responsibility Theory is to realize that market had failed to fulfill the promise that press freedom would reveal the informative truth, objectivity, accuracy, and balance. The media preserve financial autonomy to become dependent on special interests. The journalists are accountable to the audience and the government, protecting the right of the public against the government through its watchdog function, instructing and informing the public to make it capable of self-government, maintaining the economic equilibrium of the system by bringing together buyers, advertiser, and the seller (Siebert et al., 1972).

This study adopted the Social Responsibility Theory based on the following basic assumptions: high professional standard of the journalist's failure to provide professional ethics in any media organization the politician will use some of the media to manipulate or cause tension within the communities. Once the media are true, impartiality, balance in reporting, and fairness to all parties will help to maintain peace during electoral violence. The media houses should be self-regulatory within the framework of the law. In the public interest, the media should underplay that news that may lead to violence, social tension, and crime, and causes ethnic and religious conflict. However, the media should be pluralist to reflect the diversity of their society and allow access to various points of view. The media houses, for instance, National Television Authority, Bauchi Area Television (BATV), Globe FM, Albarka Radio, and AIT played a vital role in promoting peace during electoral violence in the state.

The Libertarian theory known as the *Free Press theory* views the idea that the individual should be free to publish. The theory indicates that there should be no restrictions on the import or export of media messages within national frontiers, attacks the government policies should be encouraged when the due and fundamental human rights of the journalists as well as freedom of expression should be guaranteed. Moreover, press ownership should be free from offenses, atrocity, impropriety as well as wartime agitation (Siebert et al., 1972).

In this study, Libertarian Theory primarily allows the media to criticize the incumbent government if they want to manipulate the election result to promote peace in the state, media acts as a watchdog against the government. Press ownership or media autonomy helps them import and export media messages across the national frontiers. It emphasizes that a free and responsible media guards against government abuses of power through factual reporting, promotion of open debate, representation of diverse views, and protection of individual rights (Siebert et al., 1972). Libertarian theory advocates for media to be self-regulating in observance of a strict code of ethics and professionalism. On the other hand, the Libertarian theory advocates for legitimate media freedom where the government has no or little control over the media. Under this condition, the government machinery cannot influence the direction or editorial powers to report on skewed messages in its favor. The media practitioners have the freedoms to operate within the legal framework and objective reporting. Thus, discouraging conflicts and promoting peaceful coexistence.

Research Methodology

A descriptive survey research design was used in the study. Description research design can be defined as a plan for collecting and utilizing information by administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals. It also helped in obtaining more information about the study (Kothari, 2004). A cluster sampling technique was used to divide the

Bauchi metropolis in to twelve (12) wards. A cluster simply put grouping of individuals in terms of villages, schools, towns, wards, streets, and households (Philip, 2013). Cluster sampling involved a random sample of two poling units within each ward. The probability of selection was proportional to the population size of the ward that is, larger ward had a greater probability of being selected than smaller ones. Within each chosen poling unit, a fixed number of residents were selected using simple random sampling. The residents were the unit of analysis. Residents of Bauchi Metropolis made up the population of the study's primary data, which were collected as hard copies.

The journalists are also citizens of Nigeria's Bauchi State and live in the city of Bauchi. In contrast to the sample, which is a subset of the population that will serve as the study population's representative, Kumar (2011) defines the study population as the group of individuals within the community with whom the study is concerned. 444903 people were considered to be the study's target audience. The Krejcie and Morgan (1970) sample size determination table was used to determine the sample size of 381. On a three-point Likert scale, the data are shown here. Books, journals, theses, and other published and unpublished sources provided secondary data while questionnaires were primarily utilized to collect data. According to Rasmussen and Erik (2002), questionnaires are useful for measuring the issues under investigation rather than getting an in-depth understanding. The use of questionnaires was informed by ensuring the anonymity of the respondents. According to National Population Commission (2016), Bauchi State has a population of 6, 537,300 (male – 50.9%, female – 49.1%). The target population was 444,935 residents (electorate) residing in Bauchi metropolis (INEC, 2022).

A straightforward random sample method was employed to choose the respondents for the survey. A subset of respondents from the target group is randomly chosen by the researcher using the probability sampling technique known as simple random sampling. There is an equal chance that each respondent from the target population will be chosen (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). This study used the sample-size computation formula developed by Krejcie and Morgan (1970) and arrived at 381 as selected from the target population of Four hundred and forty-four thousand nine hundred and thirty-five (444935). The following formula was used to arrive at the sample size. Solution

$$N = \frac{X^2 NP(1-P)}{e^2(N-1) + X^2 \times P(1-P)}$$

$$N = \frac{3.841 \times 444935 \times 0.5 \times 0.5}{0.00025(444934 - 1) + 3.841 \times 0.5 \times 0.5}$$

$$N = \frac{3.841 \times 444935 \times 0.25}{0.00025(444934) + 3.841 \times 0.25}$$

$$N = \frac{427248.83375}{112.19375}$$

$$N = 381$$

In this instance, a variety of research tools were tested to guarantee the reliability and validity of the research findings. With the help of this investigation, the researcher was able to explain the parallels and variations in the main findings. The research questions and study objectives were in line to ensure the validity of this study. The questionnaire questions were measured in pilot research. For the piloting, fifteen (15) respondents from the study area were chosen. Simple percentages were used to evaluate the data to respond to the research questions, and Chi-square inferential statistics were used to test the

hypotheses at a 0.05 level of significance. The Chi-square test was used to evaluate the inferential statistics. The research subjects guaranteed informed consent. The participants' identities were kept private.

Table 1.1: PILOT TEST: RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Variables	Description	Values	Internal Consistency
K	Number of Items	12	
$\sum S^2 X$	Sum of the item variables	4.54	
$\sum S^2 Y$	Variance of total score	15.54	Acceptable
A	Cronbach alpha	$\frac{12}{12-1} \frac{(13.54-4.54)}{13.54} = 0.72$	

The above table shows that the Cronbach alpha falls within the acceptable region of 0.72.

Data Analysis

This section is devoted to the analysis of the data gathered from the respondents based on the interview conducted. The research raised some issues regarding the role of media in managing electoral violence in the Bauchi metropolis. The section has also dealt with the factors responsible for media reporting on electoral violence as well as the media functions in addressing electoral violence in the Bauchi metropolis of Bauchi State, Nigeria. The responses are analyzed under the following research questions:

Research question one: What are the factors responsible for media reporting on electoral violence in Bauchi Metropolis of Bauchi State, Nigeria?

Table 1.2: FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR MEDIA REPORTING ON ELECTORAL VIOLENCE

Factors	Agreed (F)	Disagreed (F)	Neutral (F)
Hate speech	318 (89.8%)	27(7.6%)	9(2.5%)
Falsehood information	299(84.5%)	21(5.9%)	34(9.6%)
Poor remuneration	306(86.4%)	41(11.6%)	7(2%)
Political affiliation	194(54.8%)	158(44.6%)	2(0.6%)
Religious identity	341(96.3%)	8(2.3%)	5(1.4%)
Ethnicity	342(96.6%)	11(3.1%)	1(0.3%)

Source: Survey Research (2022)

These results showed that 89.8% of respondents agreed that hate speech contributed to the 2007/2011 electoral violence in the Bauchi metropolis, 7. 6% disagreed and 9.5% are neutral. 84.5% of respondents agreed that falsehood information is a factor that aggravates electoral violence, 5.9% disagreed while 9.6% were neutral. 86.4% of respondents agreed that the poor remuneration of the journalists allowed them to collect brown envelopes, 11.6 disagreed with the statement and 2% are neutral. 54.8% of respondents agreed that political affiliation is one of the factors responsible for electoral violence, 44.6% disagreed while 0.6% are neutral. These revealed that 96.3% of respondents agreed that the religious diversity of the media houses contributed to electoral violence, 2.3% disagreed and 1.4% are neutral on the statement. 96.6% of the respondents agreed that ethnicity contributed to the electoral violence, 3.1% disagreed and 0.3% are neutral on the statement. The result shows that there is a significant relationship between factors responsible for media reporting and electoral violence with the degree of freedom 10 and .05 level of significance as shown in Table 1.3.

Hypothesis One: There is a significance relationship between factors responsible for media reporting and electoral violence.

Table 1.3: SUMMARY TABLE FOR CHI-SQUARE TEST OF INDEPENDENCE ANALYSIS

FO	FE	DF	Calculated X² Value	Critical X² Value (α=.05)
318	300			
27	44.33			
9	9.67			
299	300			
21	44.33			
34	9.67			
		10	493.85	18.31
306	300			
41	44.33			
7	9.67			
194	300			
158	44.33			
2	9.67			
341	300			
8	44.33			
5	9.67			
342	300			
11	44.33			
1	9.67			

The data in table 1.3 above reveals that the calculated X2 (493.85) is greater than the critical tabled value of (18.31) for Degree of Freedom=10, at α=.05 level of significance. Therefore, the alternative hypothesis is accepted. It is concluded that there is a significant relationship between factors responsible for media reporting and electoral violence in the Bauchi metropolis of Bauchi state, Nigeria. The above findings corroborated with Patrick et al., (2022) who noted that Because of Nigeria's diverse ethnic, religious, and political makeup, journalists tend to reflect these tendencies and are unable to be impartial when their ethnic group or blood relative is involved in a news situation. As a result, journalists find it challenging to separate themselves from this diversity in the reporting of news events and issues. According to Asemah (2009, p. 404), some journalists are involved in collecting money as a result of the poor remuneration of the media organizations.

Discussion of Findings
The Media houses poise campaigns against hate speech across Nigeria. Some media practitioners condemn the partiality of politicians in promoting violent conflict. Additionally, the editorial provided the public with accurate information about objectionable hate speech while urging media outlets to rigorously abide by the legislation against hate speech that could incite people to violence during the election (This Day, 2015). The practice of unprofessionalism among Nigerian journalists is plagued by some unethical issues as a result of the media's shift away from reporting the truth and toward exaggerations and false rumors, particularly concerning elections (Fidelis, 2022). Dare (1985), noted that media houses are guided by some laws based on biased information or falsehood information such as decrees of newspaper (Amendment act 1964), the

defamation Act 1961, the official secrets Act 1962, public officers (protection against false accusation) and protection against false publication under decree No. 4, 1984.

Low salaries in the media organizations allow the journalists to accept financial gifts for their work. Some publishers and editors often received bigger bribes to manipulate their stories, reports, and coverage (Adeyemi, 2013; Page, 2018; Akinola, 2019). A journalist who is not well remunerated might be tempted to collect brown envelopes to make ends meet or money is given to cover travel and other expenses cost (Patrick et al., 2022; Mathias, 2017). But the media serves as a watchdog by exposing politicians involved in scandals of corruption and fostering long-lasting peace and accountability (Freedom House 2016; Olukoyun 2004; Ojo 2003). Edogbo (1994:33) conducted a study on the interaction between Nigeria's political system and the media.

The results show that media ownership influenced political reportage. Most of the newspapers spoke for one political party against another, and the media has always acted not as neutral but acted as an agent of the political divisions in Nigeria. Agba (2007: 261), argues that the media should make the politicians respect people's rights rather than politicians using media to alienate the audience and keep the voters in dark, particularly during the election. Media reporting or print media can be influenced by political affiliations (Ciboh 2017; Freedom House 2016). As Davenport (2010) demonstrated how political affiliation between the Black Panther movement versus media reporting by dissident/black newspapers relations in the United States and found substantial differences in the representation of conflict dynamics.

Government engages in various forms of election manipulation (Kelley, 2010). Some studies suggest that when election fraud took place and elections monitors may contribute to higher levels of violence (Charles, 2018). The media remain sensitive to religious, political, and ethnic-regional pressures in their reporting (Jibo & Okoosi-Simbine 2003:183–84). Mathias (2017), reveals that some political elites used media houses to express their discriminatory insult and stigmatize others based on religious affiliation, gender, and ethnicity. Some studies suggest that media organizations engage religious actors in managing electoral violence (Charles, 2018).

Ethnicity sentiment is fingered directly behind electoral violence (Bekoe, 2011; Odigbo et al., 2014). Cleen Organization (2009) asserts that ethnic mobilization is one major factor that whips up public sentiments for violence and crisis during electioneering in the country. Ethnicity affects the media and what is reported, sometimes the voice of the media has affected some cases of newspapers, radio, and television, as well as magazine operators, were proscribed entirely due to their criticism of government authorities, while some news reporters and editors were either arrested or eliminated by political office holders (Iruonagbe, 2013; Dukor, 1999; Fidelis, 2022).

The framework for media operations as they relate to or handle election malfeasance is governed by the Nigerian Media Code of Election Coverage. The code is a synthesis of the pertinent organizational framework, which includes the amended 2010 Electoral Act, the revised Nigeria Broadcast Code, and the Press Organization Code of Ethics for Nigerian Journalists (Mathias, 2017). Additionally, the Nigerian government has employed various ways of addressing the media activities on political communication which include manipulation of access to news, threats of confinement and prohibition, frequent use of sedition laws to control media coverage, protecting sensitive government proceedings, subsidies to manipulate editors, and favoritism in the allocation of tightly controlled print and online papers (Iruonagbe, 2013).

The above findings corroborate with the work of Friedrich (2001) pointed out that most political party leaders use their political power to disenfranchise opponents due to the lack of political awareness. Agba (2007) argues that more than 40 percent of the population in Nigeria are illiterate while more than 45 percent give special attention to the media. Because of this, media outlets need to engage in political education in addition to merely disseminating information. The media outlets organize voter education programs to inform the audience about topics including the election date, polling locations, and who is eligible to vote or run for office. The media houses act as a watchdog and sometimes act as the third party which provides hidden information to the general public or audience (United Nations Peace-building Fund, 2019).

Media outlets, on the other hand, played traditional roles as gatekeepers and offered forums for discourse to help opposing sides and strengthen their bonds to cross the political chasm (Mathias, 2017). Media organizations can mediate, negotiate and build confidence as well as facilitate and create a conducive environment. Moreover, media organizations help to promote and mobilize people in an organized manner, they also help in promoting peace-building through various mechanisms such as conflict-sensitive and peace journalism, media regulation to mediate the agitation between the warring parties, and also media promote the culture of peace promote people (Himelfarb & Chabalowski, 2008). The media organizations promote peace within the different entities which include national, ethnic, and religious identities. The media also highlight common problems and cooperate to find sustainable solutions (Rupesinghe, 1995).

The aforementioned conclusion conflicts with that of Patrick et al., (2022), who discovered that a journalist's vulnerability to engaging in unethical actions is caused by a lack of professional training or understanding. Regrettably, the majority of media professionals in Nigeria are economists, physicists, chemists, and graduates of other fields where even the most basic journalistic training is utterly lacking (Patrick et al., 2022; (Iruonagbe, 2013). Poor journalism is blamed for issues within media firms, and a lack of journalistic professionalism exacerbates animosity (Clapham, 2005).

Conclusion and Recommendations

This research investigated the media and management of electoral violence in Bauchi state. The objective of this study has identified several factors responsible for media reporting on electoral violence which include ethnicity, falsehood information, exaggerations, poor journalism, and corruption among others. Media can be of great assistance in violence and conflict management as well as peace building. Since its independence, the media has played quite a significant role in the democratic process in Nigeria. For example, some media organizations have deliberately attempted to undermine the electoral processes, thereby arousing the polity and negatively impacting public safety. However, in a stable atmosphere, media can be a useful instrument.

Based on the analysis, the following recommendations can be suggested on the role of media in managing electoral violence in Bauchi State, Nigeria. (a) Media houses should continue sensitizing people on hate speech during their programs. (b) Regular sensitization on hate speech should be encouraged. (c) Government should regulate the media organizations by adopting new advanced technology in preventing falsehood information. (d) Media houses should strictly adherent the professionalism in recruiting their media practitioners to avoid spreading false information. (e) The remuneration package of a journalist should be increased from time to time. (f) The media houses should engage media practitioners in regular workshops and seminars on conflict reporting to

avoid religious and ethnic groups. (g) The study has thrown up various issues that will spur further research by scholars. It is expected that further research topics (implication of media reporting on falsehood information in Nigeria: a case of some selected media houses. The role of media coverage on electoral violence in Nigeria, a qualitative or mixed methods research should be conducted to explore in-depth information on the topic under investigation it will help for future academic research.

References

Adeyemi, A. (2013) 'Nigerian media and corrupt practices: the need for paradigm shift', European Scientific Journal 9 (1): 119-136 (https://eujournal.org/index.php/esj/article/viewFile/698/746)

Agba, P.C (2007) *"Role of mass media in electioneering campaign in a developing context"* in Ikechukwu Nwosu et al (eds) communication for sustainable human development, Enugu, African council for communication education.

Akinola, A. (2018) 'Onnoghen's cocktail of excuses', *Punch*, 4 February. (https://punchng.com /onnoghenscocktail-of-excuses/)

Alanamu, A.S. (2005). *"Political Violence: An Introductory Note"*. In Alanamu, A.S. (ed.). Issues in Political Violence in Nigeria. Hamson Printing Communications, Ilorin Kwara State.

Alemika, E. (2011). "Elections as Organized Crime: Nigerian Experience". Paper Presented at the Centre for African Studies Seminar, University of Cape Town, May 12.

Alemika, E. and Okoye, F. (2011) Ethno-Religious Conflicts and Democracy in Nigeria: Challenges. Kaduna, Human Rights Monitor, 2002. Print.

Allen, K. & Schaer, C., eds. (2016), FoME Symposium 2016: Observer, Agitator, Target: Media and Media Assistance in Fragile Contexts. Berlin, p. 17.

Amisi, B. (1997). *Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya*: USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa. Nairobi: Sage Publisher.

Anifowose, R. (1982). "Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience. New York: NOK Publishers International.

Asemah, E. S. (2009). *Principles and Practice of Mass Communicatio*n (2 ed), Jos: Great Future Press.

BBC. (2008).The Kenya Elections and their Aftermath: The Role of the Media and Communication. Policy Briefing (No. 1).

Bekoe, D. (2011). Nigeria"s 2011 elections: Best run, but most violent. Peace Brief 103, United States Institute of Peace • www.usip.org, August 15, 2011. Retrieved 08 April 2013.

Ciboh, R. (2017). "Journalists and Political Sources in Nigeria: Between Information Subsidies and Political Pressures*." The International Journal of Press/ Politics* 22 (2): 185–201.

Charles, T. (2018) Shared Security, Shared Election: Based Practice for the Prevention of Electoral Violence. American Friends Service Committee.

Clapham, C. (2005). Comments on the political standoff in Ethiopia. Available at http:www. ethiomedia.com/fastpress/claphamonethopiancrisis.

Cortright, D. (2008), 'What is Peace' in Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas, Cambridge University Press, Pp. 6.

Crisis, G. (2014). Curbing violence in Nigeria (II): The boko haram insurgency .http://www.crisisgroup.org/media/files/Africa/west-africa/Nigeria/216-curbing.pdf.

Dare, L. (1985). *"Politics since independence"* in R. Olanigan (ed) Nigerian History and Culture Hong Kong, Longman Group Ltd.

Digvijaysinh, T. (2013). Conflict and Conflict Management. *IOSR Journal of Business and Management (IOSR-JBM).* Volume 8, Issue 6 (Mar. - Apr. 2013), PP 07-16.www.iosrjournals.org

Dukor, M. (1993) *"The state and the media in Africa"* in Dukor (ed) Philosophy and politics discourse on values and power in Africa, Lagos. O.O.P Ltd.

Edogbo .O (1994) *"Agenda setting role of the mass media"* in C. Okigbo (ed) Reporting politics and public affairs, Nairobi, English Press.

Ekeanyanwu, N. T. (2017). The Nigerian Press Coverage of Political Conflicts in a Pluralistic Society. *Global Media Journal*. Vol. N0.1, Pp 64-91, Accessible from   www.sun.ac.za/gmja.

Fidelis, C. A. (2022) the Role of the Mass Media in the Nigerian Electoral Process. UJAH: *Unizik Journal of Arts and Humanities*. http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/ujah.v14i2.8

Freedom House (2016). Freedom of the Press, Nigeria: Country Report.

Friedrich, E. S. (2001). Political and Electoral Violence in East Africa. Centre for Conflict Research (CCR), Nairobi Kenya.

Health policy Report (2017) Nigerian population and development Bauchi state. Factsheet.

Himelfarb, S. & Chabalowski, M. (2008). Media, Conflict Prevention and Peace building: Mapping the Edges. United States Institute for Peace. Available at: http://www.usip.org/resources/media-conflict-prevention-and-peacebuilding-mapping-

Howard, M. (1971). '*Problems of a Disarmed World',* in Studies in War and Peace, New York: Viking Press, Pp. 225.

Howard, R. (2003). The Power of the media: A handbook for peacebuilder. Utrecht , Netherlands: European Centre for Conflict Prevention.

Imhonopi, D. & Urim, U. M. (2004). *Current Issues in Sociology of Mass Communications.* Ibadan: Euphrates Publishers.

Imhonopi, D. (2012). *"The Development and Influence of Mass Media in the Nigerian Society*" in Jegede, A. S., Olutayo, O. A.; Omololu, O. O. and Owumi, B. E. (eds.). Peoples and Cultures of Nigeria. Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, Ibadan

Iredia T.O. (2007). *"Information dissemination, voters mobilization and election monitoring in Nigerian electoral process:* in Ogun M (ed) improving the fortunes and destiny of Nigeria through the Ballot Box, Abuja, publication of the catholic laity council of Nigeria.

Iruonagbe, T. C., Imhonopi, D. & Ahmadu, F. O. (2013) A Conceptual Review of Mass Media andPolitical Violence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2013. New Media and Mass Communication www.iiste.org

Jibo, M., & Okoosi-Simbine, A. T. (2003). "The Nigerian Media: An Assessment of its role in achieving Transparent and Accountable Government in the Fourth Republic.*" Nordic Journal of African Studies* 12 (2): 180–95.

Kothari, C.R (2004). Research Methodology, New age International Publisher New Delhi.Kothari C.R (2008), Reearch Methodology and teaching New age International Publications New Delhi.

Krejcie, R. V. and Morgan, D. W. (1970). Determining Sample Size for Research Activities. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Measurement.30.607-610.*

Kumar, R. (2011). *Research Methodology:* A Step by step guide for beginners (3rd ed.). New Delhi: SAGE.

Mathias, J. (2017). The Media and Post-Election Peace building in Nigeria, 1999–2015. *Asian Journal of Peace building* Vol. 5 No. 2 (2017): 289-305.

Media Foundation for West Africa. (2011, April 18). Ban on international media lifted by Ouattara government. Retrieved March 18, 2013, from International Freedom of Expression Exchange: http://www.ifex.org/

Mugenda O.M & Mugenda A. (2003), Research methods: qualitative and quantitative.

Mutua, A. N. (2001). A study of Propaganda and the Press in Africa. Retrieved JAN 8th, 2012, from http://www.geocities.com/a_mutua/propaganda.html#references

National Population Commission (2008) Nigeria Demography and Health Survey. November 2009, P, 121.

National Population Commission (2016). City Population-statistics, map and charts.http://www .citypopulation.de

Oachesu, M. (2016). Conflict Management, A new challenge. 3rd Global Conference on Business, Economics, Management and Tourism, 26-28 November 2015. Procedia Economics and Finance 39 (2016) 807 – 814. http://www.sciencedirect.com/

Ojo, E. O. (2003). "The mass media and the challenges of sustainable democratic values in Nigeria: possibilities and limitations." Media, Culture & Society 25: 821–40. Approaches ACTS, Nairobi. Namibian schools, University of Western Cape, South Africa.

Okakwu, E. (2019, March 10). How thug was killed, election observers attacked, humiliated in Enugu. Retrieved from www.vanguard.com: https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/03/how thug-was-killed-election-observers-attacked-

Okolo, C.B. (1993). African Social and Political Philosophy, Nsukka, Fullodu Stappel (1973) "The challenges facing the mass media in Nigeria transistion to Civil Rules" in Agba (ed)   *Journal of liberal studies* Vol. 6, Nos. 1 and 2 March.

Olukoyun, A. (2004). *"Media Accountability and Democracy in Nigeria*, 1999– 2003." African   Studies Review 47 (3): 69–90.

Oso, L. (1997). "Journalism and Social Responsibility: Between Objectivity and Advocacy" In State of the Media (96) Pp. 4-15.

Page, M. (2018) 'A new taxonomy for corruption in Nigeria'. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/07/17/new-taxonomy-for-corruption-in-nigeriapub-

Patrick, U. I., Eba, A. N. & Eyong, P. O. (2022). Social Responsibility Media Theory and its Implication for Media Professionalism in Nigeria. *Journal of Media, Communication &   Languages.*

Phillip, S. (2013). Stratified cluster sampling. Statistical Question. Centre for Medical and Healthcare Education, St George's, University of London, London, UK. BMJ   2013;347:f7016   doi: 10.1136/bmj.f7016.

Qi, W. (2015). Conflict Management: Key Concepts in Intercultural Dialogue. Center for Intercultural Dialogue No. 53, 2015 http://centerforinterculturaldialogue.org

Rahim, M.A. (2002). *Managing organizational conflict /a non-traditional Approach*. New- York Prentice Hall.

Rasmussen, S., & Erik, S. (2002). Essentials of Social Research Methodology. Southern Denmark Odense University Press.

Reimann, C. (2005). *"Assessing the state-of-the-art in conflict transformation"*, in David Bloomfeld/Martina Fischer/Beatrix Schmelzle (eds.), Berghof handbook for conflict transformation, Berlin, http://www.berghofhandbook.net/articles/reimann_handbook.pdf.

Rupesinghe, K. (1995). *'Conflict Transformation'* in Rupesinghe (Ed) Conflict Transformation, Macmillan, St. Martin's Press, Pp.81-82.

Saleh, M. (2020) Influence of Interfaith Mediation Centre in the Management of Conflict in Bauchi State Nigeria: 1960-2015. (Unpublished Thesis) for the award of Masters' degree at   Kenyatta University.

Schudson, M. (2001). The Objectivity Norm in American Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism. Journalism, Vol 2 (2), 149-170.

Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1972). *Four theories of the press*. Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press Urbana

This Day Live. (2015). "Hate Speech, Violence and 2015 Election." January 25. http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/hate-speech-violence-

Times Magazine (2010). Arab spring: Triggers and consequences. *Times Magazine* (September Issue). United Nations (2019*) Peace building Fund*. Available at: http://www.unpbf.org/applicationguidelines /what-is-peacebuilding/#

United Nations Peace-building Fund. (2019). Role of Media in Combating Violence and Creation of Peace. Jahangirnagar University Journal of International Relations Vol. X No.10, 2019.

USAID (2005). '*Youth and Conflict'* 2005.

Wairagu, A. (2003). Citizenship and Ethnicity: An Examination of Two Moments in. American Political Science Review, Vol 91 (3).

Yalwa, A. (2016). Electoral Violence in Nigeria: Causes, Consequences and Curtailment. A Paper presented at Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) International Conference, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Zachary, C. K. (2014) the Role of Media in Conflict Management: The Case of Electoral Conflict in Uasin Gishu County, Kenya. (Unpublished Thesis) awarded degree of Masters' at   Kenyatta University.

Biographical Note

Musa SALEH is a Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Bauchi State University, Gadau NIGERIA. Area of Specialization is Peace and Conflict. Tel: +2347036108961 Email: musasaleh@basug.edu.ng

Yusuf Musa YAHAYA is a Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Bauchi State University, Gadau NIGERIA. Area of Specialization is Comparative Politics. Tel: +2348024251515 Email: yusufmyahaya@basug.edu.ng

Sagir MUKHTAR is of the of Public Relations Unit, A.D Rufa'i College of Education, Legal and General Studies, Misau NIGERIA. Area of Specialization is Comparative Politics. Tel: +2348034719751, Email: sagirmukhtar@gmail.com