

# Media Coverage of **ELECTORAL ISSUES** in the 2011 Elections in NIGERIA



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# Media Coverage of ELECTORAL ISSUES in the 2011 Elections in NIGERIA

## Institute for Media and Society

### Implementing Partners

- Media Rights Agenda •International Press Centre
- Election Reform Network •Nigeria Association of Women Journalists

## MEDIA CENTRES PROJECT– NIGERIA

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## Foreword

Nigeria continued the journey to consolidate democracy, when in April 2011, elections were conducted countrywide. That provided another opportunity for the media to demonstrate its position as a crucial national institution by providing quality coverage of the elections.

Seeing the need for strengthening the role of the media in the conduct of a credible election, the Democratic Governance for Development (DGD) project put in place a Media Centres Project. Among the components of the initiative was a Media Monitoring activity.

The Institute for Media and Society and its partners (MRA, IPC, NAWOJ & ERN) shared the vision. With the support of DGD, they deployed material and human resources in the six geo-political zones to carry out a comprehensive and professional monitoring of media coverage of the elections. The exercise involved collating and analysing contents of newspapers, radio and television in March, April and May 2011. This is one of two publications which articulate the result of the exercise.

We are a glad to have been entrusted with the responsibility to implement this important project. It is our hope that this publication will be useful to individuals and organizations who receive it and spawn an improved electoral process as well as the deepening of democracy in Nigeria.

***The Implementing Partners***

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## Executive Summary

Media Monitoring was a key component of the Media Centres Project which was implemented during the 2011 national elections in Nigeria. The other components were the Legal Hotlines, the Help Desk for Women Politicians and the Cyber Rooms.

This component was designed to focus on the scope and quality of coverage of two important elements: (a) electoral issues and institutions such as parties and candidates, INEC, Courts, urban/rural areas, etc. (b) female politicians and issues affecting them. This report is on the former, that is, electoral issues and institutions.

The monitoring activity involved the gathering, documentation and analysis of data from the contents of print and broadcast media (newspapers, radio and television) during March, April and May 2011. This was done in all the six geopolitical zones.

In newspapers, content formats monitored were news, feature articles, cartoons and editorials while that of radio and television focussed on news, commentaries, discussion programmes, interviews, features, documentaries, among other formats.

Important findings emerged from the monitoring exercise, key among which are:

- ❖ Female politicians were far behind their male counterparts in media coverage, across all the three media genres. For example, newspapers devoted to women politicians just 5.73 per cent of the total space used in publishing reports on male politicians.
- ❖ Rural areas were highly marginalized by all media forms in coverage. In radio, for instance, only about 11 per cent of broadcast content covered rural areas. The rest went to urban centres.
- ❖ Three 'big' political parties dominated media coverage. These were the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) and Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). Three other parties – the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP)

AND Labour Party (LP) followed with some fair coverage. The majority of parties received scant attention in the media.

The report made key recommendations, such as that:

- a) Media organizations (owners, editors and reporters) should re-strategise to ensure improved coverage of rural areas, women politicians and small political parties in future elections.
- b) Regulatory bodies such as the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) should strengthen and enforce their election-coverage instruments to ensure that media organizations deliver on equitable coverage of these marginalized sections of society.
- c) The government should strengthen the presence of the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) in all the 774 local government areas so that it can provide richer news content from the rural areas; it (government) should also review the NAN Act (1976) so that independent news agencies can emerge to service media organizations with more diverse content from rural areas.
- d) The electoral management body, INEC, should strengthen its information dissemination machinery by keeping its website regularly updated and using social media platforms.
- e) Development partners, media professional groups and civil society organizations should provide to journalists training programmes which focus on equitable coverage of rural areas, political parties and women politicians; prioritize media monitoring as a continuous activity; and conduct research into issues which emerge from monitoring exercises.
- f) Security agencies should monitor media reportage during elections and collaborate with CSOs engaged in media monitoring; to enable them (security) pin-point possible flashpoints of violence and prevent their outbreak.

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## Introduction

This report presents the outcome of the monitoring of the Nigeria media's reportage of electoral issues during the 2011 general elections. The monitoring exercise covered the radio, television and newspapers for the months of March, April and May 2011.

The monitoring was a major component of the Media Centers' Project supported by the UNDP, DGD programme. The component entailed:

- The monitoring of the scope and quality of coverage of electoral issues, processes, parties and candidates in the print and broadcast media with attention to elements of partisanship and fairness.
- The monitoring of electoral issues in relation to women representation during the pre and post election campaigns.

The monitoring exercise involved the collation and analysis of news items on electoral issues. Specifically it covered:

- The electoral processes
- Partisanship
- Balanced news coverage of parties and aspirants
- Electoral issues and women representation during election campaigns, on election days and post elections
- Events in communities, LGA/ State
- Report on potential conflicts that could erupt into violence under the cover of political activities and
- Scope and quality of coverage of female politicians.



In all instances, diverse news, feature articles, cartoons and editorial opinions on identified relevant news items that were published/broadcast in the period under consideration were to be collated and analysed; the findings were also expected to be widely publicised and disseminated as appropriate.

The implementation team led by the Institute for Media and Society (IMESO) and other partners including Media Rights Agenda (MRA), International Press Centre (IPC), Nigerian Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ) and Electoral Reform Network (ERN), deployed suitable capacities to ensure that the objectives of the monitoring project were achieved. Despite this, there were unforeseen challenges. For example, the broadcast media could not be monitored for the entire duration of the project; they were only monitored in April and May leaving out March. But on a positive note, the selected newspapers were monitored in all the three months. In all the exercise covered the private, state and federal print and broadcast media.

## Methodology

The monitoring exercise went through the following phases:

- Selection of the print and broadcast media to be monitored
- Development of codes
- Gathering of data
- Documentation or recording of data
- Processing and analysis of data
- Presentation of findings and recommendations

In general only media contents considered relevant to the 2011 elections were recorded and analysed. Those that were considered not necessary for the monitoring exercise were not

monitored.

The electoral issues that were monitored were presented in different formats including news, commentaries, discussion programmes, interviews, features, documentaries, cartoons, opinions, pictures, editorials and analyses. Advertisements of whatever sort were not monitored.

Relevant codes were developed to make for easy collection, processing and analysis of data. A capacity building programme was subsequently organised for the recruited monitoring officers to ensure their familiarity with the codes and how to properly document them.

In the course of the monitoring exercise, certain important elements in media reportage were examined in order to arrive at the findings presented in this report.

Among these elements were prominence, subject, format, objectivity, gender objectivity, political parties, area, situation report and sources.

The space devoted to identified relevant items was considered and measured for the print media, whereas for radio and television it was the duration that was tracked and reported in addition to the use of actualities and sound-bites.

Prominence had to do with the placement of the identified relevant items by both the electronic and print media. In the newspapers, the exercise looked at whether an identified relevant news item was published on the front page, the back page, an inside page, the editorial page or on the political page. For the electronic media this report looked at whether relevant

items were read as part of the summary of the main news and then in the detailed news report or only in the detailed news reports. News stories published on the front pages are strategic for a number of reasons: it means the editors consider them more important than other news stories because front-page news items get more attention and glances from readers than those inside and invariably more people are aware of the incidents reported. The same holds for the main news item in the broadcast media: the main news is the only one read at hourly intervals as news summary.

The subject looked at whom or what was the subject of the relevant items monitored. The four main subjects that the report considered are 'Female Politicians', 'Male Politicians', 'the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC)', and 'Party' (party here is used when any of the political parties or a combination of them are the subject of an identified relevant item. Outside of these four subjects, any other subject was considered under the omnibus 'Others' subject.

The format looked at the news format in which the identified items were either published or aired. The eight formats considered were news, features, cartoon, opinion, interview, commentary, editorial, and picture.

The monitoring also looked at the objectivity of identified relevant items. In relation to this, the Monitors were to determine whether a news item is balanced or not balanced. The monitors were also in a position to determine if the item did not need objectivity and make the recordings appropriately. Usually, objectivity was needed where the reports were on controversial matters or situations. In such cases reporters were to report all sides of a matter and if possible seek the views of neutral persons,

professionals or specialists etc as the case may be.

For this project, the scope and quality of coverage given to female politicians in both the print and the electronic media were specifically recorded and analyzed. In order to be able to analyze and report on this issue, 'gender objectivity' was added to the elements that were monitored in the identified relevant items. In this regard, three items of 'gender objectivity' were used namely; 'Favourable to Female', not 'Favourable to Female' and 'Not Necessary'.

In addition, the space given to published relevant items favourable to female politicians by the various newspapers as well as the duration of aired items considered favourable to female politicians were specifically recorded and analyzed. Together with the prominence given to female politicians, the number of relevant items which were sourced from female politicians as well as the number of relevant news items that were favourable to female politicians; it would be possible to have a general view of the quality and amount of coverage given to female politicians compared with their male counterparts.

The monitoring exercise also sought to establish the political party that got the most mention in the media whether or not such mentioning was positive or negative. Thus if Party A accused Party B of any offence, it would be recorded that both Party A and Party B were mentioned. To determine the number of mentions, the exercise counted the relevant items in which a party was mentioned and not the number of times it was mentioned, since one political party can be mentioned as many as four or five times in one news item. In such a case, it was recorded as one.

One of the objectives of the monitoring was to identify and track events in the communities, the local government areas as well as the State and report on potential conflicts that could erupt into violence under the cover of political activities. In order to meet the objective, the monitors also looked out for reports that were generated from or focused on rural areas as against urban areas.

The project was also interested in situation reports of relevant items and so the report also took into consideration 'Situation report' and analysed it to

determine if the situation was one of 'Potential Conflict', 'Normal Situation' or 'Conflict' situation.

Another important reporting issue that the monitoring analysed was the 'Sources' of information for the identified relevant items. For this, ten sources were listed out of which nine were categorical and one omnibus, i.e. 'Others'. The nine categorical sources that were listed are female politicians, civil society, government officials, male politicians, the court, socio-cultural groups, ethnic militias, political party, and INEC.

The space used or devoted by newspaper to publish identified relevant items was measured and recorded in square inches (in<sup>2</sup>) while the duration by radio and television stations were timed and recorded in seconds (secs).

The use of sound clips to accompany news items (sound-bite) was also monitored in both radio and television stations while the use of video clips (actuality) in television news programmes was also monitored. These served to give more credibility to the news report than those without them.

In order to be able to calculate the amount of publicity given to female politicians, the total space given by newspapers and the amount of time used by the broadcast stations (radio and television) for reports on female politicians were calculated and the final figures compared with that of male politicians to arrive at a conclusion.

The number of times news items on female politicians were used on the front page were also calculated and compared with that of male politicians. The same was done for the number of times relevant items on both male and female politicians were used on the back page. The front page of newspapers carry the stories that are considered most important for the day and these stories receive the most prominence followed by items on the back page and then those in the inside pages.

Reports datelined in urban and rural areas were also taken into consideration and the number of relevant items generated from rural and urban areas were analysed. Additionally, the amount of space and time allocated to these relevant items were also collated and compared to give a graphic picture of what obtained in the coverage of rural and urban areas.

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## Findings of Monitoring of Newspapers

Twenty newspapers were monitored in this segment of the media centers project to determine the scope and quality of the coverage of electoral issues - electoral processes, partisanship, balanced news coverage of parties and aspirants, conflict issues - in both the print and the electronic media. The newspapers were:

1. Announcer Express
2. Nigeria NewsPoint
3. Daily Champion
4. Frontline Express
5. Nigerian Horn
6. People's Daily
7. NEXT
8. Leadership
9. Daily Trust
10. ThisDay
11. Vanguard
12. Daily Sun
13. Daily Independent
14. The Tide
15. The Nation
16. Nigerian Tribune
17. The Punch
18. The Guardian
19. New Nigerian
20. The Moment

The electoral issues published in the above stated newspapers as News, Features, Opinions, Pictures, Commentaries, Interview, Editorials and Cartoons were collated and analyzed but advertorials of whatever sort were not monitored.

In March however, only 13 newspapers were monitored while for April and May, all the 20 newspapers were monitored. The seven newspapers that were not monitored in March were:

1. People's Daily
2. Next
3. ThisDay
4. Daily Sun
5. The Tide
6. The Nation
7. Nigerian Tribune

1. Prominence (pages of placement) of identified published items

Of the total 5,488 identified published items on electoral issues in March 2011 by the 13 monitored newspapers, 3,913 items or 71.3% were published in the inside pages, while 521 of the identified relevant items or 9.4% were published on the front page. In the next prominent page - the back page - only 3.02% of the identified relevant items were published. For the political pages, which were categorized as the third most prominent page, a total of 791 relevant items were published in March accounting for 14.41% of the total identified relevant items published by the monitored newspapers. A total of 79 relevant items (1.78%) were published as editorials.

In the election month of April, 20 newspapers were monitored with the expectation that the reportage of electoral issues would peak during the period. This turned out to be the case as the total number of 14,103 electoral issues identified as published in the monitored newspapers during the month tripled the number published in the preceding month of March.

But as it happened in March, a large number of relevant items published in April and numbering 10,749 were in the inside pages. This represents 76.22% of the total identified electoral issues published, collated and analysed.

The identified relevant reports published in the Political Pages, totaling 1,503 (10.65%) were the second highest number of stories monitored next only to those published in the inside pages.

1,219 identified reports were published on the front page representing 8.64% of the total published relevant items. On the back pages, 349 relevant items were published, representing 2.47%. Editorials and informed opinions monitored on the OP-ED page were 283 constituting just 2% of the total relevant items identified in April.

By May 2011, majority of the elections had been held and winners declared leaving out few areas where the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) ordered rerun or mop-up elections. As a consequence the 7,903 items identified as published electoral issues in the 20 monitored newspapers was less than the total for April.

Most of the reports also receded to the inside pages which accounted for 5,677 or 71.83% of the relevant items that were monitored.

The front pages had 697 (9%) and the back pages, 222 (3%) of the relevant items for the month.

Next to the inside pages, the political pages had the highest number of stories. The 1,116 stories represent 14.12% of the total relevant reports monitored in the newspapers. There were 191 relevant items published on the editorial pages which accounted for 2.41% of the whole.

In looking at the prominence given by the newspapers to the relevant items in the three months in question, the average was 9% meaning that electoral issues were considered very important and given the best of prominence on the front page. It should however be noted that it is not possible to publish too many news reports on the front-page due to space limitation. Indeed when it is considered that the front page of a typical Nigerian newspaper is usually less than 10% of the whole pages and in fact, very often even less than 5% of the total pagination, then the average 9% total relevant items on the front pages meant that the newspapers gave very good prominence to electoral issues during the months covered by the monitoring.

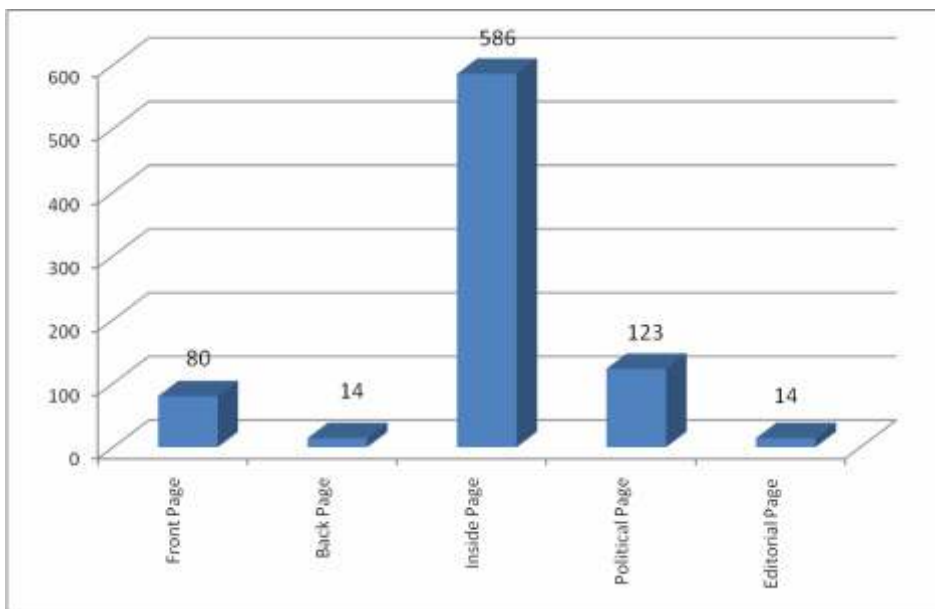
In contrast with the front pages however, the identified relevant items published on the back pages - the second most prominent pages - were



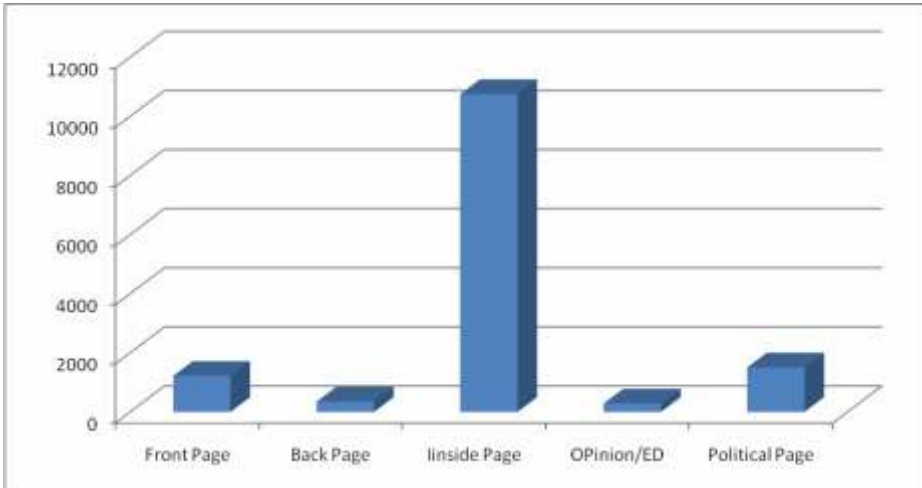
however minimal; just 2.81% of the total. More stories might have been published on the front pages of the newspapers because they are usually displayed for readers. The inside pages carried the bulk of the published relevant items with as much as 73.11% of the total and the editorial pages the least with 2.06%.

In recognition of the importance the newspapers attached to the election during the period, most of the newspapers devoted special pages to electoral issues tagged as 'political page', 'Election 2011', 'decision 2011' etc The political pages averaged 13.06% for the three months in review.

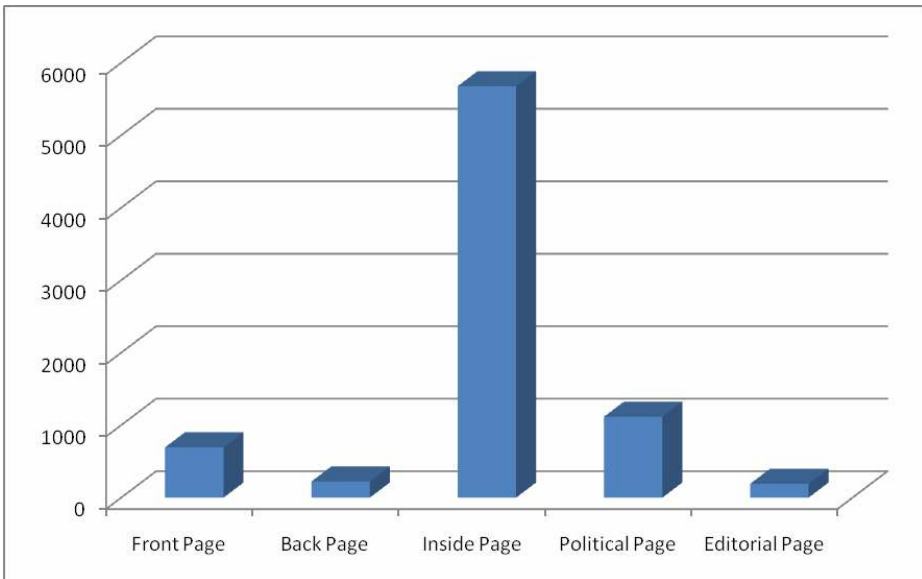
*The chart below shows the level of prominence i.e. the placement of identified relevant items published in the newspapers monitored in March 2011*



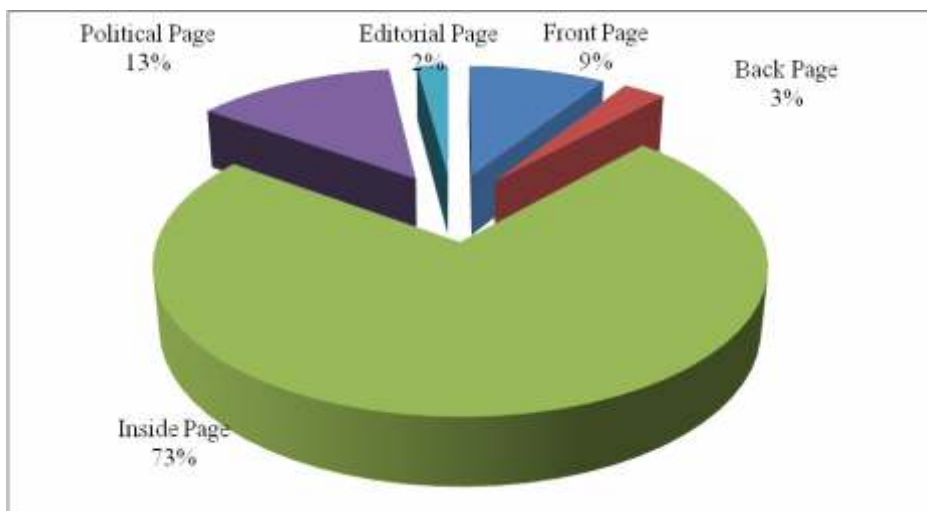
*The chart below shows the level of prominence i.e. the placement of identified relevant items published in the newspapers monitored in April 2011*



*The chart below shows the level of prominence i.e. the placement of identified relevant items published in the newspapers monitored in May 2011*



The chart below shows the average percentage of prominence i.e. the pages of publication of identified relevant items in the newspapers monitored during the three months combined



### 1. Format of publication of identified relevant Items

The format of publication of identified relevant items was also important as readers attached different levels of importance to each. The news format is usually the most important because of the currency and relevance of items published as news. For the monitoring exercise, the monitors were trained to identify eight newspaper publication formats that were used to publish identified electoral reports. namely: News Reports, Features, Opinions, Pictures, Commentaries, Interviews, Editorials and Cartoons. Pictures that were published as stand-alone news, and not as accompaniment to news stories, were considered as relevant items and collated and monitored. But where they accompanied written stories, they were not considered or collated in the picture category but analysed as part of the news report, feature, or interview etc.

The monitoring in March showed that over half of the total relevant reports monitored were published as news reports. The 3,615 items that came out as news reports represent 65.87% of the total relevant items identified, collated and analysed.

Features were also copiously used with a total of 642 articles or 11.69%

identified in the category. This was followed by 399 pictures accounting for 7.27% and 366 opinion articles representing 6.66% of the total reports.

237 interviews were found relevant to the exercise and this amount to 4.31% of the total. There were also 119 commentaries accounting for 2.16%; 58 cartoons (1.05%) and 52 editorials (0.94%) of the total relevant reports.

In April when the elections were held, a total of 14,103 relevant items to the monitoring exercise were published in different formats. 9,907 of the items were published as News Reports representing 70.24% of the total reports.

The 1,119 features articles identified during the month accounted for 7.93% while the 876 items identified as opinion represented 6.21% of the total relevant items identified as published. The newspapers also made generous use of pictures, with 1,047 relevant items (7.42%) published in this format.

Total number of interviews was 497 accounting for 3.52% while commentaries totaled 332 (2.35%) of the total relevant items during the month. Relevant items that came out as cartoons were 129 representing (0.91%) while there were 136 editorials representing 0.96 of the total relevant items analysed in April.

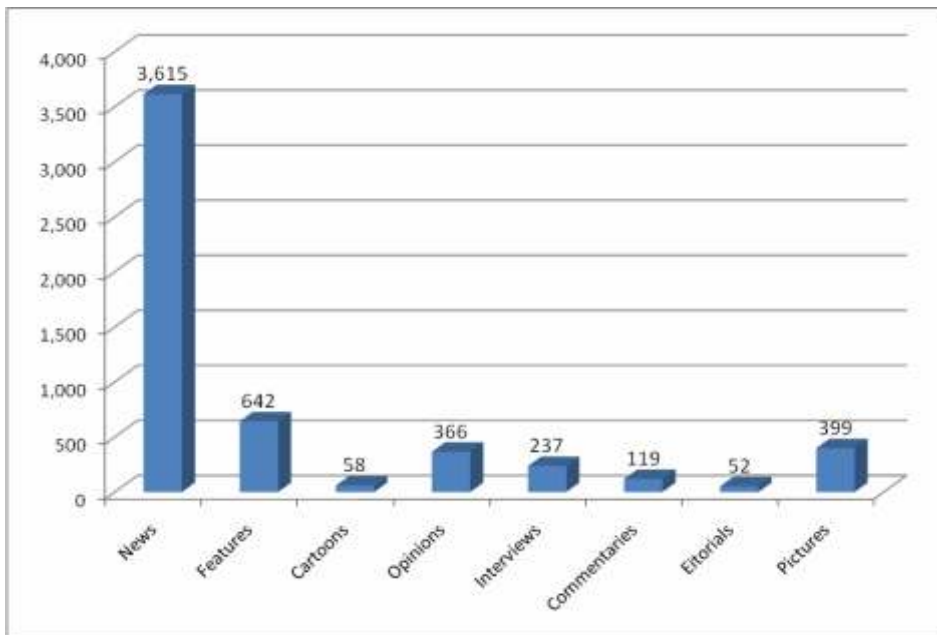
In May, there were 7,703 relevant items identified and analysed with more than 60% published as news reports. Of these, 5,060 reports were published as hard news thus constituting 64.93% of all total relevant items monitored.

Features were 792 (10.02%) and opinion articles 533 (6.74%) of all the relevant items monitored. Stand alone pictures that told a story on their own without accompanying either news, features etc were also generously used. There were 564 pictures accounting for 7.14% of total relevant items identified and monitored.

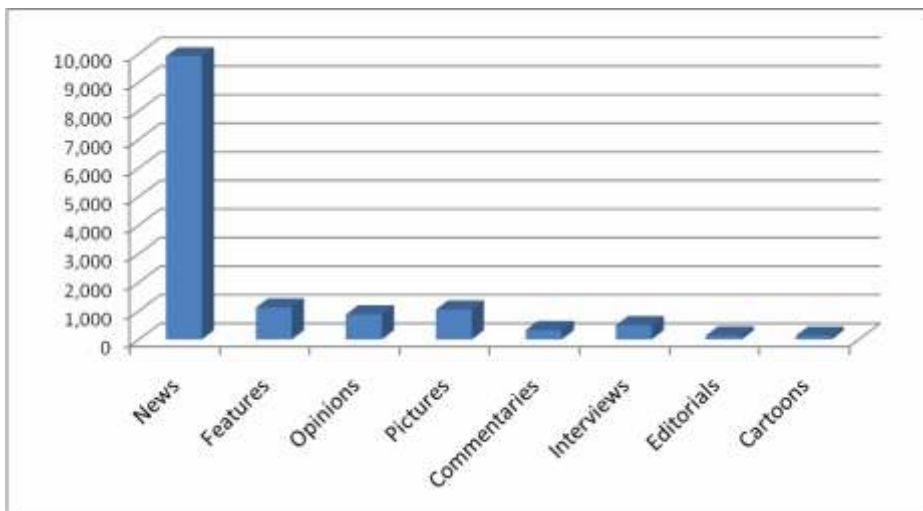
Informed opinion i.e. commentaries and analyses were 335 (4.24%); interviews 395 (5%); editorials 125 (1.62%) and cartoons 99 or 1.28% of the total relevant items.

For all the three months, 67.01% of the total relevant items published were news report or hard news; 9.88% were feature articles; 6.53% were

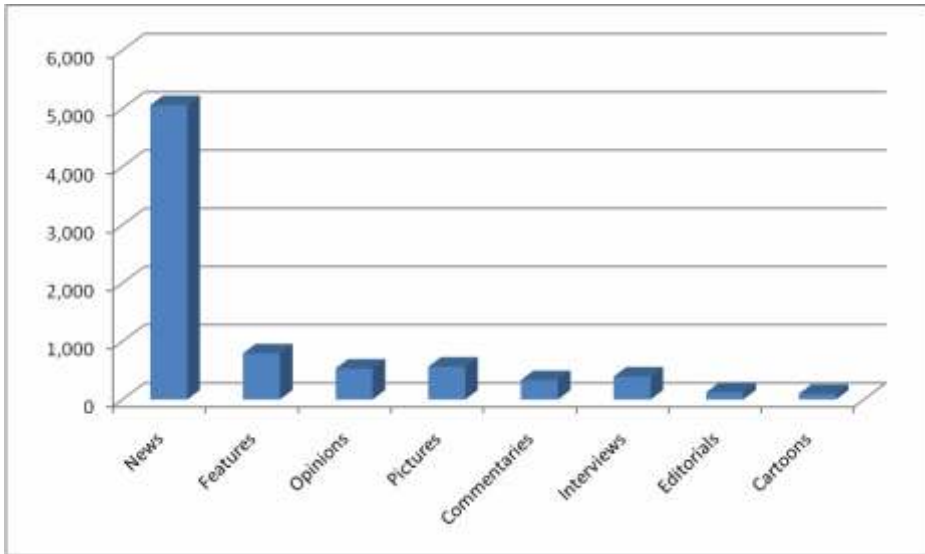
*The graph below shows the frequency of use of the different news formats to identified relevant items published in March 2011*



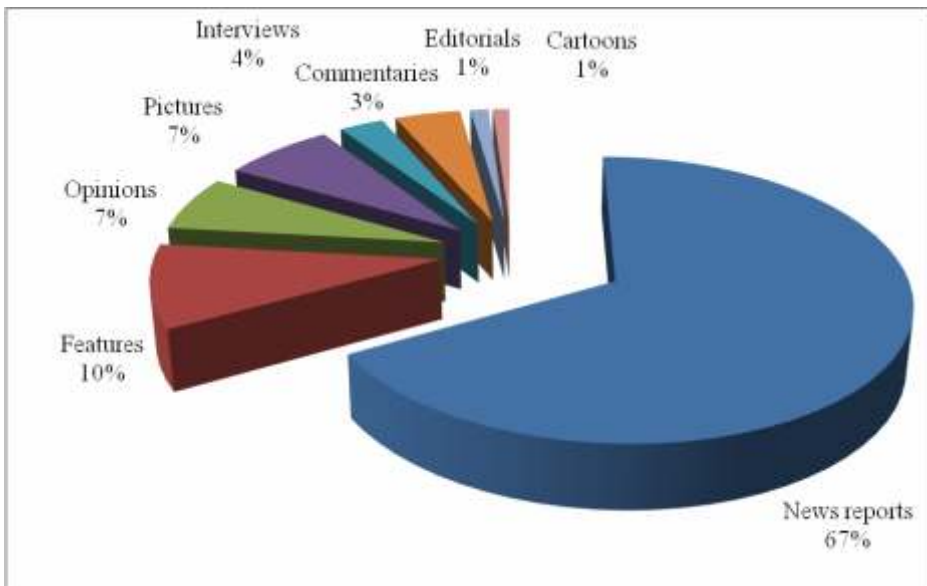
*The graph below shows the frequency of use of the different news formats to identified relevant items published in April 2011*



The graph below shows the frequency of use of the different news formats to identified relevant items published in May 2011



The graph below shows the percentage of the use of the different news formats to publish identified relevant items during the three months of monitoring



## 1. Subjects of identified relevant items

The subject of electoral issues reported by the newspapers and the amount of their reportage also shed some light on the media coverage of electoral issues generally. For this exercise, the monitoring focused on five stakeholders which were categorized as subjects of published items considered relevant to the monitoring.

Four specific and one omnibus subjects were monitored for their relevance to the identified relevant published items during the exercise: these were male politicians, female politicians, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), political parties, and the unspecified 'Others' for items that did not fall into any of the four specific subject categories.

The collated data revealed that the number of female politicians and candidates identified as subject of published items related to the April 2011 general elections during the three-month monitoring was consistently the lowest among the monitored stakeholders. The omnibus subject 'Others' was also either used the most times as subject or came second after one of the specific stakeholders, but that can be explained

In March, male politicians were the stakeholders used the highest number of times as subjects in relevant items. A whopping 2,372 published reports had male politicians and candidates as subjects out of a total 5,488 relevant items identified during the month. In all, the number of relevant published relevant items with men as subjects came to 43.22% of the total relevant items collated and analysed in March.

The omnibus 'Others' subjects were featured the second highest number of times. Here the 1,591 relevant reports represent approximately 29% of the total relevant items monitored.

The published relevant reports which had political parties - one of the important relevant stakeholders in the elections - as subject were reported the third highest number of times with a total of 934 constituting 17.01% of the total. The electoral umpire, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), was the subject of 412 relevant reports or 7.50% of the total relevant items monitored.

However, female politicians were the stakeholders who were subjects of the least number of relevant items. They were subject of 179 relevant items which translated to just 3.26% of the total relevant items.

In April, the different personalities and stakeholders who could not be grouped among the four specific stakeholders referred to as 'Others', were used the highest number of times - 5,819 - representing 41.26% of the total relevant stories collated and analysed. It was followed by the specific stakeholders 'male politicians' who were subjects of 4,217 relevant items or 29.90% of all the relevant items identified in April.

The stakeholder reported the third highest number of times was the electoral umpire, INEC which was the subject of 2,001 published relevant items or 14.18% of the total for the month.

The political parties, another of the four specific stakeholders that were monitored, also enjoyed wider coverage by the newspapers than female politicians. Political Parties were the subject of a total of 1,793 of the reports on the electoral process, constituting 12.71% of all the relevant items that were monitored in April.

Female Politicians were the subjects of 273 (the least number) identified electoral reports accounting for just 1.93% of the total relevant stories collated and analysed in April.

In May, the general unspecified 'Others' stakeholder was subject of 3,131 relevant stories and accounted for 39.61% of the total relevant items.

As subject of the identified relevant items, male politicians were used the most out of the four (4) specific stakeholders monitored and came second to the unspecified 'Others' stakeholder. Male politicians were used as the subject of a total of 2,567 relevant stories, thus accounting for 32.48% of all the total electoral news items identified as published in May 2011.

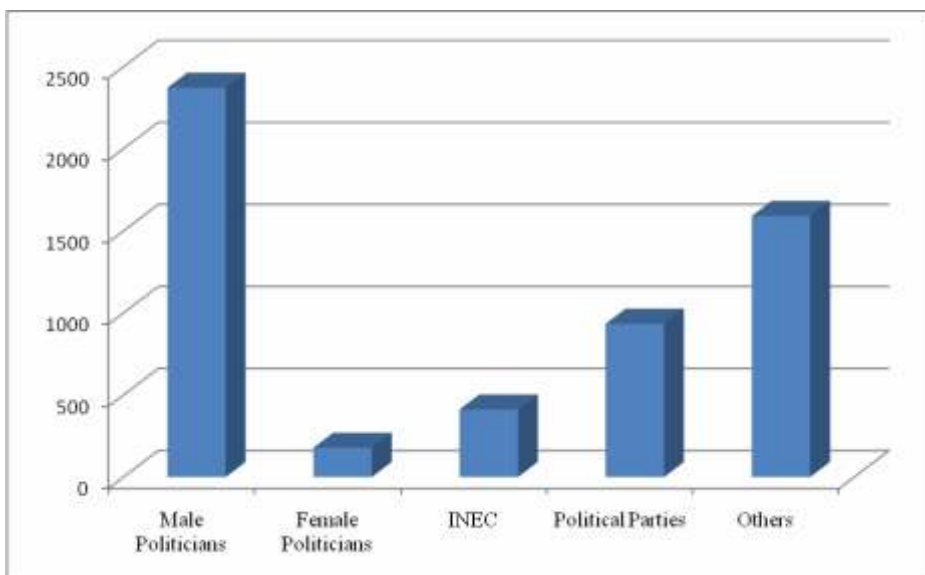
Political parties featured as the subject in the third highest number of relevant items with the stories coming up to 1,190 (15.05%) of the total relevant stories monitored.



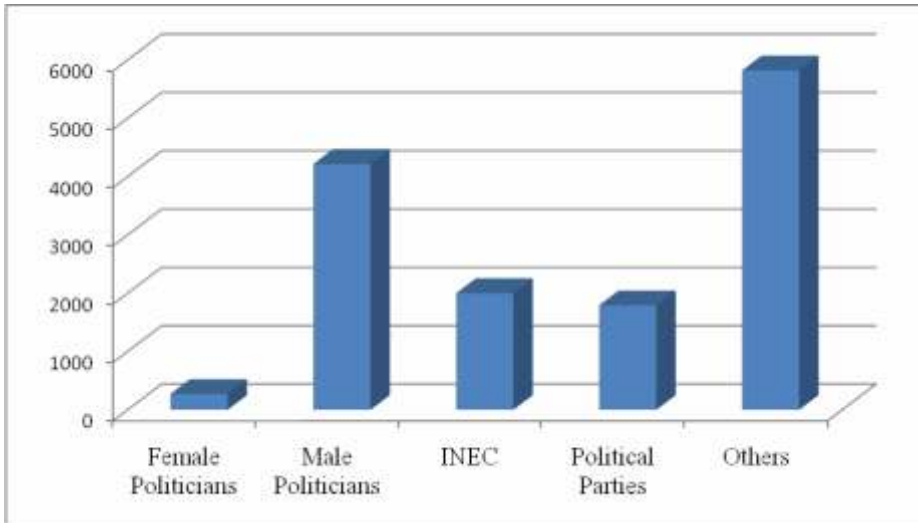
The nation's election umpire, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was the subject of 684 election stories or 8.65% of the total relevant reports in the month.

For the third month running, female politicians were unfairly represented: they were subjects of just 130 identified relevant news items or 1.64% of the total relevant reports monitored and 5.06% of total number of relevant items for which male politicians were subjects.

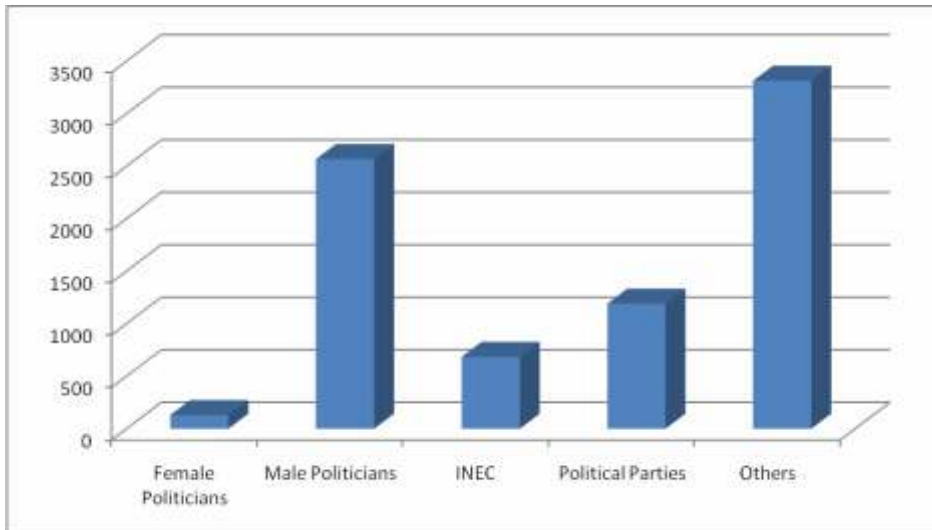
*The graph below shows the frequency of reportage of subjects in electoral news items monitored in March 2011*



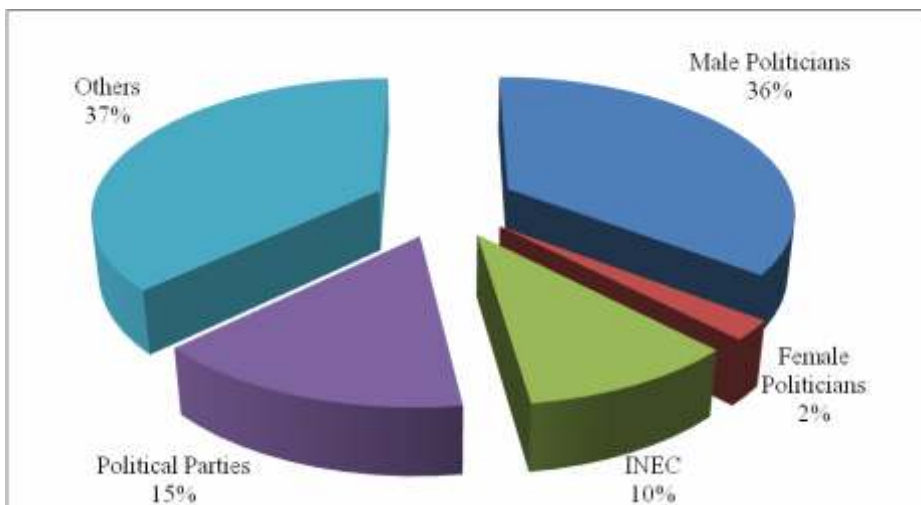
*The graph below shows the frequency of reportage of subjects in electoral news items monitored in April 2011*



*The graph below shows the frequency of reportage of subjects in electoral news items monitored in May 2011*



The graph below shows the percentage of reportage of monitored stakeholders as subjects in electoral news items published by the newspapers in the three months of the project



## 1. Sources of identified published items

Nine specific sources of published reports were sought and monitored during the exercise. These were female politicians, male politicians, the courts, political parties, government officials, socio-cultural groups, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), ethnic militias and civil society. All other sources that did not fall into any of these groups were classified into one group tagged 'Others'.

In March, the stakeholders which were used the highest number of times were male politicians who were sources of 1,387 relevant reports, though non-specific sources or 'Others' formed more than half of all the sources, with 2,318 items.

Civil society groups were the sources of 260 relevant items; Government officials, 260; socio-cultural groups, 145; political parties, 530; INEC and its officials, 318 and the court, 177 news reports - a greater number of relevant stories than female politicians.

Apart from ethnic militia which was the source of seven published news reports, female politicians who were sources of 89 election issues news

reports came second to the last on the table.

In April, female politicians were used or contacted the least number of times as sources of newspapers' reports. They were sources of only 174 published electoral issues whereas others like socio-cultural groups were sources of 559 stories; the civil society, 610 and the court, 221 of relevant reports.

Male politicians were the electoral stakeholders used as sources for newspapers' reports the second highest number of times as they featured in 3,195 relevant items, next to the unspecified 'Others' source, that is, stakeholders who did not fall into any of the specified stakeholders.

Political parties were sources of 1,361 reports; INEC, 1,111; Government officials, 1,669 and Ethnic Militias, 19.

In May, the non-specific source 'Others' were used the most as sources of identified relevant items.

Male politicians were the sources of the second highest number of published electoral issues identified and analysed. The total report of 1,969 in which male politicians were used as sources represent approximately a quarter (24.91%) of the total relevant items monitored.

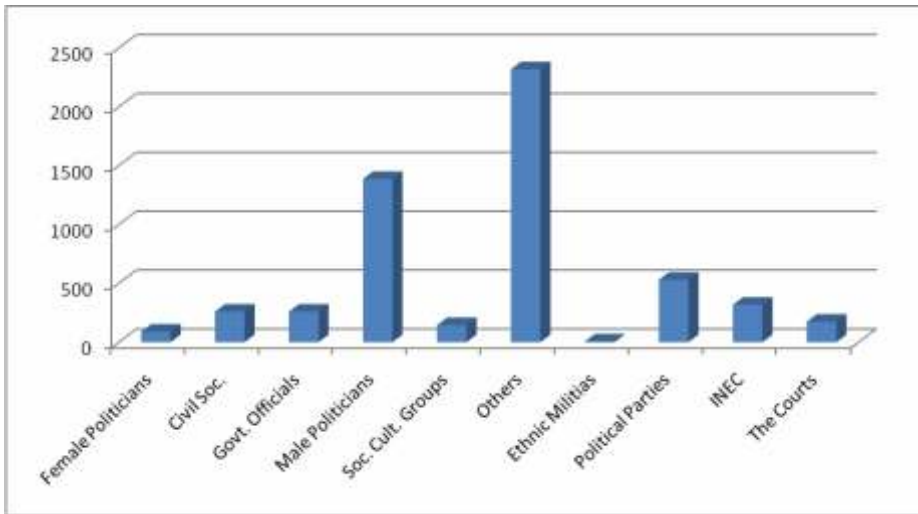
In sharp contrast, female politicians were marginalized in terms of the number of relevant items in which they were used as subject. Female politicians were sources of just 65 relevant stories or a paltry 0.82% of the total relevant election issues identified as published. This was a negligible 3.3% of the total stories in which male politicians were used as sources.

Politician Parties were also the source of more reports than female politicians accounting for 11.35% of the relevant items monitored.

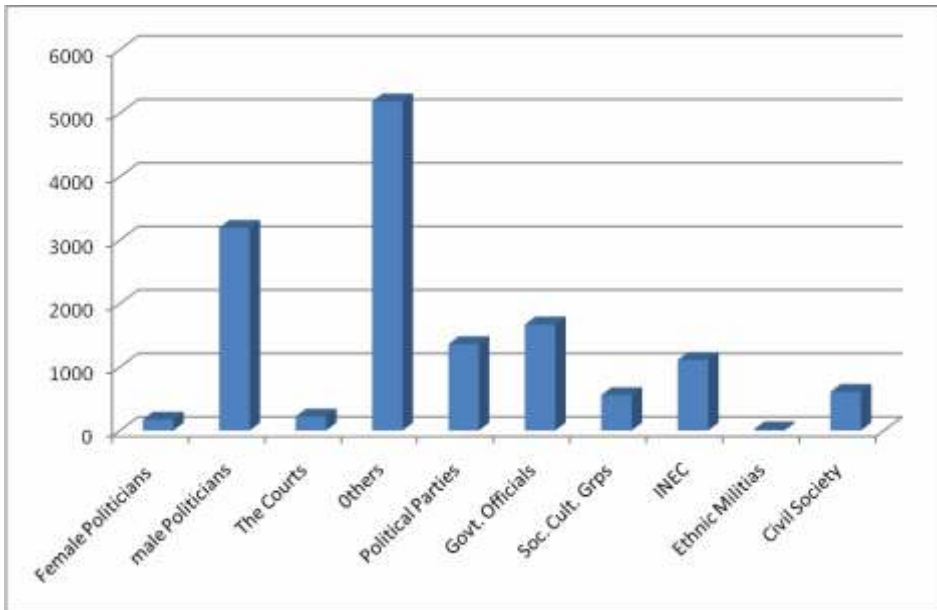
The political parties were more visible than INEC which was the source of 518 relevant issues. Socio-cultural groups were sources of 196 relevant reports while civil society was the source of 328 stories.

Government officials were the sources of 407 relevant reports while ethnic militias were sources of just seven (7) relevant items. Thus it could be deduced that civil society groups were more vocal on the election issues than

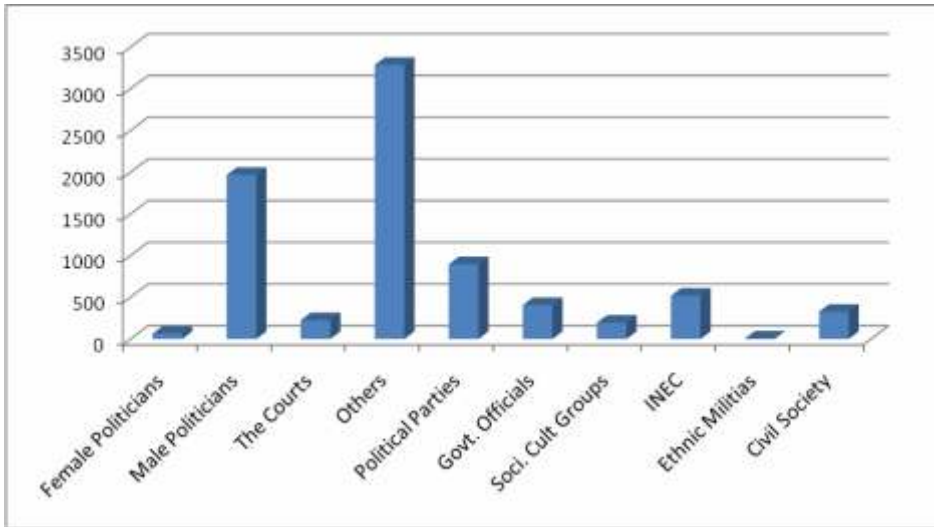
The chart below shows the frequency of use of different stakeholders as the source of relevant items monitored in March 2011



The chart below shows the frequency of use of different stakeholders as the source of relevant items monitored in April 2011



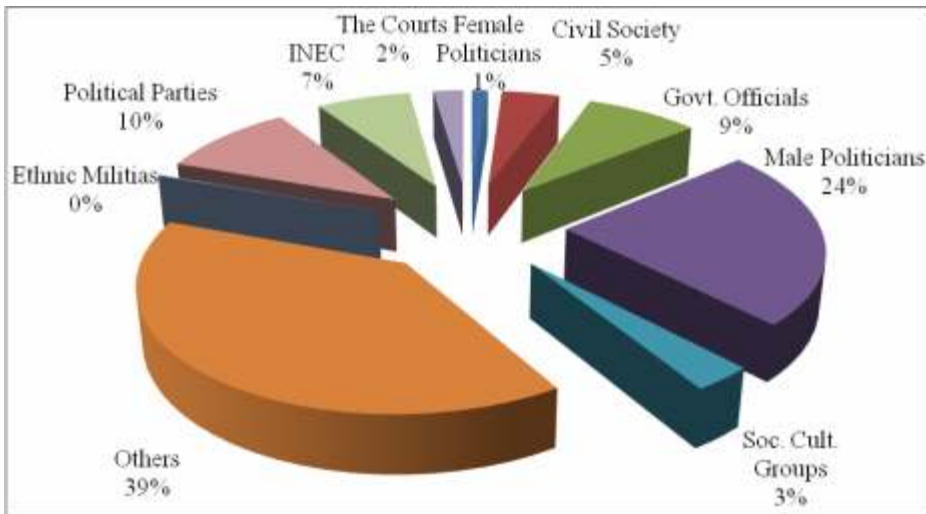
The chart below shows the frequency of use of different stakeholders as the source of relevant items monitored in May 2011



The monitoring during the three months showed that male politicians as sources of relevant reports were above the 1,000 mark for each of the three months as follows: March – 1,387; April – 3,195; and May – 1,969 whereas female politicians as sources of relevant reports were more than 100 and below 200 only in April. In March and May, they were sources of less than 100 reports. The electoral umpire, INEC was source of 1,111 reports in April and above 300 for March and May. The political parties also did better than INEC and much more than female politicians. Female politicians were sources of the least number of reports after ethnic militias.

The percentages of use of the stakeholders as sources of relevant published reports were: Female Politicians – 1.19%; Civil Society – 4.35%; Government Officials – 8.49%; Male Politicians – 23.82%; Socio-Cultural Groups – 3.27%; Others – 39.24%; Ethnic Militias – 0.12%; Political Parties – 10.14%; INEC –

The chart below shows the percentages of use of the different stakeholders as sources of relevant published reports for the three months



### 1. Gender prominence of relevant items

In the gender prominence aspect of the monitoring, the exercise analysed the publication of relevant reports on male and female politicians either on the front page, which is the most prominent page or on the back page, which is the next most prominent. Collated data showed that as in all aspects of the monitoring, the amount of reportage and publicity given to female politicians fell far below that of male politicians.

During the period under examination, the newspapers did not devote as much as 100 pages to report female politicians for any single month while they used over 800 pages per month to publish reports on male politicians. Indeed what the available data showed is that the total space devoted to reports on female politicians for the three months covered by the monitoring exercise did not amount to half of the space used to publish reports on male politicians in any one of the three months.

In March, the monitored newspapers devoted 816.31 pages to publish relevant reports on male politicians while they devoted 57.12 pages to female politicians. In April, they devoted 1,475.43 pages to male politicians and 72.87 pages to female politicians. In May they gave 858.28 pages to male politicians and 50.78 pages to female politicians.

For the three months combined, the newspapers devoted just 5.73% of the total space used in publishing reports on male politicians to female politicians. This figure shows that the Nigerian political scene is fully dominated by the men who apparently gave the women what they wished. The media did not help matters with the non-equitable manner they allocated space to male and female politicians.

To make matters worse, the number of relevant news stories on male politicians published in the two most important pages of a newspaper far exceeded those of female politicians. In fact, the total number of news stories on female politicians published on both the front and back pages was just 58 for the three months while the least on male politicians published in one month was the 91 relevant items published on the back pages of newspapers in April. In other words, female politicians did not get as good as even 50% of prominence and publicity in the three months compared with what the male

*The table below shows the pages allocated to publish reports on male politicians and those on female politicians*

	No. of pages of reports in March	No. of pages of reports in April	No. of pages reports in May	Total pages
Male Politicians	816.31	1,475.43	858.28	3,150.02
Female Politicians	57.12	72.87	50.78	180.77

*The table below shows the prominence given to male and female politicians on the front and back pages*

	March	April	May	Total
Male Politicians on front page	253	416	265	934
Male Politicians on back page	96	91	97	284
Female Politicians on front page	11	15	7	33
Female Politicians on back page	14	8	3	25



### 1. Dateline of relevant reports

Dateline refers to where relevant published items were sourced or where they covered. The only two datelines used were Urban and Rural areas. The cities and big towns were categorized into urban areas while the smaller towns, villages, hamlets and settlements constituted the rural areas.

Collated data showed that reports covering rural areas were just 10% of those covering urban areas. In other words, for every one report emanating from or covering a rural area, there were ten others coming from or covering urban areas. It simply means the rural areas were seriously neglected by the newspapers in their coverage of electoral issues.

Relevant reports sourced from or covering rural areas hovered between 500 and 1,000 in each of the three months while for the month of March when reports on urban areas were the least, there were 4,385 reports. The total reports generated from or covering rural areas for the three months were 2,313; a number much lower than the lowest number of reports generated from urban areas which was 4,385 for March. For the three months, a total of 22,500 reports were generated from or covered urban areas.

	March	April	May	Total
Reports on Urban Areas	4,385	12,022	6,093	22,500
Reports on Rural Areas	700	1,110	503	2,313

### 1. Reports of conflicts and possible conflicts

Part of the traditional functions of the media is to report conflicts sensitively while also providing warning alerts where there are fears that they might occur. Elections in Africa in general and in countries like in Nigeria in particular always tend to be characterized by conflicts including rigging and carnage. The media in an election is therefore expected to report actual incidents of violence and crises as well as potential conflicts. Such reports if properly analyzed can help the law enforcement and security agencies to take pre-emptive measures to stem anticipated violence.

During the three-month period of the monitoring, the newspapers reported

copiously, situations of violence and potential violence. The number of reports on violence and potential violence were quite high and should ordinarily put a Nation's police in a state of preparedness but that did not happen. There was post-election violence in certain parts of Northern Nigeria that led to the loss of hundreds of lives and the destruction of property worth billions of Naira.

Unfortunately, neither the law enforcement nor the security agencies could nip the violence in the bud despite the media reports.

In the period under review, the newspapers published a total of 2,340 stories on conflicts and 4,113 on possible conflict situations. In both instances the highest numbers of reports were in April when the elections were held. The 1,282 reports on conflicts and 1,911 on possible conflicts indicated the not

*The table below shows the frequency of reportage of situations of conflicts and potential conflict during the monitoring*

	March	April	May	Total
Reports on situations of conflict	504	1,282	554	2,340
Reports on situations of possible conflict	1,121	1,911	1,081	4,113

#### 1. Reportage of political parties

Three 'major' parties namely, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) and the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) had more favourable media attention than all the other political parties.

Coming after them are All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), the All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) and the Labour Party (LP). The remaining parties were given slight media coverage in each of the three months. The big three received media mention in excess of 500 per month while the next three received media mention of between 100 and 800 per month. The rest political parties outside of these six did not get as much as 100 mentions in any one month.

*The table below shows the amount of reportage given the six most reported parties*

Ser. No.	Pol. Party	March	April	May	Total
1.	PDP	2,213	4,322	2,394	8,929
2.	ACN	1,334	2,736	1,243	5,313
3.	CPC	518	1,992	714	3,224
4.	APGA	449	566	629	1,644
5.	LP	143	381	104	628
6.	ANPP	336	718	235	1,289

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## Findings of Monitoring of Radio Stations

### THE RADIO STATIONS

The radio monitoring segment of the project covered 14 stations but only for two of the three months under consideration as there was no monitoring in March due to logistic reasons. Also, only 12 of the stations were monitored in April leaving May as the only month when all the 14 stations were monitored.

The stations monitored were:

1. Eko FM
2. Metro FM
3. Hot FM (Owerri)
4. Heartland FM
5. Treasure FM
6. Radio Rivers
7. Rhythm FM
8. Orient FM
9. Aso FM
10. Capital FM
11. Vision FM
12. Alheri
13. KSMC
14. FRCN, Kaduna

In April, a total of 1,645 items were found relevant to the monitoring while 896 items were found relevant in May. For the two months, a total of 2,541 items were identified as relevant in the programmes monitored. It should be noted that for about two weeks, some stations could not be monitored in the northern cities of Kaduna and Gombe as a result of the violence that followed the declaration of Goodluck Jonathan of the Peoples' Democratic Party

(PDP) as the winner of the presidential election. This development certainly affected the volume of the reports.

### 1. Prominence of relevant items

Broadcast stations have the tradition of first reading the news highlights and then the whole news during which the items already highlighted are again read as part of the major news bulletins. In addition, in their hourly news summaries, the highlighted news items usually form the only items that are read.

In April, 631 or 38.35% of the total 1,645 identified relevant broadcasts received very good prominence; they were read in the highlights of the major news bulletins and then in the main news. It means broadcasts on the 2011 general elections were considered very important to have received such prominence. The rest 1,014 were aired only in the main news bulletins.

In May, the monitoring of the broadcast of electoral issues on radio showed that 364 aired items, about 40% of the total 896 identified relevant items, were highlighted in the major news bulletins while the remaining reports (534) were not given such prominence.

For the two months combined, a total of 994 relevant items or 39.15% of the total 2,541 were highlighted. That such a percentage of the news reports were highlighted shows the premium placed on coverage of electoral issues during the period. It is also instructive to note that news bulletins are usually segmented into such sections as politics, business/economy, entertainment, sports etc. Against this background, giving as much as 39.15% to coverage of electoral issues is commendable.

### 2. Broadcast Formats

Eight broadcast formats were monitored and analysed for the broadcast of relevant items on the radio. These are news reports, commentaries, discussions, interviews, documentaries, analyses, opinions and editorials.

In April, all the radio stations used more of the news report format to air relevant items than any other broadcast format. The 12 radio stations monitored in the month aired 1,368 relevant items as news reports. This

figure comes to 83.16% of the total relevant stories identified during the month.

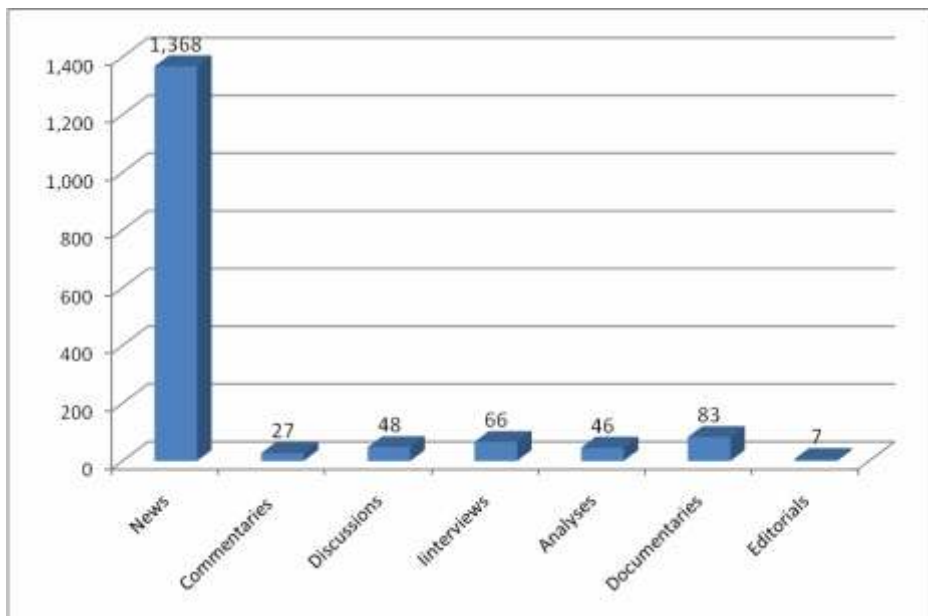
Twenty-seven reports were commentaries; 48 were discussion programmes and 66 were interviews. 83 of the relevant reports were documentaries while 46 were analysis and 7 others were editorials.

In May, almost all the radio stations also concentrated on the use of the news report format in the transmission of election-related issues as it was in April. Eight hundred and twenty-one (821) reports or 91.63% relevant items were news, 28 were commentaries and 17 were discussion programmes.

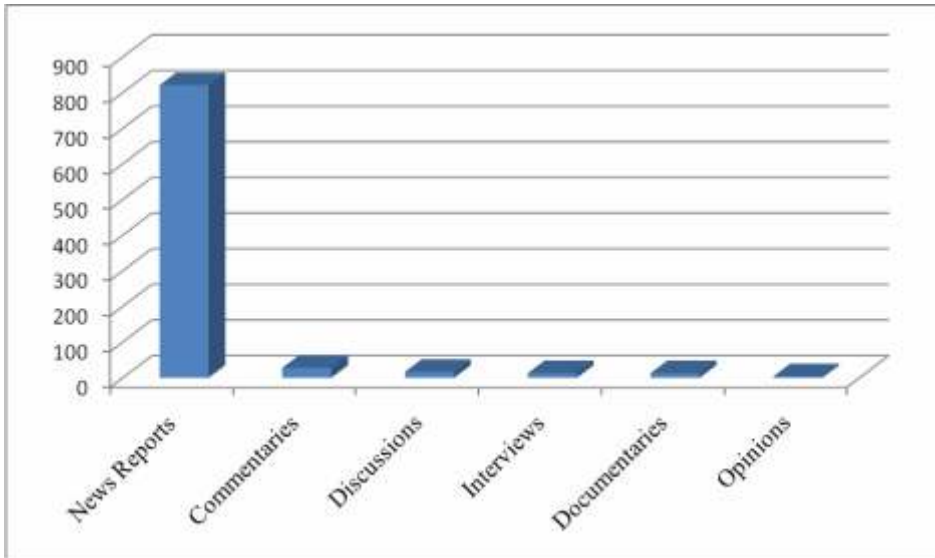
The rest relevant items were aired as follows: Interviews, 13; documentaries, 13 and vox pop or opinions, 4.

For the two months, the radio stations aired 87.39% of the identified

*The chart below shows the frequency of use of different broadcast formats to air identified relevant items in April.*



The chart below shows the frequency of use of different broadcast formats to air identified relevant items in May.



### 3. Subjects of relevant items reported by the Radio Stations

As it happened with the newspapers, four specific and one general unspecified electoral stakeholders were monitored for the project. The four specific subjects are female politicians, male politicians, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), political parties, and the general unspecified category, "Others".

In April, the omnibus (non-specific) "Others" was used the highest number of times as subjects. A total of 785 items had 'Others' as their subject representing 47.72% of the total relevant reports monitored.

Male politicians were subject of a total number of 387 election-related news items monitored while female politicians were subject of only 40 of the monitored news items. Male politicians enjoyed the most generous attention of all the specific electoral stakeholders that were monitored in this exercise. The 387 broadcast reports which had male politicians as the subject represent 23.53% of the total 1,645 relevant reports monitored in all the stations, whereas the 40 stories which had the female politicians as subjects came to just 2.43% of the total relevant stories monitored and 10.34% of the total number of stories (387) which featured men as the subjects.

Other specific stakeholders such as INEC and political parties enjoyed wider media attention than female politicians. INEC was the subject of 316 relevant reports or 19.20% of the total relevant items while political parties were subjects of 117 relevant items or 7.11% of the total relevant items identified in April.

In May, the picture was not very different. The general unspecified category, "Others" was used the highest number of times as subject of identified relevant items. It was used in 490 instances as subject, accounting for 54.68% of the total relevant broadcasts that were monitored.

Of the four (4) specific stakeholders used as subjects for the monitoring, male politicians were the subject of the highest number of relevant reports. There were 245 aired relevant reports with male politicians as subject, which makes up over a quarter or 27.34% of the total relevant stories.

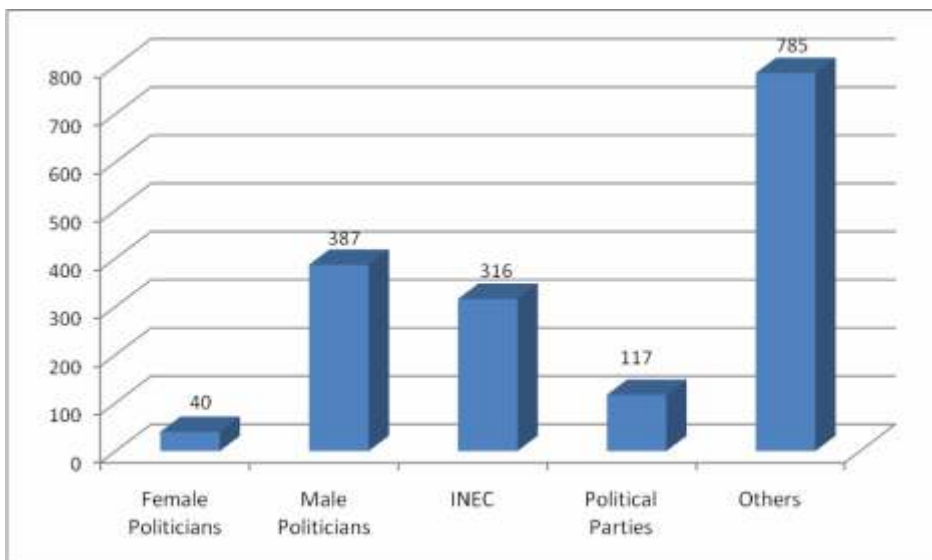
INEC was subject of 87 items or 9.68% while political parties were subjects of 63 items or 7.03% of the total items monitored in May.

Female politicians on the other hand were subject of the least number of relevant items; they were subjects of just 11 items, a number far lower than the rest. This means that female politicians were subject of 1.22% of the total relevant items.

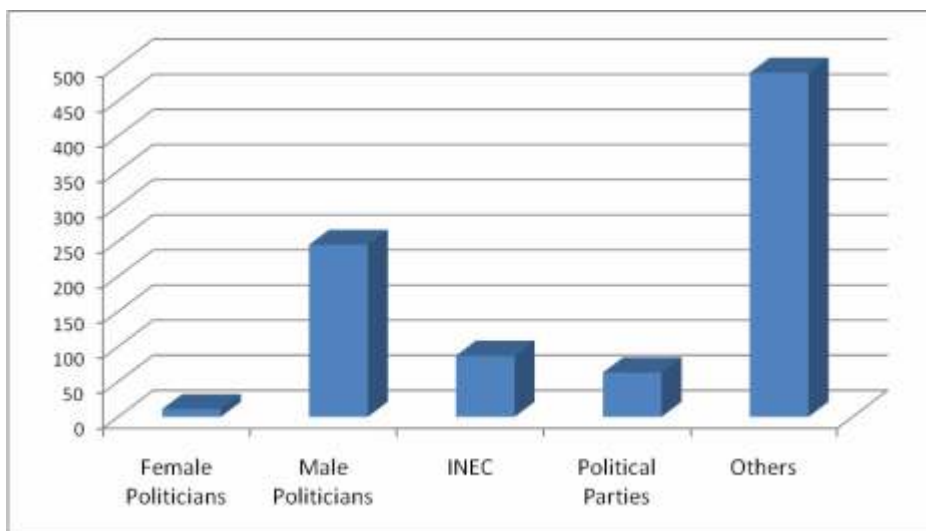
On average for the two months, female politicians were the subject of the least number of relevant items: they were subject of 1.82%; male politicians were subject of 25.43%; INEC was subject of 14.44%; political parties were



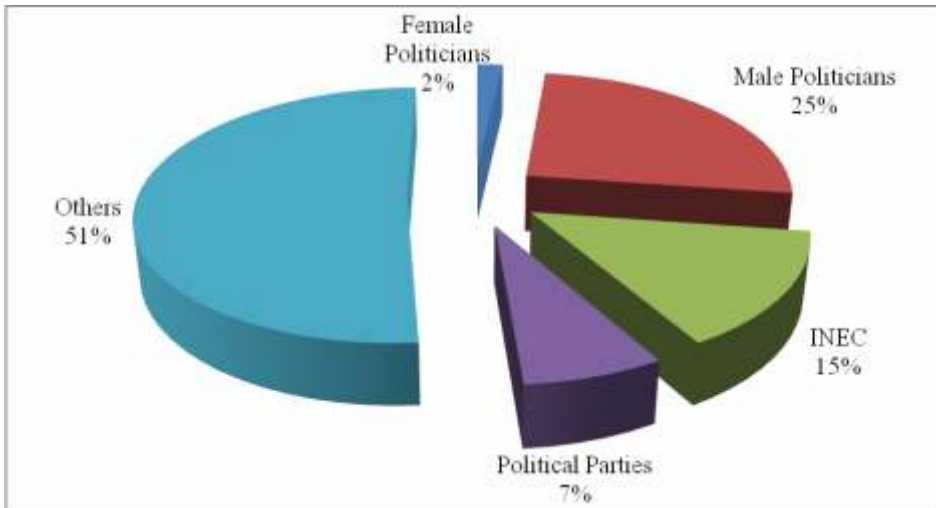
*The chart below shows the frequency of use of selected electoral stakeholders by radio stations as subjects of relevant items in April 2011*



*The chart below shows the frequency of use of selected electoral stakeholders by radio stations as subjects of relevant items in May 2011*



*The chart below shows the percentage of usage of selected electoral stakeholders by radio stations as subject of relevant reports in April and May 2011*



### 3. Sources of relevant items reported by the Radio Stations

The stakeholders here were also the same as the newspapers. Nine specific and one non-specific source of published reports were sought and monitored. The specific stakeholders are female politicians, male politicians, the Courts, political parties, government officials, socio-cultural groups, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), ethnic militias and civil society. All other sources that did not fall into any of these groups were classified into one group tagged 'Others'.

In April, Government Officials formed the bulk of specific sources from which identified relevant broadcasts were sourced. They were sources of 352 relevant reports, while sources other than the specific stakeholders that is, the generic "Others" accounted for 520 relevant broadcasts.

Female politicians were equally ignored in this area as only 31 of them were used as sources. This figure represents approximately 2% of the total relevant items, whereas male politicians were sources of 304 reports which translate to 18.48% of the total electoral issues monitored.

INEC was the source of 222 election stories monitored, while political parties were sources of 103 reports.

Other stakeholders were sources of relevant broadcasts as follows: Civil society groups, 100 reports; the Courts, 16 and socio cultural groups, 23.

In May, the usual pattern that had been recorded in the previous reports was replicated as male politicians were sources of the second highest number of stories out of all the specific sources, coming second after government official.

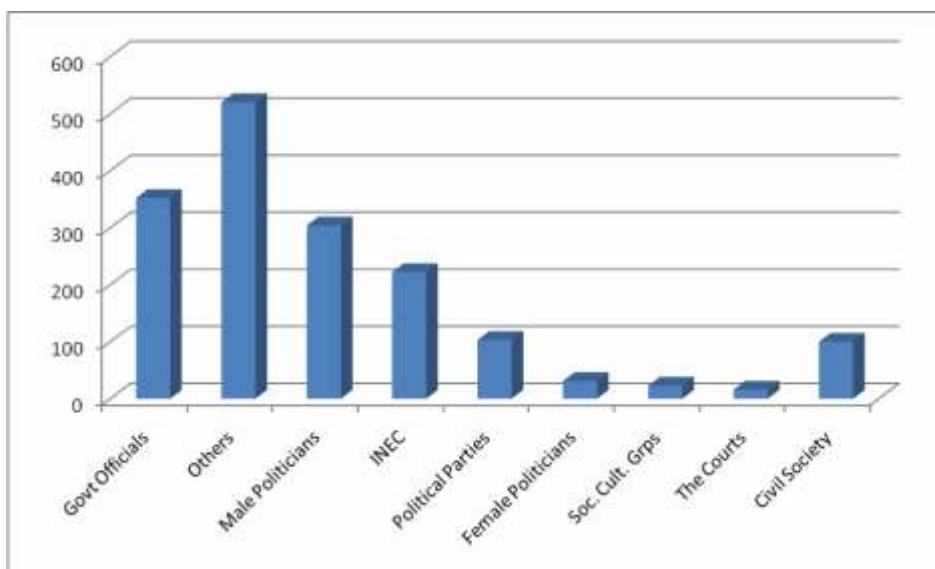
Similarly, female politicians remained largely unheard being sources of only nine (9) relevant reports which accounted for just 1% of the total relevant items identified and analysed in May.

The political parties even showed more dominance being sources of 51 relevant broadcasts; a figure much higher than that of female politicians.

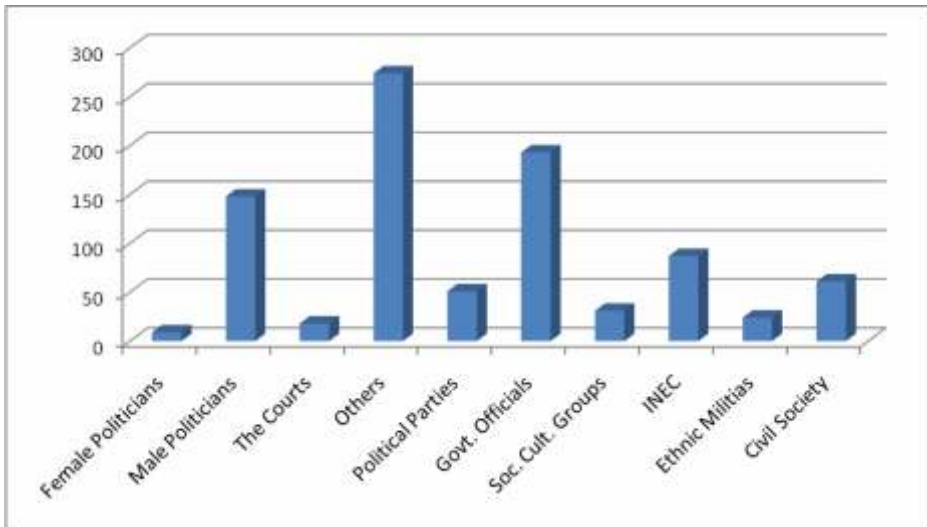
INEC was the source of a total of 87 stories while the civil society groups were sources of 61 stories.

The courts were the sources of 18 relevant items while ethnic militias which

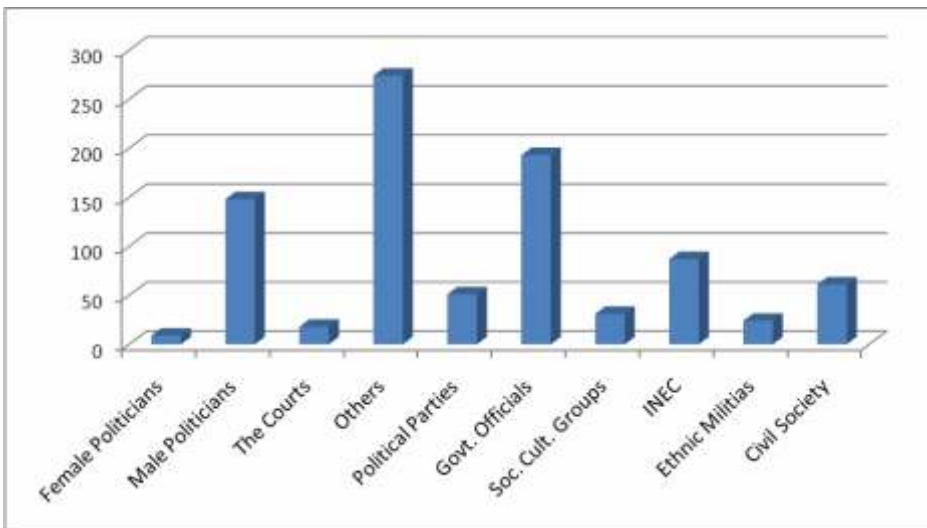
*The chart below shows the frequency of use of different stakeholders as sources of electoral broadcasts on the radio stations monitored in April*



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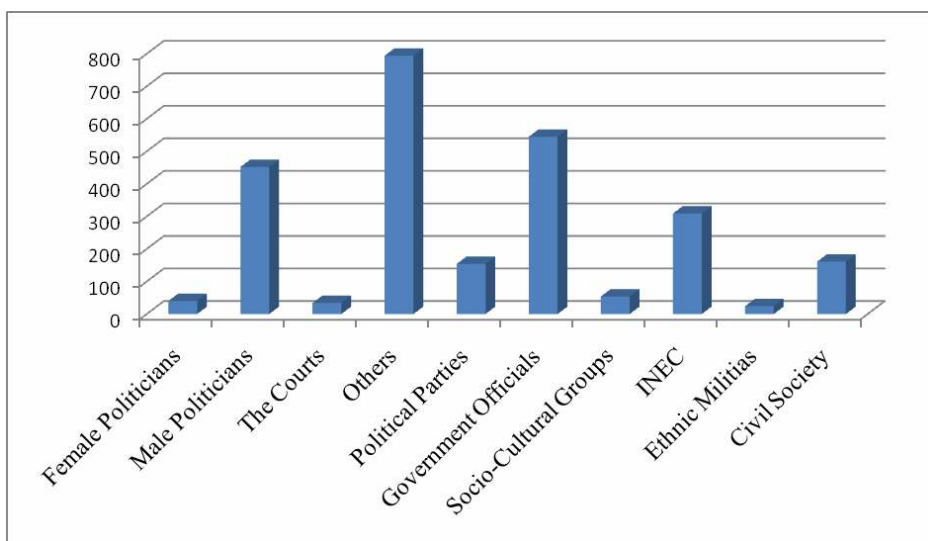
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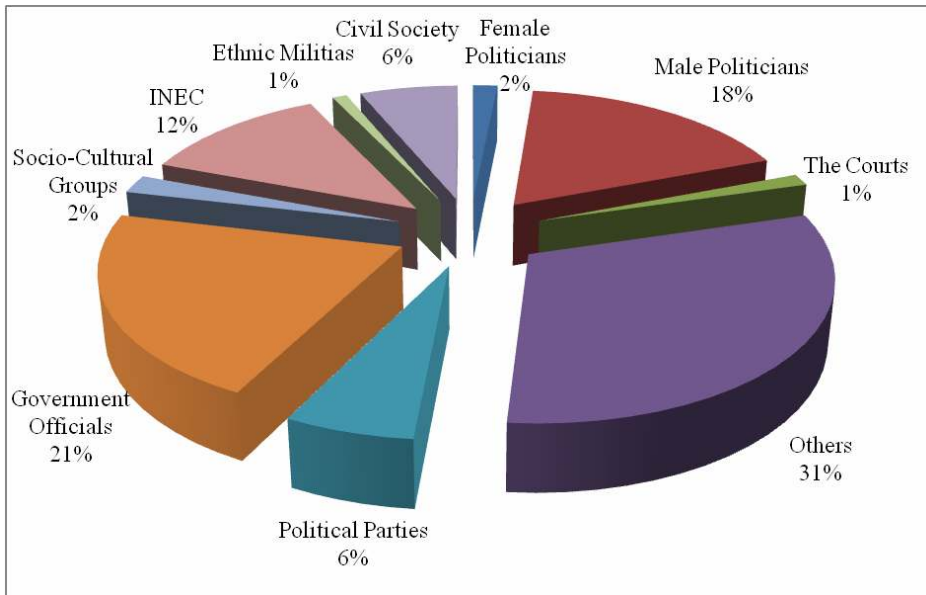
*The table below shows the frequency of use of selected stakeholders as sources of identified relevant items aired on radio during the monitoring period*

Ser. No.	Stakeholders	April	May	Total
1.	Female politicians	31	9	40
2.	Male politicians	304	148	452
3.	The Courts	16	18	34
4.	Others	520	274	794
5.	Political parties	103	51	154
6.	Government officials	352	193	545
7.	Socio-Cultural groups	23	31	54
8.	INEC	222	87	309
9.	Ethnic militias	-	24	24
10.	Civil Society	100	61	161

*The graph below shows the frequency of use of selected stakeholders as sources of identified relevant items aired on radio during the monitoring period*



The chart below shows the percentage of use of selected stakeholders as sources of identified relevant items aired on radio during the monitoring period



### 3. Duration of broadcasts on gender

In April, male politicians (MP) dominated the broadcast wave, enjoying 22 hrs, 43 mins, 35 secs while the female politicians were allocated 2 hrs, 46 mins, 38 secs airtime in the relevant items monitored.

In May, the total time allocated to air relevant items on male politicians was 7 hours, 1 minute, 23 seconds. On the other hand however, the total time allocated to air items on female politicians was 11 minutes, 16 seconds.

In virtually all aspects of media coverage, female politicians were seriously relegated.

### 4. Gender objectivity

In April, seventy-one (71) relevant reports were in favour of the female politicians while 40 were not. And in May, relevant broadcasts that were not favourable to the female politicians were 132 while another 23 aired reports were favourable to the female politicians, which translate to 17.42% of broadcasts that were unfavourable to female politicians.

### 5. Reports of conflicts and possible conflicts

There were a total of 291 reports of potential conflict and 231 broadcast of actual conflict by the radio stations monitored in April. On the other hand, broadcasts on conflict situations related to the election identified in the broadcasts of May 2011 totaled 118 while those that could lead to conflict i.e. possible conflict totaled 80 in all.

#### 6. Coverage area of relevant broadcasts

Election-related broadcasts monitored in both months showed that they covered mostly issues which took place in urban areas than in rural areas.

There were a total of 1,328 broadcasts which covered urban areas while stories with dateline in the rural setting were monitored just 174 times in April. The 1,328 stories covering urban areas amount to 80.73% of the total 1,645 relevant reports monitored while the 174 election issues from the rural areas amounted to 10.58% of the total.

#### 7. Use of soundbite with relevant broadcasts

Sound bites used during the broadcast of election issues help to give the subject or source of the broadcast the opportunity to be heard by listeners. This is done in radio programmes by providing sound clips of the subject or source of a report.

In April, a total of 592 reports had sound bites; in other words, approximately 40% of the total relevant stories monitored had sound bite while 1,053 others did not have sound bite.

In May, sound bites were generously used as there were a total of 272 relevant broadcasts that were accompanied with sound bites making up 30.36% of the total 896 relevant items. The rest 624 others were not accompanied by sound bite.

#### 8. Reportage of political parties

Just like the newspapers, the 'big three' parties - the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) and the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) had more favourable attention than the other political parties.

The All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), the All Nigerian Peoples Party

*Table showing the amount of reportage given the six most reported parties*

Ser. No.	Pol. Party	April	May	Total
1.	PDP	520	166	686
2.	ACN	215	101	316
3.	CPC	193	60	253
4.	APGA	64	46	110
5.	LP	20	13	33
6.	ANPP	91	14	105



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## Findings of Monitoring of Television Stations

### THE TELEVISION STATIONS

For the exercise, nine television stations were monitored in April while in May, 11 television stations were monitored. The stations were:

1. NTA 2 Channel 5
2. LTV 8
3. Channels
4. Orient TV
5. Rivers TV
6. Silverbird TV
7. NTA Port Harcourt
8. NTA Gombe
9. GMC, Gombe
10. NTA, Kaduna
11. DITV, Kaduna

In the two months that the television stations were monitored, a total of 2,837 broadcast items were considered relevant to the exercise; 2,023 were identified in April while 814 items were identified in May.

#### 1. Prominence given identified relevant items

Of all the traditional media, the Television has the unique feature of being able to broadcast sound and show picture. This means that viewers can watch and listen to sources and subjects of television broadcasts apart from the newscasters or reporters. Though television and radio programmes are fleeting unlike newspaper reports which readers can go back to, television programmes give life to its programming through the images. The prominence is therefore more vivid and obvious than the others.

In the month of April, a total of 1,017 electoral issues covered by the TV stations were highlighted in the stations' main news bulletins and also read

in the main body of news. The highlighted items in the electronic media are equivalent to the front page in the print media. These highlighted items form the news that the stations broadcast as news summary every hour. This figure represents 50.3% of the total relevant items identified in all the stations monitored in April. In other words, the TV stations gave good and commendable prominence to electoral issues that they covered and reported in April.

In May, only four (4) stations out of the 11 monitored were still committed to the reporting of electoral issues after the conclusion of the presidential election on April 26, 2011. These were Channels TV; NTA 2 Channel 5, Lagos; NTA, Port Harcourt and LTV. Lagos. The others seemed to have shut their doors to electoral issues as few relevant items were aired by these stations even though a number of candidates had gone to the tribunal to challenge the victory of their opponents.

A total of 311 relevant reports aired by the TV stations in May were first highlighted and then read in their main news bulletins while 503 relevant broadcasts were read only in the body of the main news bulletins.

In all, out of the total 2,837 relevant items identified and monitored during the two months, a total of 1,328 or 46.81% were first highlighted in the main news and then read again in full in the body of the news bulletins while 1,509 were read only in the body of the news bulletins.

Giving as much as 46.81% of identified relevant items such prominence speaks volumes about the importance attached to electoral issues by the television stations.

## 2. Format of broadcast of identified relevant Items

Six broadcast formats were used for airing identified relevant items. These were: news, features, opinion, discussions, commentaries and interviews.

In April, news reports or hard news formed the bulk of identified relevant items aired by the nine monitored TV stations. The stations broadcast a combined total of 1,744 news reports which made up 86.2% of all aired electoral issues identified and monitored. Almost half of the figure was aired on Channels Television. Its 865 news reports represent 49.6% of all relevant

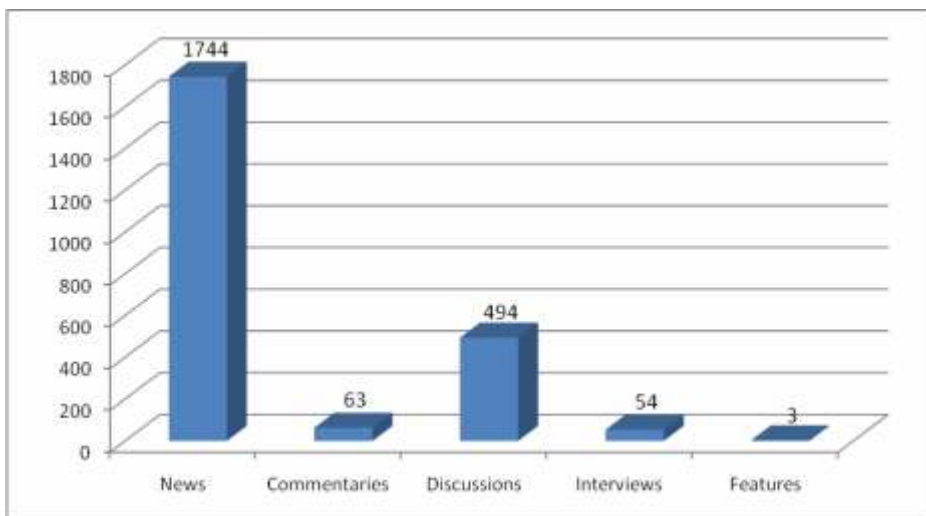
items monitored as news. The number of relevant items aired as hard news meant that they were considered important because the news bulletins are usually broadcast at prime times when more people can have the time to tune in.

494 relevant items were discussion programmes; 63 relevant issues were aired as commentaries while 54 were interviews and 3 were features.

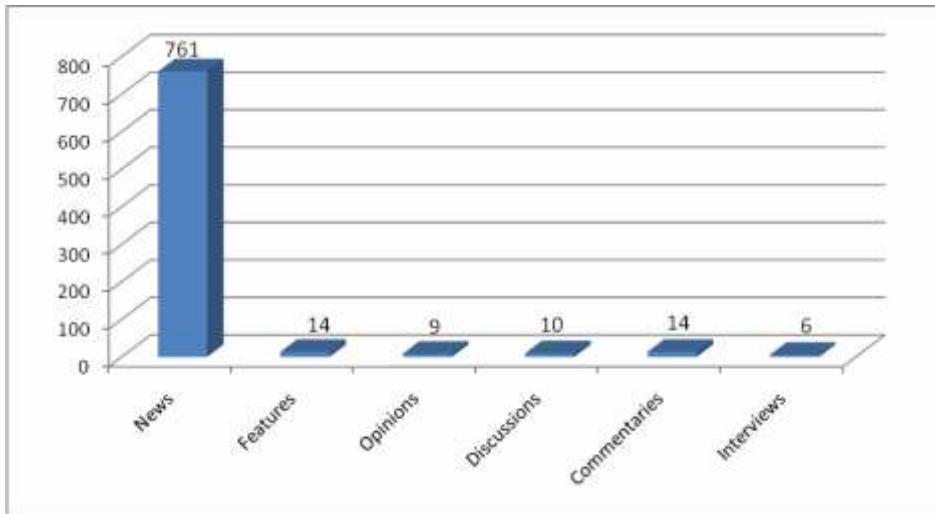
In May, over 93.49% of the relevant items aired, that is, 761 out of 814 were aired as news reports.

The rest five formats constitute less than 7% of the total relevant items:

*The chart below shows the frequency of use of different broadcast formats for airing identified relevant items by the monitored TV stations in April*



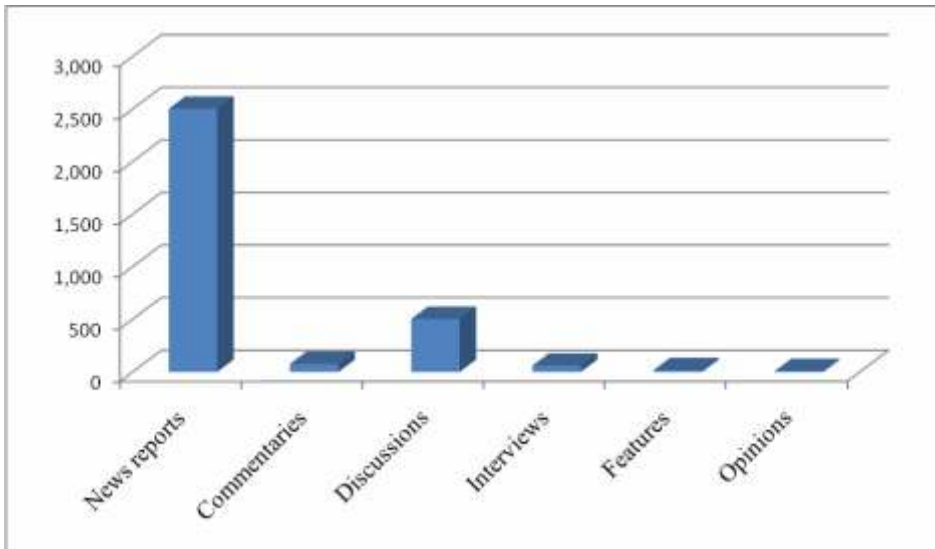
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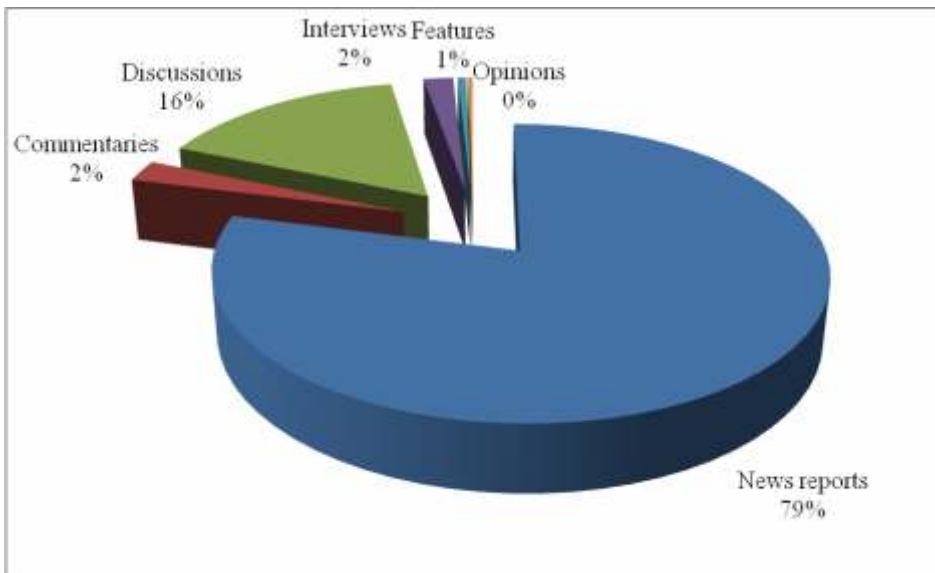
The table below shows the frequency of use of different broadcast formats for airing identified relevant items by the monitored TV stations in April and May

Ser. No.	Broadcast Formats	April	May	Total
1.	News reports	1,744	761	2,505
2.	Commentaries	63	14	77
3.	Discussions	494	10	504
4.	Interviews	54	6	60
5.	Features	3	14	17
6.	Opinions	-	9	9

The chart below shows the frequency of use of different broadcast formats for airing identified relevant items by the monitored TV stations in April and May combined



The chart below shows the percentage of use of different broadcast formats for airing identified relevant items by the monitored TV stations in April and May combined



## 1. Subjects of identified relevant broadcast

Virtually the same stakeholders monitored for subjects of identified relevant items in the newspapers and radio stations were monitored for the television stations.

Male politicians as subjects of aired electoral issues identified during the monitoring in April enjoyed the highest number of coverage than all the other monitored stakeholders including the umpire of the election, INEC. A total of 521 broadcast reports had male politicians as subjects. This number amounts to 25.75% which is over a quarter of the total number of relevant reports broadcast by all the nine TV stations.

In sharp contrast, female politicians were subjects of just 26 aired relevant stories, i.e. 1.3% of the total election reports identified, collated and analysed. Political parties also enjoyed more visibility than female politicians as they were the subjects of 93 stories, which is 4.6% of the total election issues monitored.

INEC was subject of 494 relevant broadcasts and accounted for 24.41% of the total relevant reports for April. Government officials were subjects of eight aired reports or 0.39%.

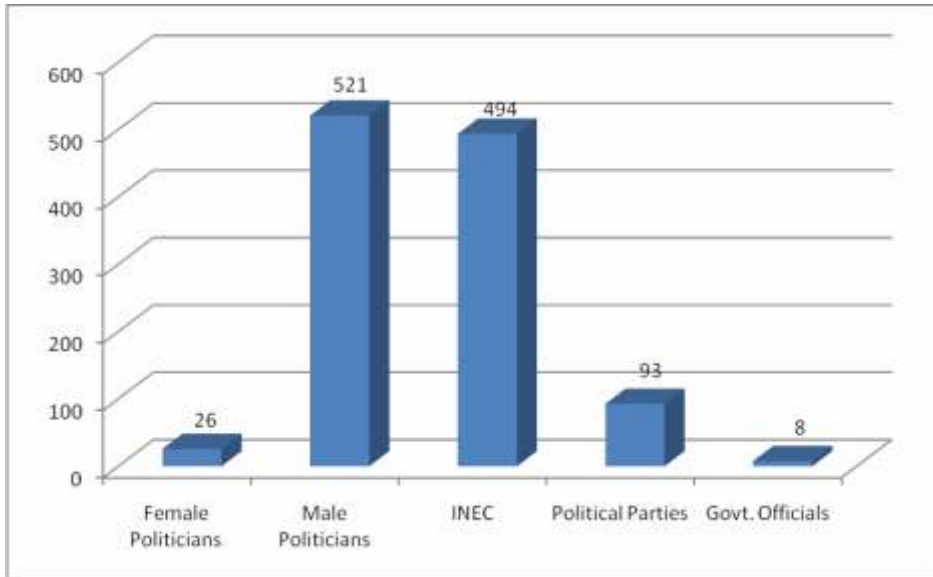
In May, the non-specific stakeholder i.e. 'Others' formed the bulk of subjects. They were subjects of 322 relevant reports or 39.56% of all relevant items monitored.

Political parties as one category of stakeholders were subject of the highest number of stories above all the specific stakeholders. The different political parties were subject of a total of 183 reports or 22.48% of the total relevant items aired.

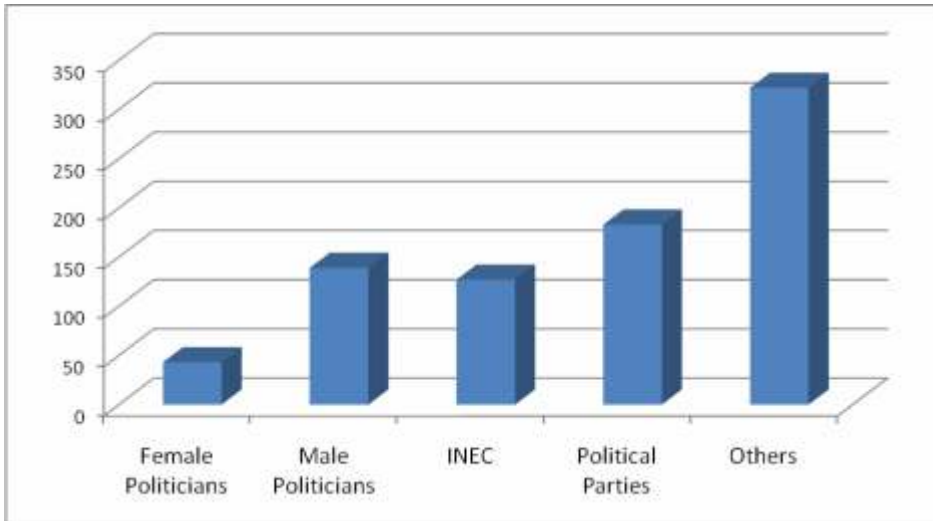
Male politicians were subject of the second highest number of relevant reports out of all the specific stakeholders, being subject of 189 stories or 17.08% of the total relevant stories aired.

Female politicians on the other hand, did not receive much media focus as they were subject of 43 items or 5.28% of all relevant reports.

*The graph below shows the frequency of reportage of selected stakeholders to aired reports on the 2011 general elections in April 2011*



*The graph below shows the frequency of reportage of selected stakeholders to aired reports on the 2011 general elections in May 2011*



### 1. Gender objectivity of identified relevant broadcasts

The television stations aired much more favourable reports on female politicians than unfavourable reports in the two months covered by the monitoring.

In April, 44 relevant stories were favourable to female politicians (FF) while four others were not and in May, 20 items were found favourable to female politicians with none unfavourable to them

### 2. Time allocated to male and female politicians

The analysis of collated data on the duration of the relevant TV programmes in April and May 2011 showed that the stations gave very low visibility to the female politicians (FP) during the period under review.

In April, male politicians were allocated a whopping 31hrs, 30mins, 56secs while items on female politicians were aired with just 1hr, 50mins, 7secs by all the nine TV stations.

In May, the total time allocated to all the 139 relevant items on male politicians was 5 hours, 12 minutes, 42 seconds, which translates to an average of 2 minutes, 15 seconds per report on male politician.

Female politicians, as in the previous month did not enjoy such good attention: they were allocated just 55 minutes. 27 seconds of the 43 relevant broadcasts on female politicians which give an average time allocation of 1 minute, 13 seconds per report on female politicians.

### 3. Coverage area of relevant broadcasts

The television reportage of rural areas was very low, not only in terms of coverage but also in terms of the time allocated to the broadcast reports. This followed the same pattern with the newspapers and radio stations.

1,771 of the total relevant broadcasts collated and analysed in April 2011 were sourced from urban area. The figure is 87.5% of all the identified electoral issues as monitored during the period. On the other hand, the 184 relevant reports covering rural areas represent just 9.1% of the total 2,023 electoral broadcasts identified and monitored in the stations.



Relevant reports covering urban areas aired in April were broadcast with a time duration of 174 hours, 15 minutes, 59 seconds which translate to over seven days of continuous broadcast while stories with rural area dateline did not enjoy a time allocation of up to a quarter of a day: they were allocated 5 hours, 47 minutes and 27 seconds.

In May, the number of relevant items sourced from urban areas was also far greater than those sourced from rural areas as was the case in April. The impression given is that political activities as related to the April 2011 general election were mainly concentrated in urban areas. Only 20 items were sourced from rural areas while as many as 730 stories were sourced from urban areas.

The time allocated to air reports on urban areas was equally much greater than the duration used in airing stories on rural areas.

A total of 35 hours, 34 minutes, 42 seconds was allocated to stories from and on urban areas while a negligible 1 hour, 4 minutes, 24 seconds - just 3.01% of the former - was devoted to stories on rural areas.

#### 4. Reports of conflicts and possible conflicts

A total of 249 relevant items monitored in April were reports on conflict, while 259 showed possibility of conflict. The sum of relevant reports showing possibility of conflict and actual conflict totaled 504 and is approximately 25% of the total relevant broadcasts monitored on the stations. It can be safely argued that the data was a 'prophetic' pointer to the magnitude of the violence that erupted in some parts of the country in the wake of the presidential election held on April 16, 2011. Television stations located in the south-east and the south-west gave extensive coverage to the mayhem.

In May, the picture was not too different. Forty-five (45) reports were on conflicts while 29 items were on situations of potential conflict. The sum of reports on conflicts and those of potential conflict which totaled 74 represents 9.09% of all the relevant items monitored.

#### 5. Actuality and sound bite

In April, sound bites (clips of subjects/sources of broadcasts) were used in a

total of 1,435 relevant reports while actualities (video clips of subjects/sources of broadcasts) were used in a total of 411 stories.

Both actuality and sound bites were used in a total of 477 reports. When the two are used together to convey a message in the electronic media, they add more credibility and human angle to such report. They make a report more vivid. All the stations monitored used them in varying degrees.

In May, the total number of sound bite used was 561 while 629 reports had actuality.

#### 6. Political parties reported the most

The three 'big' political parties, like in the other mediums received more attention than the 'minor' ones. The Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) led the group followed by Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) and the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC).

In April four other political parties followed the first three. These were the All Nigeria Peoples' Party (ANPP), Labour Party (LP), which recently got a boost with the emergence of a governor under its platform through a judicial pronouncement; the Allied Congress Party of Nigeria (ACPN) and the Peoples Party of Nigeria (PPN).

In May, as was the case in previous monitoring exercises and mediums, the three big parties, namely the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) and the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) were each mentioned more than the other political parties.

The All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), with presence in the south-east also got significant mention; so also the Labour Party (LP) and the All Nigeria

*The table below shows the frequency of reportage of the prominent political parties*

Ser. No.	Political Parties	April	May	Total
1.	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	388	211	599
2.	Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN)	234	113	347
3.	Congress for Progressive Change (CPC)	191	94	285
4.	All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP)	61	21	82
5.	Labour Party (LP)	47	16	63
6.	All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA)	65	38	103
7.	Allied Congress Party of Nigeria (ACPN)	24	-	24
8.	Peoples Party of Nigeria (PPN)	22	1	23

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## Conclusion

In March, April and May 2011, this project monitored selected newspapers, radio stations and television stations for the scope and quality of coverage on electoral issues (electoral processes, partisanship, balanced news coverage of parties and aspirants, conflict issues) in both the print and the electronic media.

The findings from the exercise showed that media reportage of the elections were skewed in favour of male politicians who were subjects and sources of many news items while female politicians did not get as much as 10% of the media attention given to male politicians; media reportage also favoured happenings in urban areas as against the rural areas. There many reports on crisis situations and incidents that could degenerate into crises which ought to have sent warning signals to the government and the security agents. But when the post-election violence came, it was like everyone was caught napping.

All available data from the newspapers, radio and television stations graphically showed how female politicians were relegated to the background by the media in the election months. The data on the number of published and aired relevant items, the space allocated and the placement did not favour female politicians.

It is therefore strongly recommended that the Nigerian media should take necessary action to address the lapses in the coverage of female politicians and their issues during elections.

The coverage of the political parties (although essentially limited to about eight) and INEC was however commendable and the media should be encouraged to keep this up.

An appreciable proportion of the identified electoral issues were also given

good prominence. Most were aired or published as news meaning that the media provided the citizens with timely and much needed news on the elections. News stories are also getting more specialized and localized and so readers know the stories they can identify with. These and other key elements of newsworthiness gave electoral reports in news report format the needed prominence that they deserve.

While the newspapers published an appreciable number of electoral items in their front pages, the electronic media cast them first as headline or highlights and then provided the details in the main news bulletins.

As also noted earlier, the number of relevant items sourced from urban areas was far greater than those sourced from rural areas. The impression given is that political activities as related to the April 2011 general election were mainly concentrated in urban areas.

The media did a great work reporting on conflict situations and situation which could potentially lead to crises. They were enough for the federal government and various law enforcement and security agencies to take pre-emptive actions to forestall violence and breakdown of law and order. It turned out that this was not the case.

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## Recommendations

1. There is need for Nigerian media organizations to improve on the coverage of rural areas, small political parties and women politicians, Media owners, editors and reporters who cover elections should interact and develop stronger strategies to ensure that these three groups receive better space and airtime during elections.
2. Regulatory agencies such as the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) should strengthen and enforce their industry regulatory instruments, including election guidelines, to ensure that media organizations deliver on equitable coverage of all political parties, rural areas and women candidates.
3. The federal government should strengthen the presence of News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) in all local government areas so it can supply wider and richer information from rural locations to media organizations countrywide. It (government) should also review the NAN Act (1976) so that independent news agencies can emerge to service media organizations with more diverse news from the rural areas.
4. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) should strengthen its information dissemination machinery by keeping its website regularly up-to-date and using social media platforms.
5. Development partners (such as UNDP-DGD), media professional groups and civil society organizations should:
  - a) Continue the provision of training to journalists with emphasis on coverage of rural areas, minor political parties and female candidates in elections.
  - b) Prioritize media monitoring as a continuous activity, in view of the fact that elections have become an on-going issue in the country - local government and governorship elections are now staggered and fill almost the entire year.
  - c) Conduct research into issues which emerge from the monitoring of the elections.
6. Security agencies should monitor media reportage during elections and collaborate with CSOs engaged in media monitoring; to enable them (security) pin-point possible flashpoints of violence and prevent their outbreak.

**PLEASE CONTINUE THE  
ANNEXES FROM THAT OF THE  
WOMEN REPRESENTATION**