

# Media Coverage of WOMEN POLITICIANS in the 2011 Elections in NIGERIA



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# Media Coverage of WOMEN POLITICIANS in the 2011 Elections in NIGERIA

## **Institute for Media and Society**

Implementing Partners

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

## **MEDIA CENTRES PROJECT– NIGERIA**

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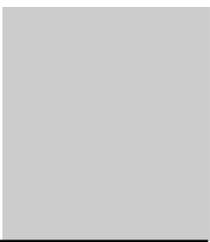


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## Foreword

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

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

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

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

***The Implementing Partners***

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## Executive Summary

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

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

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

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

The monitoring exercise generated important findings. Basic to this is the revelation that women politicians and issues that affect them were grossly marginalized in media coverage during the elections. Among the specific details were that:

- a) In the area of page prominence in newspapers, male politicians' stories appeared 934 times on front pages and 284 times on back pages, but in the case of female politicians, they appeared 33 and 25 times respectively.
- b) When the use of election stakeholders as subject of radio items are considered, women politicians account for two per cent whereas their male counterparts take up to 25 per cent while institutions (like political parties) account for up to seven per cent.
- c) The gap in (b) above was wider on television. While female politicians were subjects in four per cent of items monitored, male politicians accounted for 34 per cent, political parties 14 per cent and INEC 32 per cent.

The report made recommendations which flow from the findings, as follows:

- a) Media owners and editors should develop organizational policies which insist on gender-sensitive reporting during elections.
- b) Media regulatory agencies should emphasize and enforce gender-sensitive reporting in media coverage of elections
- c) The ministry of Women Affairs should widely disseminate and popularize the National Gender Policy and international instruments on gender; and engage the media through capacity-building activities such as workshops and roundtables.
- d) Political parties should make special provisions within their campaign finance frameworks for activities which would project their female candidates in elections.
- e) Development partners, media professional groups and civil society organizations should help build the communication capacity of women politicians through training programmes such as workshops; strengthen the professional capacity of the media through training activities (roundtables, workshops, etc); and continue media monitoring activities during the various upcoming elections into local government and governorship positions countrywide.

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## Introduction

The exercise wmonitored the media (radio, television, and newspapers) reportage of electoral issues before, during and after the 2011 general elections (March, April and May)

The UNDP DGD programmes requested monitoring of the scope and quality of coverage on electoral issues (electoral processes, partisanship, balanced news coverage of parties and aspirants, conflict issues) in both the print and the electronic media.

Specifically, the project monitored the scope and quality of coverage given to female politicians in both the print and the electronic media. It involved media monitoring of electoral issues and women representation during election campaigns, on election days and post elections. It entailed the collation and analysis of news items on electoral issues to show how much publicity and prominence was given to female politicians and electoral issues that pertain to them. These are compared with the prominence and amount of publicity given to other stakeholders of the elections and the electoral process. These other stakeholders include male politicians, the courts, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Civil Society, Socio-cultural groups, ethnic militias etc.

With the comparison, we are able to establish whether female politicians were well projected, whether reports on them were biased or not, among others. In all cases, news, feature articles, cartoons and opinions on identified relevant news items that are published/broadcast, are to be collected, analysed and findings publicised and disseminated appropriately.

The monitoring covered the months of March, April and May 2011. In March however, due to some unforeseen circumstances, the electronic media (radio and television) could not be monitored for the three months: they were monitored on April and May. However, all the selected newspapers that were available for the three months were monitored from March 1 to May 30. Privately-owned, state .

government-owned and federal government-owned mediums were monitored in varying numbers.

### **Methodology**

In carrying out the monitoring, the mediums to be monitored were pre-selected and only media contents considered relevant to the 2011 elections were recorded and analysed. Those that were considered not necessary to the monitoring exercise were not monitored. The monitoring exercise involved the following phases, namely: data gathering, recording of the data gathered, and processing/analyzing of the data and presentation of the findings of the exercise which came with recommendations.

In the mediums selected, electoral issues reported in any of a number of formats were monitored. These include News, commentaries, discussion programmes, interviews, features, documentaries, cartoons, opinions, pictures, editorials and analyses. Advertisements of whatever sort were not monitored.

Before the exercise began, some codes to make for easy collection and processing/analyzing of data were developed. Trainings were conducted for the people selected to carry out the monitoring to get them to understand the codes and how to enter them appropriately for the necessary information.

The exercised looked at certain important elements in media reportage and these elements were processed and analysed to reach the findings which are presented in this report.

The elements that were analysed in the relevant media reports are prominence, subject, format, objectivity, gender objectivity, political parties, area, situation report and sources. For the print medium, the space devoted to identified relevant items was also taken into consideration and measured. For radio and television, it was the duration that was tracked and reported. In addition the use of actuality for television and sound-bite for radio and television were also taken into consideration and analysed.

In talking about prominence, the exercise looked at the place given the identified relevant items by both the electronic and print media. In the newspapers, it looked at whether an identified relevant news item was published in the front page, the back page, an inside page, the editorial page or in the political page. For the electronic media this report looked at whether relevant items were read as part of the summary of the main news and then in the detailed news report or only in the detailed news reports. News stories published on the frontpages are strategic for a number of reasons: it means the editors consider them more important than other news stories; these frontpage news items get more attention and glances from

readers than those inside and invariably, more people are aware of the incidents reported in frontpage stories than the others. The same holds for main news in the broadcast media: the main news are the only news read at hourly intervals as news summary.

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

The format looked at the news format in which the identified items were either published or aired. Eight formats were considered and they are News, Feature, Cartoon, Opinion, Interview, Commentary, Editorial, and Picture.

The monitoring also looked at the objectivity of identified relevant items. Monitors were to determine whether an item is balanced or not balanced. They were also trained to be able to determine if the item does not need objectivity and to record such items appropriately. Usually, it is reports on controversial matters or situations where accusations are made that objectivity is needed. In such a case, it becomes incumbent on the reporter to report all sides to a matter and if possible seek the views of neutral persons, professionals or specialists etc as the case may be.

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

In addition, the space given to publish relevant items favourable to female politicians by the various newspapers as well as the duration used to air items considered favourable to female politicians were specifically recorded and analyzed. These, in addition to the prominence given to female politicians, the number of relevant items which were sourced from female politicians as well as the number of relevant news items that were favourable to female politicians will help give a general view of the quality and amount of coverage given to female politicians as compared to their male counterparts.

The monitoring exercise also sought to know the political party that got the most mention in the media. It did not take into consideration whether that mention is in the positive or negative sense. It therefore means that if, for example Party A accuses Party B of any offence, it is recorded that both Party A and Party B were mentioned. In counting the number of mentions, the exercise counted the relevant items in which the party is mentioned not the number of times it was mentioned as one political party can be mentioned as much as four or five times in one news item. In such a case, it is recorded as one.

One of the objectives of this monitoring was to identify and track events in communities, LGA/ State and report on potential conflicts that could erupt into violence under the cover of political activities. In order to satisfy this demand, monitors also looked out for reports that were generated from or covered rural areas, where it is possible to determine that it does and those from urban areas where it is possible.

The UNDP is also interested in situation reports of relevant items and so the report also took into consideration 'Situation report' and analysed it to see if the situation was one of 'Potential Conflict', 'Normal Situation' or 'Conflict' situation.

Another important reporting issue that the monitoring analysed was the 'Sources' of information for the identified relevant items. For this, ten sources were listed: nine categorical and one is the omnibus 'Others'. The nine categorical sources that were listed are Female Politicians, Civil Society, Government Officials, Male Politicians, The Court, Socio-cultural Groups, ethnic Militias, Political Party, and INEC.

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

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

In order to be able to calculate the amount of publicity given to female politicians, the total space given by newspapers and the amount of time used by the broadcast stations (radio and television) to reports on female politicians were calculated. In order to be able to make a categorical claim, the same is done for male politicians and the final figures between them are compared and a conclusion reached.

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

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

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## Findings of Monitoring of Newspapers

Twenty newspapers were monitored to determine the scope and quality of coverage of female politicians and women representation during the election campaigns, on the election days and after the elections.

The newspapers are:

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

Of these newspapers, only 13 were monitored in March while all were monitored in April and May. The seven newspapers that were not monitored in March are:

1. People's Daily
2. NEXT
3. ThisDay
4. Daily Sun
5. The Tide
6. The Nation

## 7. Nigerian Tribune

### 1. Subjects of relevant reports compared to female politicians

For the exercise, four specific and one omnibus subjects were monitored. These are male politician, female politician, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Political parties, and the unspecified 'Others', the category comprising other stakeholders outside the four specific groups.

It emerged during the three-month monitoring, that female politicians remained consistently on the fringe of media reportage. The number of reports with female politicians as subject of relevant items was consistently low indicating that the scope and quality of media coverage of female politicians were below expectation.

**In March**, the month preceding the general elections, the collated data revealed that women politicians/candidates did not feature much as subject of published items related to the April elections. Only 179 published items had female politicians as their subjects out of the total 5,488 published items identified as relevant to the monitoring exercise. This number amounts to a mere 3.26% of the total relevant items analysed in the newspapers that were monitored in March.

On the other hand, the fact that 2,372 published reports or 43.22% had male politicians/candidates as subjects provides further evidence that female politicians did not get enough media attention in the build up to the elections.

In percentage terms, apart from relevant reports with women as subjects constituting only 3.26% of the total relevant reports monitored, they also constituted just 7.54% of the reports which had male politicians as subjects.

Political parties were given enough publicity by the newspapers with a total of 934 reports featuring them as subjects. While this number represents 17.01% of the total relevant reports identified in March, the number of reports with female politicians as subject was just 19.16% of the number that featured political parties as subjects.

INEC was fourth on the table being subject of 412 relevant items out of which the reports on female politicians constitute 43.44%.

The unspecified 'Others' stakeholder, were featured as subject the second highest number of times. The 1,591 reports in this category represent approximately 29% of the total relevant items monitored. The reports with female reports as subject constitute 11.25% of this number.

In the election month of April, there was no departure from the pattern of newspaper coverage of electoral issues as female politicians were largely relegated to the background and were hardly heard or seen in the media. The newspapers had more reports on male politicians and other stakeholders in the electoral processes than female politicians.

Female politicians were the subjects of 273 identified electoral reports published in April, accounting for just 1.94% of the total relevant stories collated and analysed.

Male politicians on the other hand, were more visible in the media, being the subject of 4,217 or approximately 30% of reports on electoral issues. Reports with female politicians as subject constitute 6.47% of reports with male politicians as subjects.

2,001 of the relevant items that were published had the electoral umpire, INEC, as their subject in April. In other words, there is a big gap between electoral stories generated from female politicians compared to those generated from INEC. The electoral umpire had the clear majority yet there were more reports with men as subjects compared to INEC. Published reports with female politicians as subjects constitute 6.47% of total number of relevant stories with men as subjects and 13.64% of those that had INEC as subject.

Another of the four specific stakeholders that were monitored - the political parties - also enjoyed wider coverage of the newspapers than female politicians. Political parties were subject of 1,793 of the reports on the electoral process that were monitored. The number of reports with political parties as subject constitutes 12.71% of the total while those with female politicians as subject constitute 15.22% of those with political parties as subject.

Other personalities and stakeholders who could not be grouped among the four specific stakeholders formed the greatest percentage of stakeholders referred to as 'Others.' The published relevant items with subjects from this unspecified category numbered 5,819, constituting 42.3% of the total relevant stories collated and analysed. The relevant items with female politicians as subject constitute 4.69% of those with 'Others' as subjects.

Again, in May the pattern of low coverage of female politicians and their issues did not change. Female politicians were subject of just 130 identified relevant news items or 1.64% of the 7,903 total relevant reports monitored and 5.06% of total number of relevant items for which male politicians were subject.

Male politicians were mostly used as subject of the identified relevant items, out

of the four (4) specific stakeholders monitored. They were subject of a total of 2,567 relevant stories or 32.48% of all the total electoral items identified as published in May 2011 by the 20 newspapers that were monitored.

Political parties featured as the subject in the third highest number of relevant items. Stories in which political parties were subject totaled 1,190 which amount to 15.06% of the total relevant stories monitored. The published relevant items having female politicians as subject constitute 10.92% of this number.

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was the subject of 684 election stories which represent 8.65% of the total while those with female politicians as subject constitute 19% of those with INEC as subject.

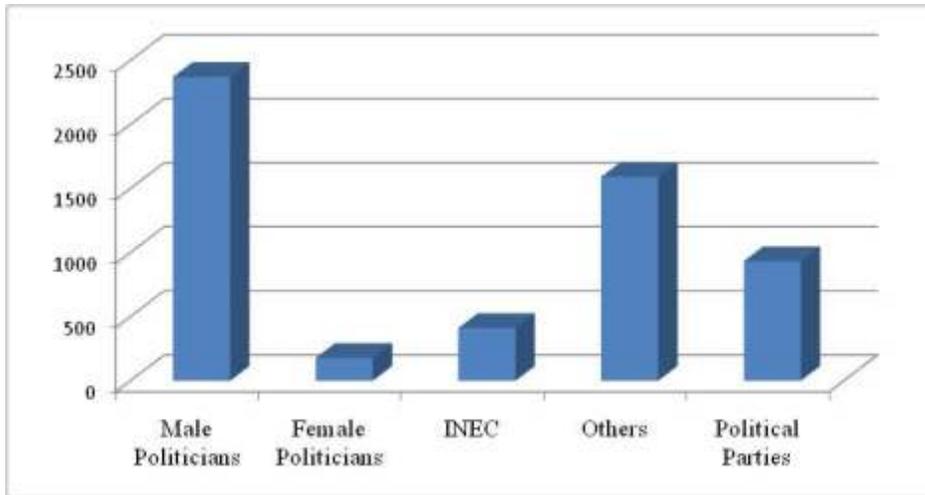
Of the five stakeholders, the general unspecified 'Others' was used the most as subject. It was subject of 3,131 relevant stories and accounted for 39.61% of the total relevant items. The relevant items with female politicians as subject constitute 4.15% of those with 'Others' as subject.

In the three months, there was a consistent pattern of low reportage of female politicians in the media which beyond the low publicity also translates to lesser chance for the women at the polls.

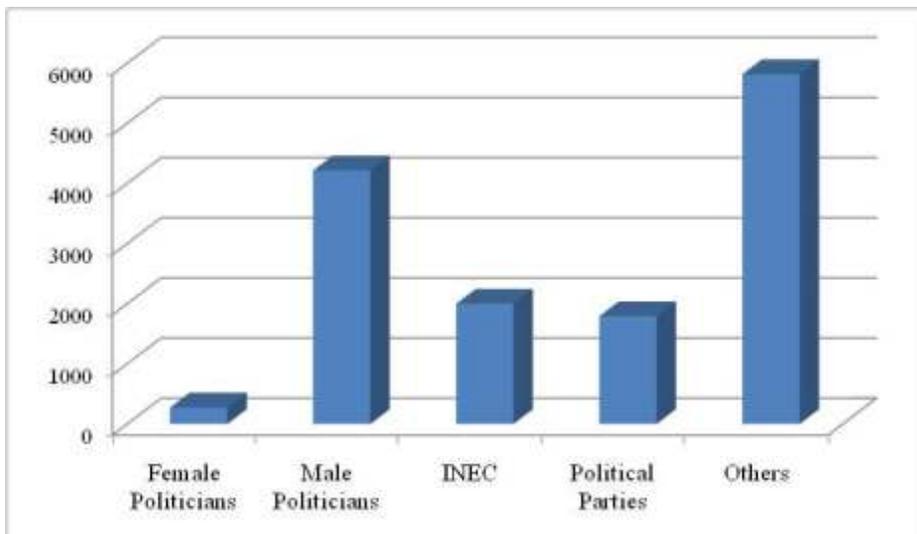
The low reportage of female politicians is shown in all the foregoing statistics in which female politicians as subjects of relevant items did not constitute as much as 50% or half the total of any of the other stakeholders. In all three months, female politicians actually constituted less than 20% of the total relevant items for which the other stakeholders were subjects, except in March when relevant items with female politicians constituted as much as 43.44% of those that had INEC as subjects.

Getting such low media reportage can only mean that female politicians, many of whom rode the storm to vie for elective offices, had very little chance of being elected. Since they were barely heard and the electorate could not weigh their worth or potentials against the male politicians.

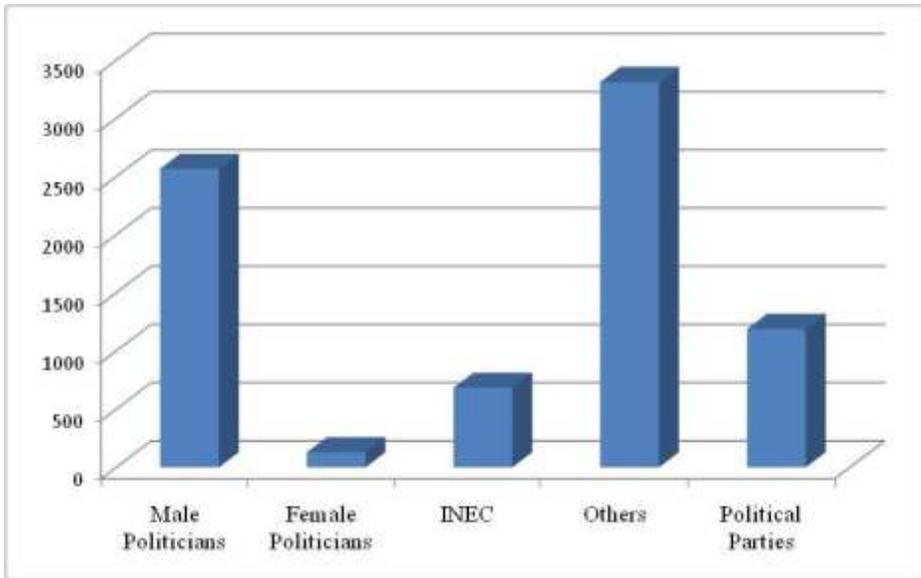
*The graph below shows the frequency of use of different stakeholders as subjects in electoral news items monitored in March*



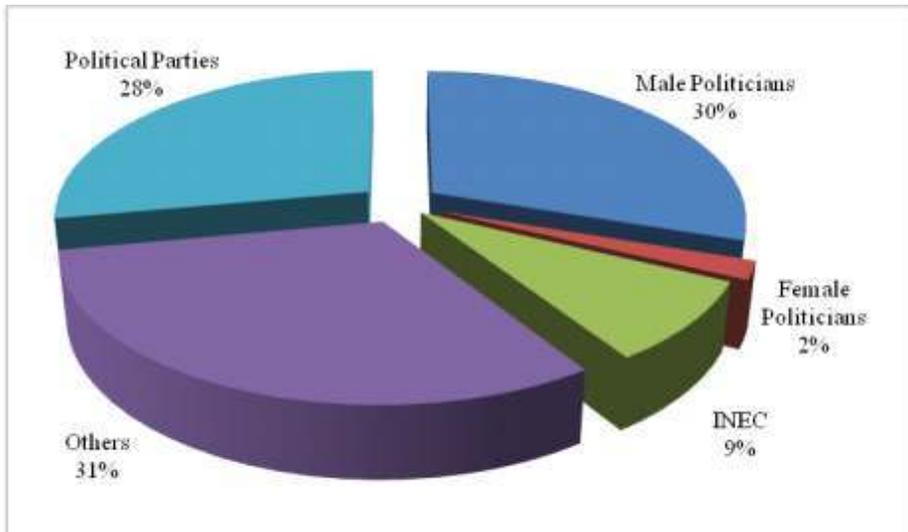
*The graph below shows the frequency of use of different stakeholders as subjects in electoral news items monitored in April*



*The graph below shows the frequency of use of different stakeholders as subjects in electoral news items monitored in May*



*The chart below shows the percentage of use of different stakeholders as subjects in electoral news items monitored in all three months*



## **1. Prominence given to the genders**

The data gathered on the pages in which relevant items on the genders were published also speak volumes about the kind of publicity given male and female politicians in the election months.

In March, male politicians/candidates were used on the front page 253 times while their female counterparts only graced the choice page 11 times, representing 4.35% of the former.

Even though most Nigerian newspapers usually reserve the back page for sports stories, comments, informed analysis by guest columnists etc, 11 of the 13 relevant comments/informed analysis published on the back page were on male politicians.

In all, 96 relevant items on male politicians were published on the back page while those concerning female politicians were 14.

Again female politicians got very little prominence compared to their male counterparts whose stories were published on the choice pages of the newspapers: the front and back pages.

The figures collated and analysed in the second month of the monitoring in April clearly showed continued marginalization of female politicians. Male politicians featured on the front page 416 times while stories on female politicians published on the front page were just 15, which is a mere 3.6% of the total number of reports on male politicians published on the front pages.

Relevant reports on female politicians published at the back page were also very small in comparison with those on male politicians published on the same page. Only eight (8) reports on female politicians were published on the back page while 15 reports on male politicians were published in the same place.

The pattern in March and April was followed in May. 265 of the 2,567 identified stories that were favourable to male politicians were published on the front page. This translates to 10.32% of total relevant reports which had male politicians as subject.

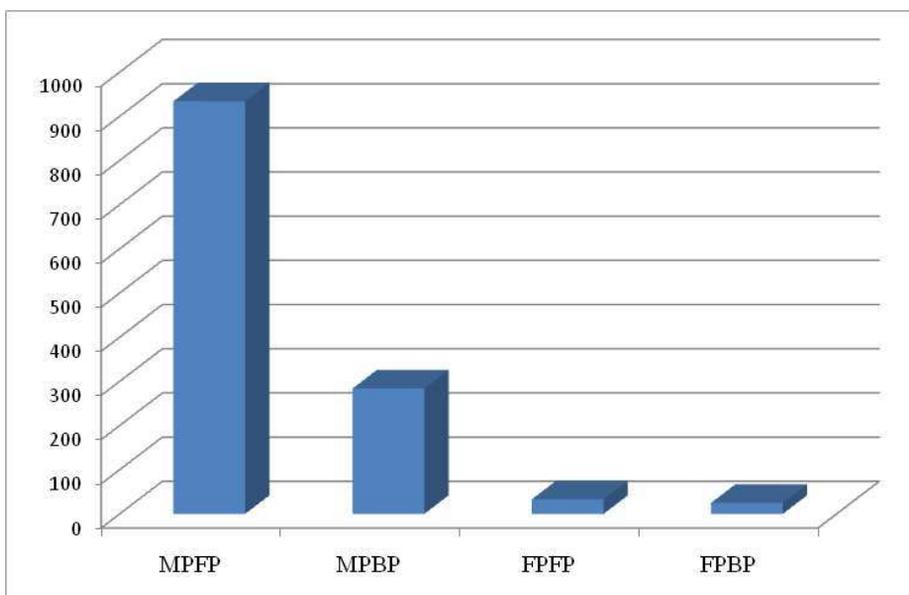
Identified relevant stories favourable to male politicians also graced the back pages 97 times.

Reports on female politicians on the other hand were published seven (7) times on the front page and three (3) times on the back page.

*The table below shows the publication of relevant items favourable to the genders, either in the front page or the back page*

Ser. No.	Page Prominence	March	April	May	Total
1.	Male Politicians on front page(MPFP)	253	416	265	<b>934</b>
2.	Male Politicians on back page(MPBP)	96	91	97	<b>284</b>
3.	Female Politicians on front page (FPFP)	11	15	7	<b>33</b>
4.	Female Politicians on back page(FPBP)	14	8	3	<b>25</b>

*The graph below shows the frequency of publication of relevant items favourable to the genders, either in the front page or the back page*



### **1. Comparison of sources used**

Ten stakeholders were monitored on their use as sources by the media. Nine were specific sources, namely: female politicians, male politicians, the courts, political parties, government officials, socio-cultural groups, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), ethnic militias and civil society. All other sources that did not fall into any of these groups were classified as the tenth category of 'Others'.

In March, female politicians were sources of 89 published electoral issues and came second to the last on the table above ethnic militias which were sources of seven published news reports.

Male politicians were the stakeholders used the highest number of times as

sources for 1,387 relevant reports. Female politicians were sources of the second least number of relevant items accounting for 89 relevant items while ethnic militias with just seven were the sources of the least number of relevant items.

The non-specific sources or 'Others' with 2,318 items (42.23%) were sources of close to half of all the relevant items identified in March.

Civil society groups and government officials were the sources of 260 relevant items apiece while socio-cultural groups were sources of 145 news reports. Political parties were sources of 530 news reports; INEC and its officials were sources of 318 news reports and the court were sources of 177 news reports.

In April, female politicians were again the sources of the second least number of relevant items leaving behind only the ethnic militias.

Female politicians were sources of only 174 published electoral issues whereas others like socio-cultural groups were sources of 559 stories; the civil society was source for 610 stories and the court was the source of 221 relevant reports.

Male politicians were the electoral stakeholders used as sources for newspapers' reports the second highest number of times. Newspaper reports were sourced from male politicians in 3,195 relevant items, next to the unspecified 'Others'.

Political parties were the sources of 1,361 reports; government officials, 1,669; INEC, 1,111 and militias, 19 stories.

In May, the patterns set in March and April were adhered to as female politicians were again the sources of the second least number of relevant items, coming above ethnic militias.

The non-specific source 'Others' was the most used sources of identified relevant items.

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

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

The political parties, with 11.35% of the relevant items monitored, were also the source of more reports than female politicians.

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

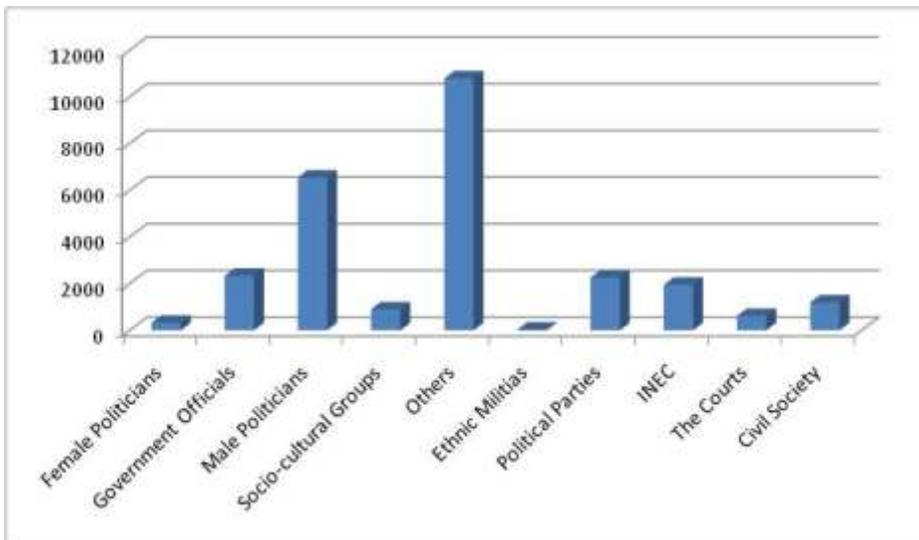
Government Officials were the sources of 407 relevant reports while ethnic militias were sources of just seven (7) relevant items. One implication is that civil society groups were more vocal on the election issues than either socio-cultural groups or ethnic militias.

In all the three months, female politicians were sources of less than 100 relevant items except in April when they were sources of 174 items; but male politicians were sources of over 1,000 items in each of the three months. It means that for the three months combined, female politicians were not sources of as much as a quarter of the numbers of relevant reports of which male politicians were sources. It also shows that no deliberate efforts were made to give voice to female politicians; rather, the newspapers concentrated on male politicians and other stakeholders to their detriment. The newspapers left female politicians in the background rather than consciously project them.

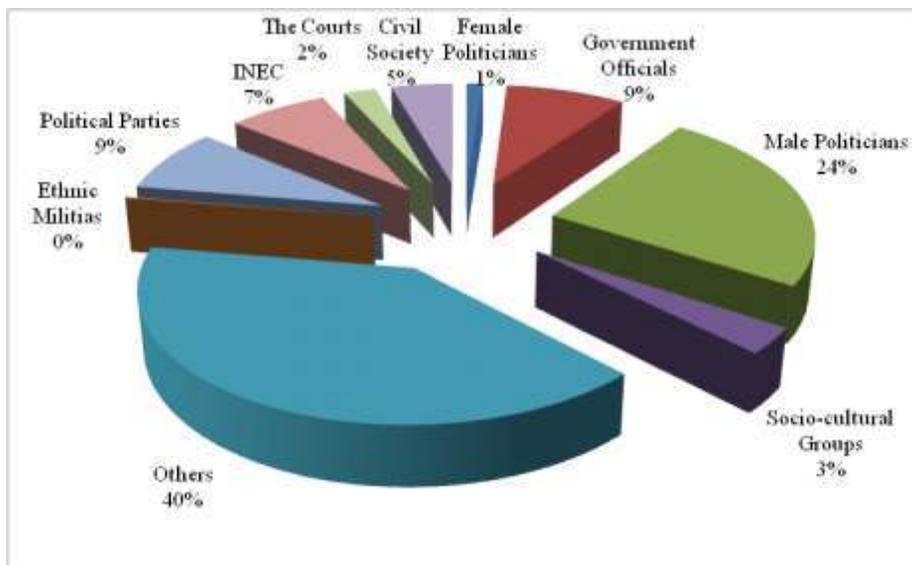
*The table below shows the frequency of use of the different stakeholders as sources of relevant items for each month of the monitoring and the total*

Ser. No.	Stakeholders	March	April	May	Total
1.	Female politicians	89	174	65	<b>328</b>
2.	Government officials	260	1,669	407	<b>2,336</b>
3.	Male politicians	1,387	3,195	1,969	<b>6,551</b>
4.	Socio-cultural groups	145	559	196	<b>900</b>
5.	Others	2,318	5,184	3,289	<b>10,791</b>
6.	Ethnic militias	7	19	7	<b>33</b>
7.	Political parties	530	1,361	897	<b>2,258</b>
8.	INEC	318	1,111	519	<b>1,948</b>
9.	The courts	174	221	227	<b>622</b>
10.	Civil society	260	610	328	<b>1,198</b>

*The graph below shows the frequency of use of the different stakeholders as sources of relevant items for the three months of monitoring*



*The chart below shows the percentage of use of the different stakeholders as sources of relevant items for the three months of monitoring*



## **1. Gender objectivity of relevant items**

The monitoring exercise also involved the analysis of identified relevant reports that were favourable to female politicians. These were published items that although did not have female politicians as the subjects, still contained some comments that were considered favourable to their political fortune.

**In March**, a total of 399 identified relevant reports were favourable to female politicians. However, the number of published items that were not favourable to female politicians were 252 meaning that the 'gains' of news reports favourable to female politicians was reduced by 63.16%.

**In April**, the situation was a bit better as 467 of the reports collated and analysed were items favourable to female politicians. The number of relevant reports not favourable to the female politicians was 232 or 49.67% of those favourable to them. The percentage was greater in March.

**In May**, 287 identified relevant reports were favourable while 191 were not favourable to female politicians. This translates to the fact that the reports that were not favourable constitute 66.55% of the favourable reports.

## **2. Space allocated to the genders**

The total space employed by the newspapers to publish reports on male politicians was very high just as the number of published items identified as relevant to the monitoring was high in all of the three months.

To publish the 2,372 items with male politicians as subject in March, the newspapers allocated 816.31 pages or 122,729.18 ins<sup>2</sup> of space; while the 179 stories which had female politicians (FP) as subjects were allocated just 57.12 pages or 8,683.1 ins<sup>2</sup> of space.

The pages allocated to the female politicians represent just 6.4% of the space allocated to their male colleagues.

**In April**, a total of 1,475.43 pages were used for stories which had male politicians as the subject; a wide margin from the 72.87 pages allocated to reports which had female politicians as subject. The pages on which stories favourable to female politicians were published amount to just 4.93% or approximately 5% of those used to publish items favourable to male politicians.

The same pattern was repeated in May. A total of 858.28 pages were used to publish identified relevant items favourable to male politicians while 50.78 pages were used to publish identified relevant items favourable to female politicians.

The space allocated to male politicians in terms of square inches ( $\text{ins}^2$ ) was 128,391.2  $\text{ins}^2$  while that of female politicians was 7,607.50  $\text{ins}^2$ .

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## Findings of Monitoring of Radio Stations

### THE RADIO STATIONS

Fourteen stations were monitored in April and May. For logistics reasons, they were not monitored in March. The stations whose programmes were monitored are:

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

#### **1. Subjects of relevant reports compared to female politicians**

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

There was no difference in the reportage of the identified stakeholders by the newspapers and the radio stations which also relegated female politicians in their reportage.

In April, male politicians were subject of 387 of the election-related news items that were monitored while female politicians were subjects of only 40 monitored news items. Male politicians enjoyed the most generous attention of all the specific electoral stakeholders that were monitored in this exercise. The 387 broadcast reports which had male politicians as the subject represent 23.53% of the total 1,645 relevant reports that were identified and analysed in all the

monitored stations; whereas the 40 stories which had female politicians as subject came to just 2.43% of the total relevant stories monitored and 10.34% of the total number of stories (387) which featured men as the subject.

Other specific stakeholders such as INEC and political parties enjoyed wider media attention than female politicians. INEC was the subject of 316 relevant reports while political parties were subjects of 117 relevant items.

The omnibus (non-specific) 'Others' featured the highest number of times as subject. The 785 items identified under this category constitute 47.72% of the total relevant reports monitored.

All the stations had higher number of stories with male politicians as subjects than stories with female politicians as subjects.

It is however striking that the Gombe Media Corporation based in the north-eastern state of Gombe, defied the stereotypic believe that the region is traditionally opposed to women visibility by having the highest number of stories (22) which had female politicians as subjects. The urban based Metro FM Lagos recorded the highest number of reports which had male politicians as subjects.

In spite of the fact that April was the election month, seven (7) stations did not feature female politicians as subject of any report.

The trend in April was repeated in May. The general unspecified 'Others' category, was used the highest number of times as subject of identified relevant items. It was used in 490 instances as subject, accounting for 54.68% of the total relevant broadcasts that were monitored.

Of the four (4) specific subjects monitored, male politicians were the subject of the highest number of relevant reports. The 245 aired relevant reports with male politicians as subject represent over a quarter ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) or 27.34% of the total relevant stories.

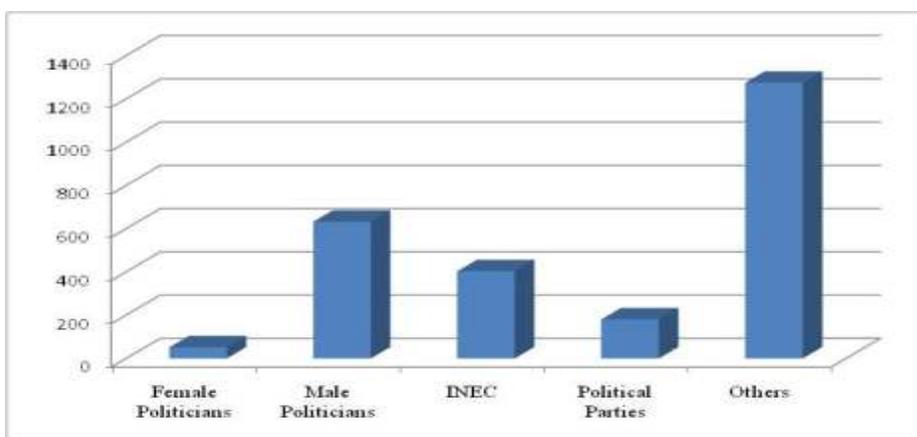
Female politicians on the other hand were subject of the least number of relevant items; the 11 items were far lower than the rest. This means that female politicians were subject of 1.22% of the total relevant items. The total number for female politicians, represent 4.48% of those of male politicians.

The electoral umpire, INEC was subject of 87 items while political parties were subjects of 63 items.

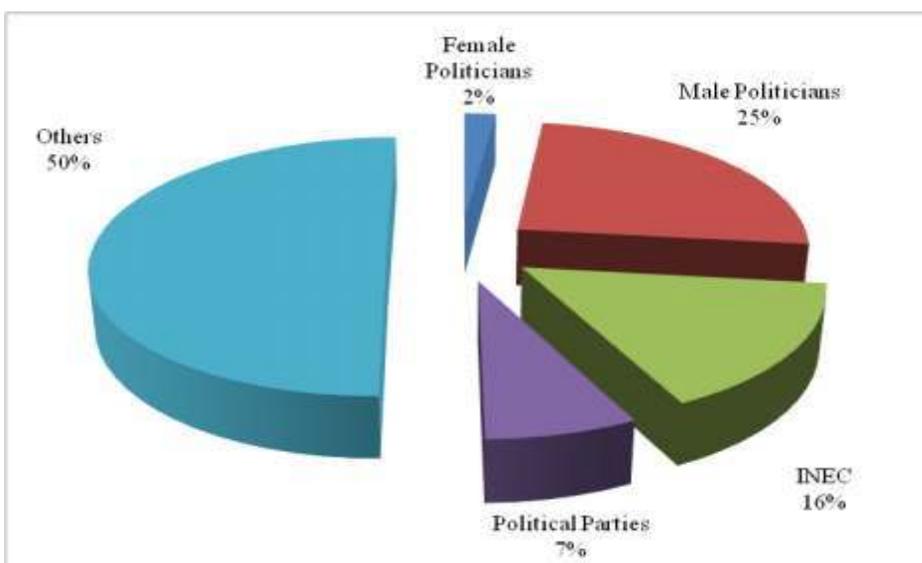
*The table below shows the frequency of use of the stakeholders as subject of relevant items by the radio stations*

Ser. No.	Stakeholders	April	May	Total
1.	Female Politicians	40	11	<b>51</b>
2.	Male Politicians	387	245	<b>632</b>
3.	INEC	316	87	<b>403</b>
4.	Political Parties	117	63	<b>180</b>
5.	Others	785	490	<b>1,275</b>

*The graph below shows the frequency of use of the stakeholders as subject of relevant items by the radio stations in April and May 2011*



*The chart below shows the percentage of use of the stakeholders as subject of relevant items by the radio stations in April and May 2011*



## **1. Time allocated to male and female politicians**

The same pattern of visibility for the male politicians as recorded under the topic subject is replicated here.

In April, male politicians dominated the air, enjoying 22 hrs, 43 mins, and 35 secs while the female politicians were allocated 2 hrs, 46 mins, 38 secs in the relevant items monitored.

In May, the story was the same: the total time allocated to air relevant items on male politicians was 7 hours, 1 minute, 23 seconds. Heartland FM gave the highest time of 49 minutes, 50 seconds to male politicians, translating to 10.6% of the total time allocation.

On the other hand however, the total time allocated to air items on female politicians was 11 minutes, 16 seconds with the highest time by any one station being 3 minutes, 23 seconds as monitored on Hot FM.

## **2. Sources of relevant items compared to female politicians**

There were nine stakeholders used as sources of the relevant broadcasts.

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

Female politicians continued to be ignored in this area as only 31 of them were used as sources. This figure represents approximately 2% of the total relevant items, whereas male politicians were sources of 304 reports which translate to 18.48% of the total electoral issues monitored. It also means that number of times female politicians were sources constitute just 10.19% of those of male politicians.

INEC was the source of 222 election stories monitored while political parties (PP) were sources of 103 reports. The Civil society groups were sources of 100 reports; the courts, 16 and socio cultural groups, 23.

In May, the story remained the same. Male politicians were sources of the second highest number of stories out of all the specific sources, coming second after government official.

Similarly, female politicians remained largely unheard being sources of only nine (9) relevant reports. The political parties even showed more dominance being sources for 51 relevant broadcasts; a figure higher than that of female politicians.

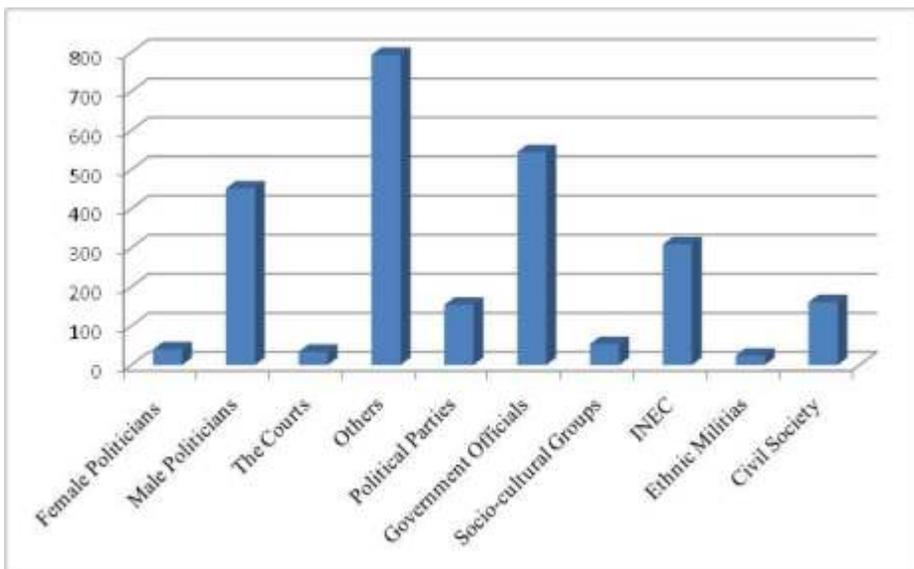
INEC was the source of a total of 87 stories while the civil society groups were sources of 61 stories. The courts were the sources of 18 relevant items.

The ethnic militias (EM) which seemed to have been silent during the election apparently woke up after the conclusion of the polls; they were sources of 24 reports while socio-cultural groups (SCG) were sources of 31 relevant items.

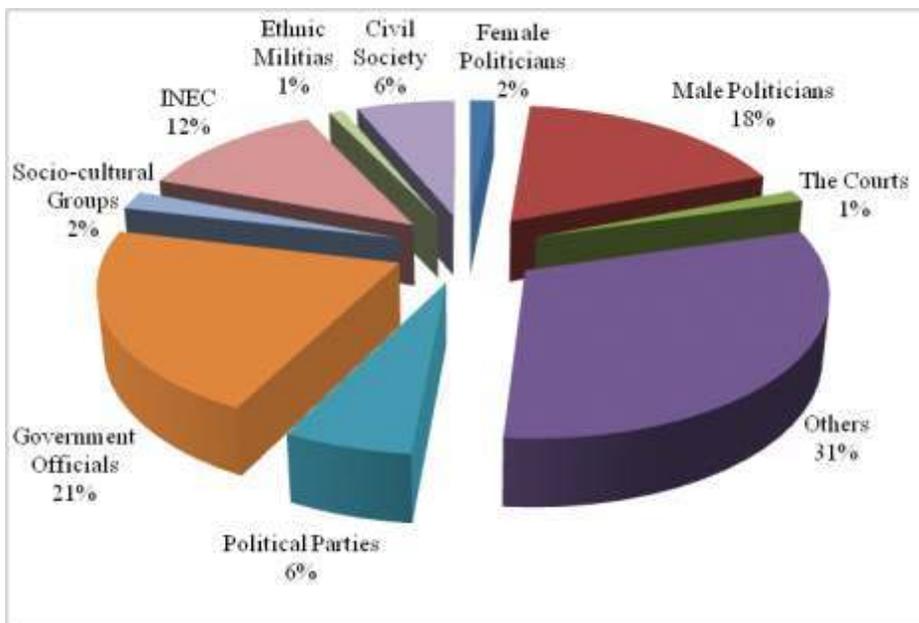
*The table below shows the frequency of use of different stakeholders as sources of identified relevant items aired by the stations monitored*

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

*The graph below shows the frequency of use of different stakeholders as sources of identified relevant items aired by the stations monitored*



*The chart below shows the percentage of use of different stakeholders as sources of identified relevant items aired by the stations monitored*



### **1. Female-favourable relevant items**

In April, 71 relevant reports were favourable to female politicians while 40 were not. In May, there were more relevant reports that were considered unfavourable to female politicians than those that were considered favourable. 132 were considered non-favourable while 23 aired reports were considered favourable to the female politicians. This means that 17.42% of the broadcasts were unfavourable to female politicians.

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## Findings of Monitoring of Television Stations

### **1. Subjects of relevant reports compared to female politicians**

Five stakeholders were monitored in identifying the subjects of published relevant items. These are male politicians, female politicians, political parties, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Every other stakeholder outside these was classified in the unspecified 'Others' category.

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

In sharp contrast, female politicians were subjects of just 26 aired relevant stories, i.e. 1.3% of the total election reports identified and approximately 5% of those with male politicians as subjects. Political parties also enjoyed more visibility than female politicians as it was the subject of 93 stories, which is 4.6% of the total election issues monitored.

Government officials were subjects of eight aired reports, all monitored on the federal government owned station, NTA Channel 5, Lagos. Reports with female politicians as subjects surpassed only those with government officials as subjects.

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

Male politicians were subject of the second highest number of relevant reports out of all the specific stakeholders. They were subject of 139 stories or 17.08% of the total relevant stories aired.

Female politicians again did not receive much media focus; they were subject of the least number of 43 relevant items or 5.28% of all relevant reports. 30.93 or

approximately 31% of reports had male politicians as subject and 23.49% had political parties as subjects.

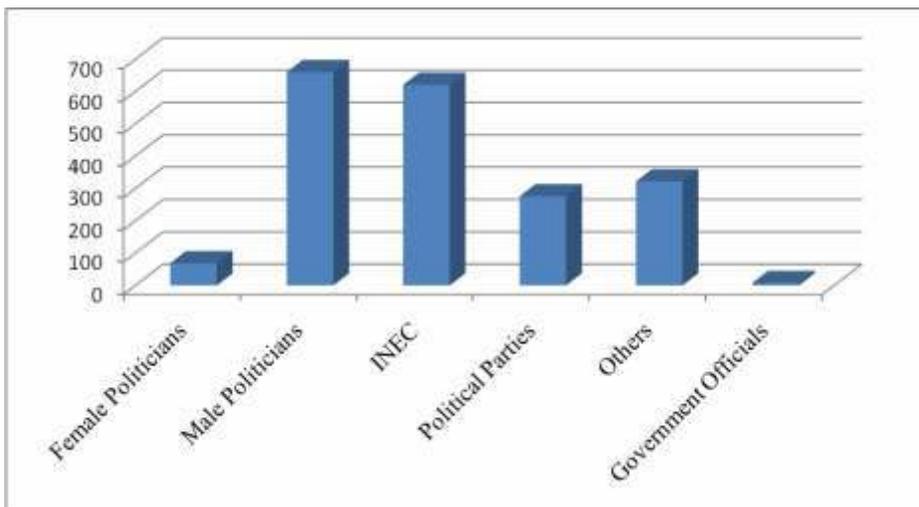
It is significant to note that four (4) stations had no relevant reports which had female politicians as subject whereas only NTA Gombe had no report with male politicians as subject.

INEC was the subject of the third highest number of election reports monitored out of the specific stakeholders, while non-specific stakeholders i.e. 'Others' formed the bulk of subjects. They were subjects of 322 relevant reports or 39.56% of all relevant items monitored.

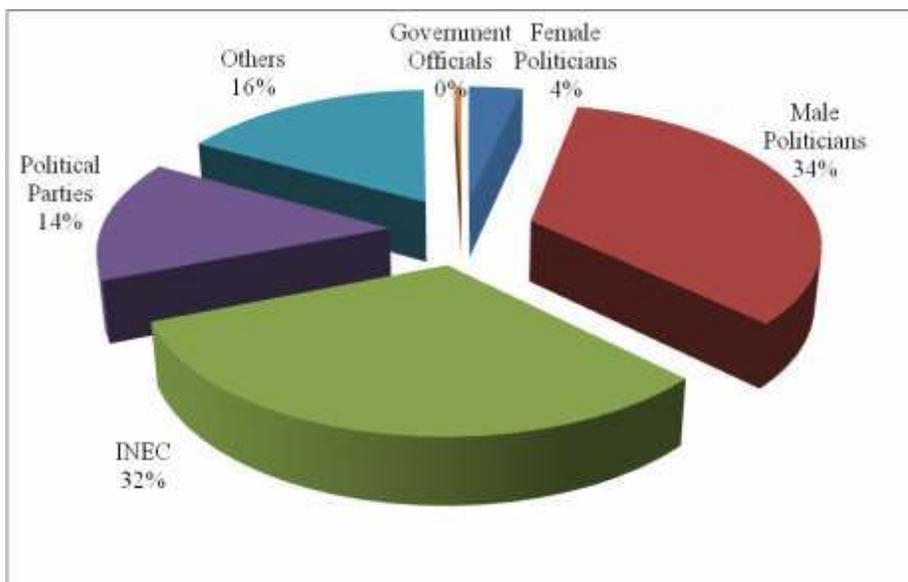
*The table below shows the frequency of use of different stakeholders as subject of identified aired items on television*

Ser. No.	Stakeholders	April	May	Total
1.	Female Politicians	26	43	<b>69</b>
2.	Male Politicians	521	139	<b>660</b>
3.	INEC	494	127	<b>621</b>
4.	Political Parties	93	183	<b>276</b>
5.	Others	-	322	<b>322</b>
6.	Government Officials	8	-	<b>8</b>

*The graph below shows the frequency of use of different stakeholders as subject of identified aired items on television*



*The chart below shows the percentage of use of different stakeholders as subject of identified aired items on television*



### **1. Time allocated to the genders**

The analysis of the data on the duration of the collated relevant TV programmes shows that the stations gave very low visibility to female politicians during the period under review.

In April, there were 26 reports on female politicians which are quite insignificant when compared with the 521 broadcasts on male politicians.

Just as male politicians enjoyed higher visibility in the sheer number of aired items on them so also were they allocated the bulk of the air time, significantly dwarfing that allocated to air monitored items on female politicians. Male politicians were allocated 31hrs.30mins.56secs while items on female politicians were aired in just 1hr. 50mins.7secs by all the nine TV stations monitored in April.

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

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

## **2. Gender objectivity of identified relevant broadcasts**

Forty-four (44) relevant stories were favourable to female politicians in April while four others were not with Channels TV broadcasting the highest number of 17. It was closely followed by NTA Channel 5 and LTV 8 each of which broadcast seven (7) items apiece, that were favourable to female politicians.

In May, five (5) stations aired no relevant items favourable to female politicians while the six (6) which aired reports favourable to female politicians, aired 20 reports in all.

There were no reports that were not favourable to female politicians in May.

## **3. Sources of identified relevant items**

Sources of relevant items aired by the television stations were monitored only in May. Among the specific stakeholders, government officials were the sources of the highest number of relevant reports numbering 121.

The government officials are closely followed by male politicians who were the sources of 105 stories which account for 12.9% of the total relevant stories. In sharp contrast female politicians were sources of 18 relevant items which is just 2.21% of the total relevant reports.

The courts and the civil society groups (CSG) were the sources of the same number of 81 reports. Political parties (PP) were the sources of 97 reports; INEC, 65; socio-cultural groups, 10 and ethnic militias (EM), just one report.

However, the unspecified 'Others' (OT) were the sources of the highest number of relevant reports. A total of 235 relevant items were sourced from the unspecified 'Others' and the figure represents 28.9% of all the relevant items identified as aired in May 2011 by the 11 TV stations.

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## Conclusion

In all aspect of media reporting of the elections, female politicians were seriously relegated to the background by the newspapers as well as the radio and television stations. The number of published relevant items or aired relevant items with female politicians as subject or sources was very low when compared with male politicians. The media also gave so little space and time (duration) to female politicians to the extent that in no month did the female politicians got as much as 10% of what was given to male politicians.

What this means is that the media did not see anything wrong with this and so did not make any efforts to correct the lopsidedness.

The marginalization of female politicians by the media contradicts the provisions of international, regional and national conventions, treaties, laws and policies on gender equality. Nigeria as a signatory to some of the conventions has even promised to domesticate and implement them.

The Beijing Womenconference of 1995, among other actions, recommended to governments in Section 192 (a) that they “commit themselves to establishing the goal of gender balance in governmental bodies and committees, as well as in public administrative entities, and in the judiciary, including, inter alia, setting specific targets and implementing measures to substantially increase the number of women with a view to achieving equal representation of women and men, if necessary through positive action, in all governmental and public administration positions;”

Part 2 (2) (e) of Nigeria's national gender policy states that: “The Government and People of Nigeria affirm that Commitment to gender mainstreaming as a development approach shall inform the economic reform agenda, medium and long term development planning, value re-orientation and social transformation and other development initiatives of government.”

The policy also recommends affirmative action of 35% slot for women in all public structures and especially in the political parties.

These cannot be realized without the combined effort of all concerned.

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## Recommendations

1. Media owners and editors should develop organizational policies which insist on gender-sensitive, gender-balanced reporting, including during elections.
2. Media regulatory agencies should emphasize and enforce sensitive reporting in media coverage of elections.
3. The Ministry of Women Affairs should:
  - a) Popularize the National Gender Policy and international instruments on gender by making them widely available and in easily understandable formats.
  - b) Engage the media through capacity-building activities on gender issues such as conferences, workshops, round-tables and public awards for distinguished performance.
4. Political parties should make special provisions within their campaign finance framework for activities which project their female candidates in elections.
5. Media professional groups, civil society organizations and development partners should:
  - a) Help build the communication capacity ((through long-term structured projects) of women politicians through training programmes such as workshops.
  - b) Strengthen the professional capacity of the media through training activities (roundtables, workshops, etc.) on gender-sensitive reporting.
  - c) Continue media monitoring activities in the various elections such as local government and governorship elections.

**cont. from the  
annexes**