

Characterizing Conflict in Pictures: A Multimodal Analysis of Reports of the Agatu-Fulani Crisis of March/April, 2016

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Abstract

Newspaper stories are typically not presented solely as text, but are usually accompanied with images. It is also believed that one picture is worth a thousand words (Smiciklas, 2012). News stories therefore lend themselves to a multimodal discourse analysis (MDA), a study of the intersection and interdependence of various modalities of communication within a given context (Royce and Bowcher, 2007). Therefore, as a follow-up to an earlier critical discourse analysis of news representations of the Agatu-Fulani conflict of March/April, 2016 in terms of four parameters: nature of the conflict; the actors; the action and the victims (Olubode-Sawe, 2018), this paper attempts to show how accompanying images contribute to or detract from those characterizations. Only about half of the pictures factually match the stories, and in only a third does the mood match the visual. In some stories, the photos actually subvert the text, telling a slightly different story from that presented in words.

Keywords: News stories, Images, Mood and Factual Mismatch

Introduction

This paper reports an investigation of co-agency in meaning production of news stories of the Agatu-Fulani conflict of May/June, 2016. It is a follow-up to an earlier critical discourse analysis of news representations of the Agatu-Fulani conflict of May/June, 2016 in terms of four parameters: nature of the conflict; the actors; the action and the victims (Olubode-Sawe, 2018). This paper attempts to show how accompanying images contribute to or detract from those characterizations. Are the photographs of “actors” or “victims”? Is it of live action or from stock photography? What facial expressions are displayed? How relevant is it to the news report? What is its connection of the image caption with the news reports? How are images in news reports of the conflict per se different from those in the reports of the conciliation processes?

Newspaper stories are typically not presented solely as text, but are usually accompanied with images. It is also believed that one picture is worth a thousand words (Smiciklas, 2012). News stories therefore lend themselves to a multimodal discourse analysis (MDA), a study of the intersection and interdependence of various modalities of communication within a given context (Royce and Bowcher, 2007). Halliday holds that language interacts with other semiotic systems, and communication is multimodal: “we all the time exchange meanings, and the exchange of meanings is a creative process in which language is one symbolic resource - perhaps the principal one we have, but still one among others” (Halliday, 1978). The term ‘multimodality’ underscores that meaning production involves various semiotics. Even in face-to-face interactions, speakers mobilize language as sounded speech, but also

produce meaning through gestures, posture, facial expression, and other embodied resources such as physical distance, stance, movement or stasis (Iedema 2012). Thus, multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) is the study of the intersection and interdependence of various modalities of communication within a given context. Researchers in this area seek to identify the influence of mode on meaning within a given context, focusing on co-occurrence and interaction between multiple semiotic systems (Royce & Bowcher 2007). MDA seeks to extend the study of language to the study of language together with other resources, such as images, scientific symbolism, gesture, action, music and sound. ‘Semiotic resource’ refers to the resources (or modes) such as language, image, music, gesture and architecture) which integrate across sensory modalities. The objects of multimodal analysis have included images and visual design (e.g. Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006), displayed art, paintings, sculpture and architecture (O’Toole, 2010).

News Stories and Images

Oyero & Amodu (2012) following Carney and Levin (2002) identify some of the functions of pictures in newspapers to include communication, credibility, visual appeal and vitality. In addition to communicating something newsworthy, photographs make stories seem more real. They may also draw attention to a story that might be otherwise overlooked and serve to break the monotony of text in a newspaper layout. This is not to suggest that images are necessarily objective or truer than text; in fact, in these days of digital alteration of photographs and deep fakes of audio, video and still images, there are more reasons to be careful.

Even without digital alteration, photographs of the same object can tell different stories. Dahmen (2017) contrasts two photos taken of US vice president Mike Pence on Inauguration Day. Though neither photo is digitally altered, the “truth” reflected by the images is dramatically different: one showing a VP in the embrace of a happy family; the other a politician that no one but his family supports. She therefore draws attention to the “fungibility of photographic truths”, and the need to cross-check information, critically assessing factually-based evidence from politically-motivated propaganda.



Figure 1: Same Photo; Two Stories

Visual images also have a role in constituting aspects of conflict, a role that is dynamic and the functions of which shift as conflicts progress. One function is to present the progress of the conflict. Parry (2010) presents the example from the 2003 Iraq invasion led by the US. Stock images of soldiers aiming guns at the unseen enemy and tanks moving through the desert on their way to Baghdad were intended to epitomise military progress, and the ease with which the coalition soldiers fought in Iraq. She suggests that these portrayals of inevitable victory and military prowess articulate and ‘co-produce’ the rallying effect: the soldiers’ heroic endeavours become the nation’s shared experience. This is an example of visuals playing a creative and defining role; preparing a nation for war and determining the angle from which the conflict will be seen.

Newspapers have a collection of stock images for public figures such as politicians, government officials and the so-called celebrities, which they can use depending on how they wish to present the public figures. As Machin & Mayr (2012) show, the photograph that accompanies a story may not have been captured in a moment related to that story. Even if the photograph had been, there are options of which of the many photographs taken would be used. Looking at meaning of gaze and of poses in images, Machin and Mayr show that gaze in a photograph, where a person looks, and how they look, can be one important way of encouraging particular kinds of interpretations and of relationships between viewer and participant, and which can present information on kinds of attitudes, moods and identity.

Methodology

Visuals accompanying the stories of the Agatu/Fulani herdsmen clashes of March/April 2016 were read alongside the texts to see whether they told the same stories as the text of the news stories. This involved seeing whether the visuals referred to the main incident, actor or victim in the story, and whether the import of the story matched the mood presented by the visuals. The visuals are numbered 1 to 15 and presented as Appendix 1. Each visual is accompanied by the headline and the lede, which together give an indication of the message of the news story.

Findings and Discussion

Image/story match: facts

Factual match

Visuals matched the stories factually in 8 out of 15 stories. In NS1 “Agatu killings: My heart bleeds as my people are being massacred, says Mark at 68”, the image simply captioned “Mark” is the Former Senate President David Mark looking pensive, making no eye contact with viewer; hands on cheek, in close approximation of hands-in-jaw pose culturally depicting sorrow and frustration. Though the picture was not taken at the birthday, it shows the subject of the story, and also matches the mood. NS2: “UNHCR and Agatu killings” is accompanied with an uncaptioned cartoon-like drawing of a heap of skeletons, mainly skulls, and one arm holding up a banner saying “JUSTICE!”. The story begins with quite a lengthy lede, shown in row 2 of Figure 2 below:

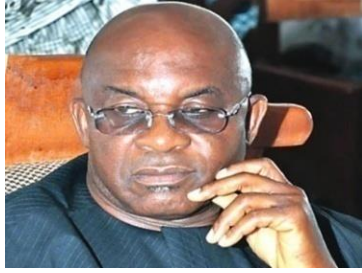

<p>Headline: Agatu killings: My heart bleeds as my people are being massacred, says Mark at 68</p> <p>Lede: Former Senate President David Mark, who turned 68 years yesterday, has pledged to continue to serve God and devote the rest of his life to the less privileged in the society.</p> <p>Source: http://thenationonlineng.net/agatu-killings-heart-bleeds-people-massacred-says-mark-68-2/</p>	 <p>Mark</p>
<p>Headline: UNHCR and Agatu killings</p> <p>Lede: While addressing Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) at the Ugboko camp recently, the representative of the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR) to Nigeria and Economic Community of West African States, Angele Dikongu Atangana, wailed that in her 20 years of working as a humanitarian she had never seen such a level of destruction as the Agatu killings.</p> <p>Source: http://thenationonlineng.net/unhcr-agatu-killings/</p>	

Figure 2: Factual and Mood Match between Story and Visual

The drawing fits the facts presented: an unprecedented level of destruction. An emotional overlay is added by the visual: the idea that the slain are crying for justice. In NS6, “Agatu killings: Army to adjust troop deployment in Benue”, the photo captioned “The Chief of Army Staff, Lt. General Tukur Buratai” is of a man in army uniform but without a cap, seeming to address an audience. He wears a serious look, and has no smile. This suggests that the Army leadership is serious about putting a stop to the Agatu killings. Here, the visual matches the fact (the photo is of the person referred to in the story, and also matches the mood).

Factual mismatch

In some instances, visuals were not a factual match with the story. For example, in NS8, “Agatu killings: Minister of Interior urges IGP to make arrests”, the lede identifies the major referents: “Rtd. Lt Gen. Abdulrahman Dambazau, Minister of Interior, has urged Inspector-General of Police (IGP), Mr Solomon Arase, to fish out and prosecute the culprits of the recent killings in Agatu, Benue.” However, the accompanying group picture of people in motion, with destroyed houses in the background is captioned “David Mark and former Minister of Interior, Abba Moro in Agatu, Benue State on Saturday. PHOTO: NAN” Neither the IGP nor the Minister of Interior is shown in the photo. Though the photo is related to the Agatu killings, it does not factually match the story. Similarly, NS10, “One Idoma Initiative, cattle breeders move to end Agatu crisis” has a group photo featuring Senator David Mark holding a megaphone addresses an unseen group. Slightly beyond him, a group of elders are seated. There is no record of David Mark being a member of One Idoma Initiative, so the photo tells a story that the text does not. Story NS5 “What we are doing to end Agatu killings — Nigerian Army” is accompanied with the picture of a burnt house, while both “Agatu Massacre: Nigeria deploys troops; to ban cattle from villages, cities” (NS14) and “Agatu people triggered crisis by killing 10,000 of our cattle-Fulani community leader” (NS15) both have a group picture

of protesting/ mourning youth dressed in black, lying on the ground in poses of anguish. These obvious factual mismatches will be discussed later.

Image/story relationship: mood

Apart from the facts of a story, different moods are conveyed by the accompanying visuals. In only five of the stories does the mood of the visuals match the mood of the stories. Mark's sad mien matches the mood of the story in NS1 and the cartoon of the dead demanding justice also matched the mood of the UNCHR story. Similarly, Buratai's serious mien matches the mood of an Army getting serious with the Agatu situation. There is a bit of deflation in NS4, where the title "SPECIAL REPORT: Inside Agatu killing field: blood on the streets, charred bodies everywhere", creates an expectation of grotesque images. However, the five photos which accompanied the story were actually of buildings, and they were captioned "Agatu burnt houses". The pictures reference another part of the story: "From Aila to Obagaji, Akwu to Odejo, the invaders burned down houses, churches and police posts. Here and there corpses were seen lying in the most grotesque positions." No corpse is shown. There are several ethical considerations about showing graphic photos of victims of violence, including the trade-off between the public's right to information and protecting the public from violence. There is also the consideration for the dignity of the deceased and consideration for the pain of their families (McCabe, 2001, van Riet & Roberts, 2008, Sentilles, 2018). Whatever the consideration is, the burden of expressing horror of the situation is left to words:

"an eyeful of savagery.... 300 villagers were reportedly massacred in the first killing spree with heavy casualties recorded in communities like Aila, Okokolo, Akwu, Adagbo, Odugbehon and Odejo..... Here and there corpses were seen lying in the most grotesque positions. The totally dried corpses in various stages of decomposition were pointers that the killings must have been done at different times. The gory sights equally suggested that the marauders kept coming back for returnees, undeterred by the presence of soldiers.

In a few instances, factually inaccurate photos project the right mood. In NS8, "Agatu killings: Minister of Interior urges IGP to make arrests", the photo of David Mark and former Minister of Interior, Abba Moro in Agatu touring devastated areas in Benue State reinforces the idea that some injustice has been done and redressive action was being taken. Similarly, the One Idoma story showing Mark has the right tone of people meeting to chart a way forward. Senator David Mark became the face of the Agatu call for justice, and it is not strange that his picture keeps showing up even in stories to which he is not connected.

The moods of the majority of the visuals are at variance with the texts of the stories. The lede of NS3, "Agatu killings and road to apocalypse", is "DURING his tour of Agatu Local Government Area, a part of his constituency, Senator David Mark told reporters that more than 500 people were killed by suspected Fulani herdsmen in retaliation for the alleged slaughter of 10,000 cows." Inexplicably, the accompanying uncaptioned photo shows Mark looking slightly off-camera, with a half-smile and looking happy. Similarly, NS7 "Agatu killings: Minister urges IGP to fish out culprits" with the lede "Rtd. Lt Gen. Abdulrahman Dambazau, Minister of Interior, has urged Inspector-General of Police (IGP), Mr Solomon Arase, to fish out and prosecute the culprits of the recent killings in Agatu, Benue." has a

photo of a happy man standing behind a microphone at a podium reading a speech, with a broad smile. Though this was probably not taken at the event that the story reports, it is a mismatch of the mood of the story, for there is nothing remotely amusing about the killings in Agatu, or the need to get the culprits arrested. This situation is also true of NS9, “IGP redeploys more anti-riot policemen in Agatu” which has a photo captioned “Solomon Arase” which is a head shot depicting a laughing police officer, looking off into the distance seemingly at a situation that is either happy or amusing. The deployment of anti-riot policemen to deal with a situation where hundreds of lives have been allegedly lost does not seem to fit the picture of a happy Inspector General of Police. These three cases represent a mood mismatch: right story, right actor/incident but the actor portraying the wrong mood.

In the foregoing, we have seen two kinds of mismatches: where the visual matches neither the fact nor the mood of the story, and the mismatch advances no position. Then there is another kind of mismatch, where the visual subverts the story, and the subversion seems to be deliberate. The first kind is represented by NS13 “Herdsmen, Agatu farmers sign peace accord to end crisis”, accompanied with an uncaptioned stock picture of a group of protesting youth in an attitude of mourning, mourning on the ground shown below. Similarly, NS11, Channels “One Idoma Initiative, Miyetti Allah Seek End To Agatu Crisis” uses a picture of a reminder of the crisis in a story about reconciliation.



Figure 3: Mood Mismatch in Two Stories

The story of a peace accord that displays the protests of the aggrieved group would be counterproductive unless there is a reason for keeping the grief in the discourse space. The lede, “Sides to the crisis in Agatu, Benue state, which has seen clashes between Idoma resident farmers and Fulani nomadic herdsman grazing cattle in the community have agreed to immediately cease all hostilities.” suggests that this is not the case, since there was a careful avoidance of assigning aggressor/victim roles to anyone in the story.

Sides to the crisis in Agatu, Benue state, which has seen clashes between Idoma resident farmers and Fulani nomadic herdsman grazing cattle in the community have agreed to immediately cease all hostilities. A town hall meeting brokered last week between the 1 Idoma Initiative and the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN) has resolved MACBAN will direct

immediate withdrawal of all herdsmen from Agatu across the border to Nasarawa state while both sides continue dialogue toward a peaceful resolution. Youths in Agatu will also desist from patrolling the river bank until "better understanding is sought between the two parties," both sides announced at a joint press conference in Abuja, days after the town hall meeting. They are asking federal agriculture ministry to consider grazing reserves and map out primary, secondary and tertiary cattle routes, with possible legislative backing, to avoid future conflicts between nomadic farmers and resident farmers. Both sides have condemned the proliferation of firearms in either community and pledged support for federal, Benue and Nasarawa government to encourage both sides lay down their arms.

Here, there is no talk of Fulani herdsmen killing Agatu farmers or overrunning their farms, and the use of a photo of mourning youth in black foregrounds a victimhood that is being denied in the story. The picture of an armed youth also seems to negate the reconciliation story. In this case, it would seem that an editor just added a visual to a news story without any consideration of how well they fitted together.

Subverting the text: Images telling another (additional) story

Deliberate subversion seems to be at work in three stories: "What we are doing to end Agatu killings — Nigerian Army", "Agatu Massacre: Nigeria deploys troops; to ban cattle from villages, cities" and "Agatu people triggered crisis by killing 10,000 of our cattle-Fulani community leader". The table below presents a comparison of two stories that have the same source, but with one visual deliberately subverting the story.

As will be noted, the stories are practically identical. But note that NS5 has an emphasis that is missing in NS6. While NS6 reports a desire "to end the killings in Agatu", NS5 speaks of "the massive killings in Agatu". The desire to keep the Agatu problem in view is revealed in the additional sentence in NS5: "Deadly clashes between herdsmen and farmers in Agatu and environs have claimed many lives and displaced many families." This engagement is nowhere better revealed than in the accompanying photos. NS6 rightly includes the photo of Army Chief Buratai; NS5 includes a reminder of the Agatu loss: a photo of a burnt house. The caption also ascribes agency and victimhood: the burnt house is in Okokolo village that was recently attacked by herdsmen in Agatu.



<p>NS5</p> <p>http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/200449-end-agatu-killings-nigerian-army.html</p> <p>What we are doing to end Agatu killings — Nigerian Army March 19, 2016 Hassan Adebayo and Agency Report</p>  <p>Burnt house in Okokolo village that was recently attacked by herdsmen in Agatu, Benue on Sunday (13/3/16)</p>	<p>NS6</p> <p>http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/agatu-killings-army-to-adjust-troop-deployment-in-benue/138787.html</p> <p>Agatu killings: Army to adjust troop deployment in Benue By Hope Abah, Makurdi Publish Date: Mar 21 2016 5:00AM</p>  <p>The Chief of Army Staff, Lt. General Tukur Buratai</p>
<p>The Nigerian Army is adjusting the deployment of its troops as part of measures to end the massive killings in Agatu communities of Benue State, the Chief of Army Staff, Tukur Buratai, has said. Mr. Buratai, a Lieutenant General, who said this during his visit to a military tactical operational base, near Otukpo in Benue, expressed confidence that the mayhem would be contained.</p> <p>According to him, all logistics and other requirements have been provided for the operation.</p> <p>“The crisis here is unfortunate, the farmers and herdsmen fighting must not be condoned. I have heard from the commander about the existence of criminal elements who engage in cattle rustling. “We have observed the deployment of troops on ground, we are adjusting our troops deployment to take care of the flash-points and likely areas where the criminals are hiding,” he said.</p> <p>Mr. Buratai said measures had been adopted to ensure that the clashes did not repeat and the people return to their settlements. He, however, noted that the troops were cooperating with other security agencies to restore peace and order in the area.</p> <p>The Army chief met with operation commanders on measures adopted to contain the crisis in the area.</p> <p>Deadly clashes between herdsmen and farmers in Agatu and environs have claimed many lives and displaced many families.</p>	<p>Chief of Army Staff, Lt.-Gen. Tukur Buratai, says the Army will adjust deployment of troops as part of measures to end the killings in Agatu in Benue State. Buratai, who said this during his visit to a military tactical operational base near Otukpo at the weekend expressed confidence that the mayhem would be contained.</p> <p>According to him, all logistics and other requirements have been provided for the operation.</p> <p>“The crisis here is unfortunate, the farmers and herdsmen fighting must not be condoned. I have heard from the commander about the existence of criminal elements who engage in cattle rustling. We have observed the deployment of troops on ground, we are adjusting our troops deployment to take care of the flashpoints and likely areas where the criminals are hiding,” he said.</p> <p>Buratai said measures had been adopted to ensure that the clashes did not repeat and the people return to their settlements. He noted that the troops were cooperating with other security agencies to restore peace and order in the area.</p> <p>The Army chief met with operation commanders on measures adopted to contain the crisis.</p>

Figure 4: Same Text; Two Photos Generating Two Stories



Figure 5: Photo subverting accompanying texts

The use of the stock photo above seems to deliberately subvert the story: NS15 “Agatu people triggered crisis by killing 10,000 of our Cattle-Fulani community leader” with the lede, “The Fulani community in Benue State, accused of killing hundreds in Agatu in Benue State, said Thursday that the crisis started after 10,000 of cattle belonging to its members were killed by Agatu natives.” Its caption, “People protest killings in Agatu” which juxtaposes the suffering of the Agatu as portrayed by the mourning youth seems to be at variance with the Fulani claim. The photo seems to ask whether the pain inflicted on the mourning youth is justified by the loss of 10,000 heads of cattle. The same picture with the same caption accompanies NS14: “Agatu Massacre: Nigeria deploys troops; to ban cattle from villages, cities”. The juxtaposition is less effective here, for pictures of grazing cows in an urban area would have been more effective. However, the lede, “The Nigerian government says it is preparing legislation to prohibit pastoralists from allowing their cattle to roam in villages and cities, following the massacre of hundreds in a farming community in Benue State by armed herdsmen.” seems to suggest that the Government’s claim is not totally credible, and so the photo seems to be a deliberate, if not totally effective, subversion of the text of the news story.

Whose pictures?

Most of the pictures are of newsmakers rather than the Agatus or Fulanis. Apart from the photo of the armed herder, Fulani presence is visually absent in the stories. The Agatu representation is through the cartoon of skulls and pictures of burnt houses, and human faces are seen only in the protesting youth (three pictures). David Mark appears four times, and government representatives: IGP Arase, Army Chief Buratai and Minister of Interior Dambazau, appear once each.

This is very different from the actors identified in the text of the news stories. Olubode-Sawe (2018) shows that the actors are identified as ‘Herdsmen/Fulani Herdsmen’/Cattle Rearers (5), ‘Alleged/Suspected Fulani Herdsmen’ (2) and ‘Marauders’ (2) ‘Alleged/Suspected Fulani Herdsmen’ (3), ‘Farmers And Herdsmen’ (2), Criminals (4), Culprits/Perpetrators (4) And ‘Unknown Gunmen’, ‘Cattle Herdsmen’ and ‘Fulani Herdsmen’.

Conclusion

Some patterns have emerged from this study of texts of news stories and the visuals which accompany them. These two aspects of the relationship between text and visual have emerged: information and emotion. The most effective stories are those which match the information in the text with the emotions evoked by the visuals. Those stories would have both a factual and a mood match. However, several stories in this study had either a factual or a mood mismatch. This might be due to carelessness on the part of editors, the resort to stock photos without considering their import or the pressure of deadlines. The most interesting relationship found between texts and visuals is that of subversion: where a journalist needs to report a story, yet wants to tell another story different from the bland facts in their report.

This study has shown that photos do promote communication, credibility, visual appeal and vitality. Pictures of newsmakers like Senator Mark may draw attention to a story that might be otherwise overlooked. However, an important function of visuals is revealed by this study: photos telling stories that the journalist wants to promote, despite the official copy that may have come from agency reports. In other words, photos can communicate independently of, as well as alongside the text of news stories.

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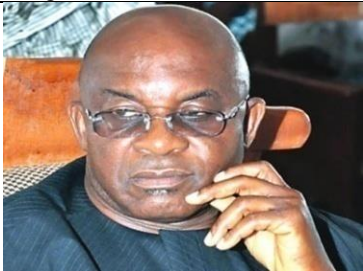




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Appendix

Table Showing Story Titles, First Sentences and Accompanying Visuals

	Title and Lede	Image
NS1	<p>http://thenationonlineng.net/agatu-killings-heart-bleeds-people-massacred-says-mark-68-2/</p> <p>Agatu killings: My heart bleeds as my people are being massacred, says Mark at 68 Posted By: Our Reporter on: April 09, 2016</p> <p>Former Senate President David Mark, who turned 68 years yesterday, has pledged to continue to serve God and devote the rest of his life to the less privileged in the society.</p>	 <p>Mark</p>
NS2	<p>http://thenationonlineng.net/unhcr-agatu-killings/</p> <p>UNHCR and Agatu killings Posted By: Adekunle Ade- Adeleye on: April 10, 2016</p> <p>While addressing Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) at the Ugboko camp recently, the representative of the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR) to Nigeria and Economic Community of West African States, Angele Dikongu Atangana, wailed that in her 20 years of working as a humanitarian she had never seen such a level of destruction as the Agatu killings.</p>	
NS3	<p>http://thenationonlineng.net/agatu-killings-road-apocalypse/</p> <p>Agatu killings and road to apocalypse Posted By: Our Reporter on: March 19, 2016</p> <p>DURING his tour of Agatu Local Government Area, a part of his constituency, Senator David Mark told reporters that more than 500 people were killed by suspected Fulani herdsmen in retaliation for the alleged slaughter of 10,000 cows.</p>	
NS4	<p>http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/200369-special-report-inside-agatu-killing-field-blood-on-the-streets-charred-bodies-everywhere.html</p> <p>SPECIAL REPORT: Inside Agatu killing field: blood on the streets, charred bodies everywhere March 18, 2016 Emmanuel Mayah</p> <p>Across the Nasarawa-Benue borderline, Agatu was still hundreds of miles away but passengers on the motorway were already getting an eyeful of savagery.</p> 	 <p>Agatu burnt houses</p>
NS5	<p>http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/200449-end-agatu-killings-nigerian-army.html</p> <p>What we are doing to end Agatu killings — Nigerian Army March 19, 2016 Hassan Adebayo and Agency Report</p>	

	<p>The Nigerian Army is adjusting the deployment of its troops as part of measures to end the massive killings in Agatu communities of Benue State, the Chief of Army Staff, Tukur Buratai, has said.</p>	 <p>BURNT HOUSE IN OKOKOLO VILLAGE THAT WAS RECENTLY ATTACKED BY HERDSMEN IN AGATU, BENUE ON SUNDAY</p>
<p>NS6</p>	<p>http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/agatu-killings-army-to-adjust-troop-deployment-in-benue/138787.html Agatu killings: Army to adjust troop deployment in Benue By Hope Abah, Makurdi Publish Date: Mar 21 2016 5:00AM</p> <p>Chief of Army Staff, Lt.-Gen. Tukur Buratai, says the Army will adjust deployment of troops as part of measures to end the killings in Agatu in Benue State.</p>	 <p>The Chief of Army Staff, Lt. General Tukur Buratai</p>
<p>NS7</p>	<p>www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/agatu-killings-minister-urges-igp-to-fish-out-culprits/137798.html Agatu killings: Minister urges IGP to fish out culprits By . Publish Date: Mar 14 2016 2:05PM</p> <p>Rtd. Lt Gen. Abdulrahman Dambazau, Minister of Interior, has urged Inspector-General of Police (IGP), Mr Solomon Arase, to fish out and prosecute the culprits of the recent killings in Agatu, Benue.</p>	
<p>NS8</p>	<p>http://guardian.ng/news/agatu-killings-minister-of-interior-urges-igp-to-make-arrests/ Agatu killings: Minister of Interior urges IGP to make arrests By NAN 14 March 2016 1:10 pm</p> <p>Rtd. Lt Gen. Abdulrahman Dambazau, Minister of Interior, has urged Inspector-General of Police (IGP), Mr Solomon Arase, to fish out and prosecute the culprits of the recent killings in Agatu, Benue.</p>	 <p>David Mark and former Minister of Interior, Abba Moro in Agatu, Benue State on Saturday. PHOTO: NAN</p>
<p>NS9</p>	<p>http://guardian.ng/news/igp-redeploys-more-anti-riot-policemen-in-agatu/ IGP redeploys more anti-riot policemen in Agatu By Karls Tsokar 25 March 2016 3:38 am</p> <p>The Inspector General of Police (IGP) Solomon Arase, has ordered the redeployment of two additional units of anti-riot policemen to Agatu in Benue State, to reinforce the unit already on ground.</p>	 <p>Solomon Arase</p>

<p>NS10</p>	<p>http://www.channelstv.com/2016/03/28/one-idoma-initiative-miyetti-allah-seek-end-agatu-crisis/ One Idoma Initiative, Miyetti Allah Seek End To Agatu Crisis Channels Television. Updated March 28, 2016 311</p> <p>Leaders of One Idoma Initiative and Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association are working together with a view to finding a lasting solution to the Agatu crisis.</p>	
<p>NS11</p>	<p>http://dailypost.ng/2016/03/29/one-idoma-initiative-cattle-breeders-move-to-end-agatu-crisis/</p> <p>One Idoma Initiative, cattle breeders move to end Agatu crisis One Idoma Initiative, cattle breeders move to end Agatu crisis By Ame Comrade Godwin on March 29, 2016 @</p> <p>As part of moves to end the hostilities between Fulani herdsmen and Benue communities, the One Idoma Initiative has called on the federal government to set up a committee that will look into the immediate and remote causes of the crisis.</p>	
<p>NS12</p>	<p>http://thisweek.com.ng/group-recieves-knocks-over-establishment-of-grazing-reserves-in-benue/#more-11692 March 30, 2016 Group Recieves Knocks Over Establishment of Grazing Reserves in Benue</p> <p>A non – governmental organisation 1 Idoma Initiative has taken fire for proposing the establishment of grazing reserves in Benue as a solution to the attacks on crop farmers by cattle herdsmen.</p>	
<p>NS13</p>	<p>http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/benue/herdsmen-agatu-farmers-sign-peace-accord-to-end-crisis/141068.html Herdsmen, Agatu farmers sign peace accord to end crisis By Judd-Leonard Okafor, Apr 5 2016 2:15PM</p> <p>Sides to the crisis in Agatu, Benue state, which has seen clashes between Idoma resident farmers and Fulani nomadic herdsmen grazing cattle in the community have agreed to immediately cease all hostilities.</p>	
<p>NS14</p>	<p>www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/199447-agatu-massacre-nigeria-deploys-troops-ban-cattle-villages-cities.html Agatu Massacre: Nigeria deploys troops; to ban cattle from villages, cities March 3, 2016Premium Times</p> <p>The Nigerian government says it is preparing legislation to prohibit pastoralists from allowing their cattle to roam in villages and cities, following the massacre of hundreds in a farming community in Benue State by armed herdsmen.</p>	 <p>People protest killings in Agatu</p>

NS15	<p>https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/199488-agatu-people-triggered-crisis-killing-10000-cattle-fulani-community-leader.html</p> <p>Agatu people triggered crisis by killing 10,000 of our cattle-Fulani community leader March 3, 2016Premium Times</p> <p>The Fulani community in Benue State, accused of killing hundreds in Agatu in Benue State, said Thursday that the crisis started after 10,000 of cattle belonging to its members were killed by Agatu natives.</p>	 <p>People protest killings in Agatu</p>
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