

# Monitoring of Print & Online Newspapers' Reporting of the 2019 Electoral Process

## The September – December 2018 Score Card

*(Being an analysis of trends in the reporting of the 2019 electoral process by 12 print/online newspapers for September, October, November and December 2018)*



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## 1.0. Executive Summary

This report represents the outcome of the monitoring of 12 print and online newspapers conducted in the months of September, October, November and December 2018, being the second quarter of the exercise, which commenced in June, 2018. The first quarter report covering the months of June, July and August, 2018 had already been released. In a number of respects, there are no significant differences in the findings for the first quarter and this quarter.

The newspapers whose content were monitored are: ***The Punch, The Guardian, Daily Sun, Vanguard, ThisDay, Nigerian Tribune, The Nation, Leadership, Daily Trust*** and ***Blue Print*** (monitored online). Others are **The Cable** and **Premium Times** (published online only).

This report highlights the findings from the analysis of trends in the reportage of the 2019 electoral process by the newspapers listed above. The monitoring exercise was undertaken as part of a media content monitoring activity under **component 4b: Support to the media** of the **European Union Support to Democratic Governance in Nigeria (EU-SDGN)** Project being implemented by the International Press Centre (IPC), Lagos-Nigeria.

The media content monitoring is a 24-month activity structured to span three key phases of the electoral/governance process, namely: the pre-election/voter registration phase (8 months); the electoral campaigns/voting phase (6 months) and the post-election/governance phase (10 months).

The purpose is to provide evidence-backed information on the pattern of media coverage and the performance of the media in the reportage of the on-going electoral processes and the 2019 elections. The report therefore highlights the



strengths and weaknesses of the monitored relevant items especially in relation to the degree of professionalism, inclusivity and conflict sensitivity.

The outcome of this report, which also entails the documentation of the campaign promises of the presidential candidates will, like the previous quarter, be used as tools of engagement with journalists, media managers and media gate keepers at a quarterly media roundtable scheduled for Tuesday February 12, 2019.

In the context of the outcomes, it was observed that:

- The media outlets during the period did not give equitable coverage to the parties and aspirants/candidates. Two political parties, All Progressives Congress (APC) and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) got much of the coverage while 89 others were not well focused upon. Findings show that the combined coverage that APC and PDP get is 85% while the rest shared 25%. While it could be argued that this possibly reflects the strength of the two political parties, efforts should have been made to cover and report the other political parties.
- The monitored media outlets did not during the period give fair and equitable coverage to disadvantaged groups. Women, youths and persons living with disabilities were poorly focused upon.

Findings show that **men** dominated the media space with 1,417 mentions, representing (50.61%). **Women** on the other hand got 102 mentions (at 3.54%), **Youths** got 109 mentions (at 3.7%) while **PLWDs** got 33 mentions at 1.14%. It therefore means that some of the women, youths and people living with disabilities especially



those standing as aspirants and candidates might not have been given opportunity of getting their issues across to the public.

- The monitored media outlets were conflict sensitive in their language use and generally avoided reports or headlines that could be interpreted as hate speech
- Some of the monitored media outlets did not show enough sensitivity to gender in the way and manner of reporting female aspirants/candidates.



## 2.0 SCOPE

The content monitoring covers all reports relevant to the political and electoral process as published by the selected newspapers during the four-month period under review.

### Thematic issues/focus

The thematic issues/focus of the content monitoring of the concerned newspapers are:

- Political Parties;
- Aspirants/Candidates;
- Conflict Sensitivity;
- Youths and the Electoral Process;
- Women and the Electoral Process;
- People Living with Disabilities (PWDS) and the Electoral Process;
- The Electoral Management Body (EMB) – INEC;
- Placement;
- Format.

The monitoring exercise also included special focus on **mentions** and **sources** as they relate to the key thematic areas.

***Mentions**, as used, refer to individuals, groups of individuals or institutions who/which were not necessarily sources of reports but were either mentioned or talked about in the reports. In most cases, many stakeholders were mentioned, though not quoted or used as sources.*



**Sources**, as used, refer to individuals who were interviewed or whose views/perspectives were paraphrased to lend credence to or show the diversity of the identified relevant reports.

The indices in the thematic issues/focus of the monitoring are as follows:

## **1. Political Parties**

*Specific issues monitored*

- Mentions (to determine equitable access/coverage)
- Frequency of coverage (by the newspapers)
- Political Conflict (Violence);
- Election Disputes; and
- Campaigns;

## **2. Aspirants/Candidates**

*Specific issues monitored*

- Summary: Number of campaign promises recorded during the period (Presidential Candidates only)
- Campaign promises (presidential candidates only)
- Excerpts from the campaign promises recorded during the period

## **3. Conflict Sensitivity**

*Specific issues monitored*

- Language use
- Hate speech

## **4. Youths and the Electoral Process**



*Specific issues monitored*

- Number of relevant items
- Use as sources
- Mentions

**5. Women and the Electoral Process**

*Specific issues monitored*

- Number of relevant items
- Use as sources
- Mentions
- Portrayal

**6. People Living with Disabilities (PWDS) and the Electoral Process**

*Specific issues monitored*

- Use as sources
- Mentions

**7. The Electoral Management Body (EMB) - INEC**

*Specific issues monitored*

- Summary of mentions
- Continuous Voters' Registration;
- PVC
- Voting
- Voter and Civic Education;
- Campaign Finance.

**8. Placement**

*Specific issue monitored*

- Location of relevant items

**9. Format**

*Specific issue monitored*

- i. Genre of reports



## 3.0 METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in extracting the required information and indices for analysis entailed a number of structured techniques by six media monitors who were tasked with specific responsibilities and working under the guidance of the head monitor and the monitoring analyst.

In doing this, Quantitative and Qualitative approaches were adopted in identifying, extracting and analysing the reports, which was then imputed as data into a specially designed Data Processing (DP) computer programme. The DP categorised the outcomes into different spread sheets from which a summation is derived per thematic issue for further analysis into facts and narrative interpretation.

### 3.1. The quantitative approach

The quantitative approach entailed the collection and coding of data, the use of a specifically designed media monitoring template and the making of entry into a specially designed data base programme. The coding allows for the capturing of the frequency at which the media reports of each of the given indices in this exercise occurred. The data, within the context of the different indices were then processed and analysed to arrive at specific results which are also depicted in graphs, charts and tables in the body of this report.

### 3.2. The qualitative approach

The qualitative approach entailed content analysis of the individual newspaper reports, photographs, letters, and interviews published within the period under review. The use of the qualitative approach was to engender open debate and discussions with stakeholders on the thematic focus of the democratic and electoral issues published by the selected media.



## 4.0 FINDINGS

### Introduction

#### *Total number of relevant reports monitored*

The findings for the period under review were derived from a total of 16,282 reports that were found relevant to the media content monitoring exercise in the 12 newspapers. Of these, **Vanguard** published the highest number of relevant reports with 1,961 (at 21%), followed by **The Nation** which published 1,752 relevant reports (at 10.76%). **Daily Sun** published 1,751 relevant reports (10.8%); **Leadership** published 1,697 reports (10.42%) and **Nigerian Tribune** published 1,688 (10.37%) while **Daily Trust** published 1,430 (8.8%).

Others are: **The Punch**, which published 1,286 reports (7.9%); **The Guardian**, 1,207 relevant reports (7.41%); **ThisDay** published 1,197 reports (7.4%).

**Premium Times** published 934 relevant reports (5.74%); **Blueprint** published 697 relevant reports (5%), while **The Cable** published 682 (4.2%).

*Table 4a below shows total number of relevant reports as published by the newspapers*

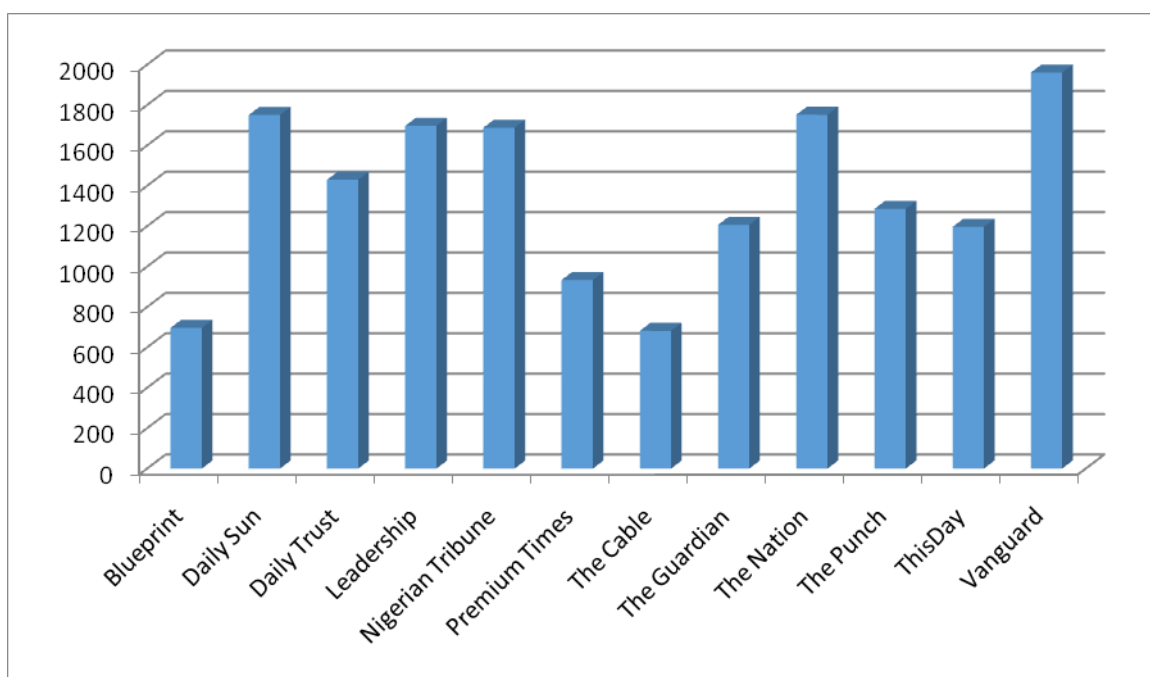
**Table 4a**

Publications	Total Items	%
Blueprint	697	4.3%
Daily Sun	1,751	10.8%
Daily Trust	1,430	8.8%
Leadership	1,697	10.42%
Nigerian Tribune	1,688	10.37%
Premium Times	934	5.74%
The Cable	682	4.2%



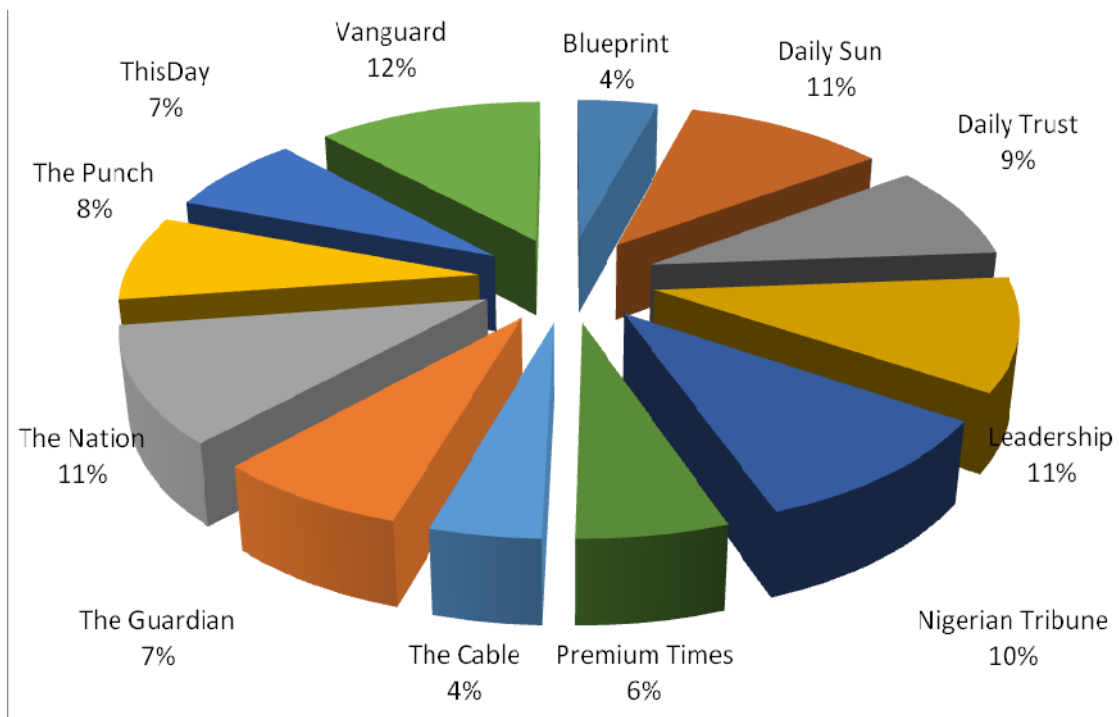
<b>The Guardian</b>	<b>1,207</b>	<b>7.41%</b>
<b>The Nation</b>	<b>1,752</b>	<b>10.76%</b>
<b>The Punch</b>	<b>1,286</b>	<b>7.9%</b>
<b>ThisDay</b>	<b>1,197</b>	<b>7.4%</b>
<b>Vanguard</b>	<b>1,961</b>	<b>12%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>16,282</b>	<b>100%</b>

*The chart below shows total number of identified relevant reports published by the newspapers*



*The chart below shows percentage number of identified relevant reports published by the newspapers*





## 4.1 Outcomes on coverage of Political Parties

### i. Mentions

- Of the 91 registered political parties as published on the INEC website only 74 got mentioned in reports monitored the newspapers under review.

The ruling All Progressives Congress (**APC**) got the highest number of mentions at 4,095 times (55.9%), followed by the People's Democratic Party (**PDP**) which got 2,133 mentions (at 29.12%).

The remaining 72 political parties shared 14.98% mentions. Out of this, Social Democratic Party (**SDP**) got 171 mentions (at 2.33%); All Progressives Grand Alliance (**APGA**), 151 mentions (at 2.06%); African Democratic Congress (**ADC**), 144 mentions (at 1.97%); All Congress Party of Nigeria (**ACPN**) got 77 mentions (at 1.05%); Action Democratic Party (**ADP**) got 51 mentions (0.7%); Alliance for Democracy (**AD**), 50 mentions (at 0.7%); Alliance for New



Nigeria (**ANN**), 46 mentions (at 0.63%); Labour Party (LP) got 35 mentions (at 0.48%)

The rest 64 political parties shared the remaining 5.69%.

## ii. Frequency of mentions in the newspapers

**The Nation** had the highest number of mentions on the activities of the **All Progressives Party** (APC) with 507 reports. This was followed by **Vanguard** newspapers with 481 mentions respectively;

Vanguard accounted for most of the mentions on the activities of the **Peoples' Democratic Party** (PDP) with **335 reports** while **Leadership** was next with 221 mentions.

For the **Social Democratic Party** (SDP) the **Nigerian Tribune** had the highest mentions of 27, while **Leadership** had 24 mentions of the party.

On mentions relating to the **African Democratic Congress** (ADC), Nigerian Tribune had the highest with 42 mentions.

(Table 4b below shows mentions by the newspapers of the political parties)

Political Party Mentions/ Publication Reports

	Blue Print	Daily Sun	Daily Trust	Leadership	Nigerian Tribune	Premium Times	The Cable	The Guardian	The Nation	The Punch	This Day	Vanguard	Total
<b>Accord</b>	1	0	3	1	4	2	1	3	2	4	1	3	25
<b>Action Alliance</b>	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	7



<b>All Blending Party</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
<b>Allied Congress Party Of Nigeria</b>	6	0	3	6	9	6	7	5	0	18	5	12	77
<b>Alliance For Democracy</b>	0	6	1	8	10	1	0	2	8	7	2	5	50
<b>African Democratic Congress</b>	3	6	11	8	42	7	0	10	18	18	9	12	144
<b>Action Democratic Party</b>	3	7	3	5	5	1	0	8	4	4	6	5	51
<b>All Grassroot Alliance</b>	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
<b>Alliance For New Nigeria</b>	1	2	3	5	8	1	0	7	5	4	6	4	46
<b>African Peoples Democratic Alliance</b>	3	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	12
<b>All Progressives Congress</b>	194	421	427	456	334	270	187	248	507	288	282	481	4095



<b>All Progressive Grand Alliance</b>	6	43	5	10	8	4	1	10	14	10	12	28	151
<b>Action Peoples Party</b>	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	4
<b>Democratic People Congress</b>	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
<b>Democratic Peoples Party</b>	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
<b>Freedom and Justice Party</b>	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
<b>Fresh Democratic Party</b>	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	5
<b>Grassroots Development Party of Nigeria</b>	0	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	8
<b>Green Party of Nigeria</b>	0	3	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9



<b>Independent Democrats</b>	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
<b>Justice Must Prevail Party</b>	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
<b>Kowa Party</b>	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	6
<b>Labour Party</b>	0	3	7	3	4	1	2	2	0	2	3	8	35
<b>Mass Action Joint Alliance</b>	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	7
<b>Modern Democratic Party</b>	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
<b>National Conscience Party</b>	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	5
<b>Nigerian Democratic Congress Party</b>	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	5
<b>National Interest Party</b>	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	4



<b>New Nigeria People Party</b>	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
<b>Nigeria Peoples Congress</b>	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
<b>New Progressive Movement</b>	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
<b>National Rescue Movement</b>	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	10
<b>Peoples Democratic Movement</b>	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
<b>Peoples Democratic Party</b>	92	192	181	221	197	137	143	130	199	160	146	335	21 33
<b>Progressive Peoples Alliance</b>	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	5
<b>Providence Peoples Congress</b>	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	4
<b>People Party of</b>	1	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	8



<b>Nigeria</b>													
<b>Peoples Redemption Party</b>	1	3	10	7	3	0	1	3	1	1	0	1	31
<b>Peoples Trust</b>	0	1	1	6	4	0	2	2	4	2	5	1	28
<b>Restoration Party of Nigeria</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
<b>Social Democratic Party</b>	9	18	13	24	27	11	5	14	9	12	17	12	171
<b>United Democratic Party</b>	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	4
<b>Unity Party of Nigeria</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
<b>United Progressive Party</b>	0	2	1	4	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	1	14
<b>Young Democratic Party</b>	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	4
<b>Young Progressive Party</b>	0	3	1	5	2	1	5	2	1	3	0	3	26



<b>Abundant Nigeria Renewal Party</b>	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	7	15
<b>Africa Action Congress</b>	1	1	2	1	2	5	6	2	0	2	2	3	27
<b>Advanced Nigeria Democratic Party</b>	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3
<b>Allied People's Movement</b>	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	3	2	2	14
<b>Nigeria Community Movement Party</b>	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
<b>YES Electorates Solidarity</b>	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
<b>Youth Party</b>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	4
<b>Zenith Labour Party</b>	0	0	1	1	3	2	1	1	0	0	4	2	15
<b>Liberation Movement</b>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	3



### iii. Political Conflict

There were 494 reports on political conflicts accounting for 4% of the identified relevant reports. Most of these were fallout of matters arising over the gubernatorial election in Osun State in September, 2018, particularly during the re-run elections in three local governments.

### iv. Election Disputes

There were 687 reports (at 5.52%) published on **Electoral Disputes**. These were fallouts of issues arising from litigations at the election petition tribunals in **Osun State** after the gubernatorial election in September 2018.

### v. Campaigns

A total of 6,143 reports were published on the campaign activities of **political parties' aspirants and candidates** in the build-up to 2019 elections. This represents 49.37%.

## 4.2 Outcomes on coverage of Aspirants/Candidates

### i. Campaign promises: Summary findings:

18 out of 22 Presidential candidates were captured in different reports in the period under review as making specific campaign promises. A total of 63 of such promises were documented within the period.

Leading the pack was Obiageli Ezekwesili (ACPN) with 13 promises; Abubakar Atiku (PDP), 12; Gbenga Hashim (PT), 10; Isaac Babatunde Ositelu (ACCORD), 3; Kingsley Moghalu (YPP), 3; Mohammadu Buhari (APC), 3; Fela Durotoye (ANN), 2 and Tanko Yinusa (NCP), 2.

*ii. Table 4c below shows number of campaign promises according to candidates*



NO	PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES TRACKED	POLITICAL PARTIES	No of Times Campaign Promises were Reported
1	Obiageli Ezekwesili	ACPN	13
2	Abubakar Atiku	PDP	12
3	Gbenga Hashim	PT	10
4	Isaac Babatunde Ositelu	ACCORD	3
5	Kingsley Moghalu	YPP	3
6	Muhammodu Buhari	APC	3
7	Fela Durotoye	ANN	2
8	Tanko Yinusa	NCP	2
9	Dr.Kriz David	LM	1
10	Engr. Abagi Yusuf Sani	ADP	1
11	Abdulkadir Abdulsalam	LP	1
12	Davidson Isibor	GDPN	1
13	Prof Yusufu Ameh Obaje	ANDP	1
14	Olusegun Mimiko	ZLP	No promise
15	Obadiah Mailafia,	ADC	1
16	Kola Fasua of ANRP	ANRP	1
17	Prof. Funmilayo Adedsanya- Davies	MAJA	1
18	Chris Okotie	FDP	No promise
19	Dr. Adesina Fagbenro	KOWA	No promise
20	Owoyele Sowore	AAC	No promise
21	Donald Duke	SDP	1
22	Umama Gesto	YPP	1



## ii. Excerpts of Campaign Promises

1. Vanguard (30<sup>th</sup> November, 2018, PG34) **Obiageli Ezekwesili**, ACPN. “**We will focus on improving the health sector**”
2. The Punch (November 30<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg. 10) People’s Trust **Gbenga Hashim APC, PDP playing politics with national security....**”Our party would work to build a \$4tn economy”
3. Vanguard (26<sup>th</sup> November 2018, Pg. 8) **People’s Trust Gbenga Olawepo-Hashim, “promises 4 million jobs”**.
4. Leadership (5<sup>th</sup> November 2018, Pg.2) **PT Gbenga Olawepo-Hashim, unveils blueprint, scores APC low on economy** “...He vowed to cut down acute poverty by half in the country within 5 years...we will promote an innovative economy by protecting proprietary right of innovators
5. Daily Trust (November 20<sup>th</sup> 2018, Pg.5) **Atiku launches campaign document...** “I will be proactive in attracting investment...”
6. Daily Trust (November 23<sup>rd</sup> 2018 Pg. 43) **Campaign promises and 2019 election....Atiku** of PDP said: “I will be proactive in attracting investment and supporting the \$50 million small and medium scale enterprise across Nigeria.
7. **Kingsley Moghalu** Presidential candidate of YPP; pledges to set up a one trillion naira venture capital fund.
8. **Obiageli Ezekwesili** Presidential candidate of ACPN, who in her twitter handle recently said “our government will reduce the number of out-of-school children”.
9. The Punch (November 28<sup>th</sup> 2018, Pg. 12) **Obi Ezekwesili** of ACPN, **I’m ready to fight poverty**”
10. The Punch (November 29<sup>th</sup> 2018, Pg. 10) **Isaac Ositelu** of Accord Party, **Declare state of emergency in security, presidential candidate tells**



- FG:** “welfare of the rank and file of the military would be top notch for our administration”
11. Vanguard (25<sup>th</sup> of November 2018, Pg. 10) **Engineer Abagi Yusuf Sani** of **ADP’s offering in Nigerian’s 2019 presidential race.** “promises to improve on the power sector “
  12. Leadership (7<sup>th</sup> of November 2018, Pg.6) **Abdulkadir Abdulsalam** of Labour party, **Only Labour party can lift Nigerians out poverty** ”said it is the only party that has the program and ideology to alleviate the suffering of Nigerians”
  13. Leadership (November 7<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg.13) **Davidson Isibor** of the GDPN “promises to deliver the dividends of democracy to Nigerians”
  14. Vanguard (November 23<sup>rd</sup> 2018, Pg20) **Oby Ezekwesili** of ACPN promises “lifting 80 million Nigerians out of abject poverty and undoing the economic downturn imposed on the nation”
  15. The Punch (November 24<sup>th</sup> 2018. Pg 13) **PMB: 2019 CAMPAIGN: BETWEEN BEAUTIFUL MANIFESTOES AND NIGERIA’S LONG JOURNEY TO GREATNESS** “amongst other things to sustain the anti-corruption war, provide more infrastructure and rebuild the economy”
  16. Nigerian Tribune November 26<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg8) **South-West women declare support for Olawepo-Hashim** “I will create four million jobs every year.
  17. Leadership of (November 18<sup>th</sup> 2018, Pg6) **Prof. Yusufu Ameh Obaje** of Advanced Nigeria Democratic Party (ANDP) promises to “deliver the youth from unemployment”
  18. Nigerian Tribune (November 19<sup>th</sup> 2018, Pg2.) PMB of APC **2019: our choice will shape Nigeria’s future** “we will remodel 10,000 schools every year”.
  19. The Punch (November 22<sup>nd</sup> 2018, pg. 3) **Accord Party presidential candidate promises to focus on infrastructure. Isaac Babatunde**



- Ositelu** says we'll "build infrastructure, unite Nigeria and restore Nigeria on the path of prosperity "
20. Leadership (November 20th 2018 Pg. 14) **Fela Durotoye**, ANN presidential candidate promises to "make social impact in the lives of both young and old Nigerians".
  21. Nigerian Tribune (November 20<sup>th</sup>, 2018. Pg. 3) **Atiku** of PDP in "**How we will get Nigeria working again**" promises to "give Nigerians a working and living wage, empower Nigerian women, reduce maternal mortality".
  22. Nigerian Tribune (November 20<sup>th</sup>, 2018. Pg.4) ADC Obadiah Mailafia, **I will restore economic plan if elected president** "I will bring back culture of economic development ... I am going to pursue infrastructure development..."
  23. Leadership (21<sup>st</sup> November 2018, Pg. 40). **Olawepo –Hashim** of PT in a story: **I've mobilized the grassroots to defeat Buhari, Atiku**, promises to "Pay 50,000 minimum wage, create 4 million jobs".
  24. Vanguard (14<sup>th</sup> November 2018, pg 43). **How I will take 80 million Nigerians out of poverty-Ezekwesili** of ANCP
  25. Vanguard (November 14<sup>th</sup> 2018, Pg43) **Dr. Kriz David** of Liberation Movement promises to "operate a smart government".
  26. Leadership (November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2018. Pg. 45) in **Campaign promises: our politicians have come again**", **Atiku** promises "20,000 megawatt of electricity in seven years".
  27. In the Nigerian Tribune (November 22<sup>nd</sup> 2018 Pg. 2), **Atiku** of PDP promises "40% of appointment would go to youth while 30% would go to women".
  28. In Vanguard (November 1<sup>st</sup> Pg. 16) **Ezekwesili** of the ACPN promises "8 million jobs".
  29. In ThisDay (November 2<sup>nd</sup> 2018 Pg. 10) **Atiku** promises to "crash petrol price".



30. In Leadership (November 28, 2018 Pg. 28), titled: **The presidential candidates and their manifestoes**, **Kola Fasua** of ANRP promises “Re-energizing the educational sector”.
- 31 **Donald Duke** of SDP promises “...I support the call for restructuring”.
32. **Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu** of Youth Progressive Party (YPP): promises “...appointments would be done within 48 hours in office, 50/50 on gender parity policy in all political appointment”.
33. In The Guardian (November 25, 2018 Pg. 39), **Fela Durotoye** says “Restructuring Nigeria will transform local communities into industrial Hubs”.
34. In This day (November 6<sup>th</sup>, 2018 Pg.19) **Ekwesili** of ACPN promises “**commitment to poverty alleviation**”
35. In The Nation (November 5<sup>th</sup> 2018, Pg41), **Olawepo-Hashim** of the People’s Trust promises “to do better with the national economy”.
36. Thisday (November 13<sup>th</sup>, 2018 Pg.19), **Prof. Funmilayo Adesanya-Davies** of **MAJA** promises “to create massive jobs...to form unity govt”.
37. In The Nation (November 26<sup>th</sup> 2018, Pg.10), **Olawepo-Hashim** promises “to tackle cancer headlong”.
38. In The Nation (December 19<sup>th</sup>, 2018 Pg.6), **PMB** of APC plans “to extend the school feeding program, complete the Ibadan/Kano phase of the Lagos/Kano rail link, the Port Harcourt/Maiduguri line, the Itakpa/Warri link to Abuja, through Lokoja”.
39. The Nation (November 20<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg.1), **Atiku** of PDP promises “to back 50m SMEs”.
40. In This day (November 22<sup>nd</sup> 2018 Pg. 32), **Olawepo-Hashim** says “I will end crony capitalism in Nigeria”.
41. In Daily Sun (November 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019 Pg.31) titled: “**2019: NCP alternative that’ll work for Nigerians**”, **Tanko Yunusa**, a presidential candidate promises “to restructure the country, true federalism among other issue”.



42. In The Punch (December 28<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg. 10), titled: **Ezekwesili takes campaign to Anambra street**, promises to “lift 80 million Nigerians out of poverty...”
43. Daily Sun (November 13<sup>th</sup>, 2018 Pg. 3) **2019:Oby Ezekwesili unveils roadmaps, pledges to scrap fuel subsidy** “pledges to implement oil reform, 12 cities project to bring 12 Nigerian city to global standard”
44. In ThisDay (November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2018 Pg.28), titled: **watching failure of recycled politician pushed me to run for president, Olawepo-Hashim** of People’s Trust promises “fight effective war against poverty”.
45. In The Guardian (December 30<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg. 6), **Joel Gbenga Olawepo Hashim** promises “to create four million jobs.
46. The Punch (December 11<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg. 10). Presidential candidate, **Isaac Ositelu** of Action Party promises “self-sufficient in food production”.
47. In The Guardian (December 18<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg. 8), titled: **Atiku PDP visits Lagos, assures of robust youth participating if elected...says** “we will provide employment and fulfil our promises”.
48. The Nation (December 30<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg.6) 2019: **Olawepo-Hashim** of PT promises “to heal wounds of Biafra...to create a legislative framework within six months for creation for one state in the South-east”.
49. Daily Sun (November 18<sup>th</sup> Pg. 12) titled: **It’s total war for PDP, APC, others, NCP Tanko Yinusa** pledges “to address the plight of Nigerian”.
50. In The Nation (December 29<sup>th</sup>, 2018 Pg 41) 2019 **Olawepo-Hashim** vows “to heal Biafra wounds “promised to create additional state in Southeast”.
51. In The Guardian (December 21<sup>st</sup> 2018 Pg. 8) titled: **How I will end unemployment if elected**, Ezekwesili of the ACPN promises to “create 80 million jobs”.
52. In The Punch (December 14<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg. 10), **Ezekwesili** of ACPN promises “to reduce poverty...”



53. In The Nation (December 18<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg. 42) **Atiku** of PDP promises “youth 40% appointments”.
54. The Nation (December 19<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg.9), **Olawepo-Hashim** promises: “I’ll resist attempt to turn Nigeria into two-party state”.
55. Nigerian Tribune (December 9<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg. 22) titled: **Issue, as presidential campaign begins, Kingsley Moghalu** of YPP promises “the government of PT will ensure a minimum wage of N50,000:00”
56. In Nigerian Tribune (December 7<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg. 4), **Atiku** of PDP promises “I’ll initiate Nigeria’s restructuring six months into office”.
57. In The Nation (December 8<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg.4), **Atiku** of PDP promises “an inclusive govt.”
58. Daily Sun (December 31<sup>st</sup> 2018, Pg. 9) titled: **2019: Ezekwesili pledges 50% appointment for women, youths**
59. In Nigerian Tribune (December 31<sup>st</sup> 2018 Pg.31) **Ezekwesili** of ACPN pledges “50% appointment for women, youth”.
60. In Daily Trust (December 30<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg. 38), YPP presidential running mate, **Umama Gesto** promises “we intend to touch the lives women from rural area down to the urban centre and even include youth and provide an avenue that will empower them in their lives”
61. In Vanguard (December 18<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg.8) 2019: **Atiku pledges 40% affirmative action for youth**
62. Daily Trust (December 28<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg.15) **Ezekwesili promises to correct nation’s political anomaly ...**
63. In Daily Trust (December 14<sup>th</sup> 2018 Pg. 14) **Ezekwesili** promises “I’ll tackle poverty headlong”.

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### 4.3. Conflict Sensitivity



- **Language use**

All reports monitored were conflict sensitive compliant in terms of language use.

- **Hate speech**

No evidence of hate speech was observed in the monitored reports

#### **4.4 Youths and the Electoral Process**

##### **Number of relevant items**

109 items at 0.9% were published on youths.

##### **Use as sources**

At 155 **Male youths** were used as sources in 1.04% of the reports while **Female Youths** were used as sources in 8 (0.05%) reports

- (Table 4d on page 35 shows the breakdown of sources)

#### **4.5 Women and the Electoral Process**

##### **i. Mentions**

Women issues were mentioned in 106 items, constituting 2.06% of the total reports.

##### **ii. Women as Sources**

A total of 14,879 persons were recorded as sources speaking in the identified relevant reports within the period. (Sources are the persons who were either directly quoted or indirectly paraphrased or referenced in the relevant reports that were analysed).

Of these **women** made only 3.3% as their voices and perspectives were captured in 485 of the relevant editorial items monitored.



In contrast, men's perspectives were captured in 12,540 reports or 84.28%, thereby dominating as sources of news reports. (See table 4e on page 19 below for breakdown of sources).

### iii. Portrayal

- Personalities rather than electoral value were the focus of some of the reports. Women contestants were labeled: 'wife', and 'widow' and were reported as if their political successes were dependent on their living or late husbands. A case in point was how media reported Bianca Ojukwu in the build up to APGA's Senatorial primary election in Anambra State.

- (A case of how Bianca Ojukwu was reported)

- For instance, **Vanguard** published a story on October 13, titled: *How Ukachukwu aborted Bianca Ojukwu's Senatorial Ambition.*

- **The Nation** on September 29, 2018 also reported Bianca in the same manner in a piece titled: *APGA South senatorial ticket: Many rivers to cross for Bianca Ojukwu.* The newspaper wrote:

"The other battle confronting the delectable widow of the ex-Biafra warlord, is the internal wrangling with members of her late husband's family. Some members of the Ojukwu's family are reported not to be in good terms with the ex-beauty queen turned politician...Besides, The Nation gathered that some of the family members and APGA faithful, see her as arrogant, pompous and a snub who will never remember any of them if she wins any election"

- **Vanguard's** report of September 5, 2018 was one-sided in relation to Bianca's political aspiration. The report, titled:



*Anambra South: Ojukwu's Children Vow Not to Support Bianca's Ambition.* In an intro, the report referenced a source, saying, "...it was wrong to allow a woman from Ngwo in Enugu State to represent Anambra South Senatorial District."

- In this report, all the three sources quoted spoke from negative perspectives. Again, the story was not developed further to accommodate a different perspective.
- In **The Punch** (October 8, 2018), Bianca was also referred to as a 'widow' in a report titled: *APGA organised senatorial primary just to disqualify Bianca, Uwazuruike claims.*
- The newspaper said: "*Bianca, widow of the late Biafran leader...had signified her interest to represent Anambra South at the Senate in the 2019 elections. However, her aspiration has not gone down with some people...*"

#### **Other Findings on Women Issues:**

- Women voices missing in Vox Pops

In a Vox Pop published in **Daily Sun** (November 22, 2018) titled: *Direct or indirect primaries, which is more democratic?* The newspaper quoted eight men from different walks of life, no woman was included.

The same was the case in another Vox Pop published by **Daily Trust** (November 3, 2018) titled: *What do Nigerians think about INEC conducting the 2019 elections?* Here, **there was no woman among the respondents as the six people interviewed were men.**



In **Vanguard**, (December 20, 2018), there is gender imbalance in a vox pop, titled: *Should INEC conduct elections in IDPs Camps?* Here, five men were interviewed, while only one woman was interviewed.

In **The Punch**, (December 28, 2018), in a Vox Pop titled: *Should the National ID card be used for elections*, no woman was interviewed.

#### **4.6. People Living with Disabilities (PWDS) and the Electoral Process**

##### **i. Mentions**

There were 33 relevant editorial reports published on PLWDs, representing 0.3%.

##### **ii. Use as Sources**

The use of the disadvantaged group, **PLWDs**, as sources was scanty. While **Male Youth with Disability** made only 0.06% of sources of news in 10 reports, **Female Youth with Disability** were featured as sources in only 3 reports (at 0.05%).

#### **4.7. The Electoral Management Body (EMB) - INEC**

##### **i. Summary of findings**

A total of 904 reports were published on the **Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)**, Nigeria's elections ombudsman, representing 7.27%.

##### **ii. Use as source**

**INEC** officials were sources in 397 reports (at 2.64%) of all the stakeholders who the media cited as source of information.

##### ***Other findings around INEC***

##### **Continuous Voters' Registration:**

There were 3 reports on **Continuous Voters' Registration** at 0.03%.

##### **Civic and Voter Education:**



There were 26 reports on **Civic and Voter Education** (representing 0.21%).

**Permanent Voters' Cards (PVCs)** had 84 reports (at 0.68%).

#### **Campaign Finance:**

There were 78 reports that focused on **Campaign Finance** (at 0.63%).

#### **Voting:**

A total of 154 reports (at 1.24%) focused on voting during the gubernatorial or governorship election that took place in Osun State in September, 2018 as well as some bye elections in Katsina, Bauchi and Kwara States.

#### **iv. Others:**

A total of 3,610 items were monitored under the category of "Others" (at 29%). These refer to other relevant issues on democracy and election which did not directly fall under any of the thematic focus issues.

**Table 4d below shows the number of the different sources used for identified relevant items**

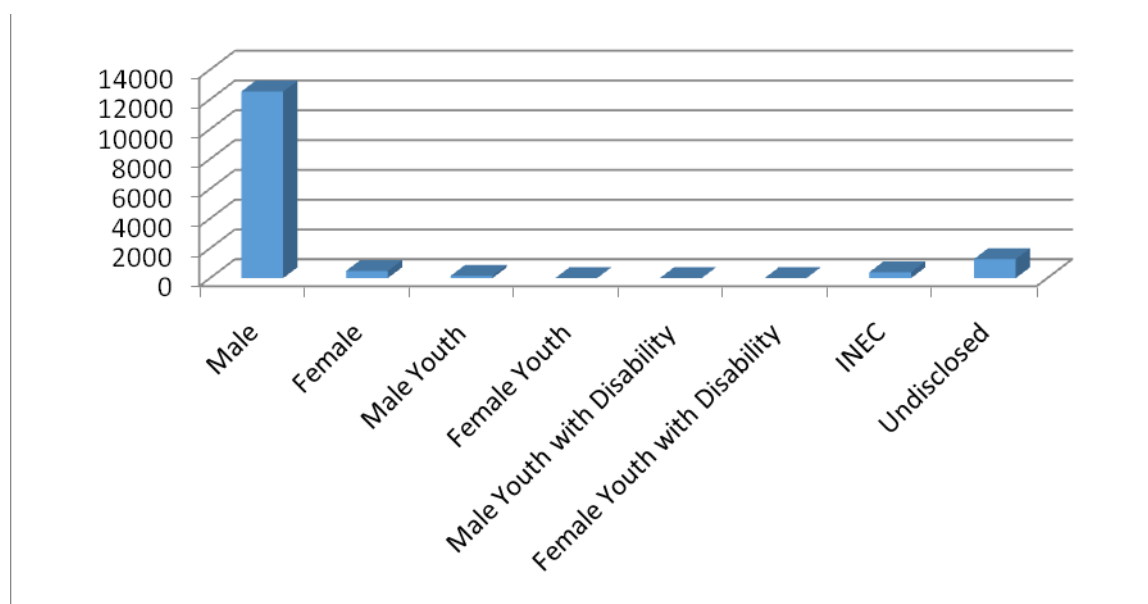
	Male	Female	Male Youth	Female Youth	Male Youth with Disability	Female Youth with Disability	INEC	Undisclosed	Total
Blue Print	556	20	15	1	0	0	27	41	660
Daily Sun	1436	50	21	0	1	1	26	142	1677



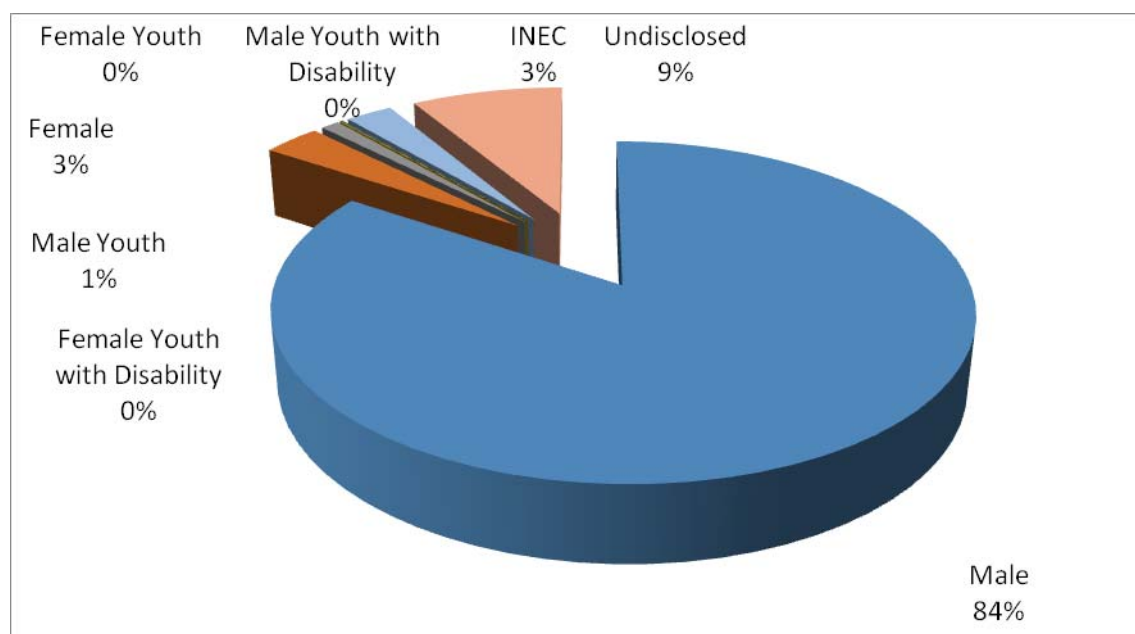
Daily Trust	1125	41	19	0	1	0	39	160	1385
Leadership	1398	65	21	4	0	0	37	115	1640
Nigeria Tribune	917	33	6	0	1	1	36	53	1047
Premium Times	770	27	7	2	1	0	32	43	882
The Cable	569	22	5	0	0	0	18	52	666
The Guardian	885	34	10	0	2	2	40	177	1150
The Nation	1294	35	13	0	0	0	31	150	1523
The Punch	1031	54	12	0	3	1	39	90	1230
ThisDay	947	41	4	0	1	0	36	115	1144
Vanguard	1612	63	22	1	0	0	36	141	1875
Total	12540	485	155	8	10	5	397	1279	14879



**The chart below shows the number of the different sources used for identified relevant items**



**The chart below shows the percentage number of the different sources used for identified relevant items**





## 4.8 Placement

### i. Location of relevant items

Of the 16,282 relevant reports identified and analysed, a total of 12,148 reports (74.61%) were published on the **Inside Pages**. Another 1,581 reports, (9.71%) were published on the **Front Pages** while 115 reports were published on the **Back Pages** (accounting for 0.71%) and 137 reports (0.84%), were published as **Editorials**.

- Placement in **Online newspapers**

Placement in Online newspapers was established from whether the reports were published as '**Top Story** or **Inside Story**'. While 1,013 reports were published as **Top Stories** (at 6.22%), 1,288 reports were published as **Inside Stories**, representing 7.91%.

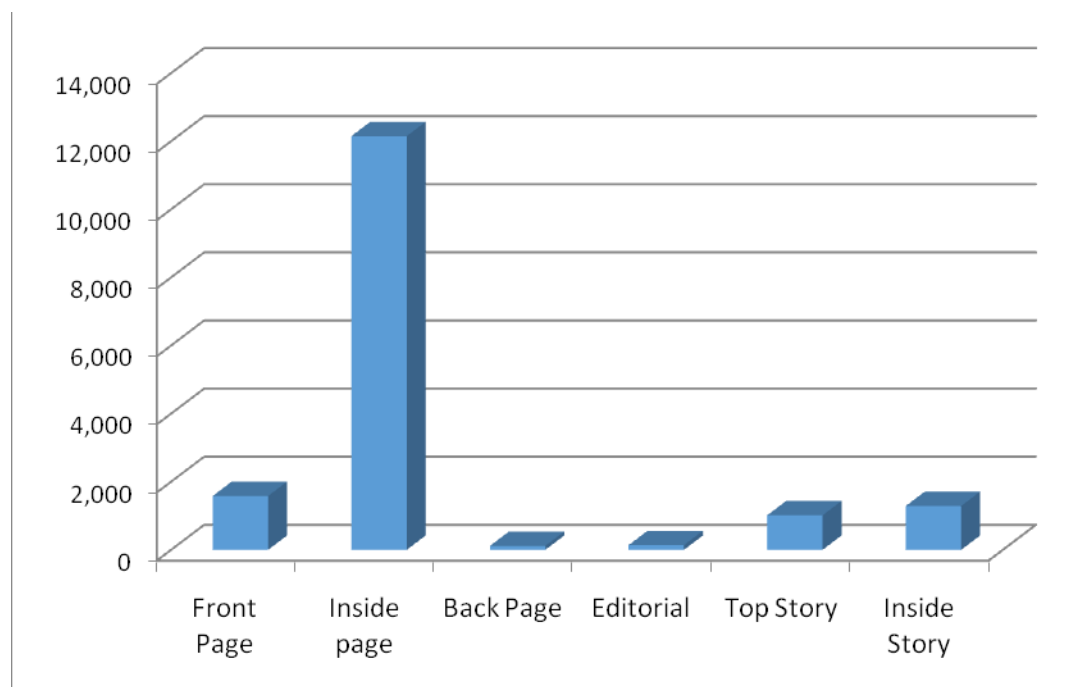
- *Table 4e below shows the degree of prominence given to identified relevant reports*

#	Front Page	Inside page	Back Page	Editorial	Top Story	Inside Story	Total
BluePrint	0	2	0	0	234	461	697
Daily Sun	195	1525	17	13	0	1	1,751
Daily Trust	121	1293	12	4	0	0	1,430
Leadership	92	1574	19	12	0	0	1,697
Nigerian Tribune	229	1441	5	13	0	0	1,688
Premium Times	0	0	0	0	390	544	934



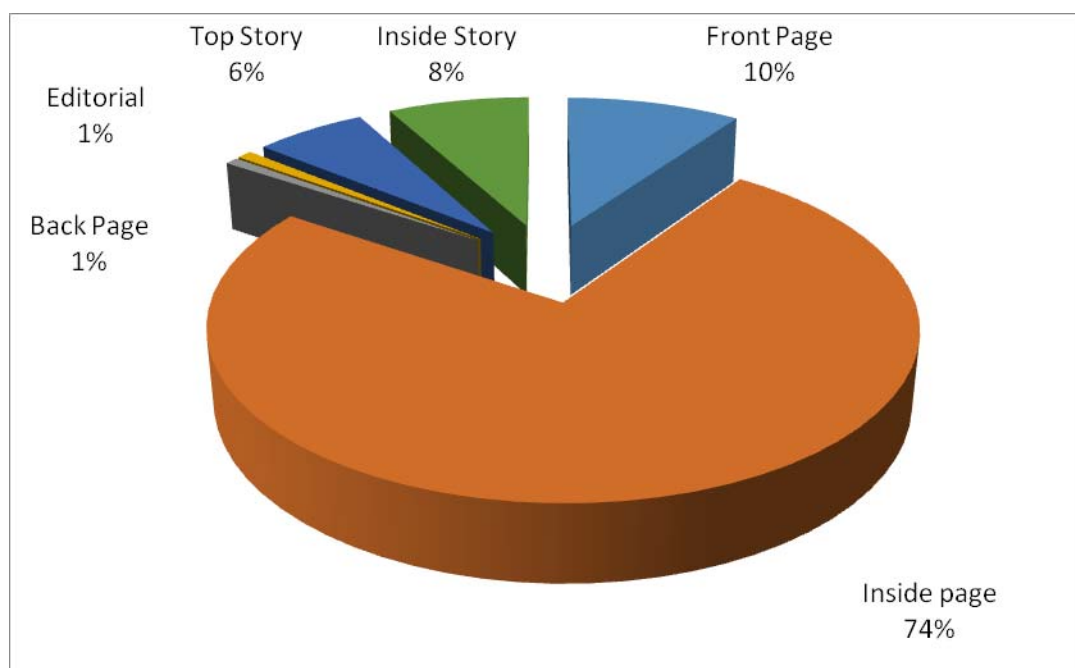
<b>The Cable</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>282</b>	<b>682</b>
<b>The Guardian</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>1,048</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,207</b>
<b>The Nation</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>1,476</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,752</b>
<b>The Punch</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>1,063</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,286</b>
<b>ThisDay</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>953</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,197</b>
<b>Vanguard</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>1,764</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,961</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,581</b>	<b>12,148</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>1,013</b>	<b>1,288</b>	<b>16,282</b>

- *The chart below shows the degree of prominence given to identified relevant reports*



*The chart below shows the percentage degree of prominence given to identified relevant reports*





#### 4.9. Format

##### i. Reports' genre

Out of 16,242 total reports identified as relevant and monitored, 13,077 reports were published as **News** (at 80.32%). Another 923 reports were published as **Features** at (5.67%). There were 77 **Editorials** at (0.46%); while 821 reports were **Opinion articles** at (5.04%). Another 106 reports were **Letters to the Editor** (0.65%); and 261 were **photographs** (1.6%).

Others include 150 reports published as **Cartoons** (0.92%); 32 as **Vox Pops** (0.2%) while 821 **Interviews** were published at (5.04%).

For the online medium, video was used to complement their reports. 14 **Videos** at (0.08%) were found relevant and monitored within the period.

***Table 4f below shows the reportage of identified relevant items according to the format of publication***



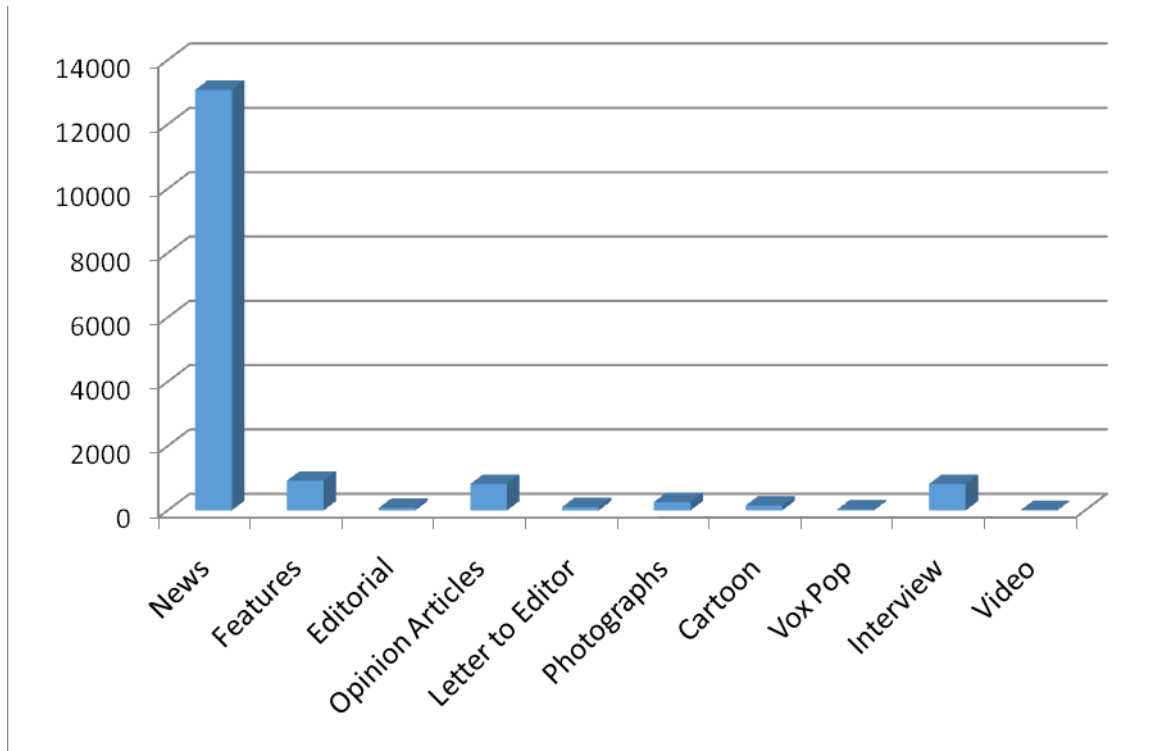
#	News	Features	Editorial	Opinion Articles	Letter to Editor	Photographs	Cartoon	Vox Pop	Interview	Video	Total
Blue Print	665	21	0	5	0	0	0	0	6	0	<b>697</b>
Daily Sun	1195	84	15	146	4	24	12	6	265	0	<b>1751</b>
Daily Trust	1168	57	4	87	28	28	19	4	35	0	<b>1430</b>
Leadership	1332	159	10	71	0	43	11	0	71	0	<b>1697</b>
Nigerian Tribune	1405	57	8	59	17	18	10	1	113	0	<b>1688</b>
Premium Times	885	23	0	4	0	0	0	0	16	6	<b>934</b>
The Cable	636	7	0	26	0	3	0	0	2	8	<b>682</b>
The Guardian	850	174	10	68	10	18	43	0	34	0	<b>1207</b>



The Nation	1363	126	3	127	14	31	21	0	67	0	<b>1752</b>
The Punch	1115	12	8	42	9	8	10	8	74	0	<b>1286</b>
ThisDay	860	86	19	98	24	55	1	0	54	0	<b>1197</b>
Vanguard	1603	117	0	88	0	33	23	13	84	0	<b>1961</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>13077</b>	<b>923</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>821</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>821</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>16282</b>

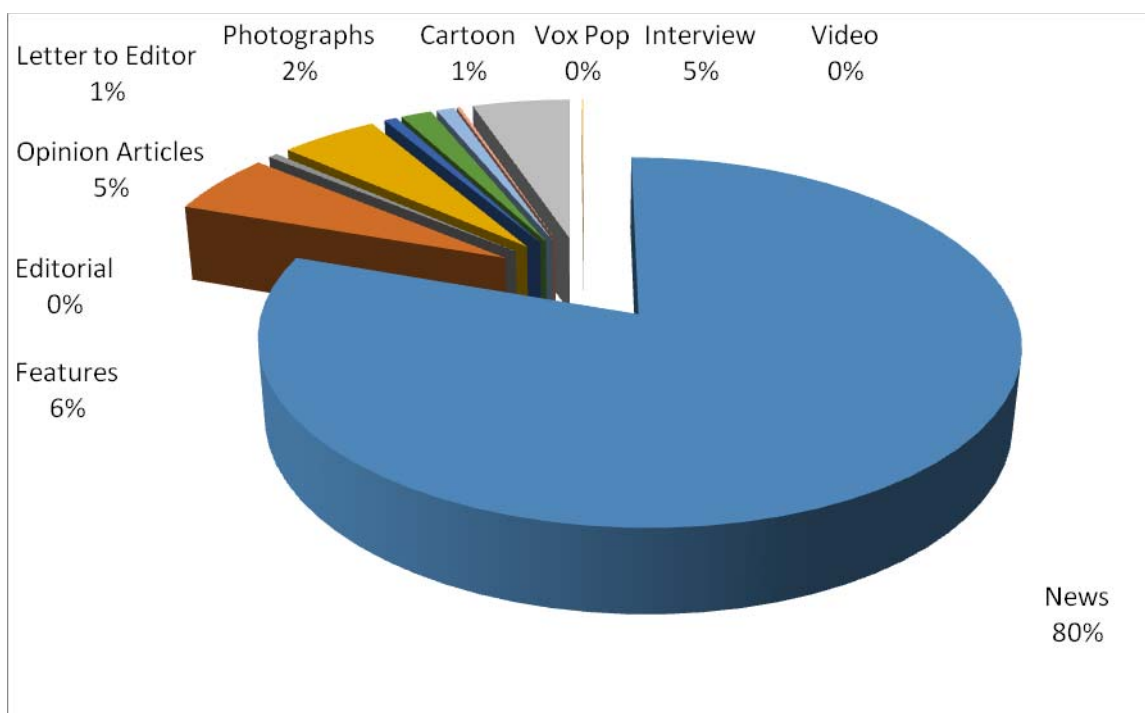
*The chart below shows the reportage of identified relevant items according to the format of publication*





***The chart below shows the percentage of reportage of identified relevant items according to the format of publication***





#### 4.9. Mentions (of who?)

*Table 4g below shows the number of relevant items published on each of the thematic Focus areas.*

	Blue Print	Daily Sun	Daily Trust	Leadership	Nigerian Tribune	Premium Times	The Cable	The Guardian	The Nation	The Punch	This Day	Vanguard	Total
<b>Gender (Women)</b>	2	8	11	14	6	6	4	20	6	12	12	17	118
<b>Youth</b>	7	5	16	15	4	15	1	12	8	11	9	6	109

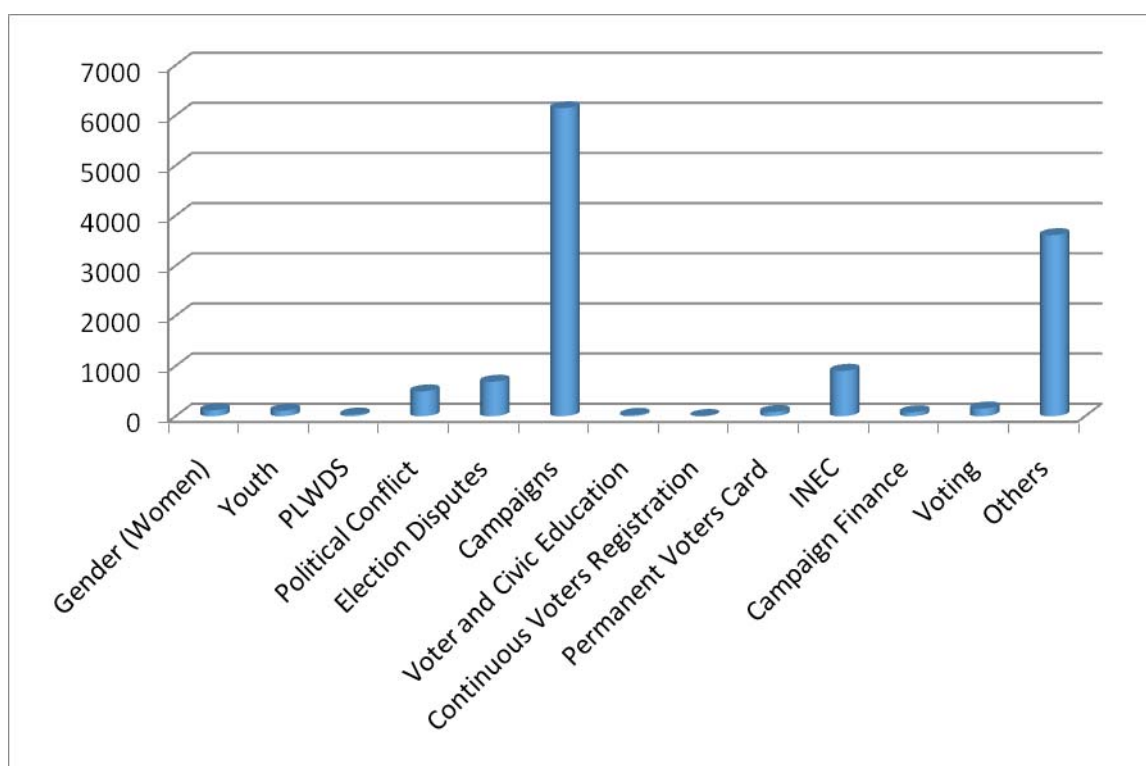


<b>PLWDs</b>	0	3	5	4	5	1	0	7	0	6	1	1	33
<b>Political I Conflict</b>	36	49	21	43	14	40	52	42	65	23	20	89	494
<b>Electio n Dispute s</b>	29	51	18	89	69	46	34	73	79	100	32	67	687
<b>Campai gns</b>	387	701	530	575	308	494	315	467	722	501	49 8	645	614 3
<b>Voter and Civic Educati on</b>	2	2	3	7	1	0	1	1	0	5	2	2	26
<b>Continu ous Voters Registr ation</b>	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
<b>Perman ent Voters Card</b>	2	5	11	14	2	9	5	16	5	5	2	8	84
<b>INEC</b>	46	96	96	92	56	54	51	89	50	105	90	79	904



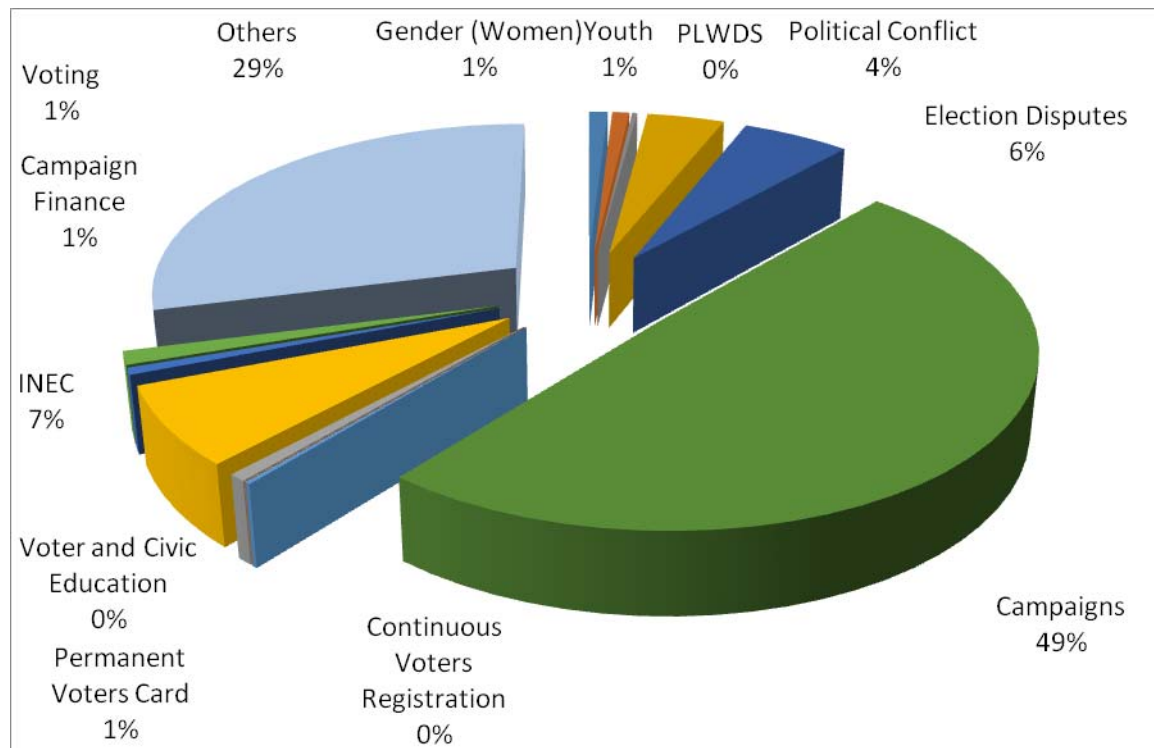
<b>Campaign Finance</b>	6	13	8	3	1	5	5	12	6	11	2	6	78
<b>Voting</b>	1	17	18	2	9	21	9	8	34	16	8	11	154
<b>Others</b>	121	441	346	298	277	167	161	340	356	374	284	445	3610
<b>Total</b>	639	1391	1083	1157	752	858	639	1087	1331	1170	960	1,376	12,443

*The chart below shows the number of relevant items published on each of the thematic Focus areas*





**The chat below shows the percentages of relevant items published on each of the thematic Focus areas**





## 5.0 OBSERVATIONS

The Nigerian Media Code of Election Coverage and some other relevant frameworks including the Electoral Act obligate the media to give equitable coverage and access to all political parties and under-represented groups such as youths, women and peoples living with disability. The frameworks also obligate the media to be socially responsible, ethical, avoid hate speech and be conflict sensitive.

In the context of the above, it was observed that:

- The media outlets during the period did not give equitable coverage to the parties and aspirants/candidates. Two political parties, All Progressives Congress (APC) and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) got much of the coverage while 89 others were not well focused upon. Findings show that the combined coverage that APC and PDP get is 85% while the rest shared 25%. While it could be argued that this possibly reflects the strength of the two political parties, efforts should have been made to cover and report the other political parties.
- The monitored media outlets did not during the period give fair and equitable coverage to disadvantaged groups. Women, youths and persons living with disabilities were poorly focused upon.

Findings show that **men** dominated the media space with 1,417 mentions, representing (50.61%). **Women** on the other hand got 102 mentions (at 3.54%), **Youths** got 109 mentions (at 3.7%) while **PLWDs** got 33 mentions at 1.14%. It therefore means that some of the women, youths and people living with disabilities especially those standing as aspirants and candidates might not have been given opportunity of getting their issues across to the public.



- The monitored media outlets were conflict sensitive in their language use and generally avoided reports or headlines that could be interpreted as hate speech
- Some of the monitored media outlets did not show enough sensitivity to gender in the way and manner of reporting female aspirants
- Some of the monitored media outlets used as advert as news without clearly indicating that they were sponsored adverts. For example in November 2018, eight of the newspapers, except The Guardian and the online only ones, published advertorial on the incumbent President and the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC) on their front pages.

The advert, headlined *NEXT LEVEL 2019: Buhari/Osinbajo*. *WORKING FOR THE GREATEST NUMBER*, promoting President Buhari's flag-off of the 2019 re-election campaigns, occupied more than half of the Front pages of the newspapers. For instance, **ThisDay**, **Daily Sun**, **The Punch**, **The Nation**, **Leadership**, **Vanguard**,



published the advert on November 19, 2018 while, **Daily Trust** and **Nigerian Tribune** published the advert on the 20th and 21st of November, 2018 respectively.



The advert carried the logo of the All Progressives Party (APC). In *The Nation* and *Vanguard* newspapers, there were no clear demarcations between the advert and the major headlines on their Front page such that it could be confused as the papers' main headline news for the day. **The Nation** published directly above the advert a major headline titled: *Buhari: My second term plan*.

In **Vanguard**, it was directly under a caption: 2019: *I'm taking Nigeria to next level—BUHARI*.

Other newspapers published headlines that clearly

demarcated their editorial contents from the advert: **The Punch** placed the advert under a major headline titled: *2019: Buhari, Atiku unveil plans as campaigns begin*. **Leadership** placed it under a headline: *2019: Fireworks As Parties Square Up...*







In **Daily Sun**, it was placed under a headline: *Don't set Nigeria ablaze, Buhari urges politicians.*





## 6.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- The monitored media outlets and others not covered by this exercise, should continue to strive to abide with the provisions of the Nigerian Media Code of Election Coverage and some other relevant frameworks including the Electoral Act obligating them to:
  - Give equitable access to parties and candidates
  - Give equitable access to underrepresented group
  - Be socially responsible
  - Be ethical
  - Avoid hate speech; and
  - Be Conflict sensitive
- The monitored media outlets and others should be more gender sensitive in the choice of language when reporting women candidates or their issues
- With the elections drawing near, it is expected that the media and INEC will step up enlightenment around voting so that no one is disenfranchised and no one commits any offence out of ignorance. This is the period the electorates need to be well informed about their duties and responsibilities during the elections.