



BROADCAST MEDIA COVERAGE OF 2019 NIGERIA GENERAL ELECTION

OCTOBER-DECEMBER,
2018



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European Union



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C O N T E N T S

FOREWORD	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	viii
<hr/>	
OCTOBER 2018 REPORT	9
PART I: CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON RADIO	12
PART II: CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON TELEVISION	21
PART III: CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON RADIO AND TELEVISION COMBINED	31
<hr/>	
NOVEMBER 2018 REPORT	47
PART I: CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON RADIO	50
PART II: CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON TELEVISION	60
PART III: COMBINED REPORT ON RADIO AND TELEVISION	70
<hr/>	
DECEMBER 2018 REPORT	88
PART I: CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON RADIO	92
PART II: CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON TELEVISION	103
PART III: COMBINED CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS FOR DECEMBER 2018	110
<hr/>	
OCT -DEC 2018 REPORT (COMBINED)	124
PART I: CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON RADIO	128
PART II: CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON TELEVISION	139
PART III: CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON RADIO AND TELEVISION COMBINED	149

F O R E W O R D

The Institute for Media and Society established a Media Monitoring activity in 2018 within the context of the Support to Media component of the European Union Support to Democratic Governance in Nigeria (EU-SDGN) Project. This emerged from our understanding that media monitoring is a strong tool for generating data in a systematic and scientific manner, to analyse and draw conclusions on the performance of the media during an electoral process.

The activity sought to contribute to enhanced professionalism in the media and ultimately to improved media coverage of the electoral process – before, during and after the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

We set up Media Monitoring Centres in four locations: Kaduna (Kaduna State), Port Harcourt (Rivers State), Yola (Adamawa State) and Lagos (Lagos State).

From these centres, our staff monitored and processed contents of selected broadcast media outlets (radio and television) across the country. They focused on the character and diversity of coverage of issues by the media. They beamed their search-light on the attention given by the media to various actors and institutions in the electoral process.

The outputs from the analysis of the extensive monitoring work are provided on the pages in this publication. The reader will find, among other things, a clear picture of prioritization of media attention to issues and institutions, the

changes in coverage patterns and the areas of performance that require being addressed as our country continues to improve in the conduct of elections and broader democratic governance.

This is a great resource for journalists and other professionals involved in the electoral process in Nigeria.

Dr. Akin Akingbulu
Executive Director
Institute for Media and Society (IMS)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS


The work of monitoring media content in the electoral process in Nigeria involves a series of tasks and actors, spread (in our particular experience) across timelines and locations. The actors ensured that the job was done and done well.

We wish to thank monitoring staff in the field monitoring centres (Yola, Kaduna and Port Harcourt) and the Head Office staff in Lagos.

We are grateful to Professor Ayo Ojebode and the following members of his team at the Department of Communication and Language Arts, University of Ibadan: Oluwabusolami Oluwajulugbe, Omehie Okoyomoh, Timilehin Durotoye, Obasanjo Oyedele, Amarachi Simon Gondo, Mustapha Adeitan, Adeola Mobolaji, Seun Fategbe and Ifeoluwa Akinola. They worked tirelessly on shaping the analyses that we will be reading on the pages of this publication.

Thanks to the European Union, for providing support for the entire monitoring activity, including this publication.

OCTOBER 2018 REPORT



BACKGROUND

By Sunday, November 18, 2018, the campaigns for the 2019 general elections had officially started. However, in the months before November, there were intra-party campaigns for the selection of party candidates who would contest for the various offices in the elections. Some of the campaigns were subtle while some were not. As parties were getting ready, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was also busy with election preparations including, but not limited to, party registration, election administration and voter education. Government agencies, especially security agencies, were also actively involved in the electoral process already at this point. The same was true for non-governmental agencies and community-based organisations. Although the elections were four months away, the nation was already busy with the electoral process and activities.

The broadcast media, as one might expect, were actively involved as well. Given the history, globally, of the indictment of the broadcast media in cases of electoral infractions, incitement, hate speech, lopsided coverage and others, it was important to evaluate the way the broadcast media participated and fared in the preparations towards the 2019 general elections. It was important to ask: what themes were the broadcast media presenting to the public? How well were they covering the different constituents of the society especially women and people living with disability? How much voter education were they presenting to their audience? Were there any instances of extreme speech in the broadcasts? These and some other were the questions that this project sought to answer.

This report is the first of the twelve monthly reports of the answers to the above-stated questions. In the report, we present the performance of the

broadcast media in Nigeria in October 2018. Specifically, we examined the themes that the broadcast media focused on in the month under review, that is, October 2018. We examined the diversity of their coverage paying attention to their sources of news and other programmes and the actors mentioned in these broadcasts – this we called visibility of actors. We examined the visibility of the different government agencies as well. Then we examined the presence or absence of extreme speech.

The monitoring involved 17 radio stations and 16 television stations selected from across the country. The selected radio stations are listed as follows:

The radio stations monitored:

1. Adamawa Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) Yola
2. Anambra Broadcasting Service (Awka 88.5 FM), Awka
3. Arewa Radio, Kano
4. Dream FM, Enugu
5. Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) Network
6. Glory FM (Bayelsa State Broadcasting Corporation, BSBC), Yenagoa
7. Gotel Radio, Yola
8. Kaduna State Media Corporation (KSMC) Radio, Kaduna
9. Nigeria Info, Network
10. Osun State Broadcasting Corporation (OSBC), Osogbo
11. Progress FM Gombe
12. Radio Benue, Makurdi
13. Radio Kwara, Ilorin
14. Radio Lagos
15. Radio Lagos/Eko FM

16. Rhythm 93.7, Network
17. Splash FM 105.5 Ibadan

The television stations monitored:

1. African Independent Television (AIT), Network
2. Adamawa Television (ATV) Yola
3. Channels Television, Network
4. Desmims International Television (DITV), Kaduna
5. Galaxy Television, Lagos
6. Gotel TV, Yola
7. Independent Television (ITV), Benin City
8. Kaduna State Television (KSTV), Kaduna
9. Liberty TV, Abuja
10. Lagos Television (LTV), Lagos
11. Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) Network
12. Ogun State Television (OGTV), Abeokuta
13. Rivers State Television (RSTV), Port Harcourt
14. Silverbird Television (STV), Network
15. TV Continental (TVC), Network
16. Wazobia Max TV, Network

In the sections that follow, we first present the findings for radio stations, then the findings for television stations. After that, we present the consolidated findings for the two categories of broadcast media.

PART I:

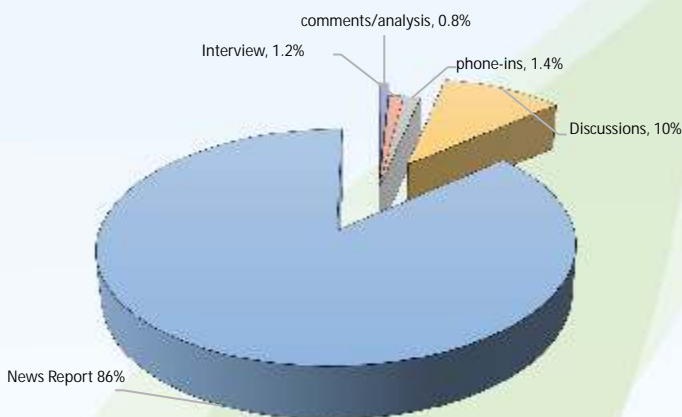
CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON RADIO

From the four radio monitoring zones, 17 radio stations were selected. Within the month of October 2018, 425 broadcasts were monitored and analysed from these stations. In the sections that follow, we present the programme types of these broadcasts, the thematic focus, visibility of individual and corporate actors, and incidences of extreme speech.

PROGRAMME TYPES OF POLITICAL RADIO BROADCASTS

The 425 broadcasts selected fell into five programme types. As Chart 1 shows, News Report was the most common format.

Chart 1: Programme types of the political radio broadcasts



Over 86% of the programmes were news reports; discussions were 10% while phone-ins were 1.4%. Interviews and comments/analysis were 1.2% and 0.8%, respectively.

October 2018 was about the time the different political parties were completing their party primaries. News of the winners and losers dominated the reports. For example, five of the stations reported the story of Governor

Akinwunmi Ambode of Lagos State congratulating the winner of the party primary, a contest in which he lost out. Many other news items centred on peaceful elections and appeal to the electorate to vote for those who had good qualities not those who offered them. Religious leaders, political leaders, youth leaders and others were involved in making these appeals. An example is one broadcast by the KSMC on 5 October, 2018 under the headline:

An APC chairperson in Soba LGA of Kaduna state has appealed to youths in the area to live in peace irrespective of political and religious differences.

The international dimension of these appeals is illustrated by the call from the Archbishop of Cameroon as broadcast by FRCN on 8 October, 2018 under the headline:

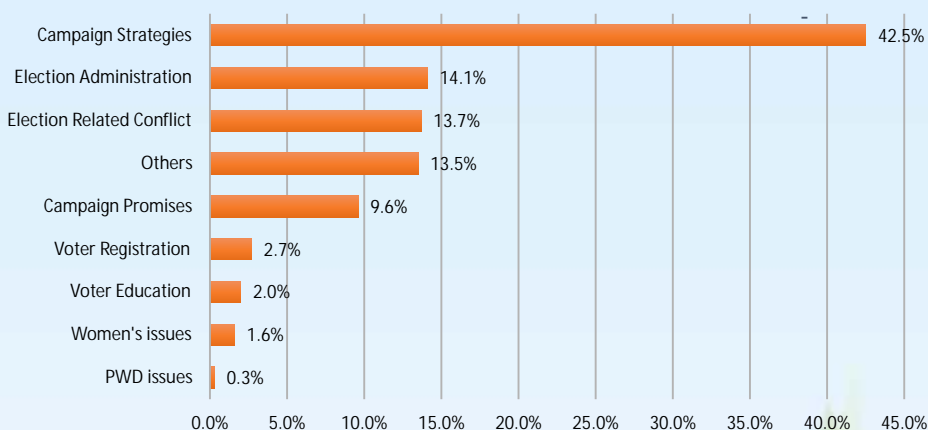
Archbishop of Cameroon has advised Nigerians to shun money and vote people who would positively impact the nation.

Altogether, the news contents created an atmosphere of uncertainty as the campaigns for the elections were about to kick off, and depicted frantic efforts being made by government and others to ensure that the elections went on peacefully and credibly.

THEMATIC FOCUS OF THE CONTENTS OF POLITICAL RADIO PROGRAMMES

What were the predominant themes or topics that the stations focused on? Even though campaigns were yet to fully begin, the focus of the radio programmes was mainly on campaign activities and strategies. Chart 2 shows that the needs of persons with disabilities (PWD) were the least concern of the radio stations in the month under consideration.

Chart 2: Thematic focus of radio broadcasts October, 2018



Of all the issues considered, campaign activities and strategies were the most visible with up to 42.5% of airtime being dedicated to them. Election administration comes a distant second with 14.1% of coverage. Election-related conflicts accounted for 13.7% of coverage. As important as campaign issues and manifestos are, campaign promises and issues came in at slightly less than 10.0%. Voter registration was barely visible at 2.7%, and voter education was even less visible at 2.0%. Issues about Women also had poor visibility, accounting for a meagre 1.6% of coverage. The needs and concerns of PWD attracted only 0.3% of the coverage making this the least visible thematic area. Other issues comprised 13.5% of the coverage.

VISIBILITY OF ACTORS IN THE CONTENTS OF RADIO BROADCASTS

Visibility refers to how often a category of people were mentioned or used as sources media contents. At the level of individual visibility, we considered gender, location, status and individuals with special needs. We also examined the visibility of groups and agencies.

Visibility of individual actors

In the month under consideration, there were 563 actors who were featured either as sources of contents or people mentioned in contents. Of these 563, 477 were male. Chart 4 shows the distribution.

Chart 3: Visibility of male and female actors in the content of radio broadcasts



Chart 3 shows that the coverage was highly skewed towards the male actors with up to roughly 85.0% of sources and mentions being male. Female were much far less visible since they only appeared 15.0% of the time.

Like female actors, PWD also received little coverage as Chart 4 shows.

Chart 4: Visibility of People Living with Disability in the content of Radio Broadcasts

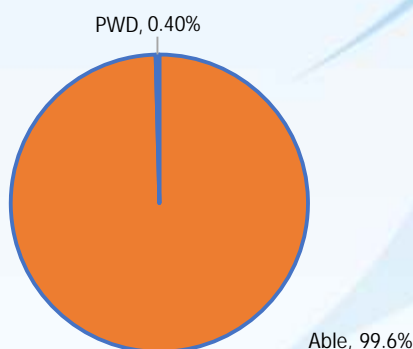


Chart 4 shows that people living with disability were almost completely invisible in the contents of radio broadcasts. Only 0.40% of coverage concerned people with special needs; able people took 99.6% of the coverage.

The distribution was also skewed in favour of urban locations. Most of the events covered were those that took place in urban locations.

Chart 5: Rural Urban Visibility in the Contents of
Radio Broadcasts

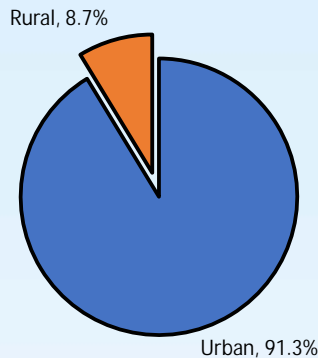
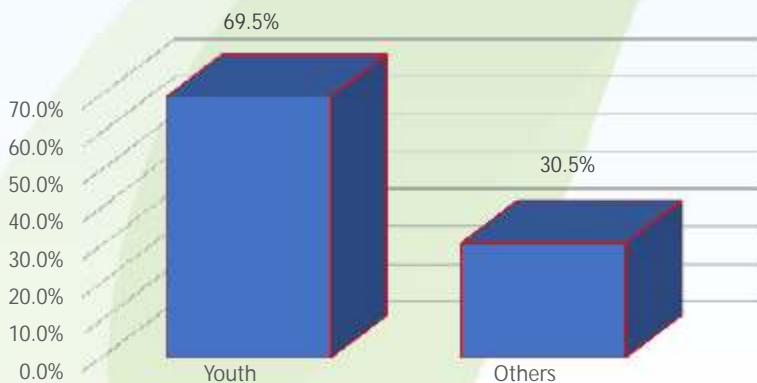


Chart 5 shows that despite the fact that over 50.0% of Nigeria's population reside in rural areas, they accounted for only 8.7% of coverage. Over 90.0% of visibility was enjoyed by the urban areas.

We analysed the presence of young people in the contents of the radio broadcasts as sources of contents and as mentions in contents. We ran a tripartite category system here: youth, others, and unsure. Where the age of actors could not be deduced from their voices, and where they were not referred to as young people or older people, we coded “unsure”. Of the actors whose age could be deduced from their voices or from being directly referred to as youth or older people in the contents, young people represented 69.5%. Chart 6 shows these distributions

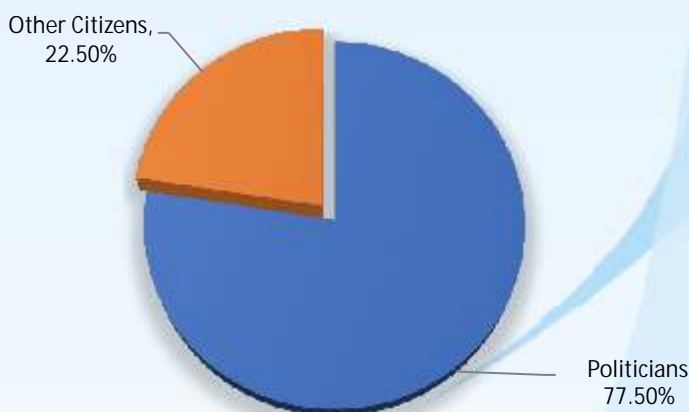
Chart 6: Visibility of youths and older people in
contents of radio broadcasts



We were able to identify actors' age in only 105 cases. Of these, young people were 73 (that is, 69.5%); older people were fewer. We will return to this in Part III of the report.

We also explored the comparative visibility of politicians and other citizens. True to their status conferral role, the radio stations gave far more prominence to politicians than to other citizens. Chart 7 shows that other citizens' visibility was dwarfed by that of politicians'.

Chart 7: Visibility of Politicians and Other Citizens in Radio Broadcasts



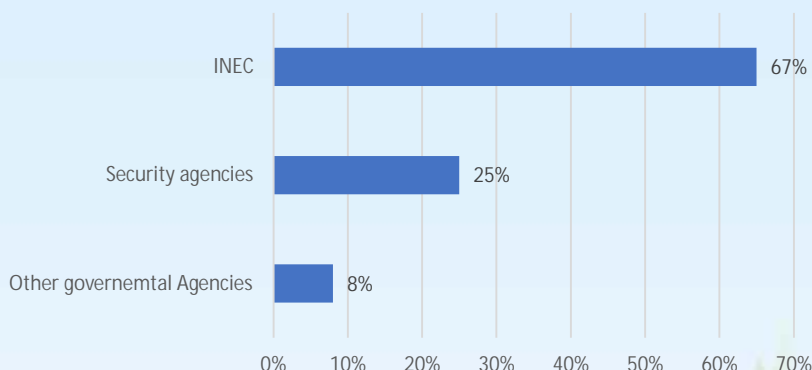
Politicians recorded 77.5%, while other citizens got only 22.5% of the time. Other citizens here included political analysts, government officials that were not politicians, and ordinary citizens.

Visibility of groups and agencies

Just as there was asymmetry in the distribution of the coverage received by politicians and other citizens, so also was there asymmetry in the coverage given to the different government agencies.

Chart 8 shows that the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) had the greatest amount of attention among government agencies.

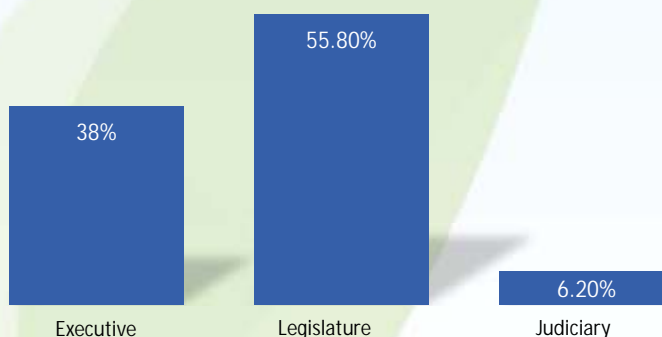
Chart 8: Visibility of Government Agencies in the Content of Radio Broadcasts



Of the three types of governmental agencies considered, INEC which is in charge of electoral administration was given the highest airtime with 67.0%. Security agencies such as the Nigeria Police, the Military and the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps received 25.0% of the coverage, while all the other governmental organisations including ministries, departments and agencies received just 8.0% of the coverage.

Although the Executive arm of government directly funds the elections, the other two arms of government are also actively involved in the electoral process. The radio stations, interestingly, gave more attention to the Legislature than to the Executive councils.

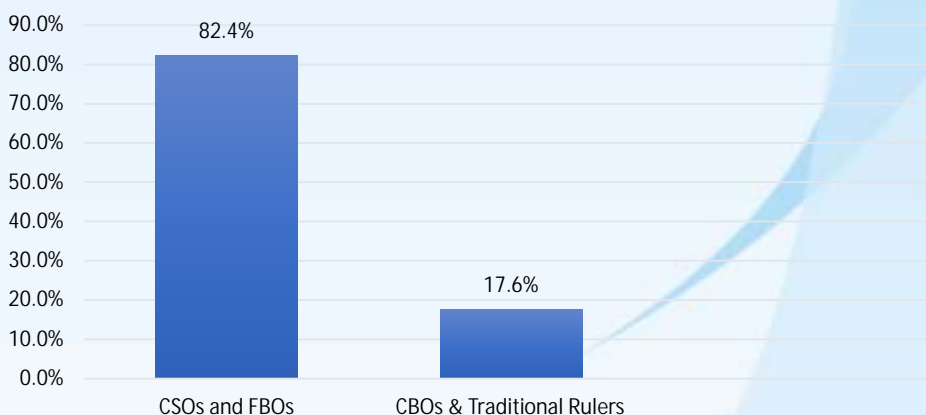
Chart 9: Comparative Visibility of the Arms of Government in the Content of Radio Broadcasts



As Chart 9 shows, the highest amount of visibility went to the Legislature with 55.8%. The Executive received 38.0%, while the Judiciary which include the courts received only 6.2% of airtime.

Non-governmental organisations—both local and international—play important roles in elections. As a result, they also get mentioned in radio contents or cited as content sources. In their programmes, the selected radio stations paid greater attention to the activities of civil society organisations than they did to traditional rulers.

Chart 10: Relative visibility of Non-governmental Institutions in Radio Broadcasts



Despite the increasing influence of community-based organisations and traditional authorities and rulers in the political activities in modern Nigeria, their visibility (17.6%) was lower than that of civil society organisations (82.4%). Where they appeared, traditional rulers were heard appealing for peaceful elections and urging their subjects to participate fully in the process.

QUALITY OF REPORTING - BALANCE

Balance is important as it refers to how well the media succeed at telling every side of the story. Here, as shown in Chart 11, most (79.7%) of the reports were balanced; 20.3% of the reports were unbalanced.

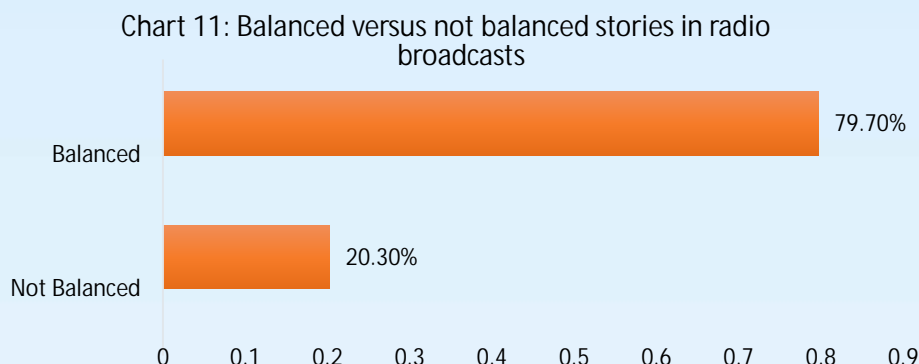


Chart 11 shows that balanced stories outnumbered not balanced ones. However, a disaggregation of the stories according ownership type of radios stations turned out an important dimension. Chart 12 shows that government-owned stations had more balanced reports than unbalanced ones, while private stations had more no tbalanced reports than balanced ones.

Chart 12: Comparison of government and private radio stations on balanced coverage

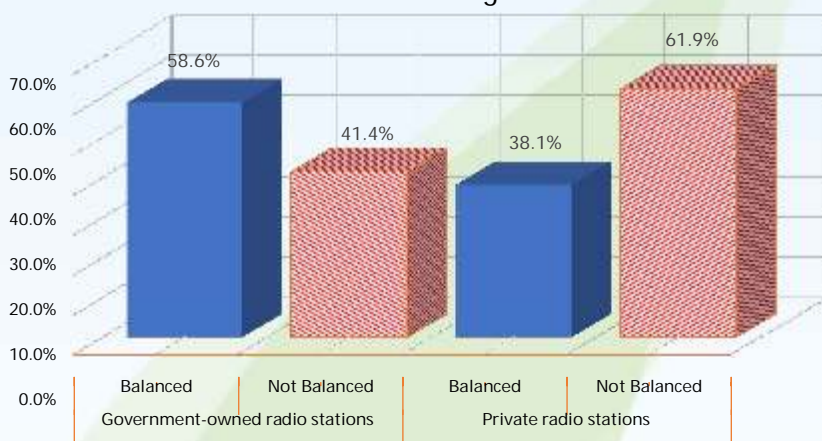


Chart 12 shows how government and private stations compared in terms of balance. Government stations had more balanced (58.6%) than not balanced ones (41.4%). Private stations, however, had more not balanced reports (61.9%) than balanced ones (38.1%).

EXTREME SPEECH IN RADIO BROADCASTS

No instance of extreme speech was noted in the month under consideration.

PART II:

CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON TELEVISION

This section of the report presents the outcomes of the monitoring of political programmes on television for October, 2018. As earlier stated, the monitoring involved sixteen television stations drawn from four monitoring centres and from across the country. We present the programmes types, visibility of individual and corporate actors, nature of the reports with reference to balance, and instances of extreme speech.

PROGRAMME TYPES OF THE POLITICAL PROGRAMMES

In all, 926 political programmes were analysed within the month under consideration, that is, October 2018. As Chart 13 shows, a large majority of the programmes were news reports.

Chart 13: Programme types of political radio programmes



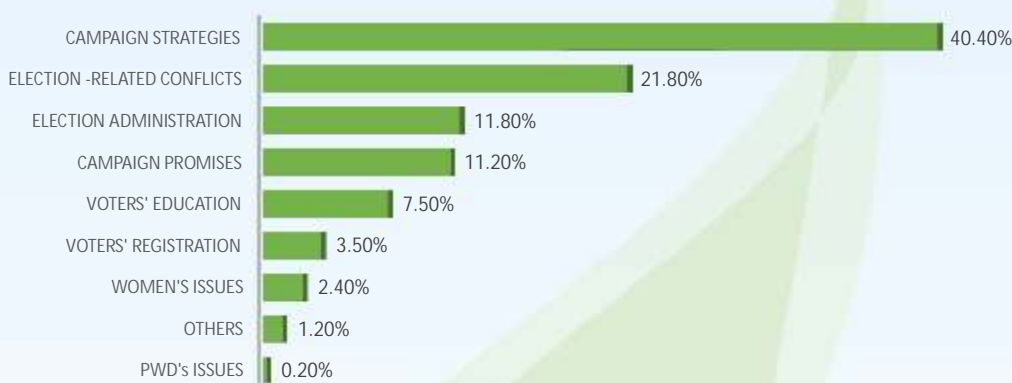
About 67% of the programmes were news reports, followed by discussions (24.1%), interviews 4.8%, and commentary/analysis which was 0.2%. Debates came last: 0.1%. While it is easy to understand why news reports

were predominant, it is difficult to explain the rare use of phone-in and debates. We shall return to this in Part III of the report.

THEMATIC FOCUS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON TELEVISION

Here, we analysed the election-related themes or issues that were predominant in the broadcast media within the period. Of the 1282 themes identified in the broadcasts, as Chart 14 shows, campaign activities and strategies were the top issues.

Chart 14: Thematic Focus of Political Programmes on Television



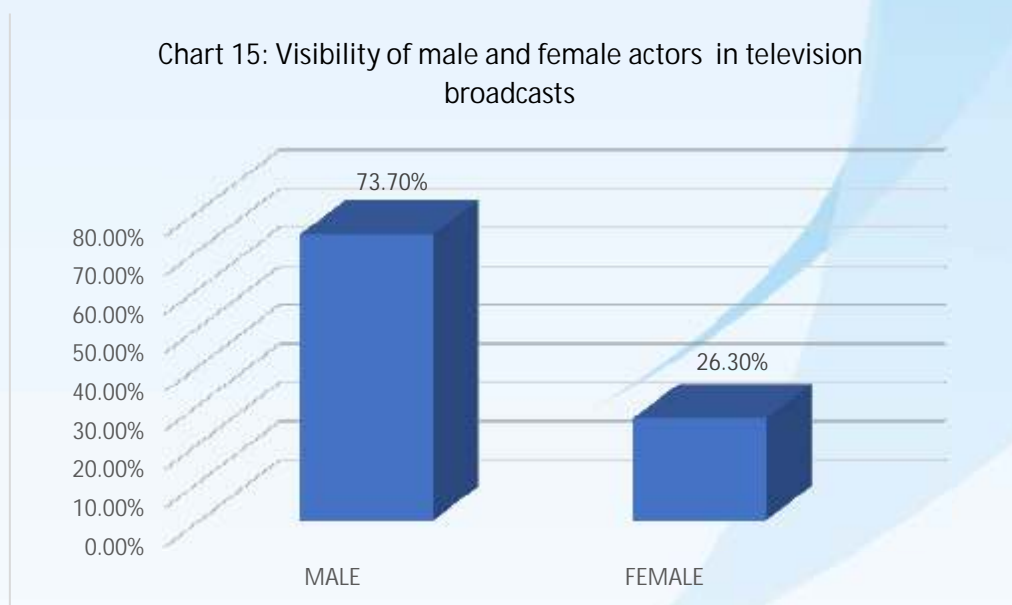
Election campaign strategies and election-related conflicts received greater attention in the selected TV stations with 40.4% and 21.8%, respectively. This was followed by election administration (11.8%) and it included issues relating to the electoral body (INEC), election timetable and sequence. Campaign promises also received a fair amount of coverage: 11.2%. Voter education (7.5%) and voter registration (3.5%) got a notably low attention in coverage, despite the fact that many citizens had not registered for or collected their permanent voters' cards (PVC). It is also noteworthy that issues about women received a little over 2.0% of airtime, and very low attention was given to persons with disability as they featured in only 0.2% of TV broadcasts.

VISIBILITY OF ACTORS IN THE CONTENT OF TV BROADCASTS

In this category, we sought to explore the individual or corporate bodies that captured the attention of the television stations in the dissemination of election-related matters. Therefore, we compared these across the following sub-categories: gender, age, status, and location.

Individual Visibility

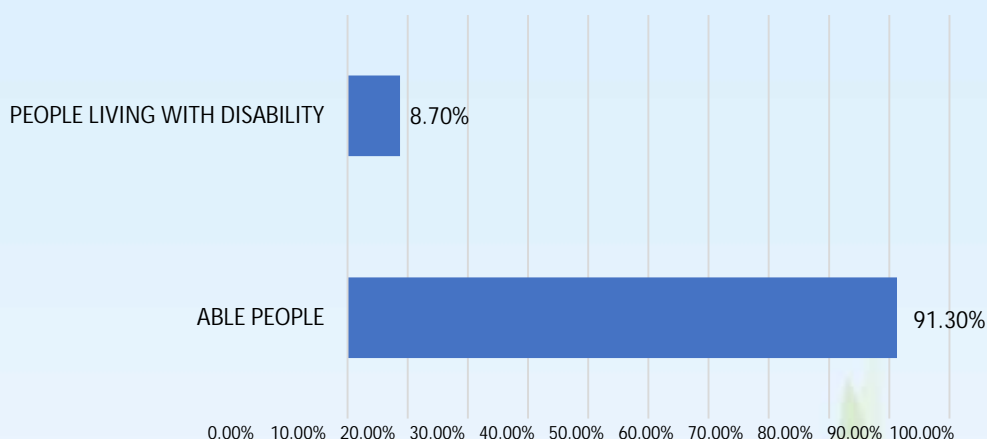
In this subsection, we first examined the comparative visibility of male and female actors in the television broadcasts. Chart 15 reveals that men were more visible as actors in the contents of TV broadcasts than women.



Gender coverage varied, as males were given more than twice the coverage of females recorded. Men were dominant as sources and mentions in news and other contents in the selected stations; male actors took 73.7%, while female actors had only 26.3%.

We also analysed the visibility of PWD as against those without special needs (able persons). And from our findings, there was notably little presence of PWD in the broadcasts.

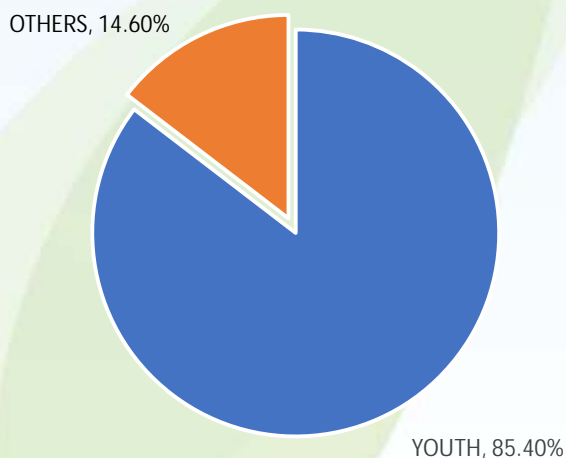
Chart 16 - Visibility of PWD and able people in the content of TV broadcasts



As regards the ability of individual actors, the TV broadcasts gave prominence (91.3 %.) to able people as sources of news or other contents or mentioned in the contents. Only 8.7% of coverage went to PWD.

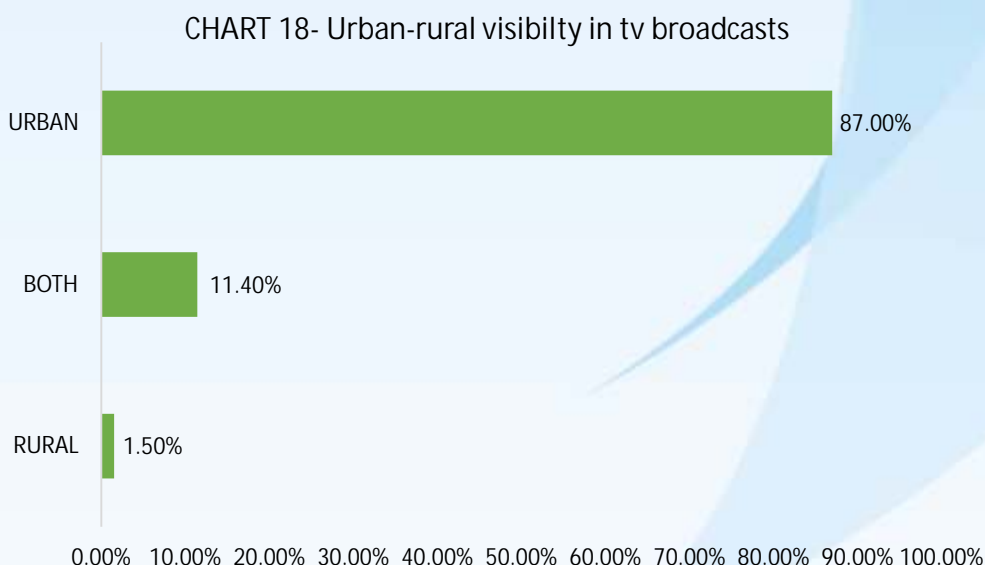
Chart 17 shows that there is a remarkably wide difference between the visibilities of young people compared with other age groups in the contents of TV broadcast within the time under review.

Chart 17: Visibility of the youth in TV broadcasts



As indicated in our findings, young people were dominant as sources of news and other contents and as those mentioned in the broadcasts, while others constituted 14.6% of the total percentage.

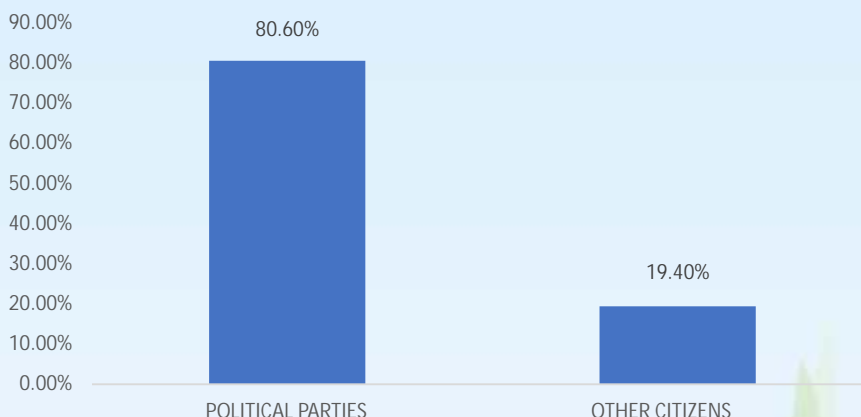
We also considered the urban-rural visibility of the contents in TV broadcasts. As seen is Chart 18, a larger percentage of reporting took place in the urban areas. It is also noteworthy to mention that the coders recorded cases where coverage was given to both urban and rural areas in a news report or other contents.



As Chart 18 shows, 87.0% of reporting was concentrated on the urban areas, while 11.4% focused on a combination of urban and rural settlements. Rural areas were mostly neglected in the broadcasts as they received only 1.5% of airtime.

As shown in Chart 19, the visibility of politicians surpassed that of other citizens' as source of news, other contents and as those mentioned in the reports.

Chart 19- Visibility of politicians and other citizens in the content of TV broadcasts



Politicians garnered about 81.0% of media coverage, and other citizens had only 19.4% in the analysed contents. Politicians included the aspirants or candidates of the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the People's Democratic Party (PDP) who were quite visible, and other politicians from less visible parties.

Corporate Visibility

When all the arms of government were compared, the Executive had the widest presence of 47.6%, and it was closely followed by the Legislature with 41.8%.

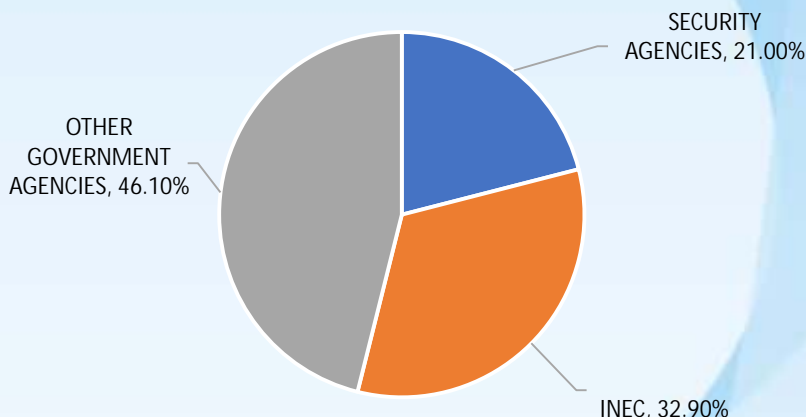
Chart 20: Visibility of different arms of government



Chart 20 shows that of all the three arms of government, the Judiciary had the lowest amount (10.6 %.) of coverage.

We also considered the visible presence of government agencies and groups in the content of TV broadcasts. Chart 21 presents the details:

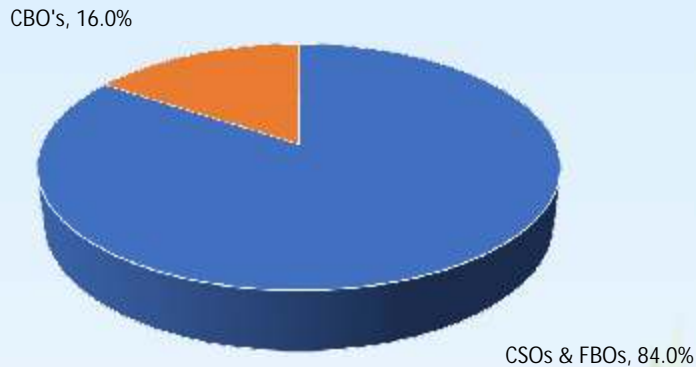
Chart 21: Visibility of government agencies



Other government agencies led this category with an approximate value of 46.1%, followed by INEC, which had roughly 33.0% of airtime, and lastly, security agencies, which, received 21.0% of coverage. This is a departure from earlier report and the pattern we noticed in the section of this report on radio broadcasts: INEC often took the larger share of the attention. The prominence of other agencies of government suggests that the electoral process had drawn in many other agencies and they were actively playing their roles.

In addition to government agencies and arms of government, civil society organisations also play important role in Nigerian elections. They are voter educators, observers and monitors, and some even directly support the electoral body. As highlighted in Chart 22, civil society and faith-based organisations constituted an overwhelming majority as source of news, other contents and as those mentioned in the broadcasts when we considered all non-governmental organisations together.

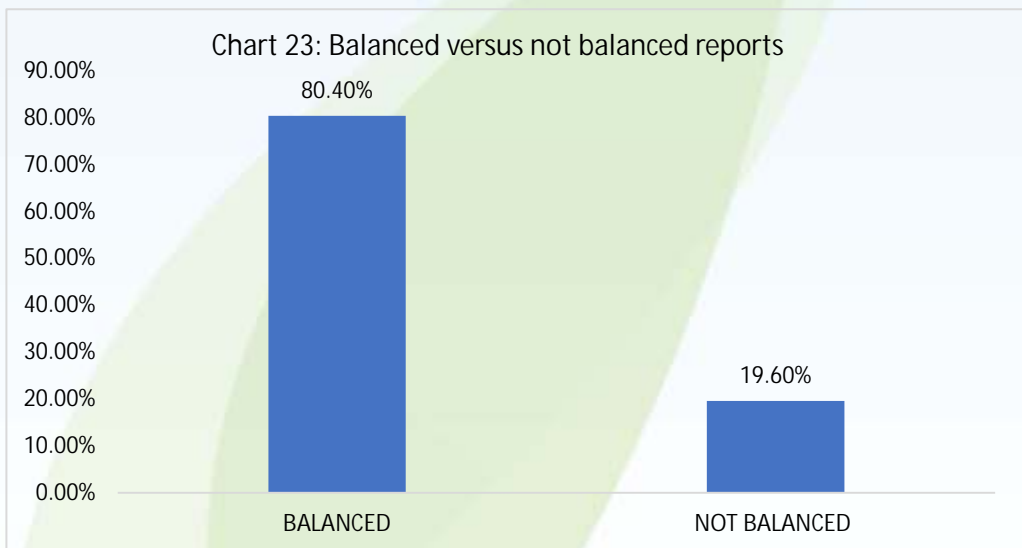
Chart 22: Visibility of non-governmental organisations



Civil society and faith-based organisations received a little over 84.0% of airtime, while Community-based organisations including traditional rulers as actors got 16.0% of coverage.

QUALITY OF REPORTS

We also examined the quality of contents broadcast by the selected TV stations. In this case, we sought to know if the reports were balanced or biased.

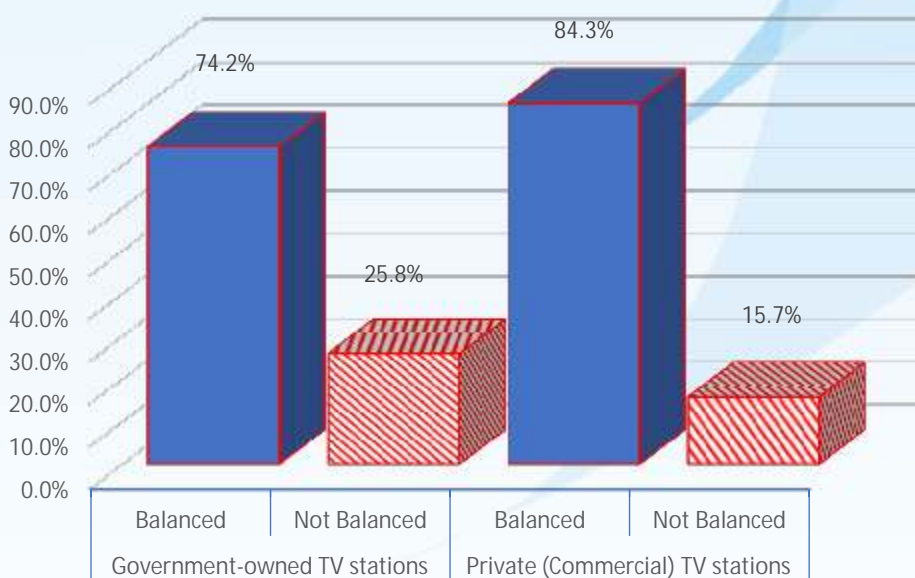


Of the 927 items recorded, balance was only applicable to 495 articles. Chart 23 presents these 495 instances. About 80.0% of the articles were balanced, while 19.6% had elements of biased reporting.

We sought to know if there were any differences in the prevalence of balanced reporting by government-owned television stations and private (commercial) ones.

Chart 24 shows a comparison of government and private TV stations with balanced reporting. In the two ownership types, balanced reports were predominant.

Chart 24: Comparison of government and private TV stations on balanced coverage



However, the proportion of the reports of private stations that were balanced (84.3%) was higher than that of the reports of government-owned stations that were balanced (74.2%).

EXTREME SPEECH IN CONTENTS OF TELEVISION BROADCASTS

We also explored the record of media contents with elements of hate speech. We found rather few instances of extreme speech. Former Governor of Osun State, Ogbeni Rauf Aregbesola, on Channels Television, described the PDP members who were protesting as “not mentally stable or [in] need [of] psychiatric attention”. On ITV, a discussant described President Buhari as a 'relic of antiquity' apparently referring to his old age.

PART III:

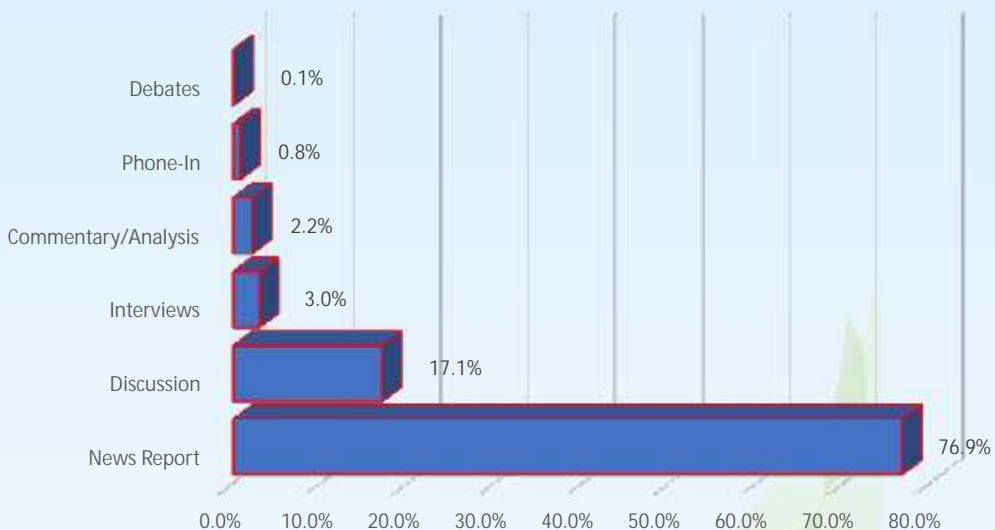
CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON RADIO AND TELEVISION COMBINED

A combined analysis of the contents of political broadcasts on radio and television in October 2018 yielded almost the same pattern in the thematic focus, lopsided visibility in the coverage, predominantly balanced reporting, and scant use of extreme speech. This section presents details of this as it focuses on the programme types, thematic focus, visibility of various individual and corporate actors, quality of broadcasts, and presence of extreme speech.

PROGRAMME TYPES OF BROADCAST MEDIA CONTENTS

Radio and television contents come in various programme types or formats. News programmes inform, comments and analysis educate. While debates allow contestants or contenders to present their views of an argument and sell these views to the audience, discussion involves a panel of people expounding an issue. All these and many more play roles in preparing a nation and the electorate for election. In October 2018, we analysed the 395 radio and 425 television programmes, and sorted them into their different programme types. Chart 25 shows the outcome of the analysis.

Chart 25: Programme types of political programmes on broadcast stations



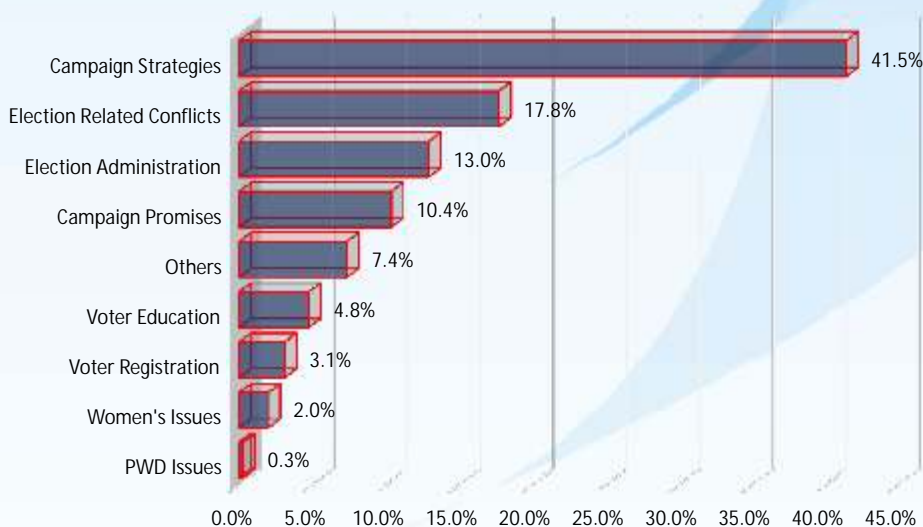
Majority (76.9 %.) of the broadcasts were news reports. Discussions (17.1%) came second, while interviews (3.0%) followed. Commentary and analysis (2.2%) came fourth. Debates and phone-ins were each less than 1.0%. This trend is a worrisome one: by their nature, news are brief and informative but are hardly educative. The electoral process is a complex one with far-reaching implications on development, peace and security during and after elections. The broadcast media are, therefore, expected to not only inform but to also educate the electorate on the choices before them and the implications of these choices. This kind of education cannot be achieved through news reports; comments and analysis provide for opportunity for that. The implication of the foregoing trend is that the broadcast media in Nigeria, during the periods preceding the 2019 general elections, were largely informing their audience but scarcely educating them. Healthy debates allow contenders to present their manifestos and policy direction, and thus equip the electorate with information needed to make guided decisions. Again, debates were rarely broadcast in the month under consideration.

The obvious deduction here is that the broadcast media gave wide coverage to electoral matters but did not seize the available opportunities to educate the electorate. Neither did they give the contenders sufficient space to inform the electorate about their manifesto.

THEMATIC FOCUS OF BROADCAST MEDIA CONTENTS

Being a complex and crucial process, elections have many aspects and involve many actors. In covering these many aspects and actors, the broadcast media prioritise some over others using their content values and other yardsticks to decide. It, therefore, becomes important to explore the themes or topics that the media focus on. In Chart 26, the thematic focus of the broadcasts is presented. Of all the themes, campaign strategy was the most prominent in the broadcasts.

Chart 26: Thematic focus of the broadcasts



The broadcast media gave predominant attention (41.5%) to the various strategies adopted by the different contenders (especially in the party primaries) to win the elections. This conflictual theme was followed by yet another conflictual theme: election-related conflicts (17.8%). Election

administration (13.0%) came third followed by campaign promises and issues (10.4%). Miscellaneous themes (7.4%) came after that, while voter education (4.8%) and issues about women (2.0 %) followed. Issues concerning PWD came at the rear with 0.3%.

It is sad that voter education had receded to the background by October 2018. The 2019 general elections were said to be the most complex in the history of Nigeria—it is one in which over 90 political parties were registered, and over 119,000 polling units were created. The ballot paper was expected to be wide and clumsy. It was also the one with the highest number of voters—over 84 million registered voters. Collection of voter cards was also beleaguered with problems with the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) announcing that hundreds of thousands of voters' cards were yet to be collected by the citizens.

Given these complications, one expected the media to spend more time and space on voter education than they did. Citizens needed a lot of education on how to vote, why, where and for whom and whom. Not only this, given the development challenges of Nigeria, one also expected that the broadcast media would pay more attention to campaign issues and promises than to campaign strategies and tactics. By focusing predominantly on strategies, the broadcast media failed to educate the citizens on the electoral labyrinth.

VISIBILITY OF ACTORS IN THE CONTENTS OF BROADCASTS

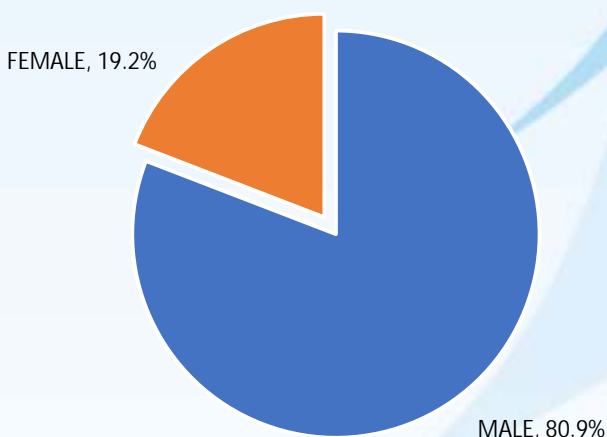
In this subsection, we concentrate attention on who the actors are in the contents of broadcasts. Election and electoral matters are multisectoral; they as well involve many actors who contribute in a variety of ways to the process. In their coverage of electoral process, the broadcast media are expected to reflect the different constituents and actors in the process. Of particular interest is the visibility of women, PWD and youths. Our analysis shows that there is lop-sidedness in the visibility of these people in the broadcast contents for the month under consideration. We arrived at visibility by coding those cited as sources of news and other reports, as well as those

featured in the programmes—as interviews, as actors whose actions are reported, among others.

Individual visibility

First, we examined the visibility of female actors compared with male actors in the broadcasts. The records of INEC shows that 47% of registered voters (about 13.6 million) were female (BudgIT, 2019). INEC also once announced that, of those being newly registered, females outnumbered males (Sahara Reporters, 2018). Since the broadcast media were supposed to reflect the different constituents of the society, one expected some level of visibility of females in their contents. We classified actors in the contents into male and female and the result, as seen in Chart 27, shows that the broadcast media faltered in this regard.

Chart 27: Visibility of females and males in the broadcasts



Of the actors appearing in the political broadcasts, only 19.2% were female, while 80.9% were male.

The lop-sidedness was obvious in most of the reports. For instance, in an LTV report of 26 October, 2018, six speakers commented on the victory of Mr Umaru Fintiri as the governorship flagbearer of the People's Democratic Party—all the speakers were males. When ATV Yola reported on the tour of

five local government areas by a group called “Buhari-Bindow” to canvass for votes for President Buhari and Mr Bindow (for presidential and governorship positions, respectively), the report interviewed several members of the movement but all the interviewees were men even though women and women leaders were present.

One of the few reports that featured women was a discussion reported by AIT on the topic “2019 General Elections: what chances for women?” One of the two discussants was the co-convener, the Bring Back Our Girls Movement, Mrs Aisha Yusufu; the other discussant was a man.

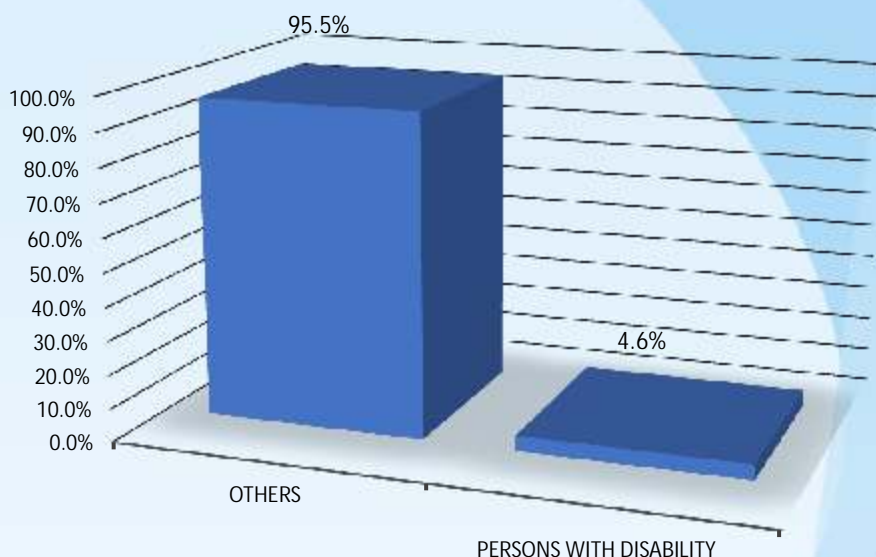
Another was a discussion programme on AIT that featured a female presidential aspirant, Dr Oby Ezekwesili on 08 October, 2018. Yet another was on DITV on 4 October, 2018. In the report,

APC women in Kaduna state demand the resignation of its national leader Adams Oshiomhole for what they termed an abuse to democracy by imposing Shehu Sani as the party's senatorial candidate representing Kaduna Central.

These, however, appear as exceptions rather than the rule. Generally, it was not just the quantity of women's presence that was little; the quality of their representation was also lopsided. They are not shown in active leadership capacity most times; they are rather shown as supporting male politicians, dancing and entertaining men at political campaigns and rallies.

Second, we examined the visibility of PED. The electoral commission announced that it had made adequate provision for persons with disability to participate in the electoral process. It was therefore important to examine the presence of these citizens as news sources and mentions in the contents of the broadcast media. Chart 28 presents the result.

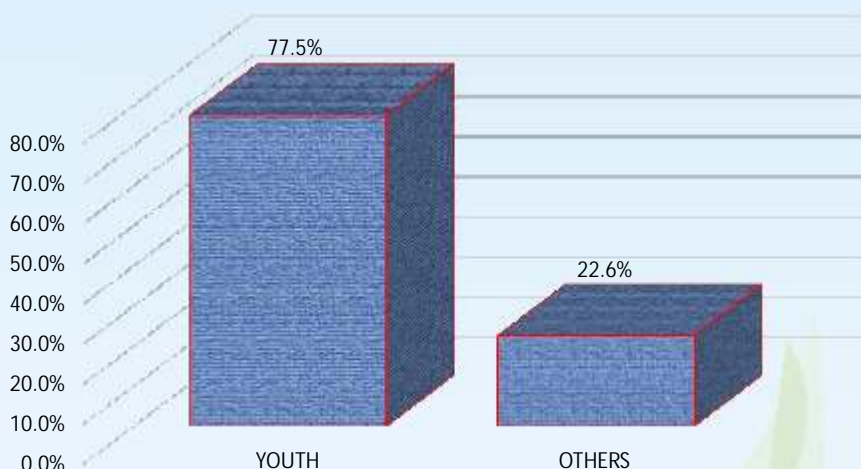
Chart 28: Visibility of PWD and others



As content sources and mentions, PWD took only 4.6% of the coverage; others took over 95.0%. The implication of this is that the media did not deliberately seek out the PWD as sources or mentions.

Third, we examined the visibility of young people in the content of the broadcast media. Records showed that over 50.0% of registered voters were 35 years old or younger; and that 23.0% of registered identified themselves as students (BudgIT, 2019). If youths are that many among the electorate, it is important to find out if they are being seen and heard in the contents of broadcast media. Chart 29 shows that young people are predominant in the contents of the broadcast media in the month under consideration.

Chart 29: Visibility of youths and others in the contents of political broadcast programmes



Youths (77.5%) far outnumbered other people (22.6%) in the contents of broadcast media. However, it is important to note that in many cases youths were mentioned in connection with the need to vote and ensure peaceful conduct at the polls and after. Political leaders and parties took the lead in making these appeals to youth. An example, of the numerous, was that by Governor Jibrilla Bindow of Adamawa State, broadcast on ABC Yola on 24 October, 2018.

Governor Bindow has called on card carrying members of APC especially women and youths to come out en masse and exercise their franchise for purposeful representation.

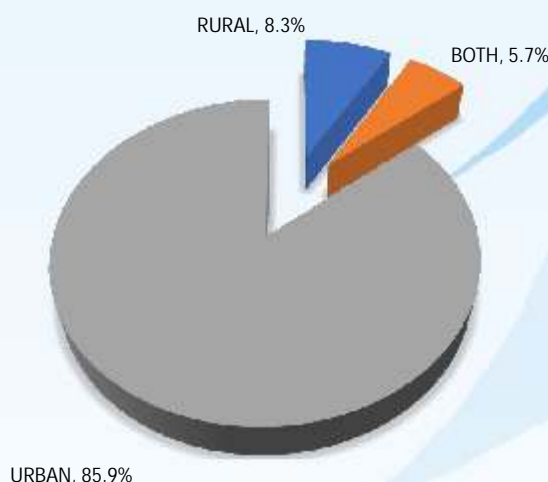
In many other cases, youths were mentioned in the campaign promises of politicians. An example was the report by Gotel FM of the appeal by a presidential aspirant, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, that he would employ youths in large numbers to reduce unemployment and poverty (Gotel FM, 23 October, 2018)

Reports focusing on the activities of youths or directly featuring their voices were fewer than those featuring appeals and promises to youths. Examples of

those featuring the voices of the youths include Dream FM's "Political Voices" which featured youth discussants analysing the potential roles and requests of youth in the coming elections. (Political Voices, Dream FM, 26 October, 2018).

Fourth, we sought to know if there was any dichotomy in the coverage of urban and rural events and people. Nigerians live in rural areas in large populations. The World Bank estimated the rural dwellers in Nigeria to be about 47.9% of the population. It was therefore important to examine if the broadcast media gave attention to the electoral issues pertaining to rural dwellers in the month under consideration. As Chart 30 shows, most of the events that preoccupied the broadcast media were those in the urban areas.

Chart 30: Urban-rural visibility in the contents of broadcast media

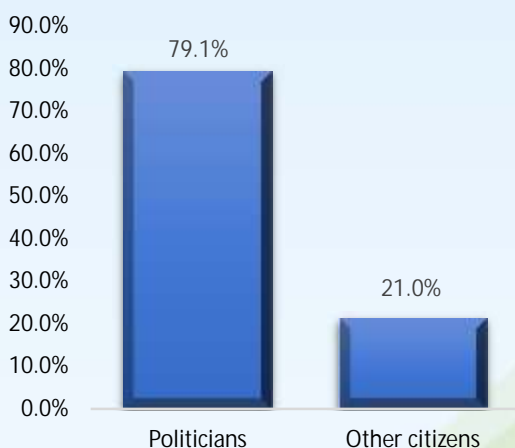


Nearly 86.0% of the events presented in the broadcast media were those taking place in the urban areas; events that were in rural areas came to roughly 8.0%, while those that cut across rural and urban were roughly 6.0%. Urban-centric reporting has been a recurrent problem of the broadcast media. The result here suggests that the continuous increase in the number of broadcast media stations in the country (with some of them located in the rural areas)

has not reduced the neglect of rural areas in the contents of the media.

Fifth, we examined the attention given to politicians, compared with that given other citizens.

Chart 31: Visibility of politicians and other citizens in the content of tv broadcasts

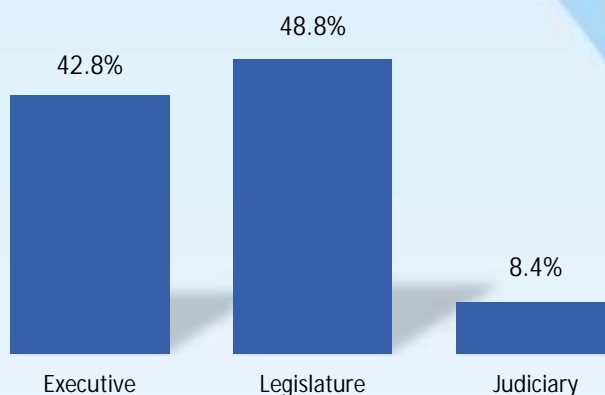


The politicians received a higher portion (79.1%) of attention from the broadcast media than other citizens (21.0%). In a sense, this should not be surprising because, as it were, politicians were the main actors in the electoral process. However, since this is a democratic setting, the choices and voices of the citizens as it pertains to the election ought to be much more audible than they are.

Corporate visibility

In the visibility of groups and agencies, we first examined how visible each arm of government was in the contents of the political broadcasts in October 2018. Chart 32 shows that the Judiciary was the least visible of the three arms of government with just 8.4% of the coverage.

Chart 32: Visibility of the arms of government in broadcast contents

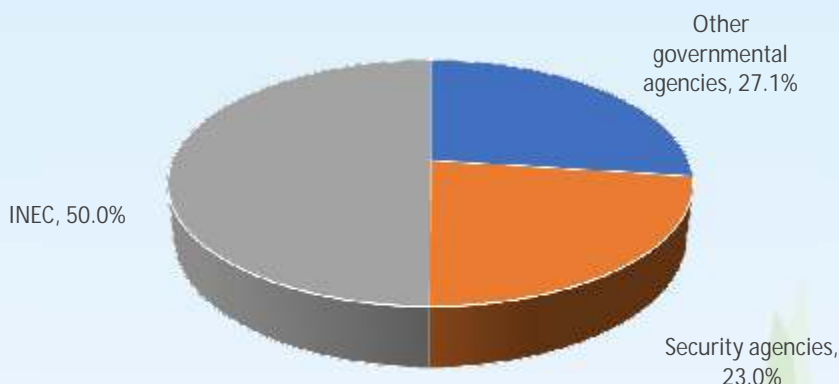


It is noteworthy that the Legislature had a slightly higher level of visibility than the Executive. The National Assembly had been on break, and resumed in October 2018. On resumption, it had among other businesses, the approval of the budget proposed by INEC for executing the election. The Assembly ended up approving N245 billion naira as budget for the election. Many broadcast stations organised discussions and broadcast news on these important activities of the National Assembly. A TVC news report of 10 October, 2018, aptly summarised this:

National Assembly Resumption: Law makers sheathes swords, raise panel over 16 rejected bills amongst which is the supplementary budget for President in order to raise funds for INEC and the electoral bill.

Secondly, we examined the visibility of the different agencies of government. We opined that as the elections drew near, these agencies would increase their activities and would be noted by the broadcast media. Chart 33 shows that INEC took half of the coverage.

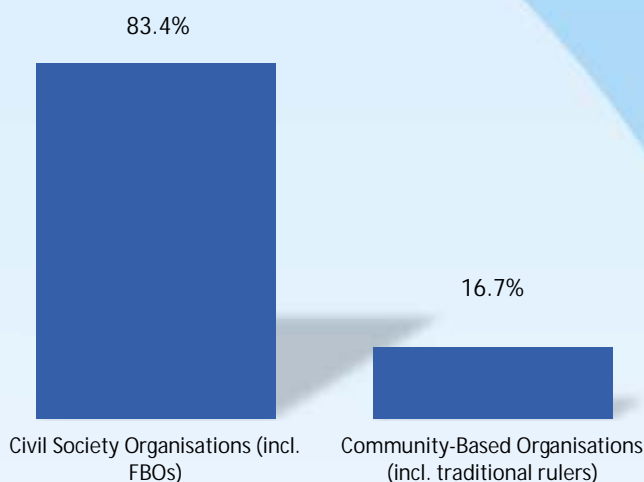
Chart 33: Visibility of agencies of government in contents of broadcasts



INEC, the electoral body, took 50.0% of the coverage, while all other agencies took 27.1%. Security agencies took 23.0%. It is understandable that INEC was more prominent than any other agency. However, it was expected that an agency such as the National Orientation Agency (NOA), which was also prominently involved in voter education would feature more prominently in the coverage and swell the portion of “other agencies”. This may mean that NOA did not make a good use of the broadcast media. It may also be because most of the activities of NOA were in the rural areas.

Finally, we observed the visibility of non-governmental organisations. Chart 34 presents the findings.

Chart 34: Visibility of non-governmental organisations

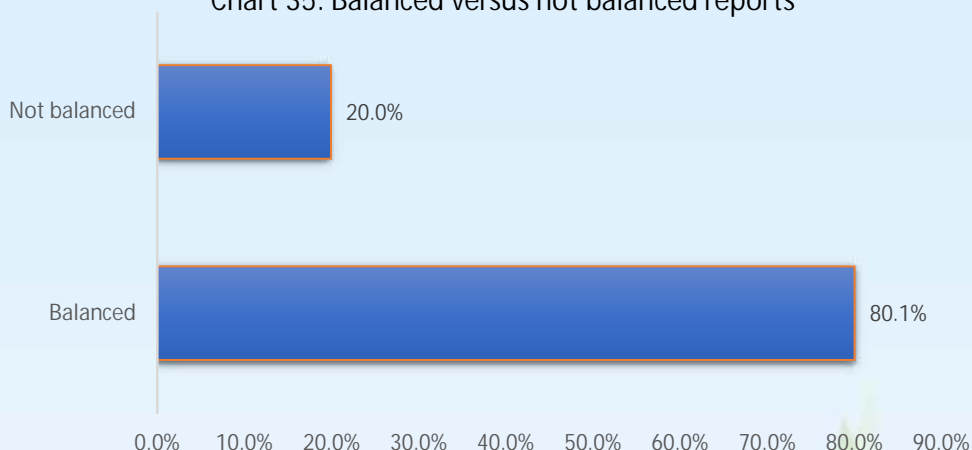


Civil society organisations took a much larger portion of the NGO visibility (83.4%) than did community-based organisations, including traditional rulers (16.7%). The 2019 general elections attracted the wide interests of international and local NGOs. That probably explained the large coverage these groups received. Although traditional rulers are expected to be non-partisan, many of them appealed to their subjects to go out and register as voters, and to be peaceful in their conduct during the elections. An example was the TVC programme on 24 October, 2018, during which the Sultan of Sokoto urged religious leaders not to take sides in the politics of Nigeria.

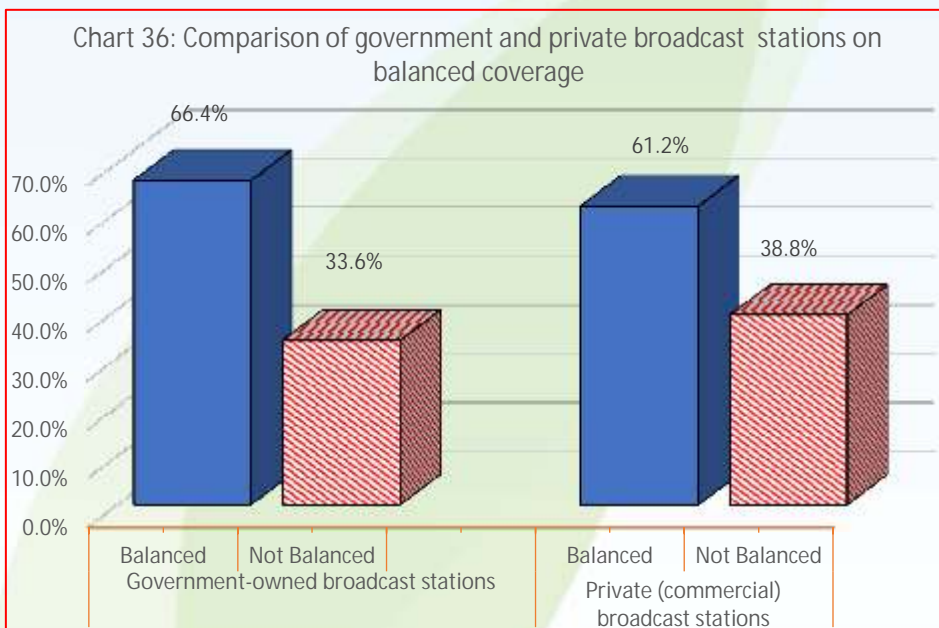
QUALITY OF REPORTING – BALANCE

Balance is an important quality of broadcast, as well as indeed as other forms of journalistic report. It requires seeking out the different views and sides to an issue and presenting them to the audience. However, there are some instances where balance does not apply. Very often—but not all the time—when an issue is not controversial, it may not require many sides to it. In reporting political matters, ignoring balance is capable of generating a feeling of being unfairly treated, tension and distrust in the media system. In Chart 35, we present the outcome of our analysis of the broadcast content which shows that the broadcast media indeed ensured balance in most of their reports.

Chart 35: Balanced versus not balanced reports



Most (80.1%) reports were balanced. This is commendable because ensuring balance requires “going the extra mile” in ensuring journalistic excellence. That said, it was necessary to probe further to ascertain if private (that is, commercial) stations and government-owned stations differed in their performance on this crucial aspect of their coverage. Chart 36 shows that the difference between the two types of stations was indeed slight.



Both types of stations had predominantly higher proportions of balanced reports: 66.4% for government-owned stations, and 61.2% for private (commercial) stations.

EXTREME SPEECH IN THE BROADCAST CONTENTS

There were very few instances of extreme speech—four altogether. The few were found only in the television contents. At this period of the electoral preparations, most parties were just concluding their primaries. Primaries were intra-party affairs and this might be the reason that extreme speech was minimal. It might be that extreme speech became more noticeable later when inter-party competitions had begun.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Most of the germane topics and issues around the election were covered by the broadcast media selected for monitoring. The activities of INEC and matters of election administration received significant coverage. The activities of political office seekers and politicians also got sizeable media attention. Importantly, youths were predominant in the contents of both radio and television. Most of the reports were commendably balanced.

However, the broadcast media performed below expectations on a number of issues. First, voter education was quite minimal. There were only four months before the election and voter education had not picked up. While it is not the sole responsibility of the media to educate the electorate, educating them is part of their social responsibility. Given the complex nature of the 2019 elections—91 political parties, over 84 million voters; 17 million new voters—there was the need to thoroughly guide the electorate to navigate this democratic labyrinth.

Second, the coverage given to women and PWD was negligible. The coverage was predominantly focused on groups with political and financial muscles. This bias is not healthy for the growth of the democratic process. Third, there was greater emphasis on the strategies and tactics of politicians

than on campaign issues. This is a global problem in many democracies. Nigerian journalists could do better by being issue-focused given the development challenges that the nation faced.

Finally, most of the reports concentrated on urban areas, yet politics, elections and other similar issues are both rural and urban. This is another perennial problem. Many Nigerians live and vote in the urban areas. There is

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NOVEMBER 2018 REPORT



INTRODUCTION

The 2019 round of general elections was the sixth consecutive general elections since the start of the Fourth Republic in 1999, and this represents some degree of progress in Nigeria's democratic system of government. In the current and previous electoral exercises, the media, civil society organisations, different arms and agencies of government, and ordinary citizens played major roles.

The media is saddled with the responsibility of representing the interests of both the citizens and the government with a focus on ensuring mutual benefits by both parties. This basic duty explains the primary activities of the media, which include disseminating information to the public, educating and mobilising the public to take measurable actions; monitoring national activities, and serving as a watchdog.

In spite of the attention given by the broadcast media to the electoral process, and other related election matters, there is a level of mistrust that the public has in the media as regards the effective discharge of its duties. Hence, the broadcast media has been accused of lopsided coverage, imbalanced reporting, inciting electoral violence, hate speech, unprofessionalism, and so on. Therefore, it is pertinent that these issues are scientifically interrogated by monitoring the contents of selected broadcasts in an electoral setting, that is, the 2019 general elections.

This report seeks to answer key questions surrounding some categories of analyses such as the thematic focus of political broadcasts, programme types, prominence of various individual actors, visibility of government agencies and groups, visibility of non-governmental agencies and community-based organisations, quality of reports, and the language of reporting. Based on the

amount of coverage given to individual actors, we are particularly interested in how well women and people with disabilities (PWD) have benefitted from the democratic reward of equality and fairness. This is the report of the monitoring for November, 2018.

We monitored 17 radio stations and 16 television stations selected from across the country. The broadcast stations are listed as follows::

The radio stations monitored:

1. Adamawa Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) Yola
2. Anambra Broadcasting Service (Awka 88.5 FM), Awka
3. Arewa Radio, Kano
4. Dream FM, Enugu
5. Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) Network
6. Glory FM (Bayelsa State Broadcasting Corporation, BSBC), Yenagoa
7. Gotel Radio, Yola
8. Kaduna State Media Corporation (KSMC) Radio, Kaduna
9. Nigeria Info, Network
10. Osun State Broadcasting Corporation (OSBC), Osogbo
11. Progress FM Gombe
12. Radio Benue, Makurdi
13. Radio Kwara, Ilorin
14. Radio Lagos
15. Radio Lagos/Eko FM
16. Rhythm 93.7, Network
17. Splash FM 105.5 Ibadan

The selected television stations:

1. African Independent Television (AIT), Network
2. Adamawa Television (ATV) Yola
3. Channels Television, Network
4. Desmims International Television (DITV), Kaduna
5. Galaxy Television, Lagos
6. Gotel TV, Yola
7. Independent Television (ITV), Benin City
8. Kaduna State Television (KSTV), Kaduna
9. Liberty Television, Abuja
10. Lagos Television (LTV), Lagos
11. Nigeria Television Authority (NTA), Network
12. Ogun State Television (OGTV), Abeokuta
13. Rivers State Television (RSTV), Port Harcourt
14. Silverbird Television (STV), Network
15. TV Continental (TVC), Network
16. Wazobia Max TV, Network

PART I:

CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON RADIO

This section of the report focuses on the contents of the 14 radio stations selected. The key political programmes of these stations were selected and analysed following a developed category system. In the following section, we present the programme types of the selected programmes, thematic focus of these radio broadcasts, the visibility of individuals and groups, quality of coverage (specifically, balance) and incidences of extreme speech.

PROGRAMME TYPES OF RADIO BROADCASTS

The total number of radio broadcasts considered was 425 and the programme types were eight.

List of Programme Types:

1. News Reports
2. Discussions
3. Commentaries and Analysis
4. Interviews
5. Talks Show
6. Phone-in
7. Debates

Others

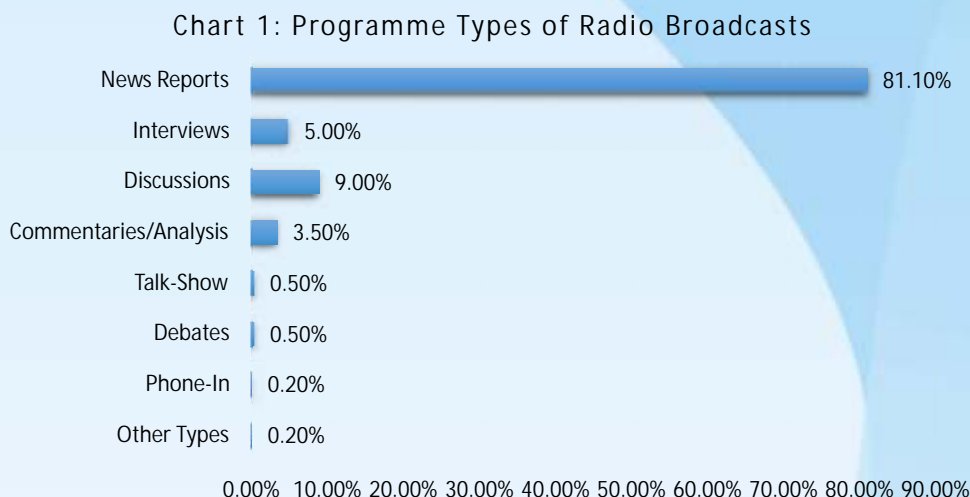


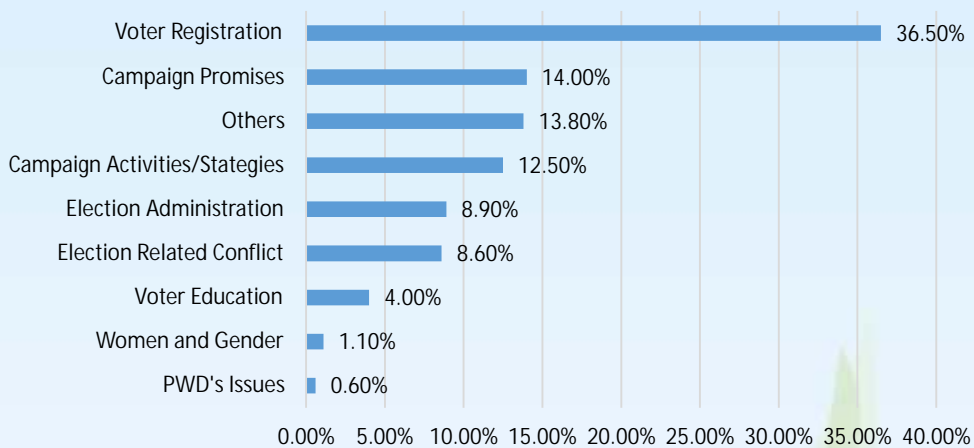
Chart 1 above shows the programme distribution in the November Radio Broadcasts. About 81.0% which is the vast majority of monitored programmes were news reports. Discussion programmes came a distant second with 9.0%, while interviews were 5.0%.

Commentaries and analysis programmes were 3.5%, while talk shows and debate programmes were 0.5%. Phone-in programmes and other types accounted for 0.2% of monitored coverage. This result explains the priority of the broadcast media in the type of programmes aired. And, it appears that the media neglected educative interactions like commentaries/analyses, and concentrated on news reports, which are less engaging and of little significance to educating citizens on issues surrounding the elections.

THEMATIC FOCUS OF THE RADIO BROADCASTS

What themes predominated in the radio broadcasts? As Chart 2 shows, the predominant emphasis was on voter registration.

Chart 2: Thematic Focus of Radio Broadcasts



Voter registration received a lot of attention, taking 36.5% of all coverage. This was followed by the activities of political parties and aspirants as campaign promises came up to 14.0% while campaign strategies and activities received 12.5% of coverage. Election administration received 8.9%, while Election related non-violent conflicts received 8.6% of coverage.

Why would voter registration take such a large portion of coverage weeks after registration had closed? This was because the month of November witnessed widespread complaints about collection of Permanent Voter's Card (PVC), transfer of PVC to voters' current locations for those who relocated, and other problems associated with registration. These problems and complaints caught the attention of journalists and were reported especially in the news.

Another trend as shown in Chart 2 that is worth some comments is the low quantity of voter education. Although, one of the primary responsibilities of the media is to mobilise the public to take actions, it is expected that the media would also perform its social role in educating the actors involved in order for them to make good choices. This is not the case in our findings. From our analysis, there is a redirected attention of the media to the aspirants, their manifestos and campaign strategies, rather than the education of voters, and

other public-oriented matters that affect the electoral process. Women and gender got a slight 1.1% of coverage, while issues concerning people with disability were barely visible receiving just 0.60% of coverage..

VISIBILITY OF ACTORS IN THE CONTENT OF RADIO BROADCASTS

Visibility, in the context of this report, refers to how often a category of people were mentioned or used as sources in media contents. At the level of individual visibility, we considered gender, location, status and special needs individuals. We also examined the visibility of groups and agencies.

Visibility of individual actors

We compared the visibility of males actors with that of females actors in the contents of the radio broadcasts. Chart 3 shows that females were barely visible compared to males.

Chart 3: Visibility of Males and females in the Content of Radio Broadcasts

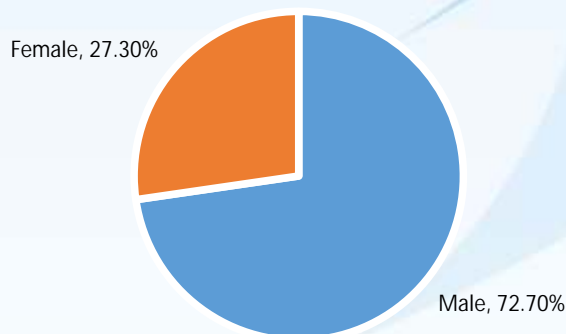
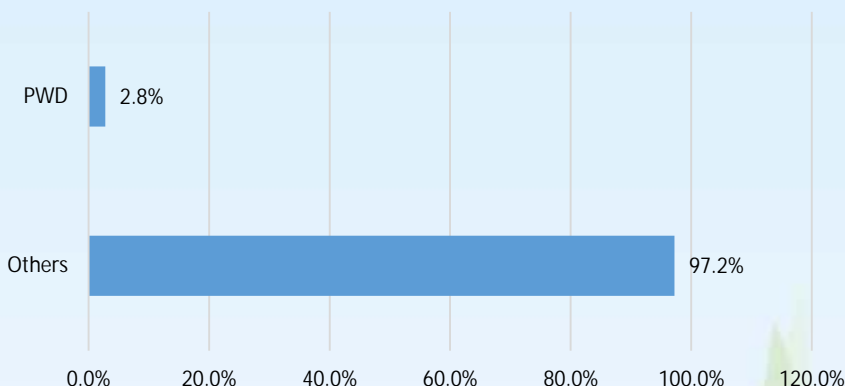


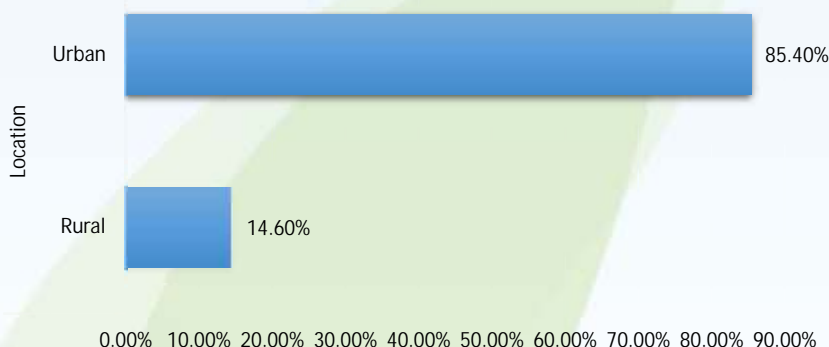
Chart 3 shows how much males and females are visible during November radio coverage. As with the coverage in the month of October, men still dominated as sources and were mentioned more in the broadcasts. Male visibility accounted for over 72.7% of coverage, while female visibility was only 27.3%. Again, the result proves that the prospects for gender parity in Nigeria remains a distant dream.

Chart 4: Visibility of PWD and others in the Content of Radio Broadcasts



Persons living with disability (PWD) were also barely visible during the November radio broadcasts. Only 2.8% of sources and mentions were PWD; dominating the coverage were able individuals with 97.2%.

Chart 5: Rural- Urban Visibility in the Content of Radio Broadcasts



Differences in rural-urban visibility were also quite noticeable during the November radio broadcasts. Over 85.0% of sources and mentions came from urban areas leaving a meagre 14.6% of the visibility for rural areas. This is quite

surprising because radio is largely recognised as a medium that is rural-friendly. In other words, radio is known to be mostly utilised by rural dwellers, who have little or no formal education. But, the result shows that the contents of broadcast are urban-focused. Therefore, it raises a concern as to whether or not rural dwellers are well informed about ongoing election activities and other issues of national interest.

Chart 6: Relative Visibility of Politicians and other Citizens in the Content of Radio Broadcasts

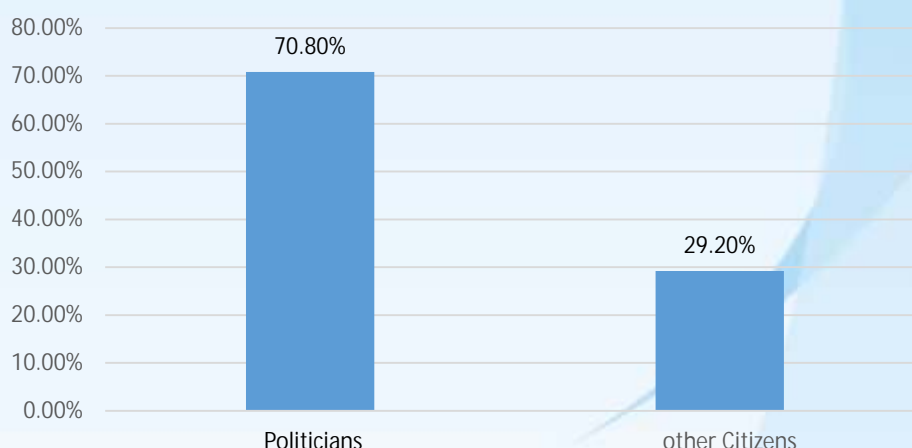
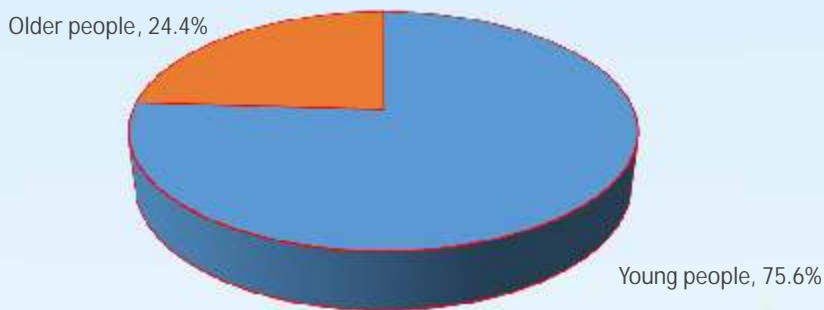


Chart 6 shows the difference in the levels of visibility the media gave to politicians and other citizens. Result shows that political parties were largely more visible, with them accounting for up to 70.8% of total coverage compared to the other citizens who were used as sources and mentioned just 29.2% of the time.

We also examined the visibility of young people and others. Deciding the age of speakers was a bit difficult radio did not make it possible to see them. We relied on direct description or introduction of people as young or not by presenters. Wherever doubt arose, coding was not done. Interestingly, young people were more visible – talking and talked about – in the contents of the radio broadcasts.

Chart 7: Visibility of young and older people in the radio broadcasts

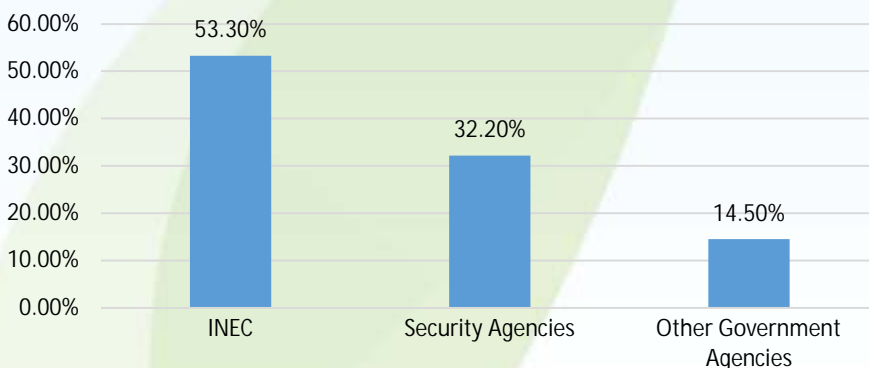


When coded along age brackets, most 75.6% of the people featured on radio as sources of information or mentioned in the programmes were young people, while older people made up 24.4%. This is consistent with the report in October, which showed that young people are becoming more visible on radio than older people.

Corporate visibility

We now turn to the visibility of corporate bodies and organisations. First, we examined the visibility of the different arms of government. Chart 8, which presents the visibility of the different government agencies, shows that the least visible arm was the Judiciary.

Chart 8: Visibility of Government Agencies in the Content of Radio Broadcasts



Predictably, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) received more than half of the total coverage with 53.3% while Security Agencies were at 32.2%. Other governmental agencies including ministries and departments received just 14.5% of total coverage. It was necessary to examine the coverage received by the electoral body and security agencies because of the tension in the atmosphere during this period.

Chart 9: Visibility of Non-governmental organisations in the Content of Radio Broadcasts

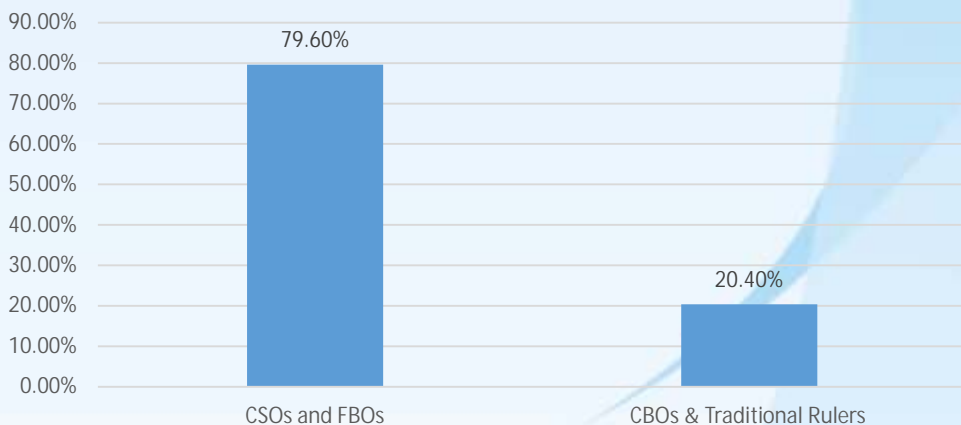


Chart 9 shows how visible non-governmental organisations were during November radio coverage. Civil Society Organisations (local and international) and faith-based organisations were visible over 70.0% of the time. Community-based organisations and traditional rulers were also visible at 20.4%.

Chart 10: Visibility of the Arms of Government in the Content of Radio Coverage

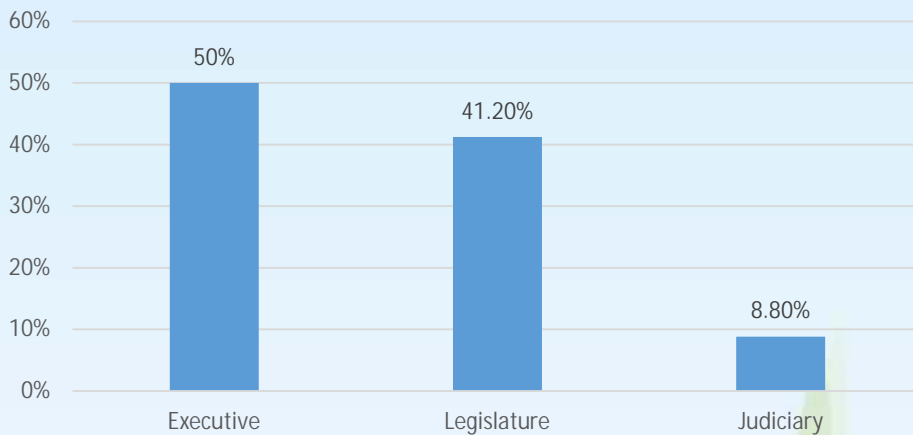
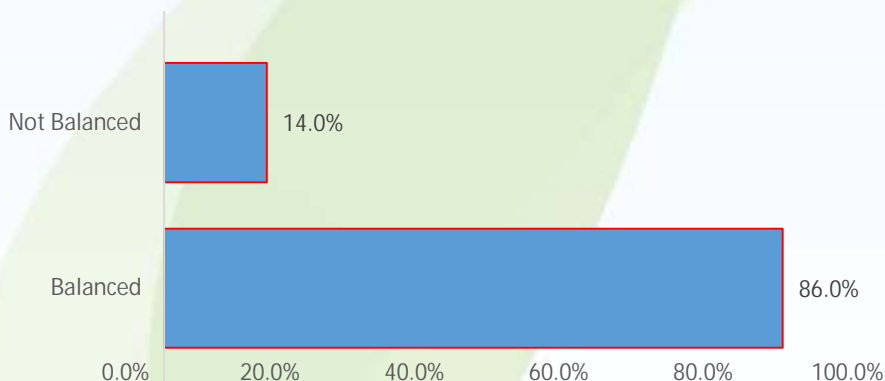


Chart 10 shows how visible the different arms of government were during December coverage. The Executive accounted for half of all airtime with 50.0% coverage. The Legislature came second with 41.2% of coverage dedicated to the House of Assembly and the Houses of Assembly. The courts and the rest of the Judiciary received much less airtime with 8.8% of airtime.

QUALITY OF REPORTS – BALANCE

We examined the quality of the reports with particular focus on balance. As Chart 11 shows, most of the reports (86.0%) were balanced.

Chart 11: Balanced versus not balanced reports on radio



This is commendable display of adherence to one of the requirements of good journalism. Balance requires seeking out the perspectives of all the parties to an issue and demands hard work on the part of producers.

Chart 12: Comparison of private and government radio stations on balanced reporting



More of the news of both types of stations (80.7% for government owned stations, and 82.4% for private stations) were balanced. In each ownership type, the unbalanced reports were fewer. There is no ground to suggest that ownership had anything to do with quality of report with regard to balance.

EXTREME SPEECH

There were three instances of extreme speech noted during monitoring of radio broadcasts. Two of insults and one that was considered inciting. An example of extreme speech found was one by the Bayelsa State Government:

Bayelsa State Government has described APC under the leadership of Ex-Governor Timipriye Silva as a rejected party with confusing mind and on a mission to attack creativity with mischief.

The newscaster was used as the source.

PART II:

CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON TELEVISION

This section is the television version of the preceding radio section. We examined issues of programme types, visibility of the various actors, quality of reports, and incidences of extreme speech.

TYPES OF POLITICAL PROGRAMMES ON TELEVISION

The 587 television broadcasts monitored fell into 6 programme types. As Chart 13 shows, most broadcasts were news reports.

Chart 13: Programme types of political programmes on television

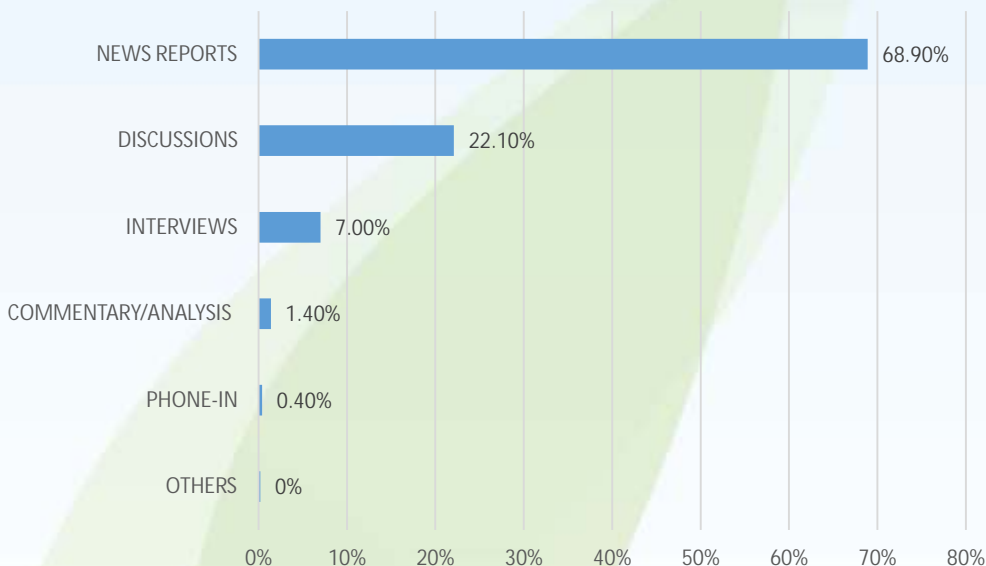
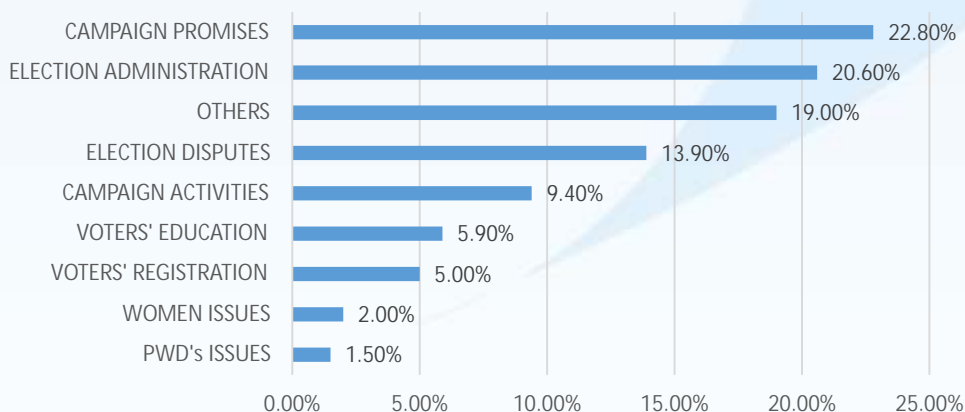


Chart 13 highlights the varied levels of attention received by each programme type in television broadcasts. News reports (68.9%) captured more than half of the television contents, discussions had a fair share of airtime, while interviews had a low coverage. Programmes focused on commentary/analysis received a very low amount of coverage in the broadcasts, and formats such as phone-in and documentary got less than 1.0% of attention.

THEMATIC FOCUS OF THE CONTENTS OF POLITICAL PROGRAMMES ON TELEVISION

Here, we analysed the election-related themes or issues that were predominant in the broadcast media within the period. A total of 606 themes were identified in the 587 television broadcasts, suggesting that some contents dealt with more than one theme. Campaign promises by political aspirants attracted the most attention in the broadcasts (22.8%). Coming after all other themes is PWD.

CHART 14: THEMATIC FOCUS OF TELEVISION BROADCASTS - NOVEMBER 2018



Election administration and other unclassifiable themes received fair amounts of attention in the selected TV stations: 20.6% and 19.0% respectively. This was followed by election disputes (11.8%). Campaign activities also featured in 9.4% of television broadcasts, and they included issues relating to the electoral body (INEC), election timetable and sequence. Campaign promises also received a fair amount of coverage: 7.5%. Voters' education (5.9%) and voters' registration (5.0%) got notably low attention in coverage, despite the fact that registration was ongoing at the time. There was notably low diversity in the rate at which issues about women and those living with disability were covered. Women issues received only 2.0% of airtime, while issues relating to PWD had only 1.5%.

VISIBILITY OF ACTORS IN THE CONTENT OF TV BROADCASTS

In this category, we explored the individual or corporate bodies that captured the attention of the broadcast media in the dissemination of election related matters. Therefore, we compared these across the following sub-categories: gender, age, status and location.

Individual Visibility

Chart 15 shows that men were more prevalent as sources of news and as mentions in TV broadcasts. A total of 486 actors were men, while 218 actors were women.

CHART 15: VISIBILITY OF MALES AND FEMALES IN TV BROADCASTS



The male counterparts were given a little above twice the coverage females received. Men took 69.0%, while the women folks had 31.0% of attention. This finding affirms a recurring trend in the minimal attention received by female aspirants in political broadcasts.

We also analysed the visibility of People with Disability (PWD) as against those without special needs. And from our observation, there was an obvious difference in the coverage given to the able people compared with the percentage allocated to PWD.

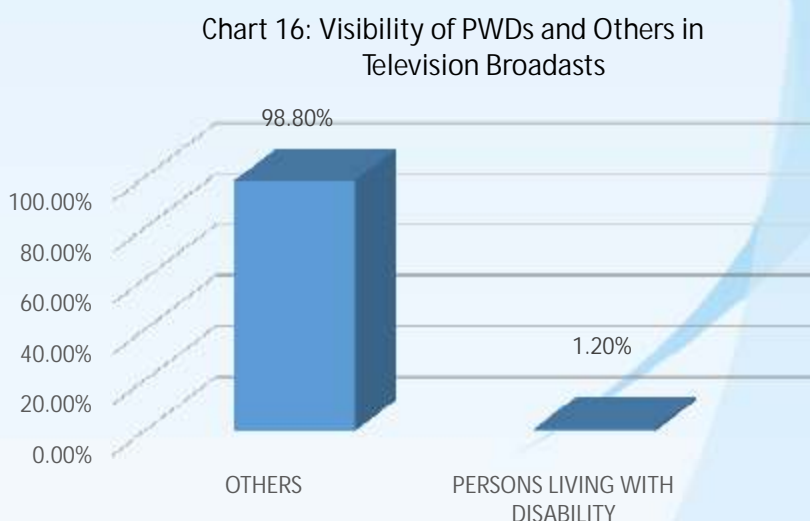
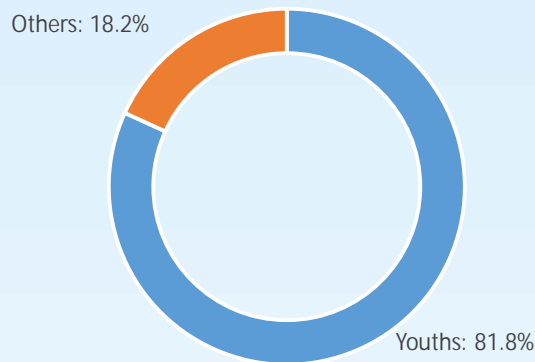


Chart 16 shows that almost all television contents focused on able people as individual actors: 98.8%. Persons living with disabilities were covered in only 1.2% of the entire broadcasts. This analysis projects the level at which balance is neglected in the media attention shared among people living with disabilities and those without special needs.

Chart 17 shows that there is a significant difference between the visibilities of young people compared with other age groups in the contents of TV broadcast within the period under review.

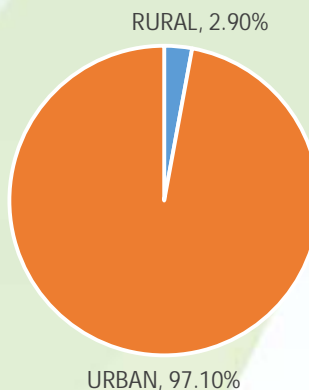
CHART 17: VISIBILITY OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND IN THE
CONTENT OF TV BROADCASTS



Young people got the greater attention in television broadcasts, while other age groups received only 18.2% of coverage. This implies that young people are seen as more active citizens in political matters, especially election issues.

As seen in Chart 18, a larger percentage of reporting took place in the urban areas. It is necessary to mention that the coders recorded cases where coverage was given to both urban and rural areas in a news report or other contents.

CHART 18: URBAN - RURAL VISIBILITY IN TV
BROADCASTS

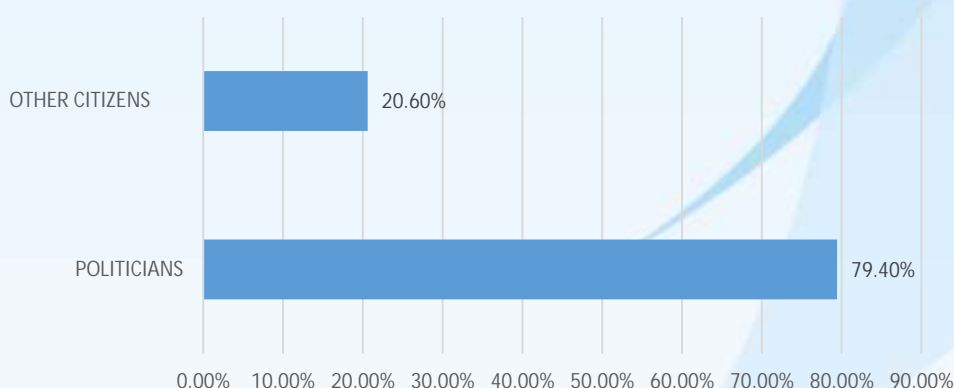


A total of 97.2% of reporting were focused on the urban areas, while only 2.9% of attention was given to the rural areas. The implication in the above interpretation is that rural areas were largely neglected in television broadcasts

Corporate Visibility

We explored the visibility of political parties versus ordinary citizens. From our observation, we found that the amount of coverage received by political parties overshadowed that of ordinary citizens as sources of news, other contents, and as those mentioned in the reports.

CHART 19: VISIBILITY OF POLITICIANS AND OTHER CITIZENS
IN THE CONTENT OF TV BROADCASTS



Politicians garnered about 80.0% of coverage, and ordinary citizens had only 20.6% in the monitored contents. Political parties constituted aspirants or candidates of APC and PDP and other politicians from less visible factions.

When all the actors were compared, the Executive had the greater coverage of 60.3%, and it was followed by the Legislature with 33.3%.

CHART 20: RELATIVE VISIBILITY OF THE ARMS OF GOVERNMENT
IN THE CONTENT OF TV BROADCASTS

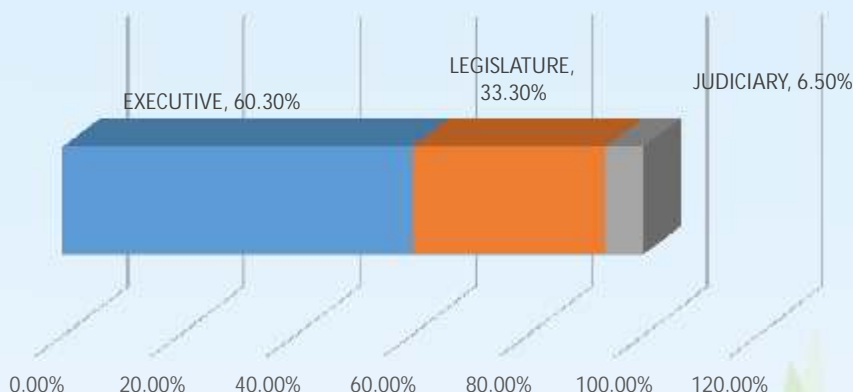
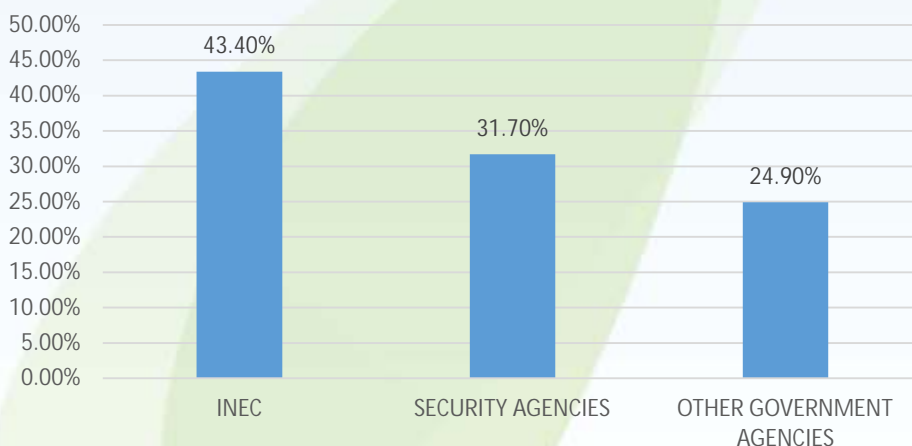


Chart 20 reveals the differences in the level of attention received by each arm of government in the broadcasts. Of all the three arms of government, the Judiciary had the lowest percentage (6.5 %) of coverage

We went further by examining the visibility of corporate organisations, government agencies and groups in the content of TV broadcasts. Chart 21 presents these details:

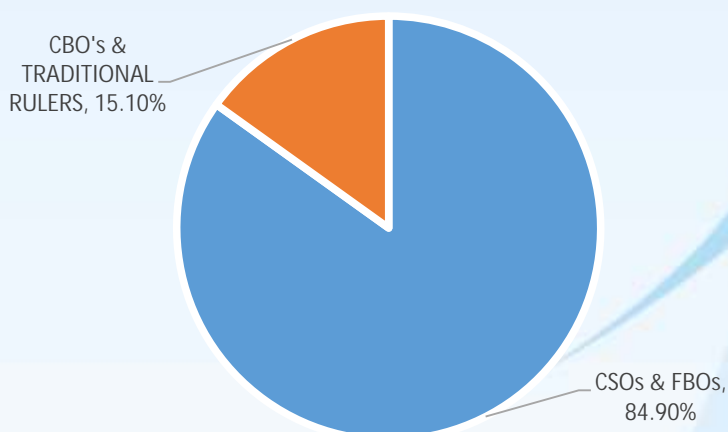
CHART 21: VISIBILITY OF CORPORATE ORGANISATIONS,
AGENCIES AND GROUPS



Nigeria's electoral body (INEC) led this category with an approximate value of 43.4%, closely followed by security agencies, which had 31.7% of coverage. Other government agencies were given 24.9% of attention in television broadcasts.

As indicated in Chart 22, civil society and faith-based organisations constituted a large majority as source of news, other contents and as those mentioned in television broadcasts.

CHART 22: VISIBILITY OF NON -GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

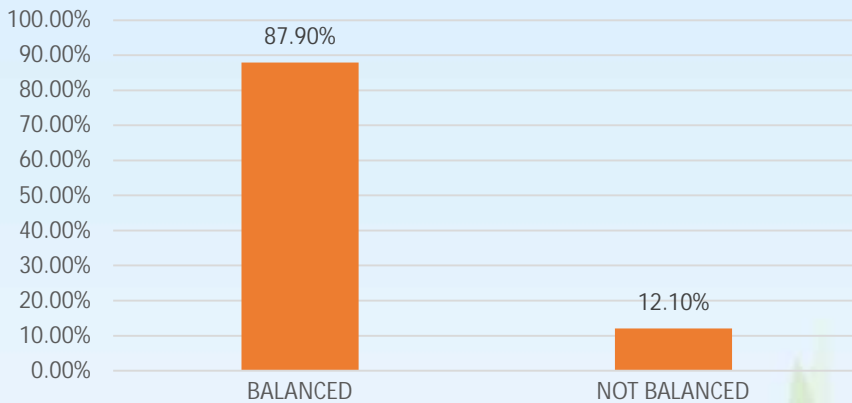


Civil society and faith-based organisations received 84.9% of airtime, while non-governmental actors such as the traditional rulers got only 15.1% of coverage.

QUALITY OF REPORTS - BALANCE

We also examined the quality of contents broadcast by the selected TV stations. In this case, we sought to know if the reports were balanced or unbalanced.

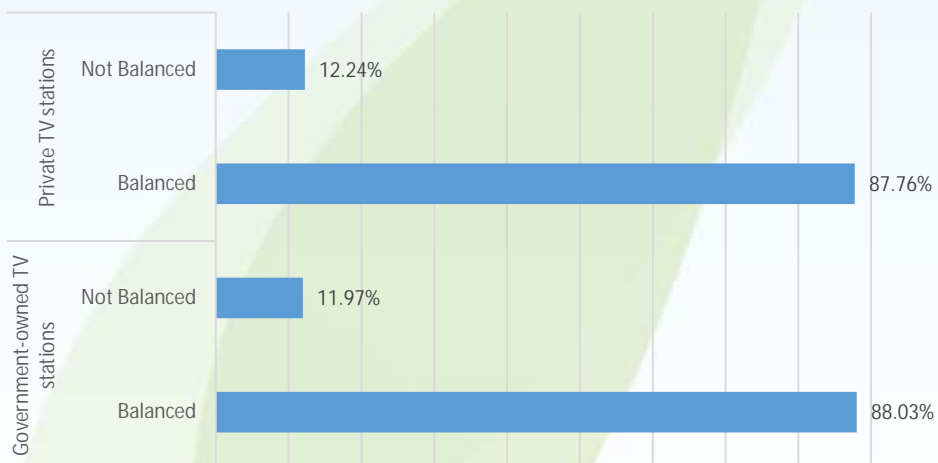
CHART 23: BALANCED VERSUS NOT BALANCED
REPORTS



Of the 587 items coded, balance was only applicable to 289 articles. Chart 24 shows these 289 instances. In all, 87.9% of the articles were balanced, while 12.1% were not balanced.

Chart 24 shows a comparison of government and private TV stations with balanced reporting.

Chart 24: Comparison of government and private
television stations on balanced reporting



It is sometimes alleged that private stations and government-owned stations differ in how well they adhere to certain professional standards. With reference to balanced reporting, Chart 24 shows that stations from both types of ownership had predominantly balanced reports with 87.8% and 88.1% for private and government-owned stations, respectively.

LANGUAGE—EXTREME SPEECH

There were few instances of extreme speech in the contents coded. Surprisingly, government stations had very fewer cases of extreme speech than private stations. Of the ten cases of extreme speech on television during the month under review, eight were from private stations while two were from government stations.

Instances of extreme speech included the following:

STV:

A PDP chieftain in Ekiti said “whoever says Sen. Olujimi is not a leader is a mad man”

TVC: In a news report, Ben Obi was described as “lacking focus” and “behaving childish”. This report has 2 male sources.

Channels TV- “Nigeria can be classified as a rouge state because those who run it are rouges”.

PART III:

COMBINED REPORT ON RADIO AND TELEVISION

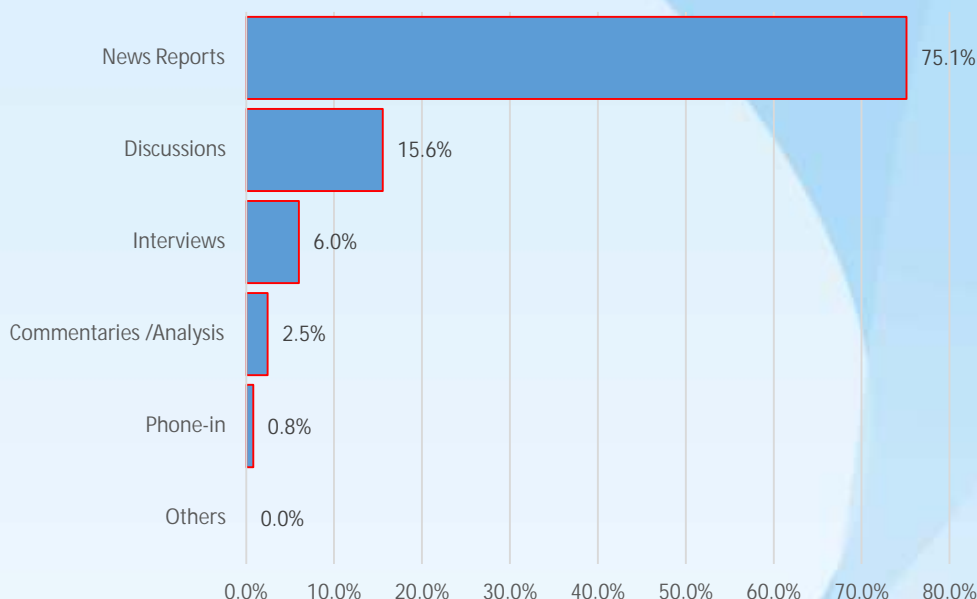
This section presents the details of a combined analysis on political broadcasts on radio and television in November, 2018. The following categories are included in this report: programme types, thematic focus, visibility of various individual and corporate actors, and quality of broadcasts and instances of extreme speech. A total of 1012 broadcasts were monitored, and 425 were radio programmes.

PROGRAMME TYPES OF BROADCAST MEDIA CONTENTS

The primary role of the media is to inform, educate, monitor, mobilise and organise the public to take actions on issues of national interest. All of these responsibilities are expected of the broadcast media, especially during elections worldwide. And it is possible to measure the way in which the broadcast media handles this critical role through the programmes aired, and the content of such programmes.

In November, 2018, we examined the 425 radio and 587 television programmes by grouping them into various types and monitoring the rate at which each type featured in the broadcast media. During the coding process, we identified 8 types of programmes and they are commentaries and analyses, discussions, debates, phone-in, talk shows, documentaries, news reports, vox pop, and other unclassifiable programme formats. Chart 25 shows that news programmes dominated the broadcasts.

Chart 25: Programme types of political broadcasts



A larger percentage (75.1%) of the broadcasts were news reports.. This trend also exists in a previous analysis for the month of October, 2018, and it calls for great concern on the electoral process: that is, how well informed are the electorate about election activities and the power of their votes? These factors pose consequences on the candidates who are selected to govern at various levels of government and on their impact on national development. All of these functions cannot be achieved in the absence of more educative programmes on political broadcasts. News reports are solely for informative purposes; they lack the required features for educating the populace. And the broadcast media ought to ensure that citizens are not denied the right to possess accurate political knowledge, especially that which informs their choices during elections.

Discussions (15.6%) and interviews (6.0%) came second and third, respective. Commentaries/analyses and phone-in did not get sufficient spaces in the broadcasts. Phone-in had less than 1.0% in the entire broadcast contents,

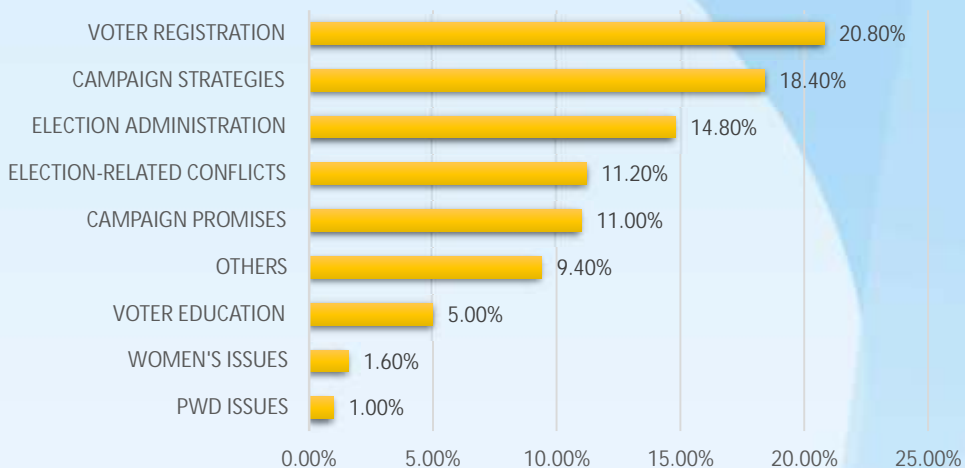
and commentaries/analyses had a little over 2.0%. These findings suggest that the broadcast media covered a wide range of electoral issues, yet it performed more of its informative role and paid little or no attention to its educative function. Programme formats such as debates, talk shows, documentaries, and Vox Pop were unnoticeable in the broadcast contents analysed in this report.

THEMATIC FOCUS OF BROADCAST MEDIA CONTENTS

It is essential to observe the varied themes or topics that dominate the contents of the broadcast media, specifically in preparation towards general elections. The themes dictate what the electorate are constantly exposed to, and the implications of the choices they make. The thematic focus of political broadcasts is highlighted in Chart 27. Again, very little concentration (5.0%) was given to issues related to voters' education. Rather, the highest coverage was allotted to topics on voter registration. Topics on voter education decreased, despite the fact that registration exercises were still ongoing. Thousands of registered voters were yet to collect their permanent voters' cards, regardless of the extension of registration exercises given by INEC a few weeks before the 2019 presidential election. In one of the broadcasts by Silverbird Television, INEC implored citizens to retrieve their voters' cards as over 500,000 PVCs were awaiting collection in Ogun State.

It is quite unfortunate that there is less momentum behind efforts seeking to enhance the knowledge of citizens on how to vote, why, when, and for whom. This diversity reveals the priority placed on educating the electorate on the values and activities to consider before casting their votes during elections. This also suggests that the broadcast media has not performed its primary role efficiently.

CHART 26: THEMATIC FOCUS OF BROADCAST
CONTENTS - NOVEMBER, 2018



Of all the 1,012 political broadcasts coded, campaign strategies came second with 18.4%, and election administration came third with 14.8%. Issues relating to election-related conflicts and campaign promises had a fair amount of coverage with 11.2% and 11.05, respectively. From these results, it can be deduced that political broadcasts were predominantly centred on the strategies, promises/manifestos of various aspirants/candidates and their political parties, particularly at the party primaries. By focusing on campaign strategies, the broadcast media failed to instruct the citizens on the dilemma of Nigerian elections. Issues that affected women (1.6%) and PWD (1.0%) got the lowest coverage. In many countries of the world where news reports and other contents are dominated by men and able people, this poses a threat to women and people with disabilities. In this case, the media is expected to create a balance in the attention given to these actors. The results in this category pose the following question: Is Nigeria going backward on democracy?

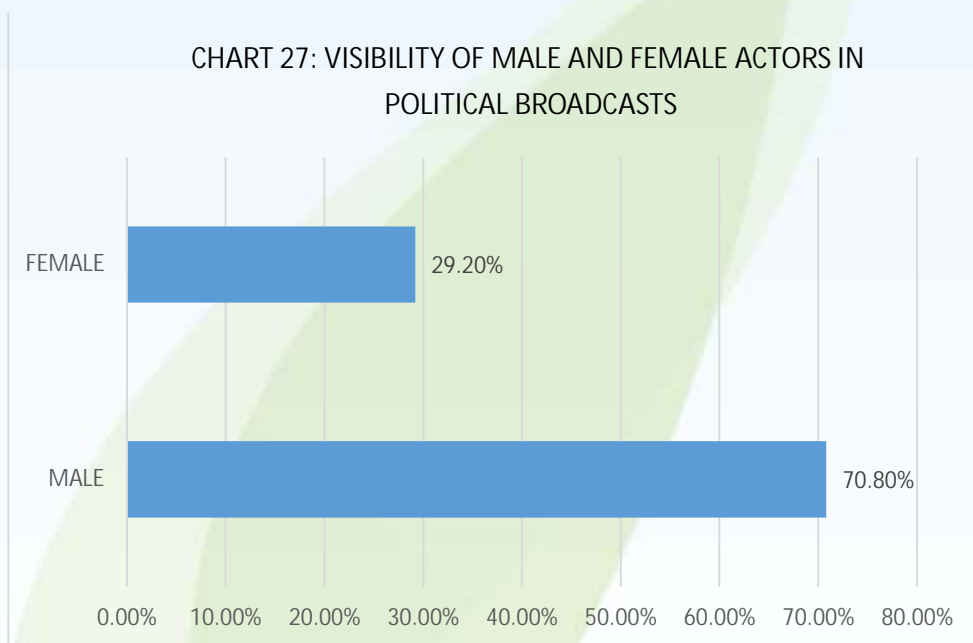
VISIBILITY OF ACTORS IN BROADCAST REPORTS

We observed the visibility of actors and different constituents in the contents of the political broadcasts in the month under review—November, 2018. It is

important to know who mattered in the contents of broadcasts by television and radio stations. A knowledge of the most prominent actors will provide an exposition to the efficacy of the broadcast media in creating and spreading influence. Hence, we examined subcategories such as the visibility of men and women, PWD and people without special needs, rural dwellers versus urban dwellers, youths and other age groups, and the prominence of politicians versus ordinary citizens.

Individual Visibility

Chart 27 focuses on the visibility of male and female actors in the contents of the political programmes broadcast. It shows that male actors are at the focal point of political broadcasts. This trend is worrisome as it constantly downplays the active involvement of females as candidates or voters during elections. The media has not only failed in ensuring a balanced reporting in terms of the number of female actors covered, but also in the quality of their representation. For the presidential elections, males swamped females by a 12:1 ratio.



In the contents of television and radio programmes aired, men significantly outnumbered the women in coverage. Men received more than twice the attention (70.8%) enjoyed by their female counterparts (29.2%).. This result indicates a wide disparity in the attention given to the different sexes. Many of the broadcasts do not depict women as active actors or sources of news and other contents. Rather, they are seen playing passive roles such as canvassing for the male politicians through political advertisements, or they are spotted on various campaign grounds, entertaining the public. An example is when Governor Jibrilla Bindow of Adamawa State appealed to the card-carrying members of APC, particularly the women and youths to “come out en masse and exercise their franchise for purposeful representation.” This event was aired on ABC Yola on 24 October, 2018. Also, the broadcasts included several instances of women missing in action, and external parties soliciting for their participation. For example, news content by Lagos Television in November, 2018 reported that the Association of Cooperate Governance in Nigeria advocated more women in government and political positions. In addition, the Islamic Organization of Nigeria says Muslim women were free to hold political offices and positions that they were interested in and should count on the organisation's support at all levels.

However, there are some instances where women featured as sources of news reports, other contents, and as individual mentions. In a news report by Channels TV on the campaign activities and promises by various presidential aspirants, one of the six females among the 73 presidential candidates, was recognised based on her manifesto and other campaign strategies. In the report,

Oby Ezekwesili, a presidential candidate of ACPN (Allied Congress Party of Nigeria) spoke on her plans for restructuring Nigeria economically.

Another instance of women's involvement in the 2019 general elections was a commentary/analysis section on DITV in November, 2018. The report is as follows:

Governor Nasir El-rufai picked Dr Hadiza Balarabe as running mate come 2019. Some women are of the opinion that he took the right decision by trying to empower women not minding whether it is a muslim or Christian. Another added that he did it for his selfish ambition to divide us and cause chaos not truly doing it to recognise women in the state.

Another significant one was a news report broadcast on Liberty TV, where women supporters in the North spoke for other women in view of the 2019 general elections.

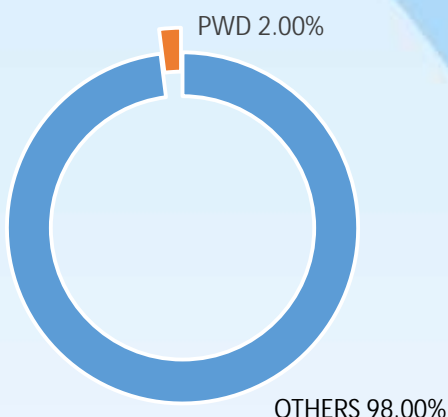
Women in northern Nigeria speak against discrimination in the nation's political process and solicit support for women who will actively participate in the 2019 elections.

In spite of the exceptions where women were seen in action, rather than being cajoled to vote or to contest for political positions, they still had 29.2% of attention in the contents of television and radio broadcasts. During a discussion on Liberty TV titled, “Women in Politics,” one of the guest speakers, a politician, addressed the need for women to be given more opportunities to serve in various leadership capacities. The report is as follows:

The first guest said what limits women from actively involving in politics most times is their religious and marital restrictions. The second guest said a lot of things that are yet to be fixed in different aspects of the nation can only be fixed by women because they are generally more coordinated than men are.

We also monitored the visible presence of people with disabilities and people without special needs (Able people). In our analysis, the lop-sidedness was obvious in most of the reports, as the attention received by PWD was greatly outnumbered by the coverage given to able people. Only 2.0% of the entire broadcasts was devoted to covering people with disabilities as sources of news, other contents and as individual mentions.

CHART 28: VISIBILITY OF PWD AND OTHERS



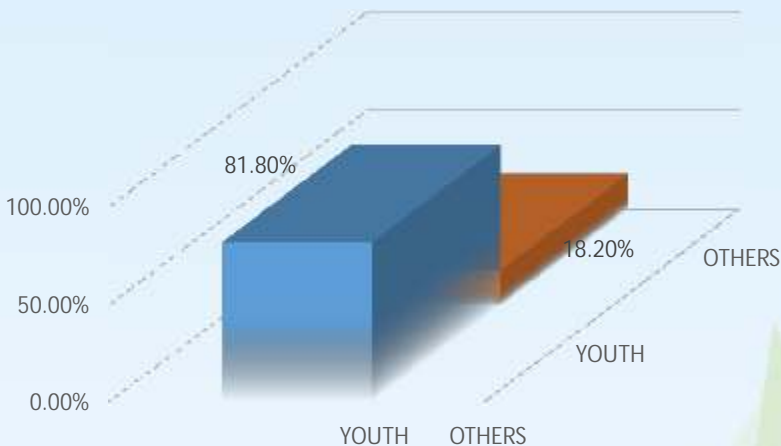
Regardless of the electoral body's commitment to improving the level of participation of PWD in election activities, both television and radio broadcasts were lopsided in the attention placed on each subcategory of citizens in this section. Liberty TV provides an instance of one of the promises made by INEC thus:

INEC has pledged to enhance greater participation of persons with disability in the 2019 general elections.

A total of 98.0% of the broadcasts featured able people as those who mattered and were getting mentioned in election-related issues and activities.

We went further by examining the visibility of young people in the contents of the broadcast media. In most of the reports, the youths appeared more significant than other age groups. And they were mentioned many times in the appeals made to the public by INEC and even by some political aspirants. Chart 30 shows that young people got more mentions in the contents of the broadcast media in the month under review.

CHART 29: VISIBILITY OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND OTHER AGE GROUPS IN THE CONTENT OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS



Of all the television and radio broadcasts analysed, the youth had 81.8% of attention, while other age groups got 18.2% of coverage. It is noteworthy to state that the coverage received by young people cuts across the leadership capacity, how they can serve as possible weapons for politicians, and the need to exercise their franchise and ensure peaceful conduct at the election polls. Our analysis shows that politicians, political parties and community leaders made constant appeals to the youths as regards their involvement in some electoral activities. One of the several cases is reported by KSTV as follows:

Christian cleric in Kaduna state urged the church to sensitize their members especially youths on ensuring peaceful elections

In other instances, youths were advised to shun electoral violence and exercise their legitimate rights by voting in their preferred candidates. An example of the numerous appeals is a news report by NTAi on political parties and their campaign strategies. Parties such as SDP, ADC, and DPP were mentioned in the report.

Youths have been called upon not to be used as political thugs for 2019 election other parties also spoke on their readiness for the 2019 election bb

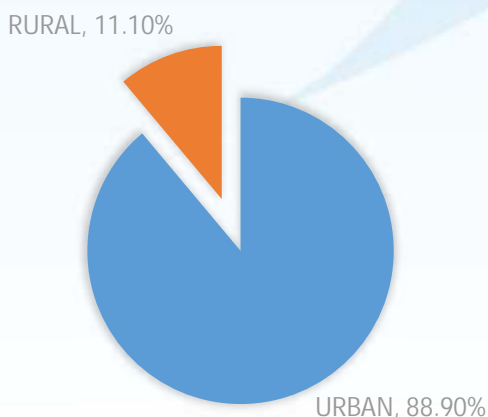
and different parties featured in this report and duly represented others under mention.

Another instance is when the President of the National Youth Summit on peace urged Nigerian youths not to allow themselves to be used by politicians to cause havoc during the 2019 general elections. Moreover, the Sultan of Sokoto urged Muslim and Christian youths not to allow themselves to be used by selfish politicians during the 2019 general elections.

Only a small percentage of the broadcasts focused on the activities of youths. An example is a report aired on Liberty TV during the evening news hour on the 28th of November, 2018. In the report, the youths' voices were articulated even as aggrieved youths in Kaduna state decamped from APC to PDP for what they called lack of transparency in their former party—APC.

The notably low diversity in the attention given to women and men or to PWD and able people is also evident in the level of coverage given to urban and rural locations. Chart 30 depicts that there was a dichotomy in the coverage of urban and rural events and people. Based on the fact that a large number of citizens dwell mostly in rural areas, it is pertinent to determine whether or not the broadcast media paid attention to rural locations, and to what extent.

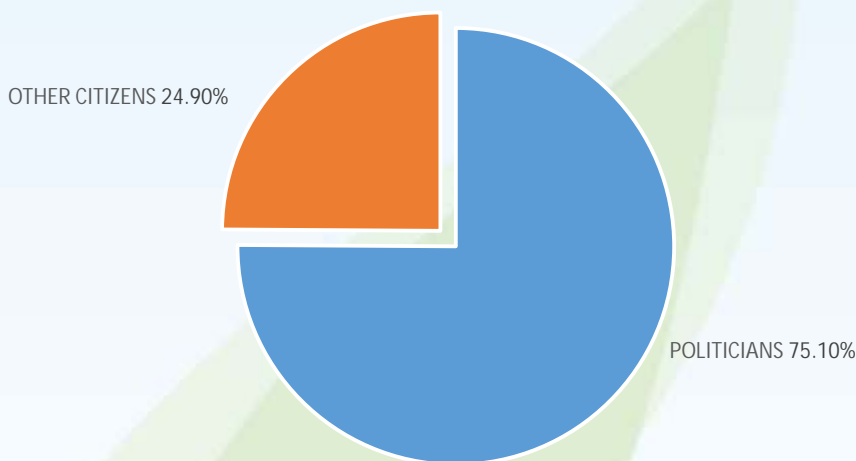
CHART 30: URBAN -RURAL VISIBILITY IN THE CONTENTS OF BROADCAST MEDIA



The proportion of coverage given by the broadcast media to rural areas in November, 2018 is more than twice that given to urban locations. The concern is if the media constantly tends towards the urban areas, thereby neglecting the rural areas, are the residents of these less covered locations adequately and accurately informed of all national issues, especially matters arising in the 2019 general elections? According to the data presented in Chart 30, the Nigerian broadcast media practices an urban-centric form of reporting, which poses a problem when the objective is to inform and mobilise the citizens.

We also examined the visibility of politicians and compared it with that of ordinary citizens. Chart 31 reveals that the broadcasts fairly focused on ordinary citizens: 24.9%.

CHART 31: VISIBILITY OF POLITICIANS AND OTHER CITIZENS IN THE CONTENTS OF BROADCAST MEDIA



While it is gratifying to find out that ordinary citizens got coverage, it is not exactly exciting to see that the attention given to politicians is more than double that of the attention given to ordinary citizens. It is easy to justify this finding by attributing the recurrent reports to the increased formation of new political parties and coalitions such as Revive Nigeria, Nigerian Intervention

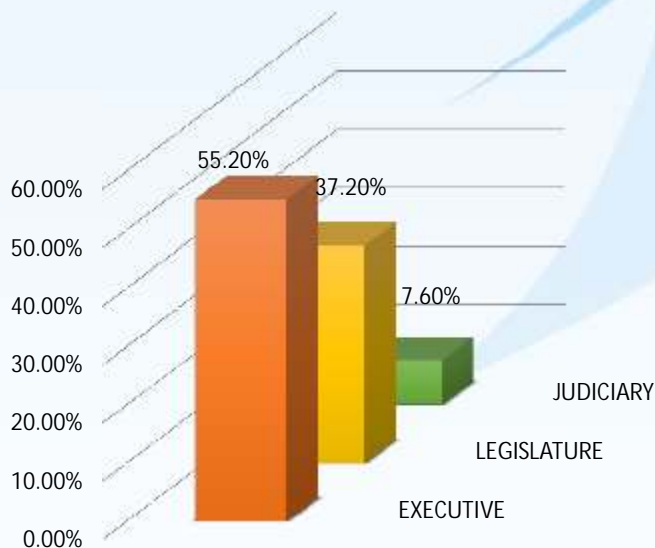
Movement, and Coalition for Nigeria Movement (CNN). However, in a democratic state, the voice of the citizens ought to be heard above that of political aspirants' or candidates'.

Corporate Visibility

We explored the visibility of corporate entities in the contents of the broadcast media. It is important to monitor the activities and prominence of various governmental and community-based agencies because they are capable of influencing the electorate and their choices or the entire electoral process one way or the other. Charts 33 to 36 present the findings.

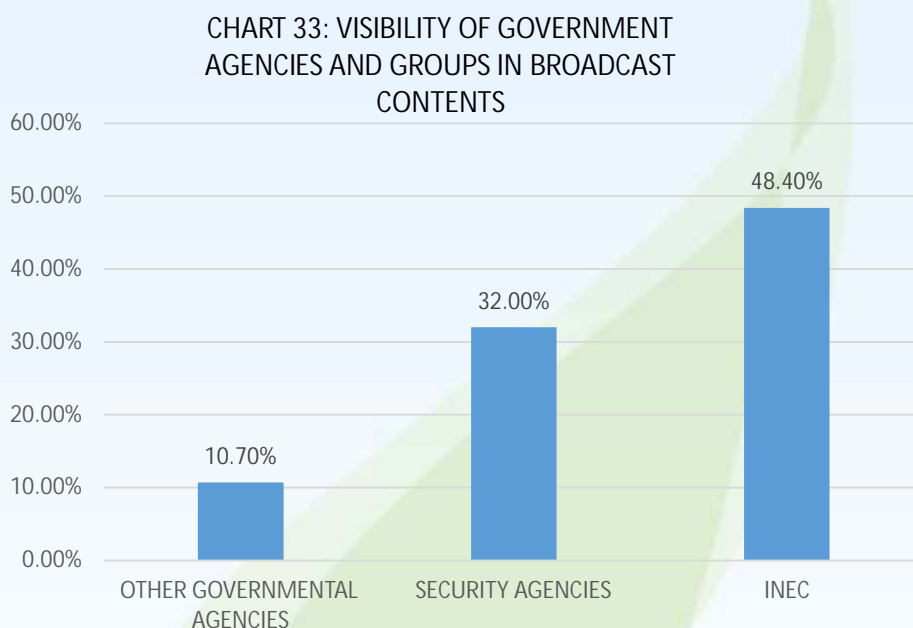
Chart 32 highlights how visible each arm of government was in the contents of the political broadcasts in November, 2018.

CHART 32: VISIBILITY OF THE ARMS OF GOVERNMENT IN POLITICAL BROADCASTS



Approximately, 8.0% of airtime was allocated to contents that cited the judiciary as the source of news reports, other contents and mentions. On the other hand, the Legislature had its fair share of coverage by receiving a little more than 37.0% of attention in the broadcasts, while the greater amount of coverage (55.2%.) was devoted to the Executive as mentions and originators of political contents with a special focus on the general elections.

Secondly, we analysed the dominance of the different governmental agencies in broadcast contents. Chart 33 shows that INEC took more than half of the airtime allotted to issues surrounding the 2019 general elections.

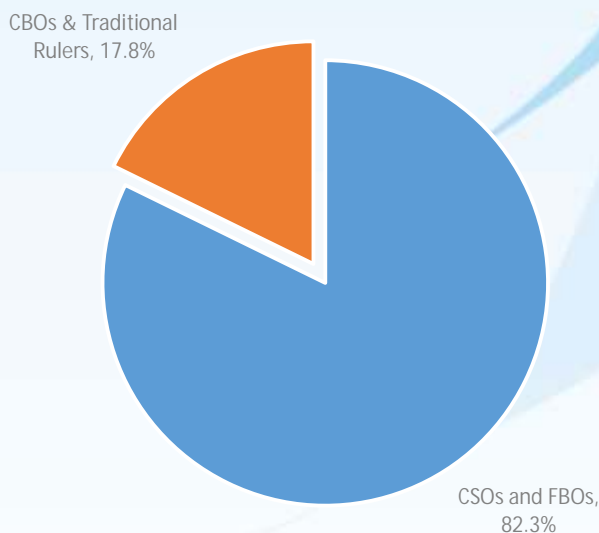


INEC had 48.4% of attention, and it was followed closely by security agencies with 32.0%. These results are not surprising as a result of the various functions that each agency is created to perform, especially during major elections. INEC, which is Nigeria's electoral body is responsible for the conduct of free and fair elections, whilst ensuring that the citizens are sensitised on the need for hitch-free elections. Therefore, it is understandable that INEC got the most attention. Also, the focus of the broadcast media on

security agencies is remarkable as the majority of news reports and other contents echoed the fear of the citizens as well as the concerns of the electoral body and other stakeholders. It was necessary for the broadcast media to emphasise its reports along this line because of the seeming existence of electoral violence and heated inter-party conflicts, among others. Lastly, a combination of other governmental agencies was given 10.7% of airtime.

Non-governmental organisations were also examined in the broadcasts. As Chart 34 shows, with 82.2% of the total coverage, civil society organisations (CSOs) and Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs) dwarfed the visibility of community-based organisations and traditional rulers which had just 7.8%.

CHART 34: VISIBILITY OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES IN THE CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS



Regardless of the low amount of coverage received by community-based organisations and traditional rulers, they are seen as very influential entities in the electoral process and have been able to garner some degree of national and international supports. This is an indication of the power wielded by these

actors as well as their roles in election monitoring. The following excerpt from a report by Lagos Television is an example:

The Commissioner of Police in Lagos State urged traditional rulers, parents and politicians to warn their wards/supporters against political thuggery during the electioneering period.

QUALITY OF REPORTS - BALANCE

Chart 35 presents the relative visibility of political parties in the contents of the broadcasts. Balance is a vital element of reporting, and it signifies a good journalistic practice. In political broadcasts, balanced reporting is crucial. And when the broadcast media falters in this regard, it is capable of stirring conflict and distrust in the Nigerian media.

Chart 35: Balanced versus not balanced reports in broadcast programmes

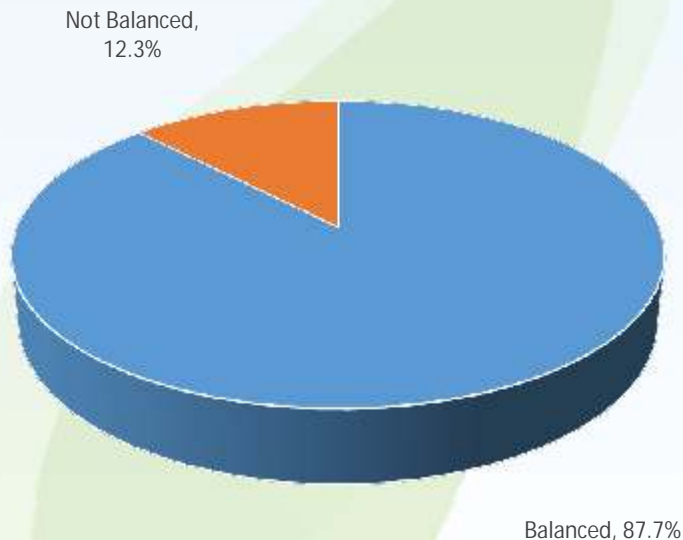


Chart 35 above shows the quality of broadcast media contents reporting towards the 2019 general elections. Put together, 87.7% of the contents were balanced, while 12.3% of contents were not balanced. This brings us to a conclusion that the media played a pivotal role in providing an unbiased report of election monitoring and other related matters.

We went further in comparing the difference in the rate at which private and government stations achieved balance in reporting all election activities of political parties and aspirants, citizens, governmental and non-governmental agencies. The outcome of our analysis is presented in chart 37.

Chart 36: Comparison of government and private stations on balance

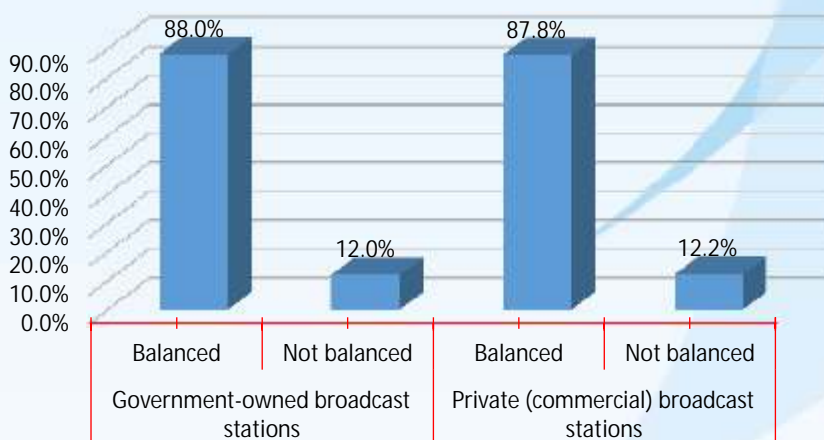


Chart 36 shows that the difference between the two types of stations was not wide. Although the percentage of balanced reports from government stations (88.0%) was greater than that of private stations (87.8%), this difference is rather slim. What is obvious was that both ownership types produced far more balanced reports than un-balanced ones.

QUALITY OF REPORTS: EXTREME SPEECH

There were few instances of extreme speech in the contents coded. Political contents with elements of incitement or hate speech were present only in television broadcasts. Government stations had very few cases (20.0%) of incitement or extreme speech, while private stations had a total of 80.0%. The three major stations were Silverbird Television, Channels TV and TVC.

A PDP chieftain in Ekiti made the following derogatory statement in a news report carried by Silverbird Television:

Whoever says Sen. Olujimi is not a leader is a mad man.

Also, in a news report by TVC, Ben Obi was described by two unidentified male sources as lacking focus” and “behaving childish.

This is another instance from Channels TV: “Nigeria can be classified as a rouge state because those who run it are rouges”

CONCLUSION

The broadcast media focused on varied electoral issues prior to the 2019 general elections. These issues include key themes or topics of discourse, programme formats, visibility of individual and corporate actors, quality of reports, and the quality of language. The media significantly covered the activities of INEC, the Executive and the Legislative arms of government, and other issues involving voter registration, campaign strategies, campaign promises and election administration. Additionally, men and youths received notable coverage as sources of news reports, other contents and as mentions. Most of the reports were commendably balanced, while there are few instances of hate speech or incitement.

Despite all of the remarkable efforts made by the broadcast media, it still faltered in some cases. For example, voter education received little attention in political broadcasts. With reference to the month under review, official campaigns had just begun in all political parties, and citizens were being

urged to register as eligible voters. It is assumed that all activities and discussions on voter education would attract increased attention in broadcast contents. This is vital to directing or redirecting the focus of the electorate to making choices that would affect the Nigerian economy and political system positively.

Likewise, women and people with disabilities were almost neglected by the media as they rarely featured as sources of contents or as mentions in political broadcasts. Rather, the attention of the media was centred on the male candidates and people without special needs. In addition, most of the broadcast contents concentrated on the strategies and promises of politicians, rather than other important election-related issues such as electoral violence, buying of votes, registration of underage voters, declaration of assets, reformation of the judiciary, and unhealthy party rivalry.

Lastly, political broadcasts focused more on the urban areas and very little on rural settlements. This suggests unprofessionalism of the Nigerian broadcast media. News reports and other contents ought to be disseminated at the grassroots and in urban areas in order to ensure that all citizens are well informed and educated continually. Therefore, the media ought to be brought closer to the rural areas too instead of giving predominant attention and coverage to the urban areas.



DECEMBER 2018 REPORT

INTRODUCTION

December 2018 was a politically significant month in Nigeria with reference to the approaching the 2019 general elections. Two major events in that month signified the political unease that was emerging as Nigeria prepared for the elections. The first was the refusal by President Muhammadu Buhari to assent the Electoral Reform Bill submitted by the National Assembly. The President gave, among several others, the reason that, “passing a new electoral bill this far into the electoral process for the 2019 general elections which commenced under the 2015 Electoral Act, could create some uncertainty about the applicable legislation to govern the process” (The Cable, 2018). Some critics, however, alleged that the Bill would have given the opposition a greater chance of defeating the President at the polls. This generated some tension in the polity and increased the doubts being expressed about the government's commitment to free, fair and credible polls.

The second major event was the December 19 rowdy session in the National Assembly following President Buhari's presentation of the 2019 budget. Members of the opposition were reported to have booed the President, some of them shouting “lies!!” (Premium Times, 2018). The reason for this was not clear. It, however, showed the tension between two of the three arms of government, or more precisely, between a section of the National Assembly and the presidency. December 2018 was indeed a month charged with political actions.

It was also the month in which the former Chief of Defence Staff, Air Vice Marshall Alex Barde, was assassinated. While this event might not have been connected with politics, it illustrated the fragility of security in the country

and jointly created an atmosphere of unsafety as Nigerians prepared for the polls.

On the not-so-negative side, in December, the ruling All Progressives' Congress (APC) announced its Presidential Campaign Team. This was made up of President Muhammadu Buhari, Vice President Yemi Osinbajo, the APC National Leader Asiwaju Bola Tinubu, the party National Chairman Adams Oshiomhole among many others Nigerians.

All these and many more political events caught the attention of the broadcast media, and competed for airtime. This was along with existing events such as voter education, voter registration, and election administration. What was the coverage of election preparation in the month of December 2018 like? Which actors or categories of actors were visible in the media space? Which ones were silent or silenced? Were there instances of extreme speech? If any, by whom? These are the questions we sought to answer in this report.

In the report, we present the performance of the broadcast media in Nigeria in December 2018. Specifically, we examined the themes that the broadcast media focused on in the month under review, that is, December 2018. We examined the diversity of their coverage paying attention to their sources of news and other programmes, and the actors mentioned in these broadcasts—this we called visibility of actors. We examined the visibility of the different government agencies as well. Then we examined the presence or absence of extreme speech.

The monitoring involved 17 radio stations and 16 television stations selected from across the country, and was carried out in four monitoring locations in the country. The radio stations monitored are listed below.

The radio stations monitored:

1. Adamawa Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) Yola
2. Anambra Broadcasting Service (Awka 88.5 FM), Awka
3. Arewa Radio, Kano

4. Dream FM, Enugu
5. Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) Network
6. Glory FM (Bayelsa State Broadcasting Corporation, BSBC), Yenagoa
7. Gotel Radio, Yola
8. Kaduna State Media Corporation (KSMC) Radio, Kaduna
9. Nigeria Info, Network
10. Osun State Broadcasting Corporation (OSBC), Osogbo
11. Progress FM Gombe
12. Radio Benue, Makurdi
13. Radio Kwara, Ilorin
14. Radio Lagos
15. Radio Lagos/Eko FM
16. Rhythm 93.7, Network
17. Splash FM 105.5 Ibadan

The television stations monitored:

1. African Independent Television (AIT), Network
2. Adamawa Television (ATV) Yola
3. Channels Television, Network
4. Desmims International Television (DITV), Kaduna
5. Galaxy Television, Lagos
6. Gotel TV, Yola
7. Independent Television (ITV), Benin City
8. Kaduna State Television (KSTV), Kaduna

9. Liberty TELEVISION, Kaduna
10. Lagos Television (LTV), Lagos
11. Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) Network
12. Ogun State Television (OGTV), Abeokuta
13. Rivers State Television (RSTV), Port Harcourt
14. Silverbird Television (STV), Network
15. TV Continental (TVC), Network
16. Wazobia Max TV, Network

In the sections that follow, we first present the findings for radio stations, then the findings for television stations. After that, we present the consolidated findings for the two categories of broadcast media.

PART I:

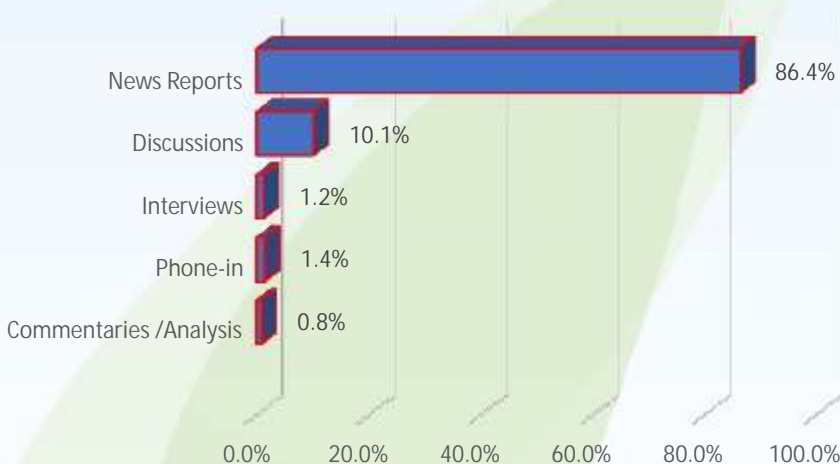
CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON RADIO

From the four radio monitoring zones, 14 radio stations were selected. Within December 2018, a total of 381 radio broadcast items were monitored and analysed from these broadcast stations. In the sections that follow, we present the programme types of these broadcasts, the thematic focus, visibility of individual and corporate actors, and incidences of extreme speech.

PROGRAMME TYPES OF POLITICAL RADIO BROADCASTS

The 381 broadcasts fell into five programme types. As Chart 1 shows, News Report was the most common format.

Chart 1: Programme types of radio broadcasts



The dominant programme type was news report (86.4%) while discussions came a distant second (10.1%). Interviews (1.2%), phone-ins (1.4%) and commentaries and analysis (0.8%) follow in that order. It is important to note

the minute presence of commentaries and analysis in the reports. At a time that Nigeria was preparing for elections, one expected more of commentaries and analysis so that voters could make informed decisions. In the introductory part of this report, we pointed out that the month under review, that is December 2018, would be a politically active month as many events were expected to take place during the period. It was no wonder then that there was a predominance of news as reporters must have found many stories to report about, something that must have interested them more than analysis.

THEMATIC FOCUS OF THE CONTENTS OF POLITICAL RADIO PROGRAMMES

We turned to the analysis of the themes and topics that the broadcast media focused on. A proper and rounded coverage of the electoral process required that the different aspects of the electoral process be covered in the media. Chart 2 shows that voter education, out of all other themes, received the largest amount of attention.

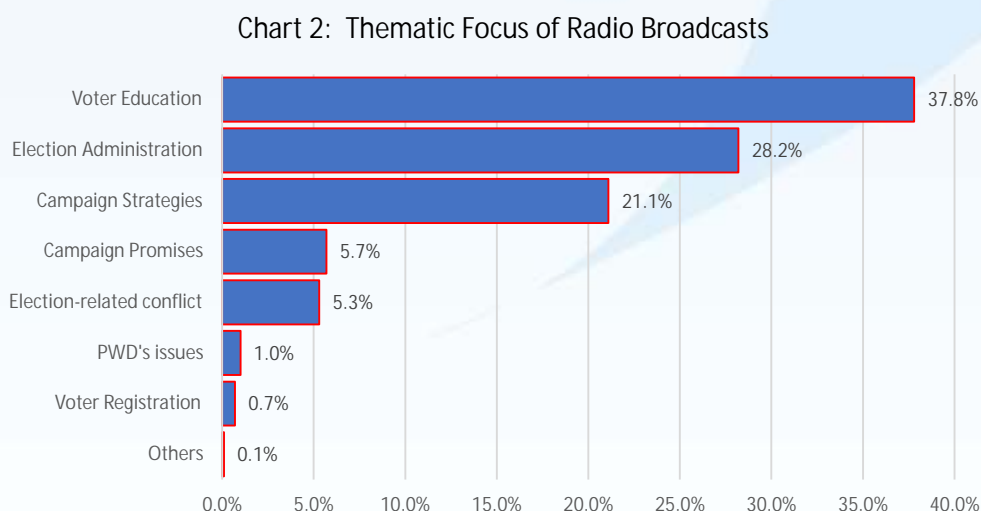


Chart 2 shows the thematic focus of the December broadcasts. Voter education was very much addressed as it accrued up to 37.8% of the coverage. In direct contrast, voter registration got less than 1.0% of the coverage. Election administration recorded the second highest level of coverage with 28.2%. Campaign strategies were also visible as campaign strategies garnered 21.1% of coverage, while campaign promises accounted for 5.7% of the coverage. Election-related conflicts received 5.3% of the contents, while issues affecting persons with disabilities (PWD) were still notably marginalised at just 1.0% of the total coverage. Issues about women did not surface in the broadcast contents at all.

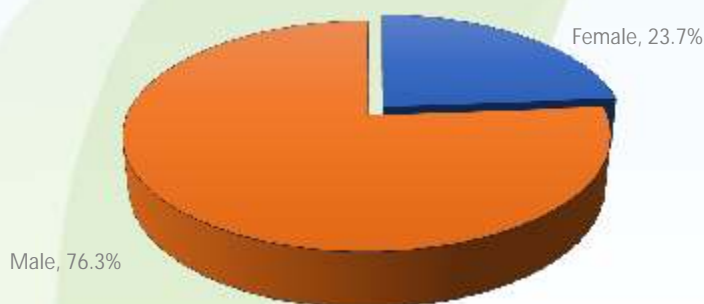
VISIBILITY OF ACTORS IN THE CONTENT OF RADIO BROADCASTS

Visibility refers to how often a category of people were mentioned or used as sources in media reports. At the level of individual visibility, we considered gender, location, status, and individuals with special needs. We also examined the visibility of groups and agencies.

Visibility of individual actors

We compared the gender dimension of visibility in the contents of the radio broadcasts. We compared the frequency of women with that of men as sources of news and other reports, and as mentions in the news and other reports. Chart 3 shows that men, by far, outnumbered women in their visibility in the broadcast contents.

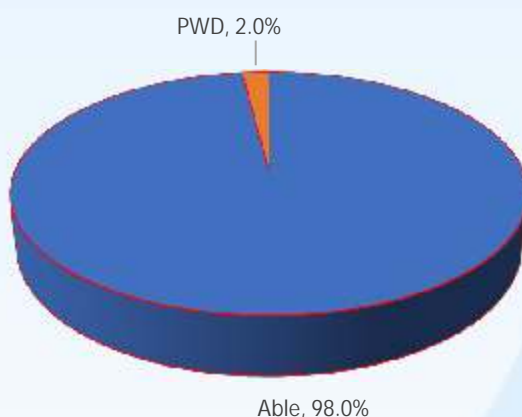
Chart 3: Visibility of male and female actors in the content of radio broadcasts



Male sources and mentions accounted for 76.3%, while female appeared much less during coverage with just 23.7%. Even though females were also actively involved in the preparations for the elections—as party members, entertainers at party rallies, as contestants and as electoral officers—they were not as visible on radio as the men were.

Though females were much less visible than males they were not the least visible of all the actors. Persons living with disabilities (PWD) did not seem to have caught the attention of the radio stations at all. Chart 4 shows how invisible PWD were in December.

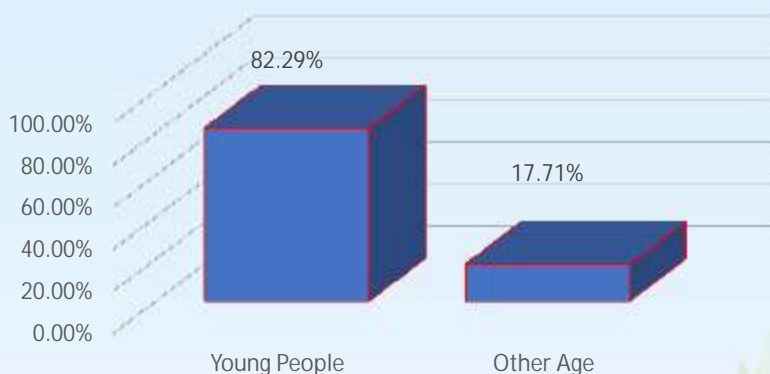
Chart 4: Visibility of PWD and others in the Contents of Radio Broadcasts



As with earlier reports, PWD were almost invisible. Only two percent of sources and mentions came from individuals with special needs, while the overwhelming majority of 98.0% were from able individuals.

Chart 5 presents a comparison of the visibility of youths and others. Allegations of marginalisation of young people in electoral matters have been levelled with consistency. It was thus important to examine if this was changing.

Chart 5: Visibility of young and other age people in the radio broadcasts



Young people were more visible (82.3%) than people of all other age (17.7%). What we noted, however, was that youths were not always portrayed as actors and people taking initiative in the electoral process. Rather, they are those to whom appeals were made on the need to avoid violence and apathy. For instance, KSMC reported:

Youths in Lere LGA of Kaduna State have been urged to engage in productive ventures and not allow politicians engage them in acts of thuggery during the elections.

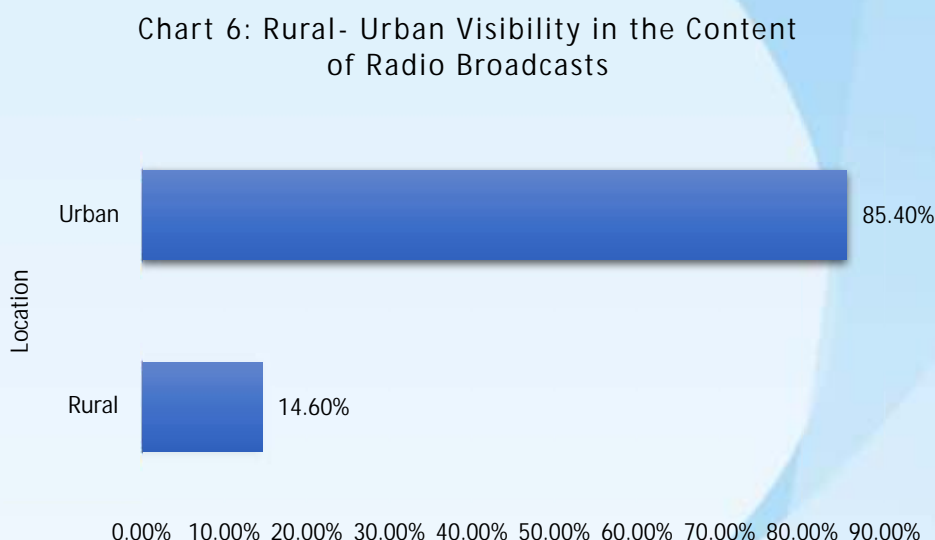
Another report by the same station says:

...a Christian cleric in Kagarko LGA of Kaduna advised the youths not to be allowed to be used as agents of destruction during the electioneering process.

This was a usual and recurrent event. Altogether, these appeals coming from political leaders, traditional rulers, religious leaders and ordinary citizens tend to portray the youth as people who ordinarily were apathetic and prone to violence, and who, therefore, had to be motivated and persuaded before they would perform their civic duties, and who had to be appeased in order to eschew violence.

Next, we examined the location of the events presented in the radio reports in

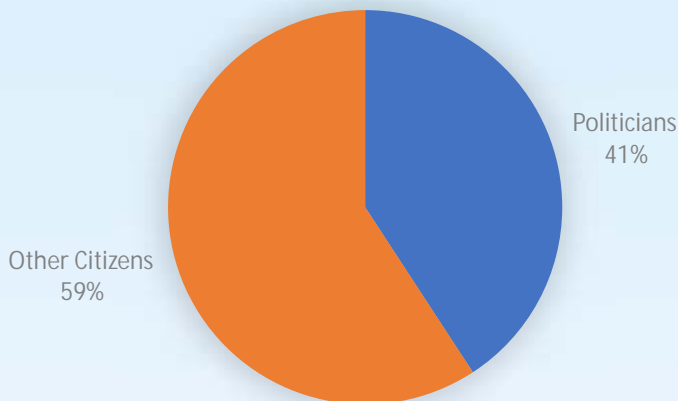
order to see their geographical balance. We compared the frequency of rural and urban mentions in the body of the reports. Chart 6 shows that there was lop-sidedness in the distribution.



There was also a huge disparity between the visibility of rural locations and urban locations. Sources and mentions from urban areas accounted for up to 85.4% of total coverage and rural areas were much less visible with only 14.6% of all sources and mentions.

We examined the visibility of ordinary citizens compared with politicians in contents of radio broadcasts. This was in view of the tendency of the media to focus on prominent people and neglect ordinary citizens at times. Chart 7 shows that politicians were not more prominent in the coverage than others.

Chart 7: Visibility of politicians and other citizens

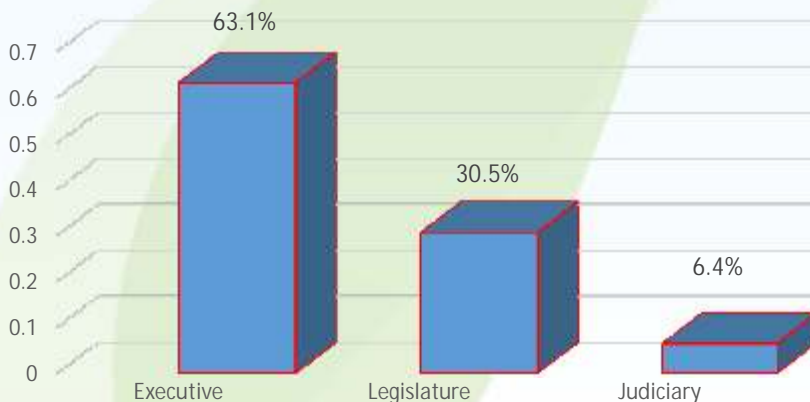


Aspirants, candidates, party loyalists, supporters and spokespersons received 41.0% of coverage, while other citizens accounted for the remaining 59.0%. This is a remarkable departure from the usual pattern, and indication of the journalists' growing sensitivity to views and concerns of ordinary citizens.

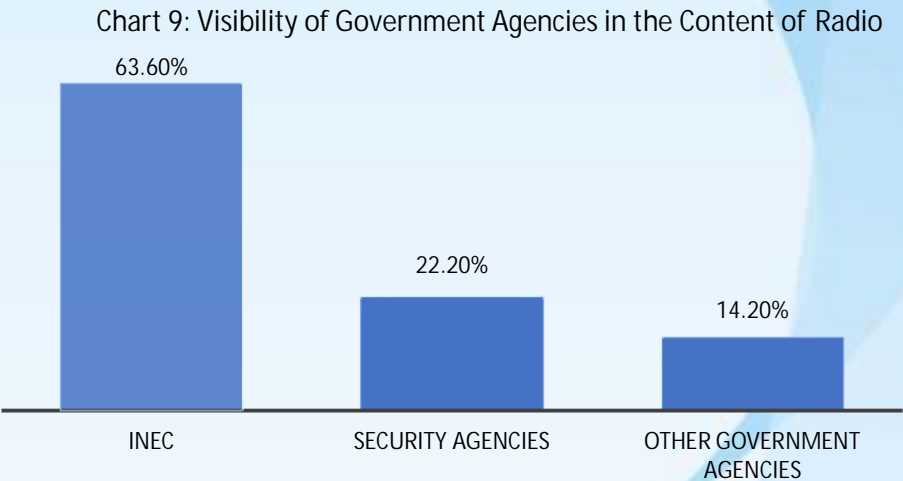
Corporate visibility

In our bid to ascertain the visibility of corporate bodies and organisations in the broadcast contents of the selected radio stations, we first examined the visibility of the different arms of government. Chart 8 shows that the least visible arm was the Judiciary.

Chart 8: Relative visibility of the arms of government in radio broadcasts



The three arms of government also recorded varying levels of visibility. With 63.1%, the Executive was most visible as both sources and mentions. Following not so closely was the Legislature with 30.5%. The Judiciary was much less visible than both of the other arms as it recorded only 6.4% of the time.

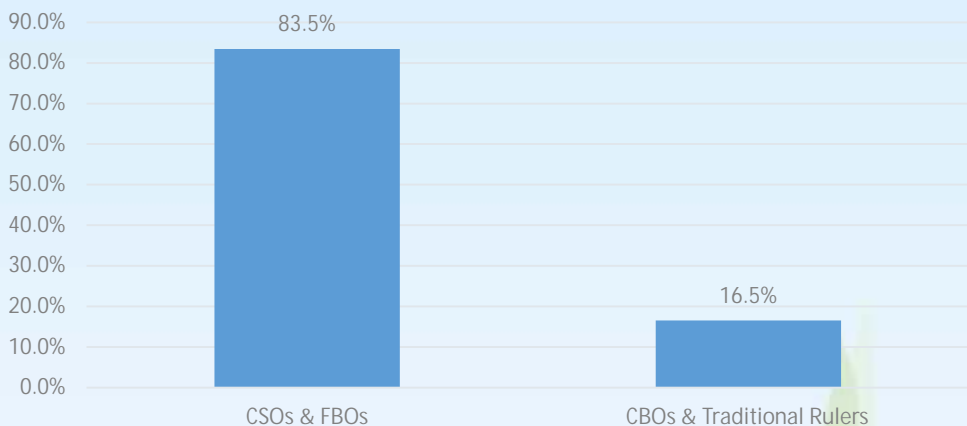


The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) which is in charge of election administration was more visible than other government agencies during the December coverage of radio broadcasts, INEC accounted for up to 63.6% of coverage. Security agencies including the Armed Forces, the Nigeria Police and other bodies accounted for 22.2%, while other ministries, departments and agencies recorded 14.2% of coverage.

One of the reports about INEC that was broadcast on several stations was its development of an app that allowed citizens to report electoral issues. The app, it was reported would allow citizens to report electoral malpractices.

We examined the visibility of non-governmental organisations. As crucial actors in the electoral process, they were expected to also be visible in the contents of political radio broadcasts.

Chart 10: Visibility of Non-governmental Organisations in the Content of Radio



As shown in Chart 10, of the two categories of non-governmental organisations monitored during radio broadcasts in December, civil society organisations (including faith-based organisations) accounted for the higher amount of airtime with 83.5%. Community-based organisations, and traditional rulers got the remaining 16.5%.

QUALITY OF REPORTS – BALANCE

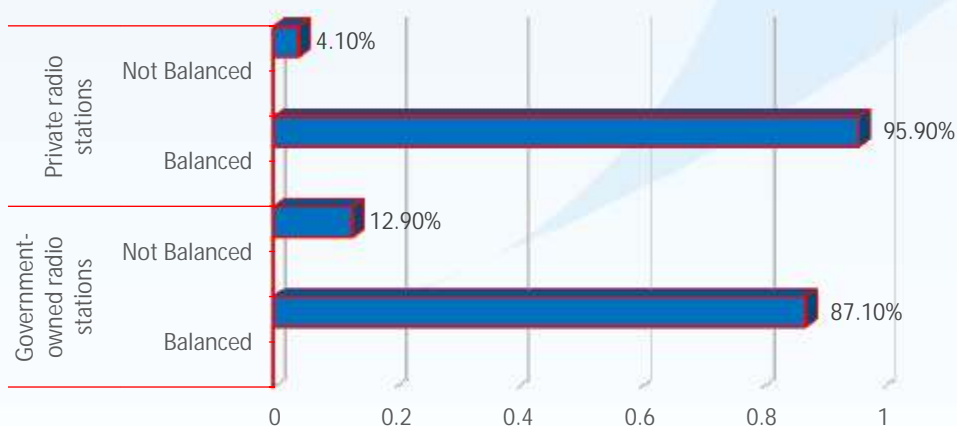
Most electoral issues are contentious. This explains why the media should ensure balance in their reports by seeking out the different views and actors to an issue. We examined the extent to which the reports were balanced. Chart 11 shows that most of the reports were balanced.

Chart 11: Balanced and not balanced reports in radio broadcasts



In terms of the level of balance in the stories recorded, of the reports to which balance could be applied, roughly 90.0% were balanced. We examined if the radio stations differed along the lines of ownership with respect to balance. Chart 12 shows that both privately owned (commercial) and government-owned stations displayed balance in most of their broadcasts.

Chart 12: Comparison of private and government radio stations on balanced reporting



EXTREME SPEECH

Extreme speech (i.e. hate speech, incitement, insults) were few on radio in the month of December 2018. Altogether, these instances of extreme speech were from guests or callers. For example, a guest at a political programme of Splash FM called “Gbangba L'asa a Ta” on 17 December, 2018, used insulting expressions to describe the ruling party (APC), and described the party flagbearer as a mere figurehead. Another station that was guilty of allowing extreme speech was OSBC.

PART II:

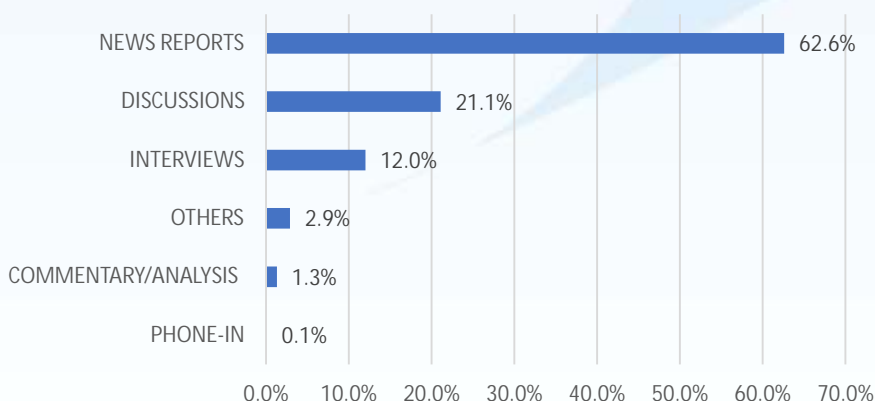
CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON TELEVISION

A total of 748 television broadcasts were coded in December, 2018, which formed the basis of this report. The 748 television broadcasts fell into seven programme types namely: commentary/analysis, debates, discussions, interviews, news reports, phone-in and others (programmes that couldn't be classified under any of the categories). Other sub-categories which we created returned zero values.

TYPES OF POLITICAL PROGRAMMES ON TELEVISION

We observed the visible programme types on television during the period under focus in our report. Seven out of the ten programmes types coded were identifiable. News reports were the most prominent programme format, and they covered 62.6% of the entire broadcast.

Chart 13: Programme types of television broadcasts

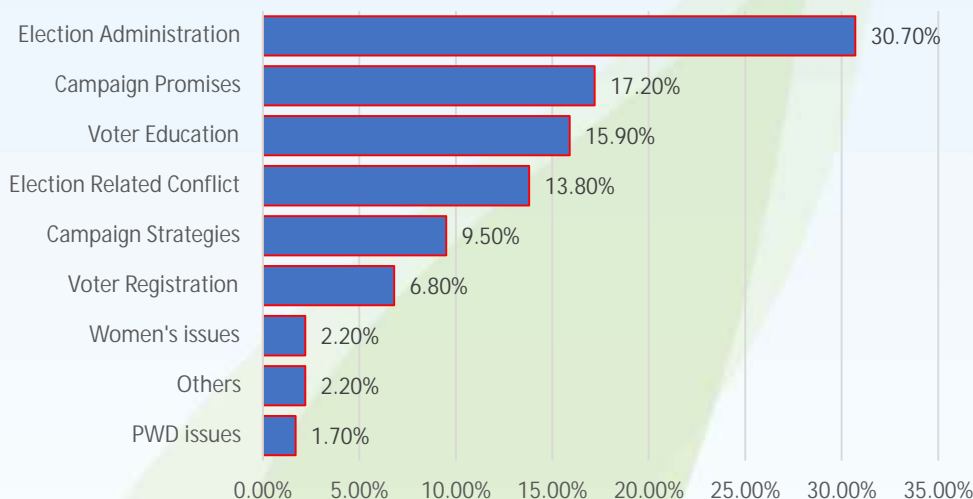


Discussions got a fair amount (21.1%) of coverage. Interviews received only 12.0% of airtime in television broadcasts. Programme formats such as debates and commentary/analysis recorded low coverage with just 2.8% and 1.2%, respectively. Phone-ins got less than 1%.

THEMATIC FOCUS OF THE CONTENTS OF POLITICAL PROGRAMMES ON TELEVISION

In this report, we collected data on election-related themes or issues that were found in the monitored television broadcasts. Chart 14 shows that PWD received the lowest media attention of 1.7%. This was followed closely by women issues with a mere 2.2% of coverage. Surprisingly, voters registration got relatively low attention (6.8%) in the selected TV broadcasts, while voter education got 6.8%.

Chart 14: Thematic focus on political programmes on television



This finding is worth mentioning because at the time we observed the 748 television broadcasts, registration exercises were still ongoing, and the turnout of eligible citizens was reportedly low. Campaign promises received 9.5%, and election administration got a fair amount of coverage: 13.8%. Issues pertaining to election disputes and campaign activities received 13.8%

and 9.5% of airtime. And other unclassifiable issues attracted the greatest media attention (2.2%).

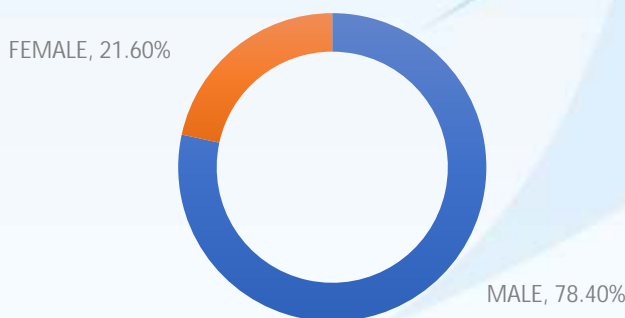
VISIBILITY OF ACTORS IN THE CONTENT OF TELEVISION BROADCASTS

At this stage, we identified the individual actors and corporate bodies that were cited as sources of media content and mentions in the contents of television broadcasts during the monitoring of election-related issues. Hence, we observed the visibility of individual actors and corporate agencies across sub-categories like gender, age, status, and location.

Individual Visibility

A total of 848 individual actors were monitored within the period. Male actors were more prevalent than the females with 665 and 183 broadcast counts, respectively.

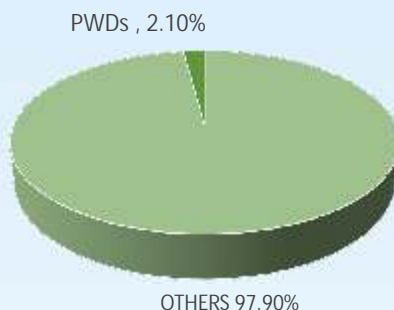
Chart 15: Visibility of male and female actors in the contents of television programmes



Males were given more than twice the coverage given to females as sources of news, mentions and other contents in television broadcasts; men got 78.4% of airtime, while women had only 21.6% of attention.

We also examined another sub-category, which is centred on the visibility of PWD and actors without special needs (able persons). Based on our analysis, the coverage given to PWD was extremely low.

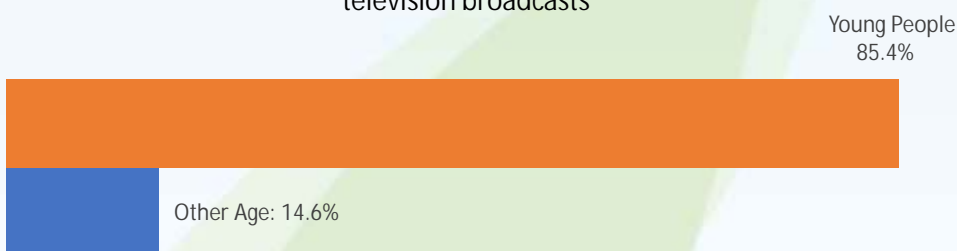
Chart 16: Visibility of PWDs and others in the contents of the television programme.



A substantial proportion (97.9%) of television contents focused on able people, while only 2.1% of the broadcasts dealt with PWD. This shows that there is a biased focus on able people as sources of programme contents and mentions in the selected TV stations.

Chart 17 shows a notable difference between the visibility of young people compared with other age groups in the contents of TV broadcast within the period under review.

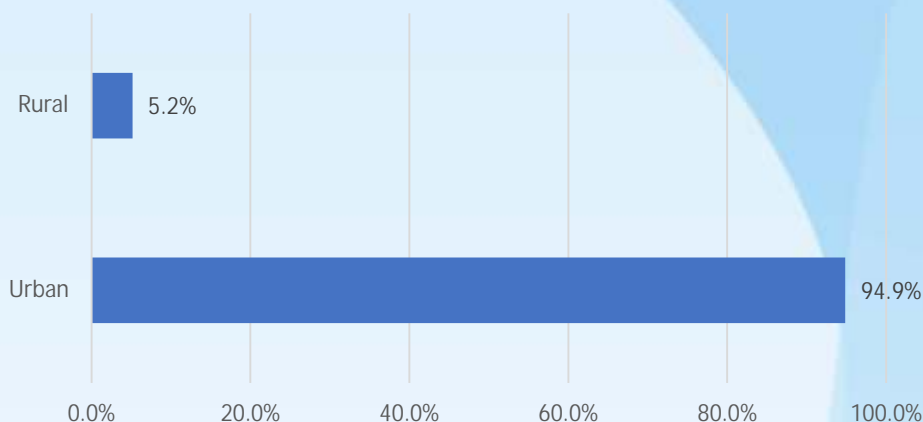
Chart 17: Visibility of young and other people in the contents of television broadcasts



As illustrated in Chart 17 above, young people were more recognised as sources of news and other contents in the broadcasts, with other age groups featuring in only 14.6% of media coverage.

We also observed the urban-rural visibility of the contents in television broadcasts. Results presented in Chart 18 reveal that most events occurred in urban areas. Our findings show that a fair amount of attention was given to events reported to have taken place in both urban and rural areas.

Chart 18: Urban-rural visibility in contents of television broadcasts

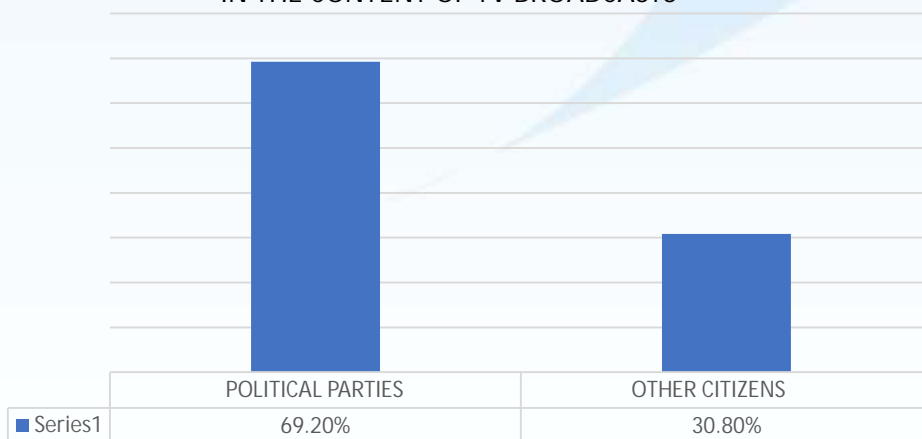


Of the 748 broadcasts observed, 81.8% focused on the urban areas, while a mere 0.9% concentrated on rural areas. Also, 17.2% of TV contents were centred on happenings in both urban and rural settlements.

Corporate Visibility

As shown in Chart 19, the attention received by political parties exceeded that of ordinary citizens as sources of news, other contents, and as those mentioned in the reports.

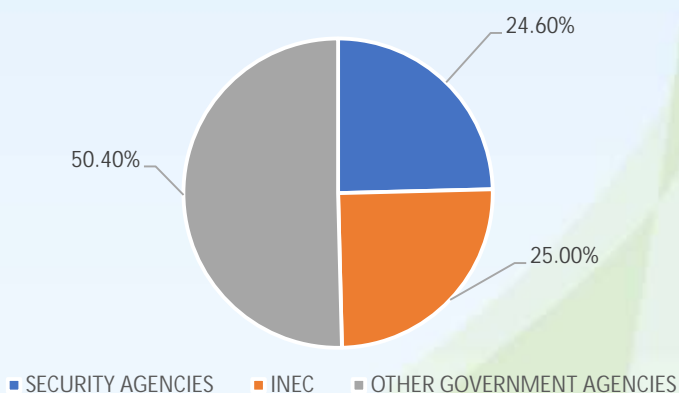
CHART 19: VISIBILITY OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND OTHER CITIZENS IN THE CONTENT OF TV BROADCASTS



Political parties were more visible as sources of news and mentions in election-related matters as they received 69.2% of coverage, while ordinary citizens featured in 30.8% of the broadcasts. Political parties comprised aspirants or candidates of APC and PDP and politicians from other factions.

We also explored the visibility of government agencies and groups in the content of television broadcasts.

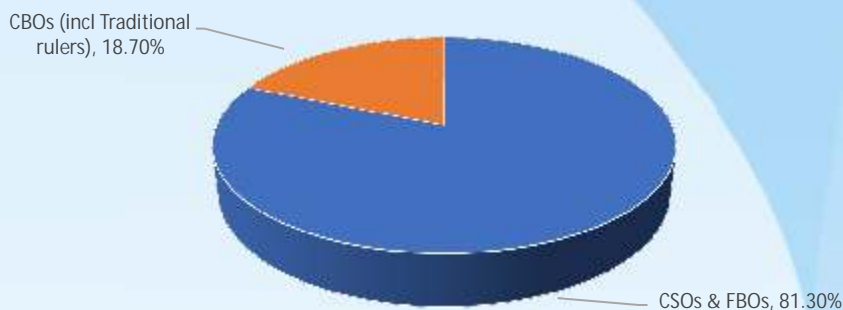
CHART 20: VISIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND GROUPS



Approximately 50.0% of media coverage was given to other government agencies, and it was closely followed by INEC, which received 25.0% of coverage, and security agencies with 24.6% of coverage.

As shown in Chart 21, civil society and faith-based organisations constituted an overwhelming majority as sources of news, other contents, and as those mentioned in the broadcasts.

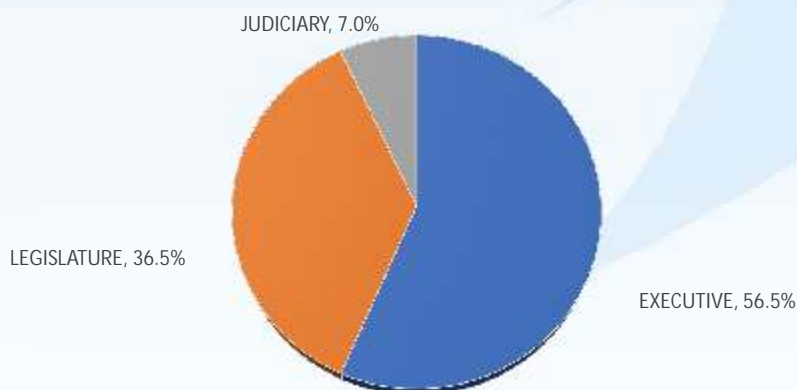
Chart 21: Visibility of nongovernmental organisations



Of the 748 broadcasts, civil society and faith-based organisations had a greater coverage of 81.3%, while non-governmental actors such as the traditional rulers got 18.7% of the attention.

Chart 22 highlights the variations of visibility given to each arm of government in television contents. The attention given to the Executive surpassed that of the other arms of government.

Chart 22: Visibility of arms of government in television broadcasts

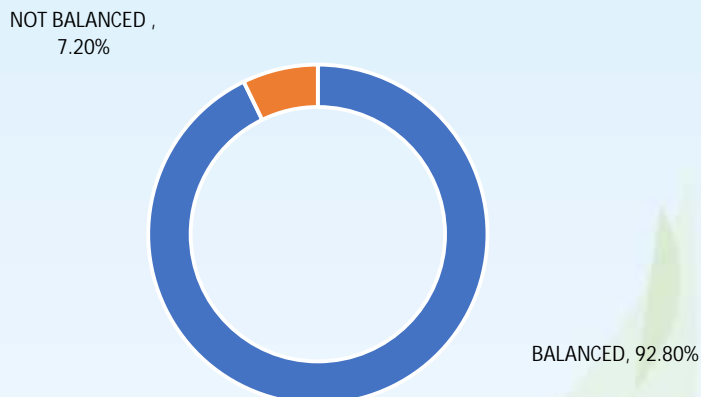


Approximately 48.0% of the monitored broadcasts focused on the Executive, 41.8% concentrated on the Legislature, while the Judiciary got a little over 10.0% of airtime.

QUALITY OF REPORTS - BALANCE

We examined the quality of contents broadcast by the selected TV stations. In this case, we sought to know if the reports were balanced or not balanced.

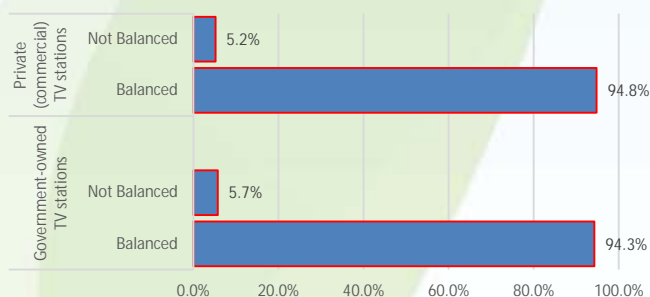
Chart 23: Balanced and not balanced reports in television broadcasts



Of the 748 items recorded, this category was only applicable to 430 items. A total of 399 broadcasts were classified under balanced, while the remaining 31 items were not balanced. The balanced items reported had an approximate value of 92.8%, and contents with elements of biased reporting got only 7.2% of coverage.

Chart 24 shows a comparison of government and private TV stations on balanced reporting.

Chart 24: Comparison of government and private television stations on balanced reporting



For both categories of stations, balanced report was predominant with more than 90.0% in each case. Instances of unbalanced reports were few, and the difference between the two stations was negligible.

LANGUAGE: EXTREME SPEECH

In our analysis of media contents with elements of extreme speech, we found that 13 (72.2%) government stations and 5 (27.8%) private stations were guilty of this media malpractice issue. Examples of the government stations are DITV, NTA, NTAi, and LTV. Some of the affected private stations are Liberty TV, Channels Television and AIT.

PART III:

COMBINED CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS FOR DECEMBER 2018

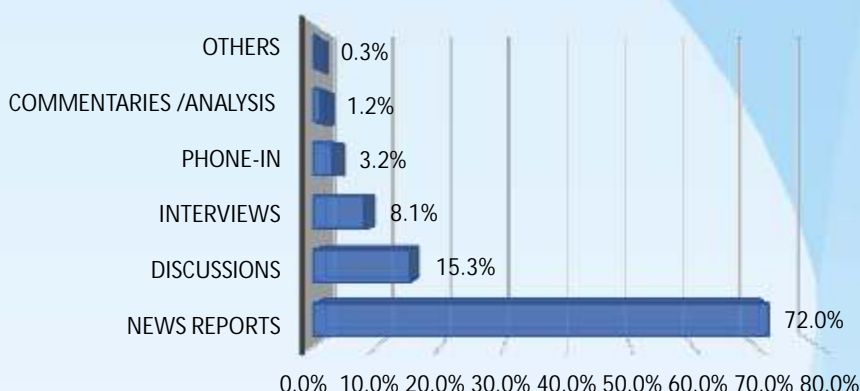
This section focuses on the combined performance of both radio and television stations in December, 2018. Following the patterns for the radio and television sections, this section first discusses the programme types of the broadcasts and their thematic focus. Then it explores the visibility of the different actors and ends on the incidence of extreme speech. Concluding comments and lessons learnt on the whole report follow.

PROGRAMME TYPES OF THE POLITICAL PROGRAMMES ON BROADCAST STATIONS

Programme types matter for deepening the democratic culture. While some programme types (such as news) simply inform citizens, others (such as commentary and analysis) educate them showing them the different dimensions of an issue. Yet, others only entertain the audience. This is why it is important to explore the kind of programmes the broadcast media employed in covering the electoral process.

The December report was based on 1129 broadcasts: 381 from radio; 748 from television. Generally, in their contents, the stations focused on elections preparations and campaigns using diverse programme types. Chart 25 shows that news report far outnumbered the other categories.

Chart 25: Programme types of the selected broadcasts



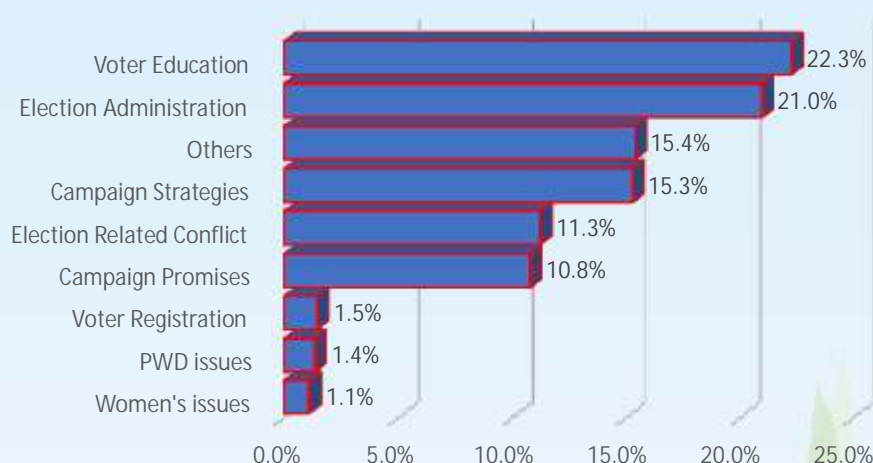
As seen in Chart 25 above, news coverage of the electoral process continued to dominate the programme contents with 72.0%, while discussions remained a close second with 15%. Interviews were a mere 8.1% of the broadcast contents. About 3.2% of the programmes were phone-ins. Commentaries and Analysis were close to the lowest with 1.2%, while other programmes like debates et al maintained a permanent low with just 0.3%.

The wide margin between news reports and other programme contents points to the fact that the Nigerian media attempted to keep the electorate informed while neglecting the enlightenment and education aspects. In essence, the media did not produce many programmes that would have enlightened or educated the electorate.

THEMATIC FOCUS OF BROADCAST: DECEMBER 2018

Electoral period is a delicate period and, therefore, the media role in information and advocating the proper electoral process cannot be underestimated. The Nigerian media in keeping with their role as custodians of information and gatekeepers tailor their themes to focus on the election and everything attached to it. Chart 26 shows the thematic focus of the broadcast media in December, 2018.

Chart 26: Thematic focus of the broadcasts



In comparison to the October analysis, the data gathered for December revealed that the media appeared to be more interested in voter education. Attention, it appeared, had shifted from campaign activities to the education of voters as voter education ranked the highest with 25.0%, while theme on election administration was 21%. Campaign strategies and other non-specified themes were 15.3% and 15.4%, respectively. Election-related conflicts followed with 11.3%. Campaign promises got 10.8%; voter registration received 1.5%; PWD got 1.4%; while women issues received just 1.1% of media focus.

Findings as presented in Chart 26 reveal that women issues were not given enough attention and this means that women were not being properly represented or given enough time to air their views or get acquainted with the electoral process. Also PWD issues were shown as an important part of the electoral process. Campaign promises or issues were also negligible. Therefore, this trend suggests that voters would have missed the opportunity to know what the contestants were promising or how their interests would be affected by the issues raised during the electioneering period.

The month of December witnessed several defections from one party to another. This “strategic” moves got the attention of the media. Dream FM

broadcast a programme on this on 27 December 2018 on the gale of defections ahead of the 2019 general elections. This gale probably accounted for why strategies seemed to continue to outnumber issues in the thematic focus of the broadcast media.

However, the increased attention given to voter education in the themes of the broadcast media could have meant more engagement with the electorate on “their need to vote” and how their vote counts.

VISIBILITY OF ACTORS IN THE BROADCAST CONTENTS

The media representation of the various actors in the electoral process is important as poor representation can lead to the disenfranchisement of a particular group in the society. Women, men, young people, PWD, and the elderly should all be properly represented in news coverage and programmes by the broadcast media. Charts 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33 and 34 all focus on the media visibility of different individuals and groups in the society during the period leading to the general elections.

Individual visibility

We start the presentation with individual visibility and then proceed to corporate visibility. The comparative visibility of women and men are presented first.

Chart 27: Visibility of male and female actors in the broadcast contents

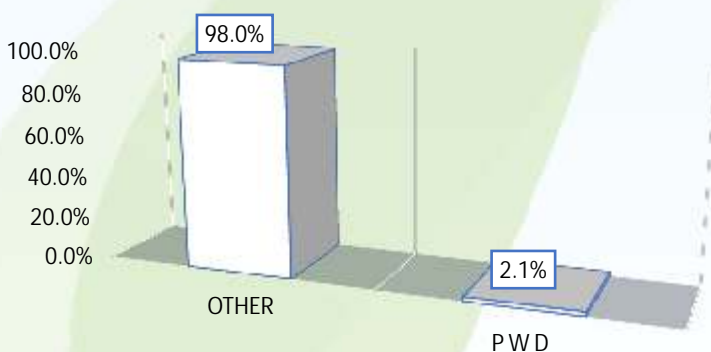


As reflected in Chart 27 above, our analysis reveals that the reports and broadcast contents were skewed in favour of men who got 77.4% of the news coverage. Perhaps this is a reflection that Nigeria is a strong patriarchal society.

However, it is obvious that women are getting more and more involved in politics. It was, therefore, surprising that the media gave so little attention to women with just 22.7% as reflected in Chart 27. Few broadcast stations have dedicated programmes for women in politics. Nigeria Info has “Women's Political Platform”; most other stations do not have. In one of its episodes, the station, Nigeria Info, focused on a female aspirant, Nnenna Lancaster Okoro, who was vying for the position of Senate in FCT Abuja Federal Constituency. In the programme, her manifesto was examined especially her promise to equip farmers and traders in Abuja. Her integrity and honesty were also emphasised. There was the need for many more instances like this.

Similarly, the PWD were also grossly overlooked in broadcast contents. This is shown in Chart 28 below.

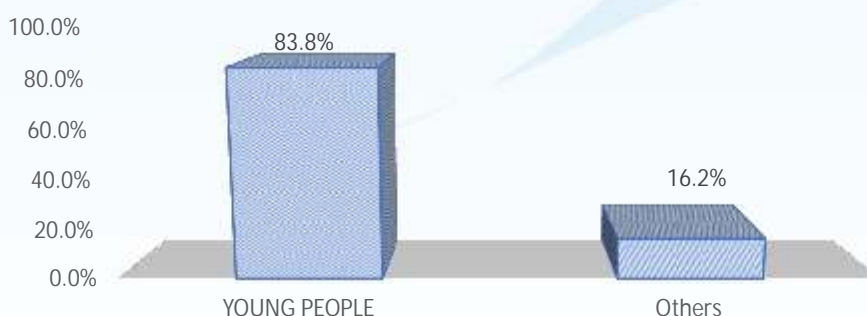
CHART 28: VISIBILITY OF PWD AND OTHERS IN THE BROADCAST CONTENTS



The chart shows that it was just about 2.1% of news and broadcast programmes that was devoted to the PWD. A total of 98.1% of election news and programmes coverage were based on able people. This again contravenes the United Nations (UN) stance on PWD. According to the UN, persons with disabilities are not to be overlooked but are to be regarded as “subjects with rights, who are capable of claiming those rights”. The UN, therefore, requires “all organs of the media to portray persons with disabilities in a manner” that will “promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons with disabilities, and to promote respect for their inherent dignity” (United Nations, 2016).

It is noteworthy that the media coverage and programmes content for young people during the electoral process was at an all-time high. In this area, we observe that the media gave a lot of attention to the activities and involvement of young people in the electoral process. This is reflected in Chart 29.

CHART 29: VISIBILITY OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND OTHERS IN THE BROADCAST CONTENTS



Analysis revealed that a larger proportion (83.8%) of media attention was devoted to young people in the broadcast contents as opposed to the visibility of other people with just 16.2%. As the clamour for young people to become involved in politics increased during the electoral process, more people came out to encourage the youths to vote and also be voted for. It is also necessary to say that focus might have been on the youths in broadcast contents as they could scuttle the electoral process unless due care was taken. Advocates for peaceful elections therefore regularly appealed to the youths to ensure they would not become involved in electoral violence.

Although, many politicians were labelled as grassroots politicians, the analysis of broadcast contents for the electoral process revealed that media coverage was predominantly on the urban areas and activities. Chart 30 presents the wide dichotomy between coverage of urban and rural areas on political matters in December 2018.

Chart 30: Urban - rural visibility in the the broadcast contents

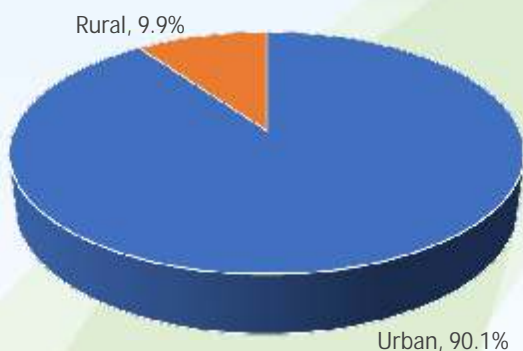
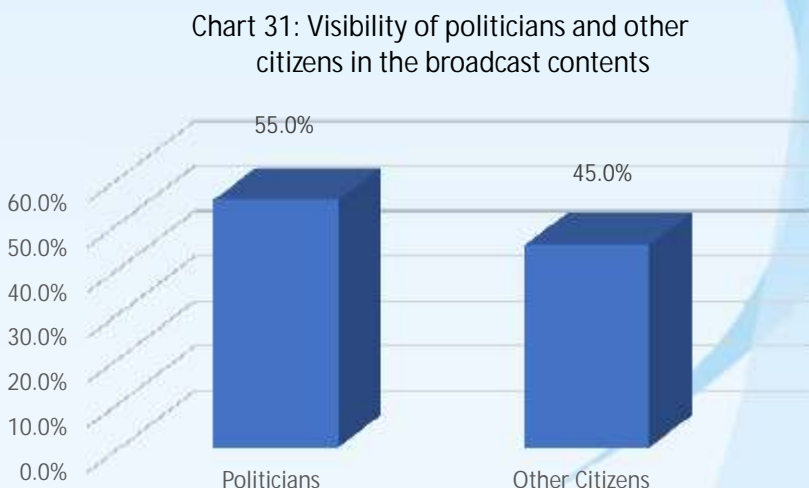


Chart 30 shows that urban visibility in media content was predominant (90.1%). The media content on rural issues was just 9.9% and this reflects a neglect of sorts. Here we see that the media could have done better in the coverage of rural events and occurrences. Though a large population in Nigerian are rural dwellers, the media, did not do enough work in this regard and their coverage of electoral activities in the rural areas was low. It is to be noted that the rural areas are also likely to be with a larger percentage of non-

literate people than the urban areas. These non-literates who cannot read newspaper or use the social media rely heavily on radio especially. Not paying attention to them might mean denying them the information they need to perform their civic duties.

We also explored the coverage given to politicians compared to that given to other people. Chart 31 shows that politicians' views and concerns got slightly greater attention than the citizens'.

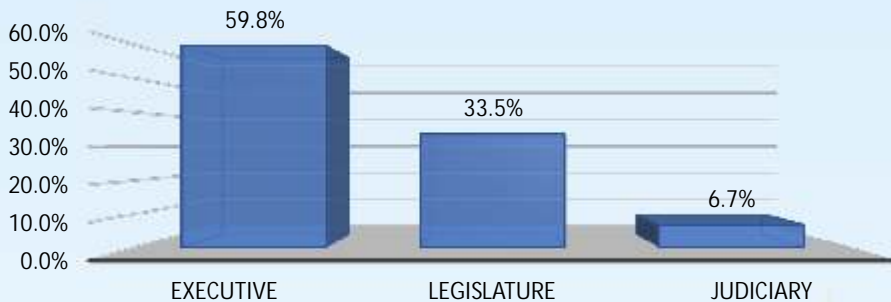


Result shows that the broadcast stations gave more prominence to politicians (55.0%) than they did to other citizens (45%). The higher coverage of politicians could be as a result of their political offices, activities, campaigns and engagement of the electorate. Chart 32 below shows the differences in the coverage of politicians and other people.

Corporate Visibility

We explored the attention given to the different arms of government in the coverage. We found that the Executive arm of the government, perhaps because it is the centre of power in Nigeria, received a large amount of coverage in broadcast media. It is followed closely by the Legislative arm which is the seat of policy making in the country. Chart 32 presents results on the visibility of other arms of government in the electoral process.

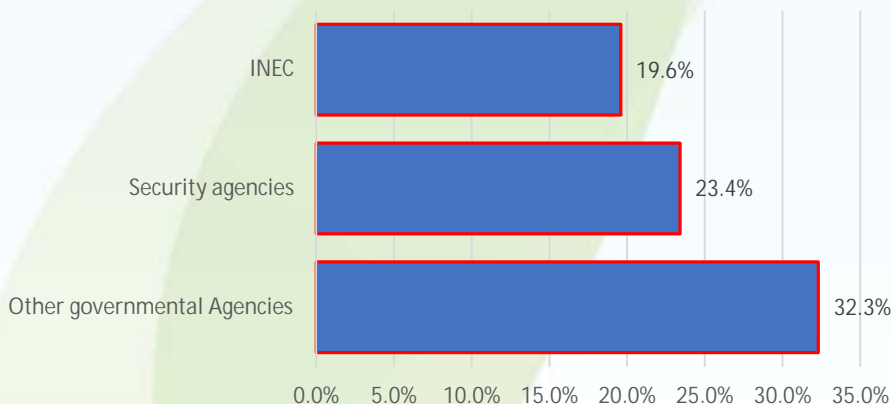
Chart 32: Relative visibility of the arms of government in the broadcast contents



Nearly 60% of the media coverage was on the Executive arm of government, while 33.5% was on the Legislature. This should not be surprising because the incumbent President remained a presidential aspirant and many members of the Legislature hoped that the electorate would return them as Senators and Representatives. As Chart 32 shows, the Judiciary received only 6.7% in the broadcast contents.

We also explored the media attention given to agencies of government, specifically, INEC and security agencies to account for corporate visibility. Chart 33 shows that, unlike what obtained in the October and November, 2018, INEC's visibility was overtaken by that of security agencies'.

Chart 33: Visibility of government agencies in the broadcast contents

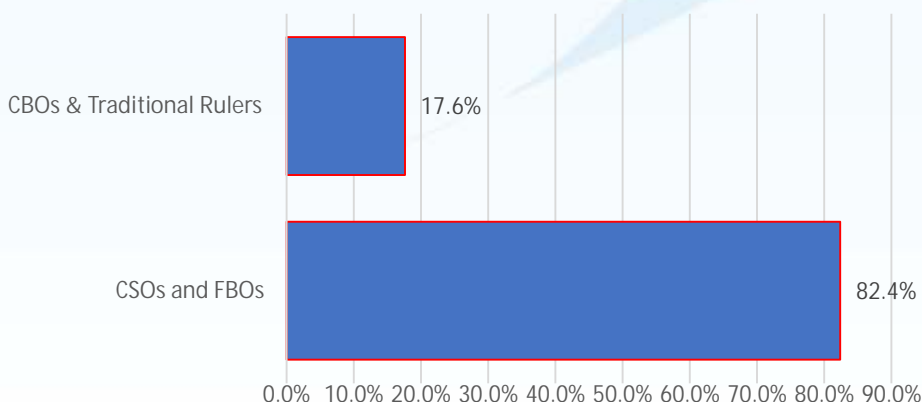


The month of December was, therefore, unique in the quarter: other agencies became most visible with 32.2%, by security agencies (23.4%). INEC received only 19.6% of the total coverage. This trend suggests two things: first is that other agencies of government such as the National Orientation Agency (NOA), National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), Newspaper Council of Nigeria, and the Ministry of Information and Culture, got more involved in the electoral process. Some were training journalists on how to spot and treat fake news in the context of the electoral process; others were campaigning for widespread participation and peaceful polls. For instance, KSMC reports on 21 December, 2018, that the National Council on Information organised a meeting in Kaduna to discuss ways in tackling fake news and hate speech to enhance peace and unity in the country.

Second, the upshot in the attention given to peace and security issues by other agencies also suggests that the security agencies were becoming more involved in the process. However, the 2019 general elections were later to be described as “militarised”.

Just as the agencies of government were involved in the electoral process, non-governmental organisations were also involved. In Chart 34, it is evident that civil society organisations and faith-based organisations were by far more noticeable than CBOs and traditional rulers.

Chart 34: Visibility of non-governmental organisations in the broadcast contents

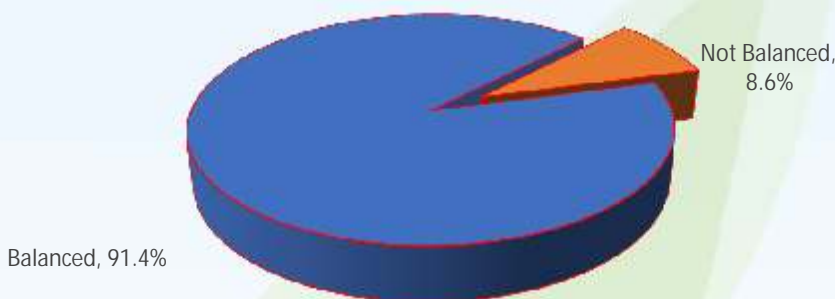


The activities of CSOs (82.4%) as regards the electoral process could not be overlooked. However, those of community-based organisations and traditional rulers with 17.5% of coverage were also important. Our guess was that since most CBOs and traditional rulers reside in the rural areas, their activities do not get noticed by the media.

QUALITY OF REPORTS: BALANCE

We examined the quality of the reports with regard to balance. Elections are contentious: To remain as credible arbiters, it is important for the media to insist on balance by seeking out the perspectives of as many parties as there are to an issue. Our analysis shows that most of the reports of the broadcast

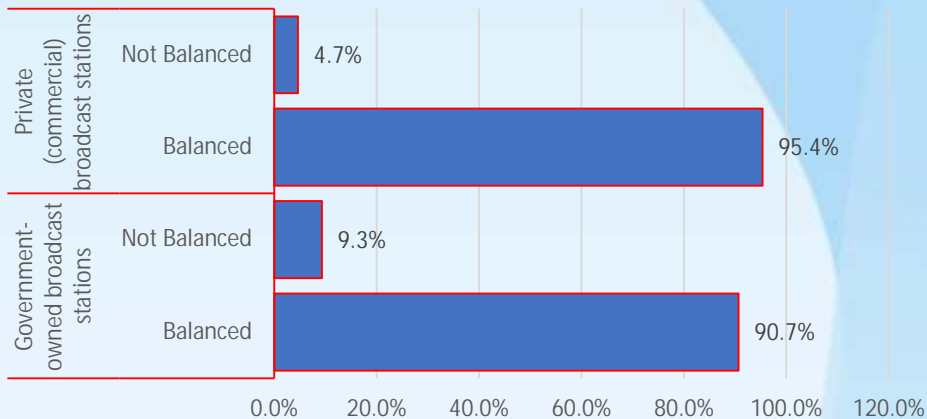
Chart 35: Balanced versus not balanced reports in the broadcast contents



The broadcast media produced more balanced reports (91.4%) than unbalanced ones (8.6%). This is an encouraging trend.

We wondered if there would be any difference in the level of balance in the reports of government-owned and private (commercial) stations. Chart 36 shows that both categories of stations tended to have far more balanced reports than unbalanced ones.

Chart 36: Comparison of private and government stations on balanced reporting



Both of the types of ownership presented more balanced reports than unbalanced ones. Unbalanced stories were a rarity. This is, indeed, encouraging.

EXTREME SPEECH

There was a rise in the incidence of extreme speech in December. There were 20 cases of extreme speech: two on radio, 18 on television. Of these, 14 were on government-owned stations, while six were on private (commercial) stations. On Channels Television, for instance, a representative of the APC described PDP as an association of “frustrated persons”. On Silverbird Television, a caller described President Buhari as “one who is followed by violence wherever he goes” (DTV, 14 December, 2018). Another person on DITV described Mr Joe Igbokwe, a prominent member of the APC, as “a political infant” (DITV, December 6, 2018). The National Chairman of APC, Mr Adams Oshiomhole on DITV (18 December, 2018) declared: “Obasanjo will see the wrath of God for supporting Atiku”. On Silverbird Television (15 December, 2018). He also described Mr Rochas Okorocha of his party as “an embarrassment to the party”, and Governor Ibikunle Amosun as “behaving like an emperor”.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The lopsided nature of the coverage of political and election-related broadcasts in December 2018 throws up a number of lessons. First, this politically charged month witnessed the usual neglect of those who did not wield political power or were not desperately pursuing it. Focus was on male, able person, and urban-dwelling politicians. In a sense, this was understandable. This was election season and the newsmakers were the politicians. Yet, the near-total neglect of the concerns of the PWD and women can hardly be justified. Nigerian journalists need training on diversity reporting.

The most widely used programme remained news reports. This explains why the coverage was not fully issue-oriented. Issues cannot be deeply engaged in news reports. Therefore, the stations' focus continued to be on tactics employed by politicians and their spokespersons: jibes and snide made at rallies and during media interviews. These easily make sensational headlines and news and are, therefore, the natural preference of the journalists. As a result, significant issues are always marginalised.

There was a sharp upsurge in the rates of extreme speech in December, compared with the preceding months. The reason for this is hard to guess. It might be that as the nation drew close to the elections, politicians became more desperate and less cautious. Whether this conjecture is true or not, there is the need to train journalists on how to anticipate, detect and deal with extreme speeches. Most instances of extreme speech were from guests and callers. Anticipating extreme speech is a skill that is yet to be developed by Nigerian journalists.

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Premium Times (2018) “Buhari's 2019 budget presentation delayed over move by lawmakers to protest” December 19, 2018
<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/301885-breaking-buharis-2019-budget-presentation-delayed-over-move-by-lawmakers-to-protest.html>

United Nations (2016) Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

OCTOBER - DECEMBER 2018 REPORT (COMBINED)

BACKGROUND

This is the second quarterly report of the project (covering October, November and December, 2018) on how the broadcast media in Nigeria participated in the preparations towards the 2019 general elections. We continue with the objectives for this report, which are to evaluate the way the broadcast media were participating in the 2019 electoral preparations and reveal the themes broadcast media stations were presenting to the public. The report also sought to show how well those stations were covering the different constituents of the society especially women and people living with disability; how much voter education they were presenting to their audience and if there were any instances of extreme speech in the broadcasts. To take care of these aspects, we focused on the themes that broadcast stations focused on in December, the sources of news and programmes, the actors that gained visibility in the coverage, and the possibility of uncouth speech featuring in the coverage.

The broadcast stations selected for the studies are presented below.

The Radio Stations:

1. Adamawa Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) Yola
2. Anambra Broadcasting Service (Awka 88.5 FM), Awka
3. Arewa Radio, Kano
4. Dream FM, Enugu
5. Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) Network
6. Glory FM (Bayelsa State Broadcasting Corporation, BSBC), Yenagoa
7. Gotel Radio, Yola

8. Kaduna State Media Corporation (KSMC) Radio, Kaduna
9. Nigeria Info, Network
10. Osun State Broadcasting Corporation (OSBC), Osogbo
11. Progress FM Gombe
12. Radio Benue, Makurdi
13. Radio Kwara, Ilorin
14. Radio Lagos
15. Radio Lagos/Eko FM
16. Rhythm 93.7, Port Harcourt
17. Splash FM 105.5 Ibadan

The Television Stations:

1. African Independent Television (AIT), Network
2. Adamawa Television (ATV) Yola
3. Channels Television, Network
4. Desmims International Television (DITV), Kaduna
5. Galaxy Television, Lagos
6. Gotel TV, Yola
7. Independent Television (ITV), Benin City
8. Kaduna State Television (KSTV), Kaduna
9. Liberty Television, Abuja
10. Lagos Television (LTV), Lagos
11. Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) Network
12. Ogun State Television (OGTV), Abeokuta
13. Rivers State Television (RSTV), Port Harcourt
14. Silverbird Television (STV), Lagos
15. TV Continental (TVC), Network
16. Wazobia Max TV, Network

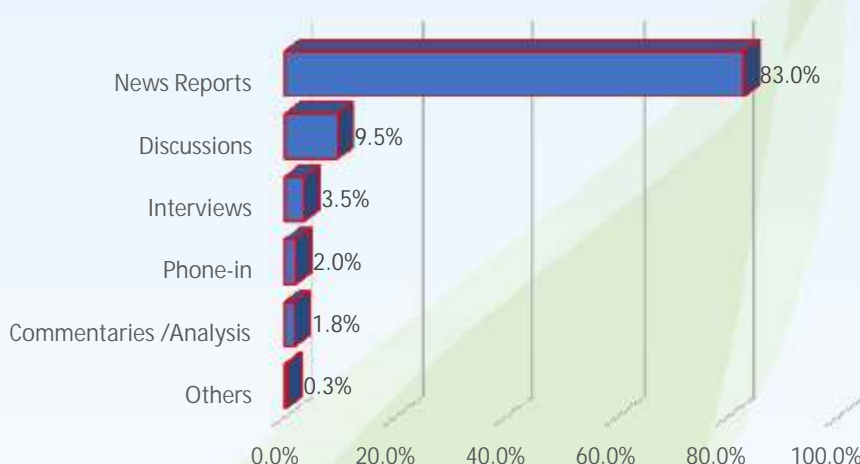
For a clear understanding of the report, we disaggregated data for radio and television and later combined findings from both groups.

PART I:

CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON RADIO

There were five classifications of political broadcasts on monitored radio stations, specifically on the 2019 general elections. The pattern established in October 2018 continued in December with the dominance of news reports (83.0%) in the programme types.

Chart 1: Programme types of radio broadcasts



Radio discussions on politics took 9.5%, phone-in programmes were just 2.0% and commentaries/analysis were 1.8%. If compared with the statistics obtained in the month of October, data for December show a decline in the percentage of news reports (although the programme type is still the highest) by about 2.0% and 1.4% for discussions. However, percentages for interviews, phone-in and commentaries/analysis increased.

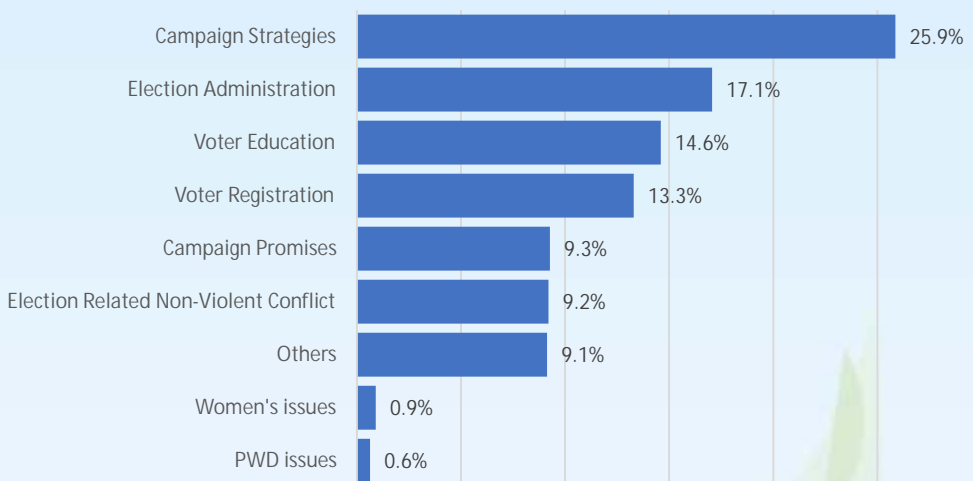
News reports was still dominating radio broadcasts on preparations for the elections because as INEC was releasing information deadlines for nomination and replacement of candidates, submission of nomination forms, and guidelines for campaigns under each election, political parties were also speaking to the media on their preparedness for campaigns and readiness to abide by rules and regulations set by INEC. There were also news from party contestants and other stakeholders advising INEC and political parties to eschew violence and engage in issue-based campaigns.

There were more interviews, phone-in and commentaries because the period demanded such. Contestants and popular party candidates were marked for interview sessions by radio stations. Besides, some phone-in programmes targeted the opinions of citizens on the nomination and campaign exercises. Political experts or analysts also participated in more interviews while radio stations offered commentaries on issues arising from party nominations and campaigns. The contest between the two leading political parties (the All Progressives Congress [APC] and the People's Democratic Party [PDP]) was becoming intense as issues on nominations and campaigns were about to be resolved.

THEMATIC FOCUS OF THE CONTENTS OF POLITICAL RADIO PROGRAMMES

There is no doubt that the official commencement of political campaigns would influence the focus of radio broadcasts in the period under consideration, that is October, November and December, 2018. Radio broadcasts in the month were mostly on the campaign strategies of the political parties. Chart 2 shows that as party nominations and campaigns were starting, attention of media coverage on women's issues (0.9%) reduced, so also the focus on the rights of persons with disability (PWD) (0.6%).

Chart 2: Thematic Focus of Radio Broadcasts

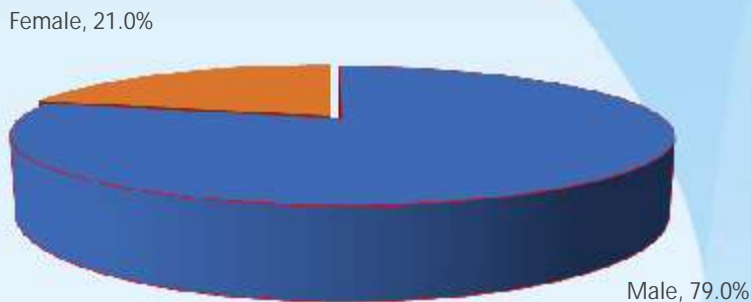


Election administration (17.1%) was given great attention by radio broadcasts, but it had less than campaign strategies (25.9%). Voter education (14.6%) and voter registration (13.3%) followed. Campaign promises took 9.6% while election-related conflicts got 9.2%. The rise in the coverage of the identified issues was because official nominations and campaigns had started by that period. Radio broadcasts were used to educate voters the more on the need to register as potential voters and participate in the elections. The official declaration by INEC also led to increase in campaign promises as aspirants (later candidates) and political parties were striving to woo voters. However, the existing poor visibility of issues about women and gender, PWD and non-violent conflicts in media contents during the campaign and election period continued.

VISIBILITY OF ACTORS IN THE CONTENTS OF RADIO BROADCASTS

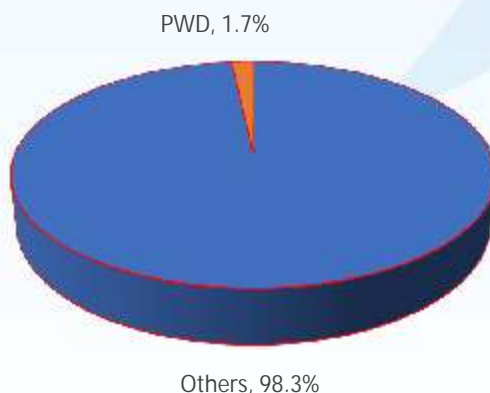
What category of people was visible in the radio broadcasts pertaining to the

Chart 3: Visibility of male and female actors in the content of radio broadcasts



Radio contents during the month presented a predominant coverage of the male actors (79.0%) as female actors visibility was reduced to 21.0%. Although the existing male-gender dominance was extended, the coverage of women actors increased almost by half from the percentage recorded in the previous months. The same fate befell the coverage of people living with disabilities as revealed in Chart 4.

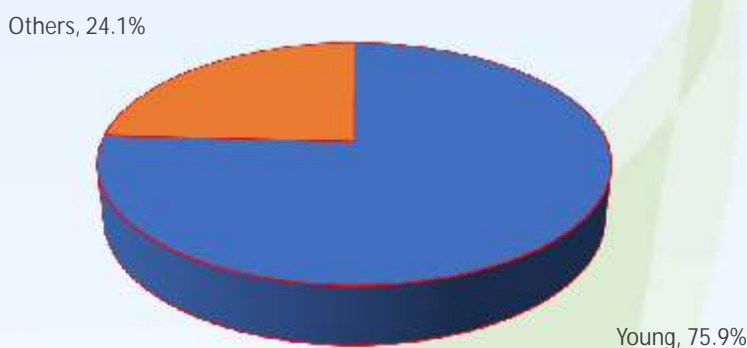
Chart 4: Visibility of PWD and able people in the content of radio broadcasts



In almost all the radio programmes and news reports on politics during the period, issues about able-bodied citizens were dominant. Where PWD took 1.7%, the coverage of issues involving able-bodied individuals was 98.3%. It is important to however note a slight increase in this reportage as against the coverage in the preceding months.

The visibility of young people in radio broadcasts however improved as shown in Chart 5.

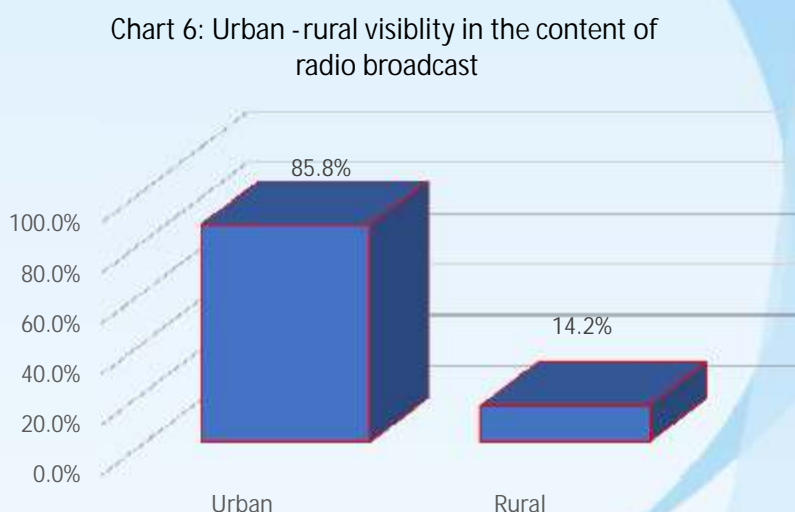
Chart 5: Visibility of young people in the radio broadcasts



Almost in eighty percentage of the coverage, young people (75.9%) got a sizeable, dominant visibility above others with 24.1%. Having established in Chart 1 that news reports dominated the coverage, we need to note that in most cases, the visibility of young people in radio broadcasts could not be interpreted as the real 'voice' of the youth. They were mentioned by politicians, analysts and reporters involved in the news. As a matter of fact, the visibility was only about warnings and advice to the youth never to be involved in violence as the elections drew near. An example is one broadcast by the KSMC under the headline:

An APC chairperson in Soba LGA of Kaduna state has appealed to youths in the area to live in peace irrespective of political and religious differences.

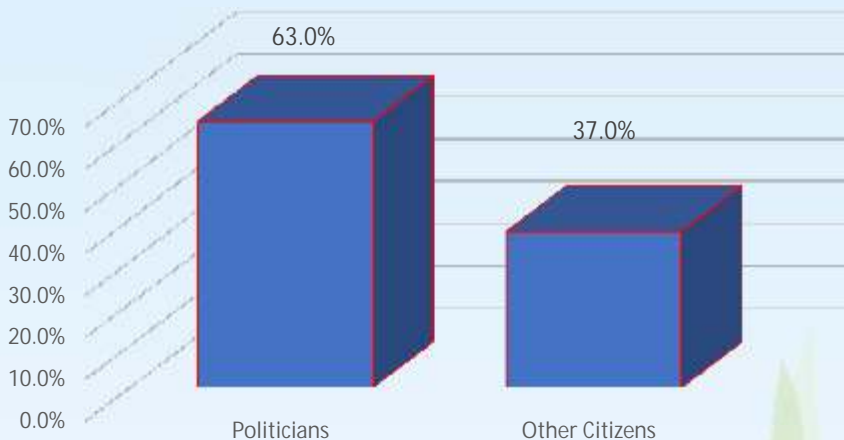
Chart 5 presents data on the contents of radio broadcasts devoted to issues from rural and urban areas of the nation. Most of the news reports and programmes were from urban centres to the neglect of rural areas.



Rural issues had 14.2% visibility, while urban issues received 85.8% of the radio broadcasts. Though there are many rural locations than urban centres in Nigeria, the dominant visibility of urban areas in radio broadcasts could be interpreted as an extension of the popular focus on urban areas as the centre of politics and focus of politicians.

Chart 7 presents the share of visibility between politicians and ordinary citizens in radio broadcasts. As expected, politicians enjoyed a greater coverage/visibility than ordinary citizens.

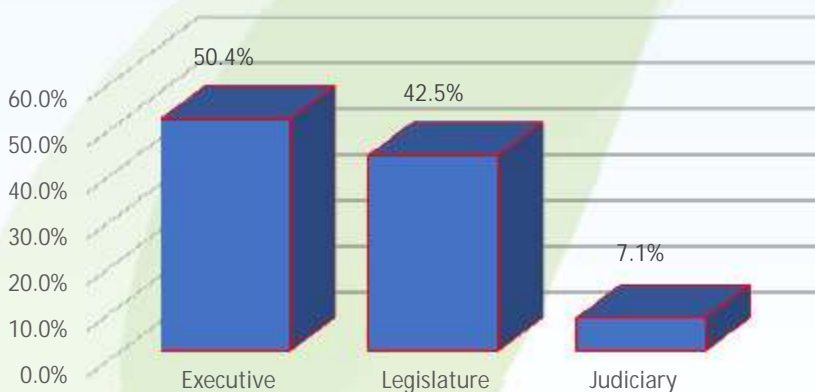
Chart 7: Visibility of politicians and other citizens in radio broadcasts



While politicians were visible in 63.0% of the coverage, the visibility of other citizens was 37.0%. This should not be a surprise since the period shifted attention to politicians and what they would do if elected. It was a period for nominations and campaigns and various radio news reports and programmes were sponsored and mainly about politicians campaigning from one place to another.

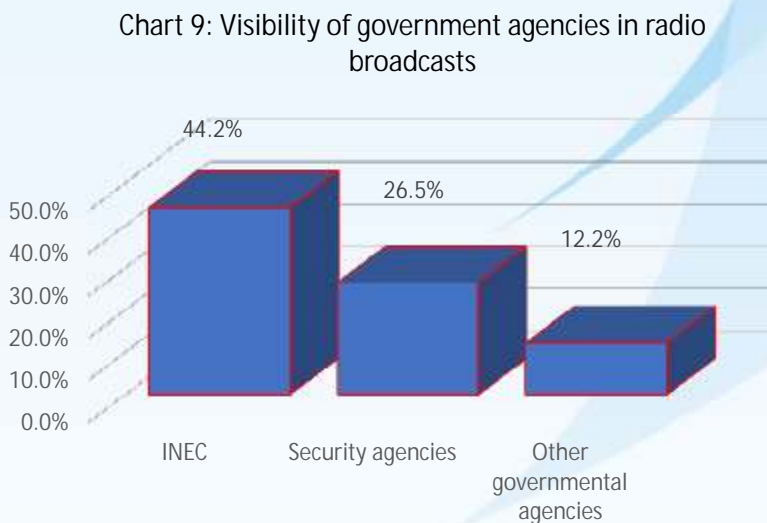
Different from what obtained in October, the executive arm of government gained ascendancy over the legislative arm in December as shown in Chart 8.

Chart 8: Relative visibility of the arms of government in radio broadcasts



The legislative arm had 42.5% visibility, the executive had 50.4%, while the judiciary had 7.1% in radio broadcasts. The arm that funds elections in Nigeria enjoyed the greatest visibility. Because the presidential election is usually prioritised and it is always the first during general elections, greater visibility than that devoted to the legislative arm was recorded. Again, the two major contenders in the presidential election actually shifted media attention in their favour and issues about them were prominent in news reports and programmes on radio.

Although the visibility of INEC in radio broadcasts has reduced compared to what was recorded in the preceding months, the government agency still dominated radio coverage for the month of December. This trend is shown in Chart 9.

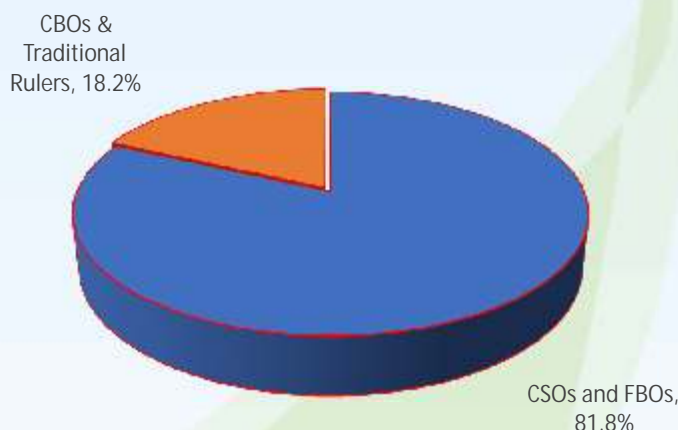


The Independent National Electoral Commission had 44.2% of visibility on radio, other government agencies received 12.2%, while security agencies such as the Military, the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps and the Nigerian Police Force had 26.5%. As expected, this allotment of visibility was in favour of INEC because it is the body that regulates and supervises

elections in the country. Though other agencies were involved in the successful conduct of the elections, INEC was notable in the stages leading to the elections.

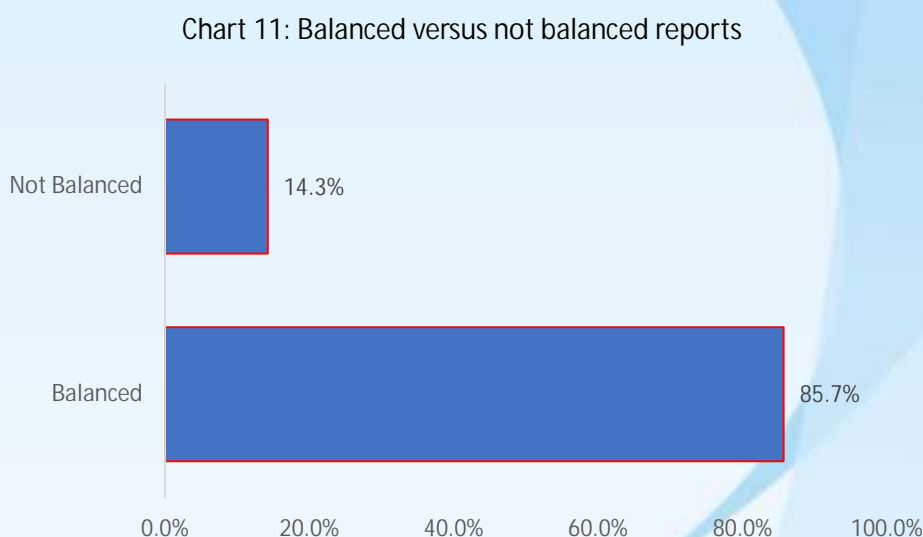
As much as government agencies are important in elections, other non-governmental organisations also play crucial roles. In the category of non-governmental organisations, the activities of civil society organisations were prominently covered by the radio stations as presented in Chart 10.

Chart 10: Visibility of non-governmental organisations



The civil society organisations claimed 81.8% of the visibility where traditional rulers and community-based organisations got 18.2%. Because of their role as peace makers and their devotion to political neutrality during elections which generally keep them from media visibility, community based organisations and traditional rulers always appear insignificant in media coverage during elections. Civil society and faith-based organisations enjoyed a greater clout especially because of their propensity for media coverage during their activities. During the period under consideration, civil society organisations were prominently involved in news reports and programmes on radio stations, monitoring and analysing the performances and inactions of political parties and their candidates.

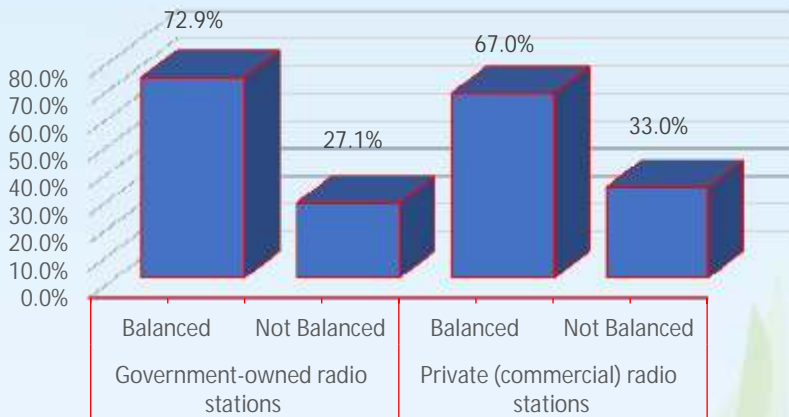
In Chart 11, we present the percentage of balanced versus unbalanced reports on radio with balanced reports dominating the coverage.



Media organisations have sworn to maintain political neutrality, uphold truth and be socially responsible in their coverage. However, because of certain interests in media coverage and operations, it is totally impossible to rule out interference, and thereby, the possibility of imbalance in coverage. Radio broadcasts in December were mostly balanced with 85.7%, while the unbalanced reports were 14.3%.

The issue of balance takes another dimension when ownership interest is at play. In Chart 12, we present evidence to address the question of balance vis-a-vis ownership interest. The percentage of unbalanced reports was higher for private radio stations.

Chart 12: Comparison of private and government radio stations on balanced reporting



Government-owned radio stations achieved balance in 72.9% of their reports and programmes, while 27.1% was not balanced. For private/commercial radio stations, 67.0% was for balanced reportage, while 33.0% of the reports and programmes was unbalanced. Though the percentage of unbalanced reports of private radio stations was greater, the difference between the two was just 6.1%. This issue of unbalanced reports is a subject for regulatory agencies which applied the right sanctions during the general elections of 2015.

However, we could not discover any extreme or uncouth speech in the month under consideration. Our attention in the next part is on the contents of political broadcasts on television stations.

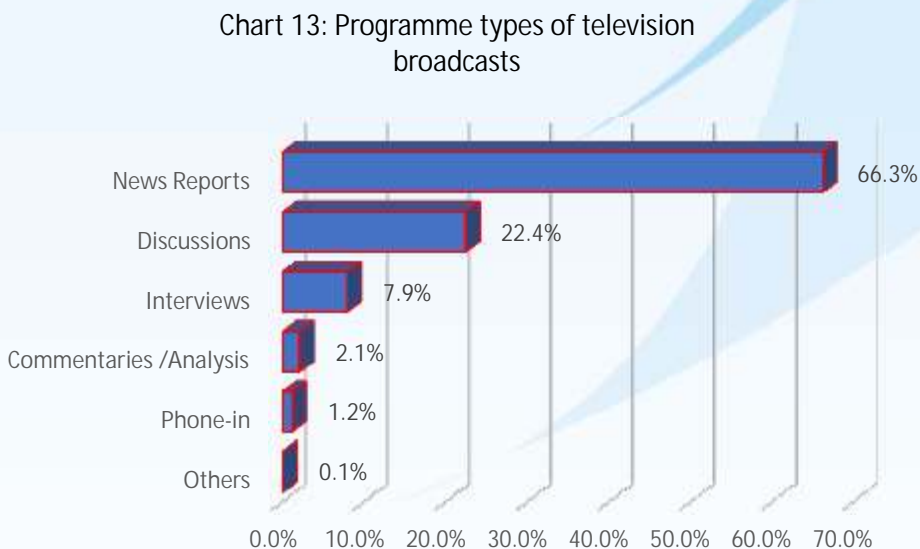
PART II:

CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON TELEVISION

We monitored political programmes and reports on 16 television stations in December with a focus on programme type, visibility of individual and corporate actors, nature of the reports (dwelling on balance) and signs of extreme speech as analytical categories.

Programme Types of the Political Programmes

As presented in Chart 13 on programme types of television broadcasts, news reports dominated as reported in the other two months.



The analysis of political programmes on television shows that the share of news reports was 66.3%, interviews 7.9%, discussions 22.4%, and commentaries/analysis 2.1%. Furthermore, phone-in programmes had 1.2%

where others shared the remaining 0.1%. The pattern established in the first-two months was extended in December in almost all the programme types identified. There was an increase in the percentage of interviews by some 3.1%, phone-in by 1.0% and a reduction in commentaries/analysis by 1.5%. Debate did fizzle out of coverage in December, while some 4.0% reduction in news reports was recorded.

In Chart 14, we provide the thematic focus of these television broadcasts with the results showing a close race among campaign strategies, election administration and election related non-violent conflict.

Chart 14: Thematic focus of television broadcasts

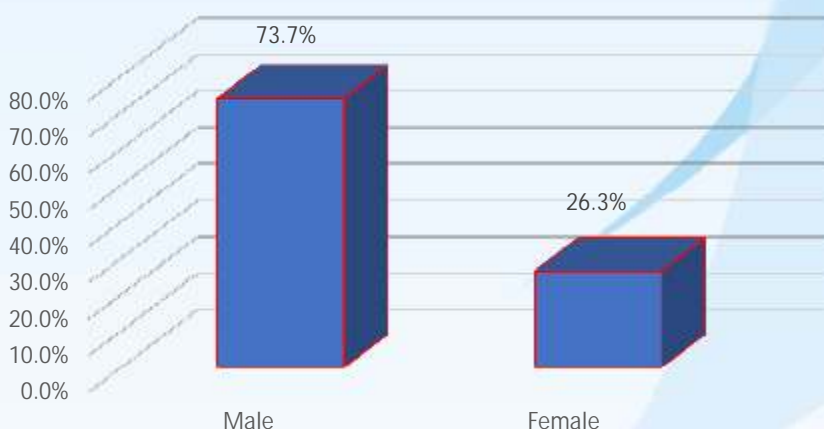


The pattern of coverage for women's (2.2%) and PWD's (1.1%) issues was still very poor in the month under review. Where campaign promises had 14.1% coverage on television, election administration received 20.5%, campaign strategies took 24.25 and election-related, non-violent conflict got 18.7% coverage. Furthermore, voter education was 10.9% and voter registration took 5.4%. Side by side the reports of in the first-two months, the percentages for most of the items increased, although the focus on campaign

strategies greatly reduced.

The near invisibility of issues affecting women and PWD which dominated political broadcasts on radio was extended to December; at this point in the journey to the elections, it is worrisome that voter education and voter registration could not dislodge the dominance of campaign strategies in both radio and television coverage. Issues of low turn-out in past elections and high proportion of void votes should convince INEC, media stations, political parties and other stakeholders to promote voter education and registration in a critical time that the elections were very close.

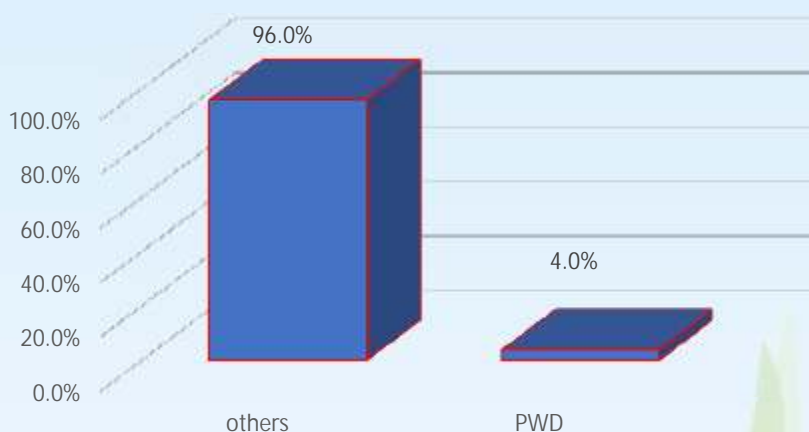
Chart 15: Visibility of male and female actors in the content of television broadcasts



Most of the television programmes had male actors (73.7%) visible than female actors (26.3%). This dominance played out in the number of men that were sources of news, the number of times each gender was mentioned in political reports and programmes on television, and the number of women that participated in political programmes and reports on television.

The visibility of women in political programmes and reports on television was better than that devoted to people with disabilities. Chart 16 shows that negligible visibility of PWD in television programmes.

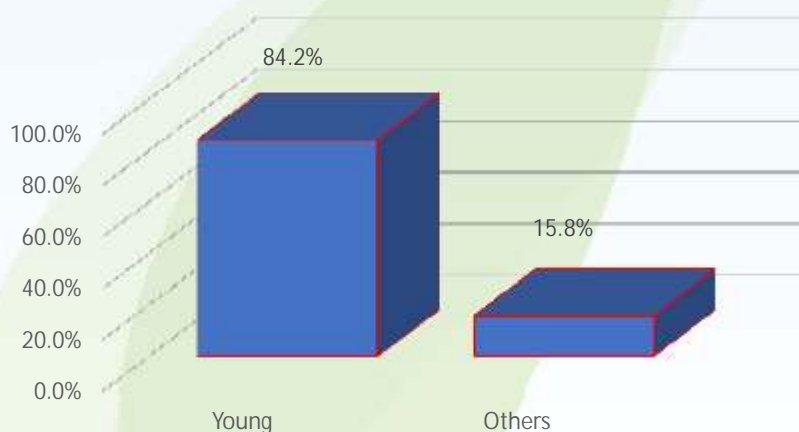
Chart 16: Visibility of PWD and others in the content of television broadcasts



Visibility of PWD was 4.0% in the content of television broadcast while others had 96.0%. This showed that news reports and programmes where PWD participated were scanty.

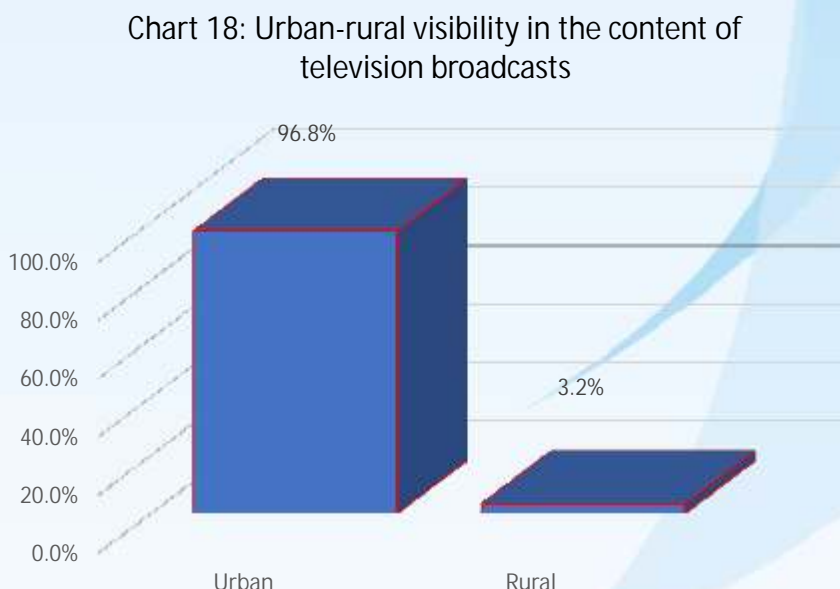
As noted under political broadcasts on radio, young people were also visible in political reports and programmes on the television stations (see Chart 17).

Chart 17: Visibility of young people and others in the television broadcasts



Young people (84.2%) were involved in the news reports and programmes as news sources; they were constantly mentioned (15.8%) in television contents far above other groups of people.. This visibility was about their perceived involvement in elections and how they should change the negative narrative against them.

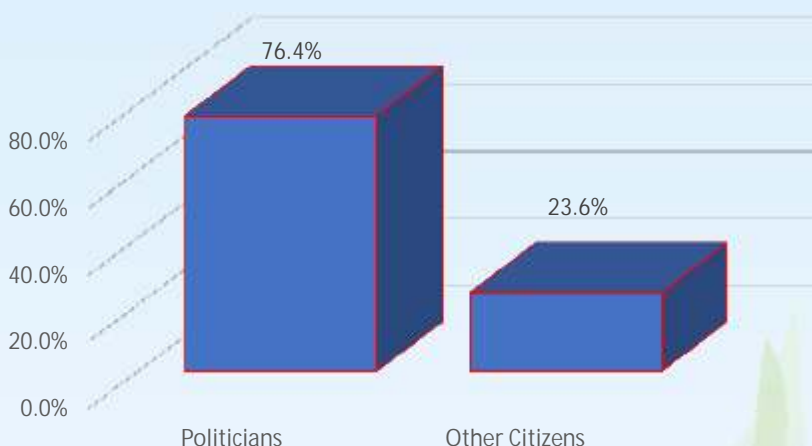
Moving to urban-rural visibility in political television contents, the existing narrative of dominance under radio broadcasts was notable again as shown in Chart 18.



Since television stations are rare in many rural communities and television coverage of such communities is very poor, almost all the contents of television broadcasts were from and on urban areas (96.8%). The negligible 3.2% left for rural areas was recorded only when political figures made occasional visits to rural communities.

Just as rural areas had a ridiculously reduced visibility, same way ordinary citizens could not match the visibility of politicians in television broadcasts. Chart 19 provides evidence to prove this.

Chart 19: Visibility of politicians and other citizens in television broadcasts



Similar to the established pattern of reportage in previous month, politicians (76.4%) were mostly visible in television broadcasts than other citizens (23.6%) s. December as the month for the nomination and submission of names of candidates for elections and commencement of campaigns could not but attract greater media attention to politicians. The listed television stations monitored the activities of politicians and were constantly involving political aspirants in their reports and programmes throughout December.

In the month of October, the legislative arm of government got the highest visibility, but the executive arm moved above the legislative arm in radio broadcasts for the month of December.

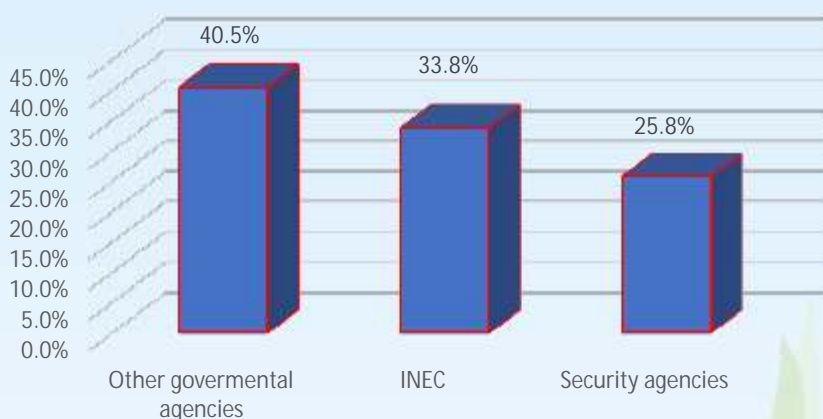
Chart 20: Relative visibility of the arms of government in television broadcasts



The judiciary was visible for only 8.0%, the legislative arm was second with 37.2%, while the executive arm with 54.8% had the highest visibility. The President and members of his cabinet, governors and governorship aspirants and other political appointees combined to switch the focus of television contents from the legislature to the executive. The judicial arm of government could not effectively compete with the other two since members of the two were not always involved in media coverage.

These arms of government work with other government agencies for efficient and effective administration. In Chart 21, we present evidence to show how agencies of government were visible in television broadcasts in the month of December. The Independent National Electoral Commission had the highest visibility.

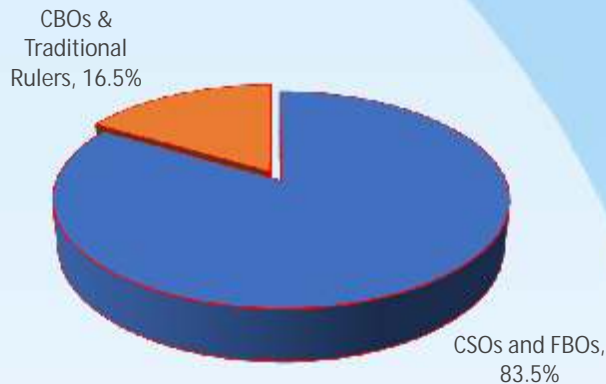
Chart 21: Visibility of government agencies in television broadcasts



Two agencies of government were conspicuously visible within the period: INEC (33.8%) and security agencies (25.8%) combining the Army, the Nigerian Police Force, NSCDC and others. Other agencies of government combined got the remaining 40.5%. In the broadcasts, reports and programmes centred on the preparations and regulations of INEC guiding the campaign process and the readiness of security agencies to provide adequate security and thereby maintain peace in the country. The Nigeria Police and INEC were always in the news as their personnel participated in programmes concerning the electoral process.

In Chart 22, we present the visibility of non-governmental agencies in television broadcasts. As evident in the results presented for radio broadcasts, civil society and faith-based organisations dominated the visibility in this category.

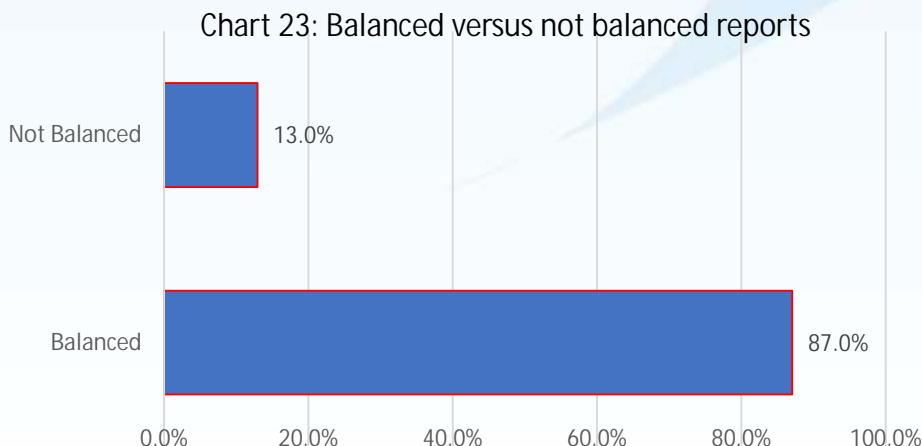
Chart 22: Visibility of non-governmental organisations



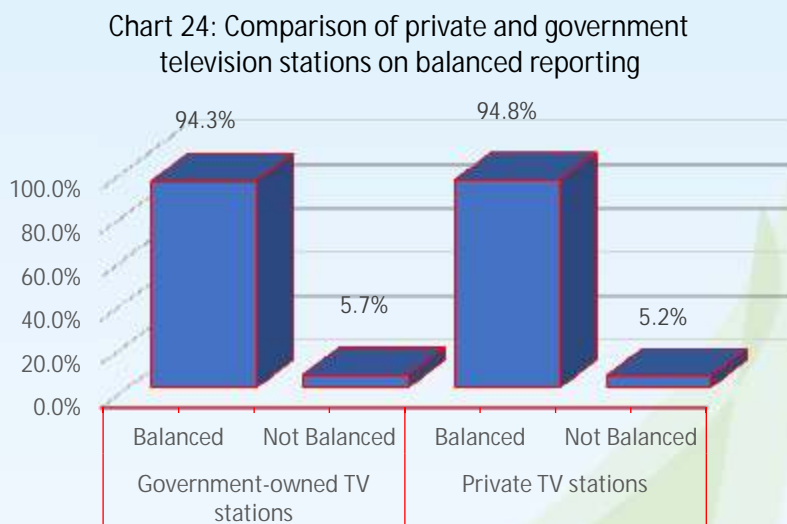
Civil society and faith based organisations (83.5%) dominated the visibility because they (especially civil society organisations) were mostly selected for interviews and as news sources. Community-based organisations and traditional rulers (16.5%) were not seriously involved in news and programmes on television stations. In most cases, CSOs were seen as agencies which could provide alternative ideas, opinions and arguments where the performance of government agencies were questioned.

QUALITY OF REPORTS

We also sought to determine how balanced the reports and programmes on television were. Chart 23 shows that there were more balanced reports.



The aggregated data on balanced reporting show that the television stations did not achieve balance in 13.0% of their reports though 87.0% of their reports were balanced. Disaggregated data on balanced reporting from government-owned and private television stations are presented in Chart 24.



As against results on radio broadcasts presented in this report, there was no meaningful difference in balanced reporting between private and government-owned television stations. Government-owned television stations achieved balance in 94.3% of their reports where private TV stations got 94.8% reports; 5.7% of reports on government-owned TV stations were not balanced as against 5.2% in private TV stations. However, balance was greater for private TV stations.

PART III:

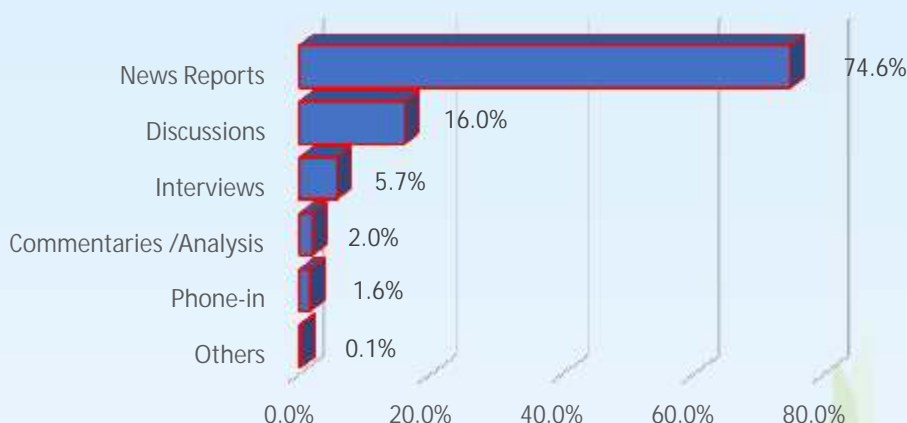
CONTENTS OF POLITICAL BROADCASTS ON RADIO AND TELEVISION COMBINED

Comparative data analysis sometimes presents hidden findings that one-tail analysis may not reveal. In this section, we have combined data on political broadcasts on radio and television stations in December, 2018. The discussion focused on programme type, thematic focus, visibility of different segments of the society and quality of broadcasts.

PROGRAMME TYPES OF BROADCAST MEDIA CONTENTS

The principal responsibility of the mass media is to inform, educate, mobilise and entertain. Television and radio do these using their varied news and programmes as opportunities to provide information and ensure that their audiences have informed and latest ideas and opinions on local, national and international issues. For the month of December, 2018, we present results on political broadcasts as political parties, INEC and other stakeholders prepare for and monitor the campaigns, nomination of candidates, and collection and submission of forms. In Chart 25, we present the programme types of the selected broadcasts.

Chart 25: Programme types of the selected broadcasts



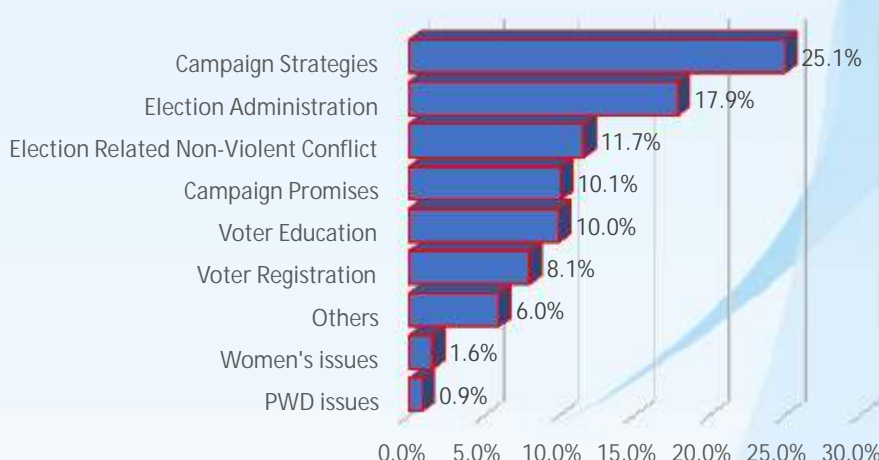
Phone-in programmes took 1.6% of the broadcasts where the percentage of commentaries/analysis was 2.0%. News reports was the highest with 74.6%, followed by discussions (16.0%) and interviews (5.7%). The percentages allotted to discussions, interviews and commentaries on radio and television stations in December should be questioned given the mandate of the electoral body that campaigns and submission of forms by political parties should commence. Quality political discussions and critical analysis of campaigns and manifestoes cannot be obtained in news reports; instead, media stations use their interview and discussion programmes, plus commentaries, analysis and phone-in opportunities to dissect manifestoes, challenge political aspirants and candidates and assist the citizens in presenting opposing arguments. Therefore, super-imposing information on campaigns and nominations on other critical aspect of media broadcasts could have some negative impact on the quality of the electoral process.

THEMATIC FOCUS OF BROADCAST MEDIA CONTENTS

The aspects and processes involved in elections, with many aspects and actors, make them complex and crucial. In covering these many aspects and actors, the broadcast media prioritise some over others using their content

values and other yardsticks. For example, media stations could prioritise campaign strategies, campaign promises, voter education, voter registration, election administration and many others in their coverage. In Chart 26, we present the thematic focus of the broadcasts on radio and television for the month of December. Though the coverage was divided among the themes, campaign strategies were uppermost.

Chart 26: Thematic focus of the broadcasts



In political broadcasts on radio and television at a period when campaigns must have started, broadcasts on voter education (10.0%), voter registration (8.1%), campaign promises (10.1%) and election administration (17.9%) were still very low. However, they were not lower than the coverage of issues about women (1.6%) and PWD (0.9%). As observed in the two months preceding this current report, critical coverage of voter education, voter registration and campaign promises must not be relegated and other issues super-imposed when parties were starting their campaigns and submitting nomination forms. This unfortunate development shows that stakeholders involved did not understand the complexity and enormity of the 2019 general elections. This is the first general elections in Nigeria with over 90 political

parties and many new polling units, new aspirants and highest number of registered voters. Without adequate voter education, the possibility of high incidents of void votes could not be ruled out. Also, where voters could not get effective and informed media education and information on the political parties, their manifestoes and campaign promises, how would they actively understand the electoral process and gain requisite knowledge about the aspirants and candidates? Instead of focusing on campaign strategies (25.1%) and election administration, why not issues that were relevant for the moment?

VISIBILITY OF ACTORS IN THE CONTENTS OF BROADCASTS

Politicians, ordinary men and women as voters, political parties, INEC, security agencies, arms of government, civil society organisations and other stakeholders play critical roles in elections. In this section, we present how these actors were covered by radio and television stations in the month of December, 2018. In Chart 27, we first present the visibility of men and women in the broadcasts.

Chart 27: Visibility of male and female actors in the broadcast contents



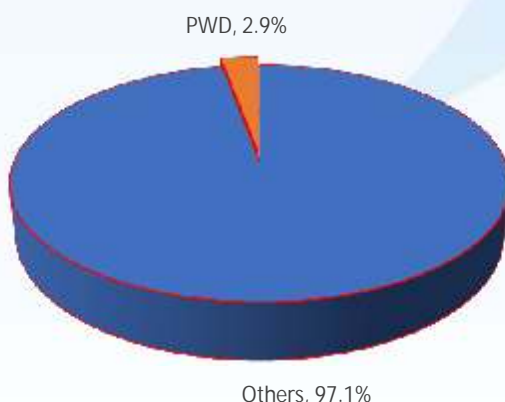
As usual, greater visibility of men (76.4%) over women (23.7%) was found. Women voices and their appearances could not command visibility in a nation where millions of women join campaigns and vote for political candidates during elections. This was because the percentage of women as party candidates was very low. One of the few reports that featured women was a discussion reported by AIT on the topic “2019 General Elections: what chances for women?” One of the two discussants was the co-convener, the Bring Back Our Girls Movement, Mrs Aisha Yusufu; the other discussant was a man.

Yet, another was on DITV; in the report,

APC women in Kaduna state demand the resignation of its national leader Adams Oshiomhole for what they termed an abuse to democracy by imposing Shehu Sani as the party's senatorial candidate representing Kaduna Central.

In Chart 28, the visibility of people with disabilities is presented with able-bodied individuals dominating the coverage.

Chart 28: Visibility of PWD and able people in the broadcast contents



It was almost impossible for people with disabilities (2.9%) to get some coverage in the broadcasts where able-bodied individuals got 97.1% of the visibility. This calls to question the opportunity or freedom allowed people with disabilities to actively participate in the electoral process. Where political parties and INEC cannot make adequate provisions for PWD to gain relevance in the campaign and voting process respectively, how will such a group of people gain visibility in the media?

In Chart 29, we present the visibility of young people in the broadcast contents.

Chart 29: Visibility of young people and others in the broadcast contents



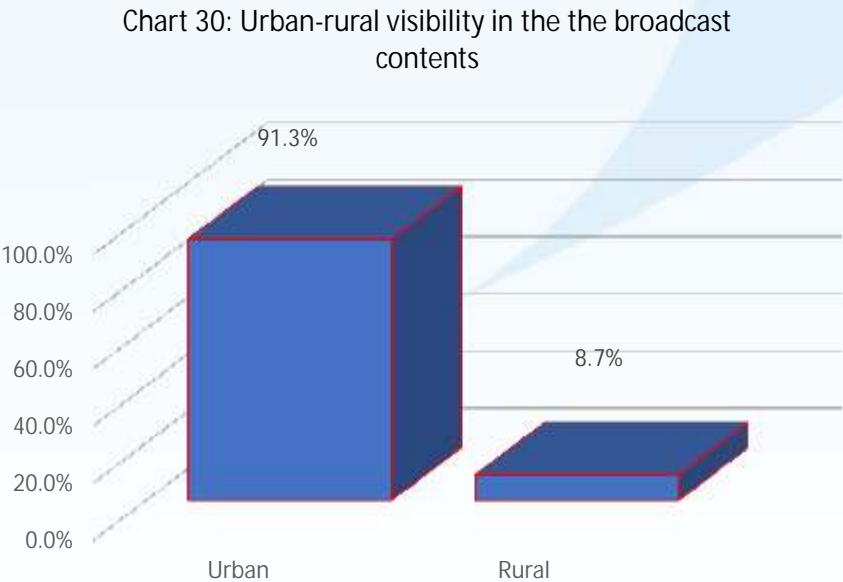
Although women and PWD were not visible, issues about young Nigerians (81.0%) gained the largest visibility above others (19.0%). However, those young people were not featured directly in the broadcasts as news makers and analysts, people were instead referring to or talking about them and their issues as critical to the success of the general elections. Records showed that over 50.0% of registered voters were 35 years old or younger; and that 23.0% of registered identified themselves as students (BudgIT, 2019). Youths far outnumbered other people in the contents of broadcast media. However, it is important to note that in many cases youths were mentioned in connection

with the need to vote and ensure peaceful conduct at the polls and after. Political leaders and parties took the lead in making these appeals to youth. Governor Bindow was reported to have said this:

Governor Bindow has called on card carrying members of APC especially women and youths to come out en masse and exercise their franchise for purposeful representation.

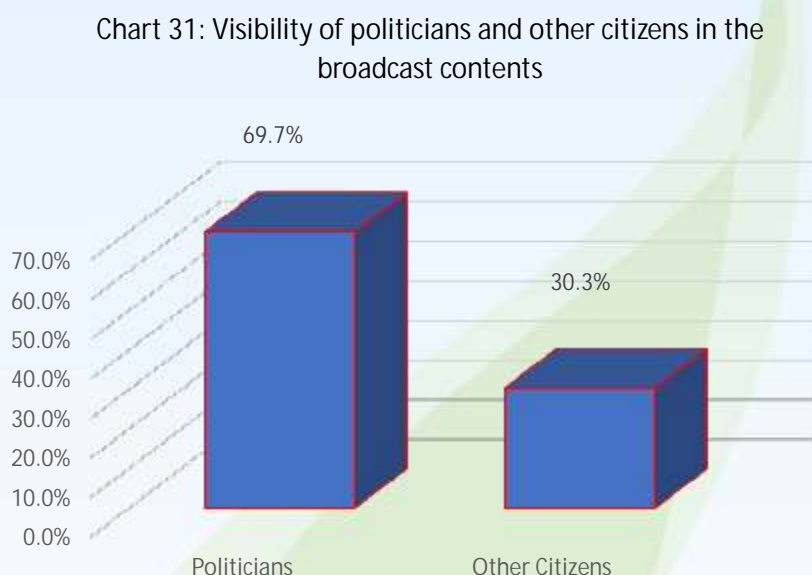
In many other cases, youths were mentioned in the campaign promises of politicians. An example was the report by Gotel FM of the appeal by a presidential aspirant, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, that he would employ youths in large numbers to reduce unemployment and poverty. An example of broadcast content featuring the voices of the youths was Dream FM's "Political Voices" which featured youth discussants analysing the potential roles and requests of youth in the coming elections.

The near absence of active voice of youths in the political broadcasts goes in line with the neglect of rural communities in the broadcasts. Chart 30 shows a super-imposition of urban coverage over rural in the month of December, 2018.



The World Bank estimated the rural dwellers in Nigeria to be about 47.9% of the population and most of these people are active voters during elections. However, results in the current report show that urban areas (91.3%) and their issues dominated political broadcasts for the month. The rural areas (8.7%) and their issues could not command a tenth of the coverage, consolidating an age-long empirical conversation that rural areas do not enjoy meaningful media coverage.

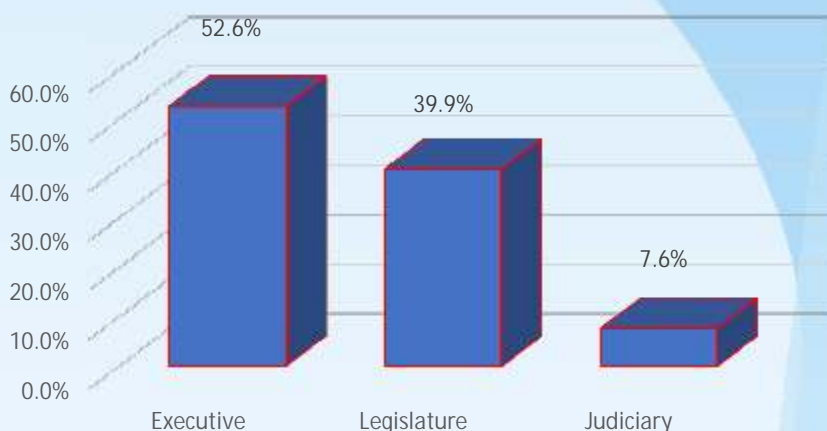
We proceeded by comparing the visibility given to other Nigerians with that of politicians. Data in Chart 31 show that politicians gained media attention far above other citizens.



In close to 70.0% of the coverage, politicians were focused on above other citizens (30.3%). This is not strange because politicians were the main actors in the electoral process and now that they were campaigning and submitting forms, radio and television stations focused on them to get news reports.

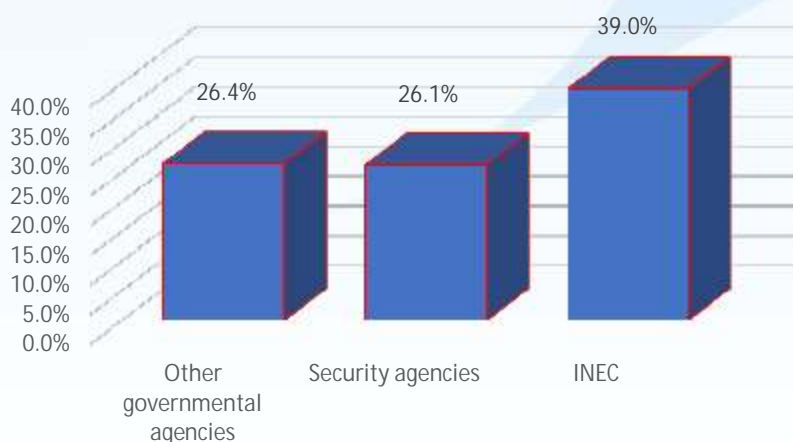
We also examined the visibility of arms and agencies of government in political broadcasts. In Chart 32, we present results on the visibility of the three arms of government in the broadcasts for the month of December. The focus was extensively on the executive arm of government.

Chart 32: Relative visibility of the arms of government in the broadcast contents



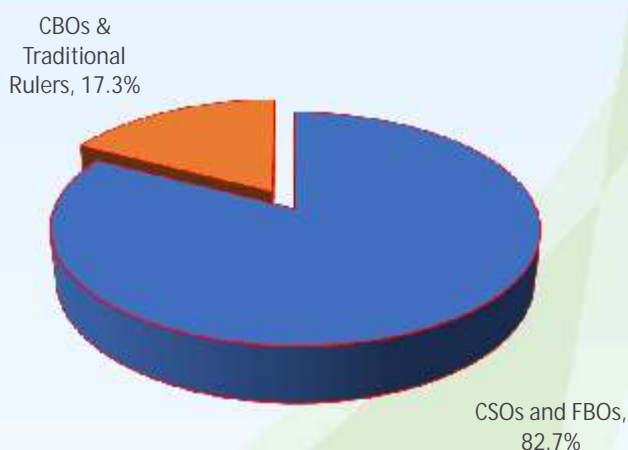
The judiciary was visible in only 7.6% of the broadcasts, the legislative arm was in 39.9%, while the executive arm of government was given more than half of the visibility (52.6%). For government agencies, INEC was more visible than others as shown in Chart 33.

Chart 33: Visibility of government agencies in the broadcast contents



The difference between the visibility of INEC (39.0%) and that of security agencies (26.1%) was about 13.0%, where other government agencies got 26.4%. The results in Chart 33 shows that although INEC got the highest, other agencies were not neglected, especially that security agencies and other agencies got almost equal attention during the period. Chart 34 shows the visibility of non-governmental organisations where CSOs and FBOs dominated the visibility.

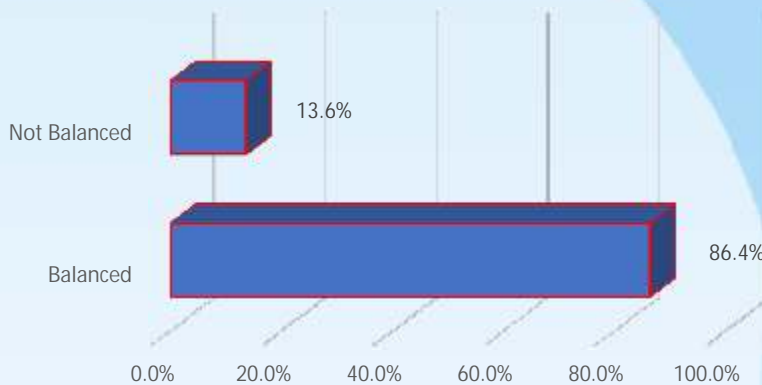
Chart 34: Visibility of non -governmental organisations in the broadcast contents



The attention of political broadcasts was concentrated on the activities of civil society and faith-based organisations (82.7%), instead of community-based organisations and traditional rulers (17.3%) as participants in the electoral process.

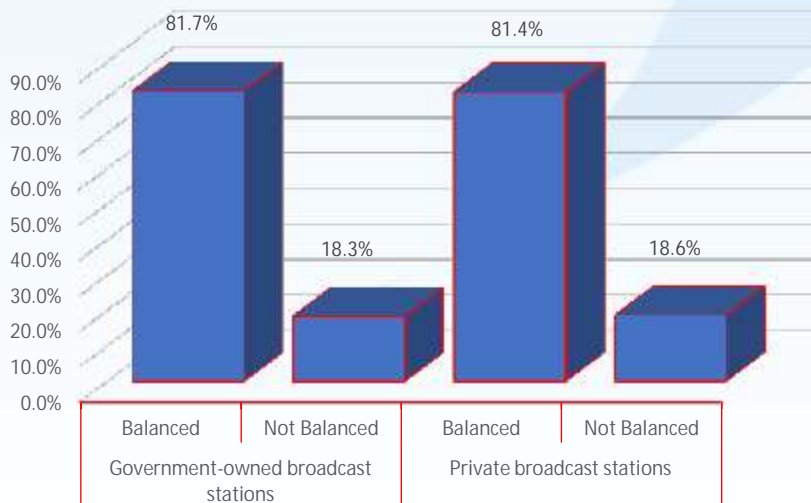
In Charts 35 and 36, we present our combined results on quality of reporting/coverage by selected radio and television stations. There were more balanced reporting in the month.

Chart 35: Balanced versus not balanced reporting
in broadcast contents



Most of the reports (86.4%) were balanced as against 13.6% that were not balanced by the media stations. In Chart 36, we then compare the degree of balance between private and public broadcast stations. Balanced reporting for both was very high.

Chart 36: Comparison of private and government television
stations on balanced reporting



The two sides had almost the same percentage of balanced and unbalanced reports in their coverage. Balanced reports for government-owned media stations were 81.7%; and for private broadcast stations, it was 81.4%. Unbalanced reports for private broadcast stations was 18.6%, and it was 18.3% for government-owned broadcast stations. However, it is important to note that no matter how negligible, unbalanced reports should not characterise broadcast coverage. Apart from its negative impact, it is against the principles media operation.

EXTREME SPEECH

There are many instances of extreme speech in the quarter. Some examples are cited here: Former governor of Osun State, Mr Rauf Aregbesola, during a programme on Channels Television, described the People's Democratic Party members who were protesting as “not mentally stable or [in] need [of] psychiatric attention”. On ITV, a discussant described President Buhari as a 'relic of antiquity' apparently referring to his old age. On STV, A PDP chieftain in Ekiti said “whoever says Sen. Olujimi is not a leader is a mad man”. On TVC, Ben Obi was described as “lacking focus” and “behaving childish”. Channels TV, a guest said. “Nigeria can be classified as a rouge state because those who run it are rouges”. On Silverbird Television, a caller described “President Buhari as one who is followed by violence wherever he goes” (DTV, 14 December, 2018). Another person on DITV described Mr Joe Igbokwe, a prominent member of the APC as “a political infant” (DITV, December 6, 2018). The National Chairman of APC, Mr Adams Oshiomhole on DITV (18 December, 2018) declared: “Obasanjo will see the wrath of God for supporting Atiku”. On Silvebird Television (15 December, 2018), he also described Mr Rochas Okorocha of his party as “an embarrassment to the party” and Governor Ibikunle Amosun as “behaving like an emperor”.

SOME NOTICEABLE TRENDS

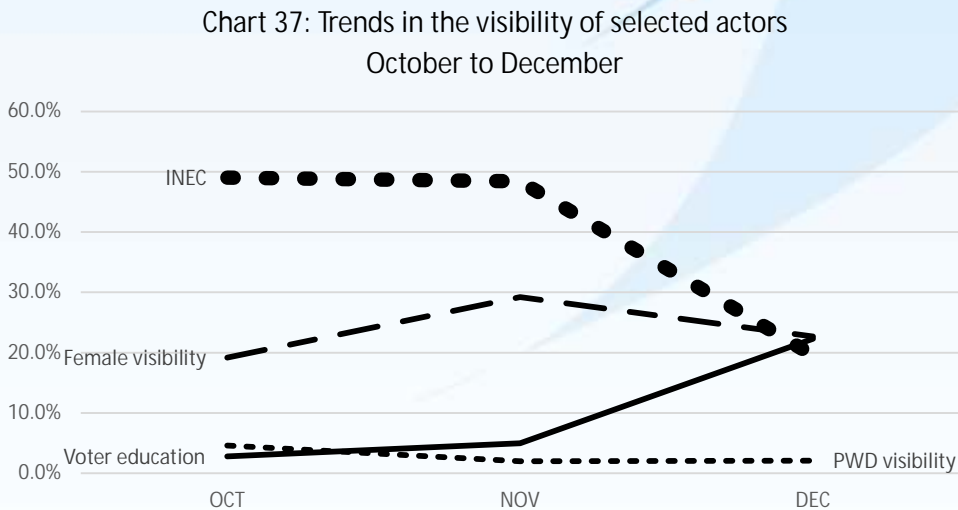
We considered it important to explore the trends in the visibility of some key actors within the quarter. Table 1 shows that whereas voter education

increased consistently from October to December 2018, the visibility of women fluctuated within the low range. The visibility of PWD dropped in November and remained largely so in December.

Table 1: Trend in the visibility of selected actors

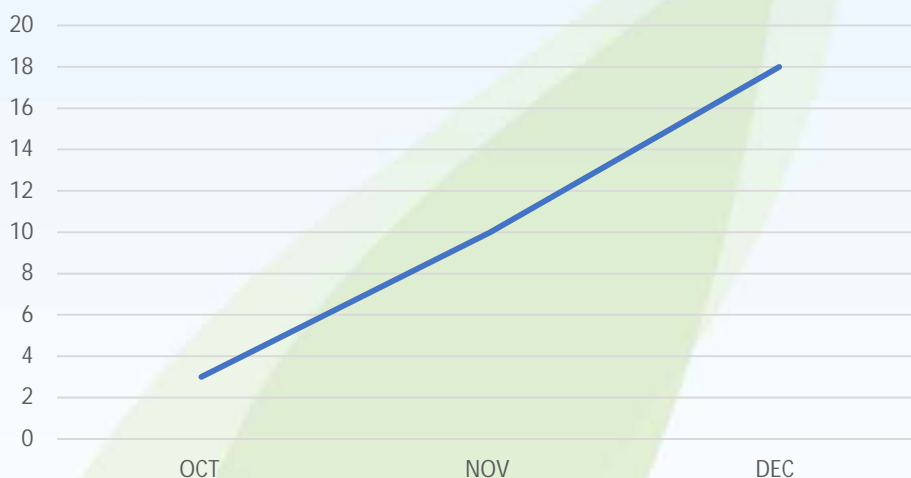
	INEC	Voter education	PWD visibility	Female visibility
OCT	49.0%	2.8%	4.6%	19.2%
NOV	48.4%	5.0%	2.0%	29.2%
DEC	19.6%	22.3%	2.1%	22.7%

Chart 37 illustrates this pattern quite vividly.



The visibility of INEC dropped (from 49.0% in October to roughly 20.0% in December) as other agencies of government became more actively involved in the electoral process. This suggests a good trend: INEC alone should not be left to handle the entire electoral process including voter education and journalists' training. The visibility of women is not just low, it was fluctuating in that low region, despite increase in women's participation in the political process (Sahara Reporters, 2018). Voter education rose sharply from 5.0% in November to 22.0% in December. It seemed that as the elections drew nearer, it became important to educate the electorate, and the broadcast media, sensing this, increased their discussion of voter education. It may as well be that more voter education activities were going on and the media simply covered these. Unfortunately, the coverage of PWD remained abysmally low. This is contrary to the stipulations of international conventions – such as the UN convention on persons with disability (UN, 2016). A worrying trend was in the continuous rise in the cases of extreme speech, as seen in Chart 38.

Chart 38: Cases of extreme speech



Cases of extreme speech were few but rising. We recorded three in October, 10 in November and 18 in December 2018. This trend calls for concern. If this is not checked, it might get to a regrettable level leading to violent conflicts.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The coverage did nothing or little to improve the visibility of women and PWD as the broadcast stations failed to substantially increase their coverage of these groups of people. There are many women-groups championing the political relevance of women and minority groups in the nation. Unfortunately, these groups hardly get media attention. Media stations have a duty to promote gender equality and the rights of minority groups. Instead of dominantly focusing on politicians and arms and agencies of government, journalists should have a sizeable portion of their coverage for the other groups too.

It should be noted that youths were prominent in the coverage but not as active players; instead, they were mentioned by other active players in the media. The Nigerian youths have a lot to contribute to the political process as they constitute a greater chunk of voters. Therefore, improving their visibility in media coverage is a strategy for promoting inclusiveness and equality. These general elections saw an increased and active participation of youths at all levels, but such participation did not lead to visibility in media coverage.

There is the need to improve the visibility of rural areas, community-based organisations, traditional rulers, women, PWD, and youth in media coverage. Furthermore, activities of stakeholders on voter education and voter registration received very poor visibility in the broadcast media. These are two critical issues with prevention of violence that determine the success of elections. If voters are not properly informed and empowered, most people would be technically denied of their rights to participate in the elections.

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