

The Framing of 2019 Presidential Election: An Analysis of Three Nigerian Newspapers

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Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Communication and Media Studies

Eastern Mediterranean University
July 2019
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

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ABSTRACT

Media and politics are two important components of any democratic society. Elections are vital aspect of democracy through which citizen elect their representatives in government for a period of time as specified in the country's constitution. On the other end, media plays an importance role in the society and remains one of the major pillars that sustains democracy. Media therefore serves an important function as a source for political information for its citizens. During election, different media outlets frame the events in various ways. Previous studies indicated that framing of election depends on political and economic situation as well as the type of media practiced in the country. Therefore, it is common to see differences in the framing of election in different countries.

With little studies conducted on framing of election in developing countries, this study examines the newspaper coverage of the 2019 presidential election in Nigeria. By focusing on the two major candidates, Muhammadu Buhari of All Progressive Congress (APC) and Atiku Abubakar of People's Democratic Party (PDP). The study uses a quantitative content analysis to examine the dominant frame used to cover the election as well as the various timeline of the election period. Three Nigerian newspapers, *Punch*, *Vanguard* and *Daily Trust* were selected for the study based on their high circulations within the country. The study analyzes n=159 news stories published from February 1st through February 28th from three above mentioned newspapers.

The study found that issue frame is the most dominant frame used during the coverage of election in Nigeria. The study also found that majority of the promises during the

campaign were framed as viable and achievable during the term of election. Also, the study found that the election was framed as violent and marred by electoral malpractices.

Keywords: 2019 Nigerian election, media framing, election coverage in Nigeria, Political news in Nigeria.

ÖZ

Medya ve politika her demokratik toplumun iki önemli unsurudur. Seçimler her ülkenin anayasasında belirtildiği gibi hükümet için adaylarını belli bir süre için seçmesiyle işleyen demokrasinin yaşamsal parçasıdır. Diğer yandan medya demokrasinin devamı için önemli bir unsur olmaya devam etmekte, toplumda önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu bakımdan medya vatandaşlar için politik bilgilenme kaynağı olarak önemli bir işlev üstlenmiştir. Seçim dönemlerinde değişik medya içerikleri birçok biçimde olayları çerçelemektedir. Birçok çalışma seçimlerin medyada çerçevenmesinin ülkedeki ekonomik ve politik durum kadar medyanın türüne de bağlı olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu bakımdan seçimlerin çerçevenmesi birçok ülkede farklılık göstermesi yaygın bir durumdur.

Bu çalışma 2019 Nijerya genel seçimlerinin iki rakip adaya APC adayı Muhammadu ve PDP'ye Buhari ve PDP adayı Atiku Abubakar'ın seçim mesajlarına odaklanarak gazetelerdeki temsilini incelemektedir. Seçimler bir ülkenin anayasasında belirtildiği üzere yurttaşların belli bir süre için hükümetteki temsilcilerini seçtikleri demokrasilerin ana unsurlarıdır. Öte yandan medya demokrasinin bir unsur olarak her toplumda önemli rol oynar. Böylece medya vatandaşların politik olarak bilgilendirilmesinde önemli islevi yerine getirir. Bu çalışma çerçeveleme toerisi bakış açısından medyanın başkan adayları nasıl temsil ettiğini incelemektedir.

Çalışma seçim sürecinin değişik dönemlerinde kullanılan baskın çerçeveleri belirlemek üzere haber metinleri üzerinde niceliksel içerik analizi yöntemini kullanmıştır. Okunma oranlarına bağlı üç ulusal gazete, *Punch*, *Vanguard* and *Daily*

Trust 'ta yer alan haberleri incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmada bu üç gazeteden 1-28 Şubat 2019 tarihleri arasında bulunan 159 haber metni analiz edilmiştir.

Sorun çerçevesi bu çalışmada Nijerya başkanlık seçimlerinde kullanılan en güçlü çerçeve olarak bulunmuştur. Bu çalışma ayrıca adayların kampanya vaatlerinin çoğunlukla uygulanabilir ve erişilebilir olarak çerçeveselendirildiğini göstermiştir. Son olarak bu çalışma seçim sürecinin ihlaller, yanlışlar ve şiddet içerdiğini göstermiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: 2019 Nijerya seçimleri, medya çerçevelemesi, seçimlerin temsili, gazeteler.

DEDICATION

In memory of late Engr. Femi Ibitoye, continue to rest in power.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

My profound gratitude goes to my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hanife Aliefendioğlu for her sincere supervision and advice provided during my time as your student. I am proud to have a supervisor who cared deeply about my research, and find time to answer my questions promptly.

My heartfelt appreciation goes to my parents for providing necessary resources to achieve my life goals. To my siblings, I thank you for your steadfast love and support. Special appreciation to my friends and colleagues, who were supportive and loving during my course of study, I say a big thank you to you all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZ.....	v
DEDICATION	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xiv
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Motivation for the Study.....	3
1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Study.....	4
1.4 Research Questions	4
1.5 Significance of the Study.....	5
1.6 Limitations of the Study	5
2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	6
2.1 Framing Analysis and Election Coverage	6
2.2 Theoretical Framework.....	14
2.2.1 Framing Theory	14
2.2.2 Framing and Political Communication.....	17
2.2.3 Agenda Setting Theory	18
3 COUNTRY PROFILE	21
3.1 Profile of Nigeria.....	21
3.2 Politics in Nigeria.....	24

3.2.1 Democracy and Governance in Nigeria	25
3.2.2 First Republic	26
3.2.3 Second Republic	27
3.2.4 Third Republic	28
3.2.5 Fourth Republic	29
3.2.6 Presidential Elections in Nigeria	30
3.2.7 The Context of the 2019 Presidential Election.....	32
3.3 An Overview of Nigerian Newspapers.....	35
3.3.1 Daily Trust.....	36
3.3.2 Vanguard	37
3.3.3 Punch.....	37
4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	39
4.1 Research Method.....	39
4.2 Research Design.....	40
4.3 Population and Sample	41
4.4 Data Collection Instrument.....	42
4.5 Data Collection Procedure	42
4.6 Validity and Reliability of Research	43
5 ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS	45
5.1 Data Presentation and Analysis.....	45
5.2 Demography of News Stories, Timeline and Candidates.....	45
5.3 Dominant Frames	47
5.4 Media Framing of Campaign Promises and Candidates Antecedents	51
5.5 Media Framing of the Electoral Process.....	54
6 CONCLUSIONS	58

6.1 Summary of the Study	58
6.2 Conclusions Drawn from the Study	59
6.3 Dominant Frame of 2019 Election	60
6.4 Campaign Promises of Presidential Candidates.....	61
6.5 Newspaper Framing of the Two Major Candidates	62
6.6 Newspaper Framing of the Overall Conduct of the Electoral Process	63
6.7 Newspapers framing on the post-election events.....	63
REFERENCES	65
APPENDICES	83
Appendix A: Coding Sheet and Guide	84
Appendix B: Newspaper Articles Analyzed.....	89

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Frequency Distribution of News Stories Published in the Three Newspapers	53
Table 2: Frequency Distribution of News Stories Published Across Timeline	54
Table 3: Frequency Distribution of News Stories Candidates	54
Table 4: Media Frames used During the Coverage of the 2019 Presidential Election	56
Table 5: Crosstabulation for Distribution of Dominant Frame According to each Newspaper.....	57
Table 6: Crosstabulation for distribution of Timeline According to Dominant Frame	58
Table 7: Frequency Distribution of Media Framing of Candidates' Campaign Promises	59
Table 8: Crosstabulation Distribution of Candidates' Campaign Promises According to Candidate.....	60
Table 9: Frequency Distribution of Media Coverage of Candidates' Antecedent	61
Table 10: Frequency Distribution of Candidates' Antecedents According to Candidates	62
Table 11: Frequency Distribution of Media Coverage of the Electoral Process.....	63
Table 12: Frequency Distribution of Media Coverage of the Post-election Events...	65

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Nigeria showing 36 states and FCT.....	27
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD	All for Democracy
APC	All Progressive Congress
APP	All People's Party
FEDECO	Federal Electoral Commission
GNPP	Great Nigeria People's Party
INEC	Independent Electoral Commission
NDC	National Democratic Party
NPN	National Party of Nigeria
NPP	Nigeria People's Party
NPP	New Patriotic Party
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PRP	People's Redemption Party
SDP	Social Democratic Party
UPN	Unity Party of Nigeria

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the background to the study by elucidating the importance of the news media in a presidential election. The chapter further explains the significance, the purpose, the relevance, the research questions and also the intrinsic limitations of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states clearly the tenets and principles of modern democracy, which is accepted all over the world. The article states that “The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures”.

Election is a vital part of democracy through which citizen elect their representatives in government for a period of time as specified in the country’s constitution. Nigeria’s 2019 presidential election held on the 23rd of February after its initial postponement. Incumbent President, Muhammadu Buhari was declared winner of the election with about 15 million of the total votes cast while his major opposition candidate, Abubakar Atiku claimed about 11 million votes. In Nigeria, elections are held every four years and it is organized and conducted by an electoral Commission known as the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC). Nigerian elections have been blighted by

violence and electoral malpractices. This crisis is usually incited by ethnicity or religion. A study by Onifade (2015) found two levels of socio-economic/political dissent among the Nigerian citizens, this can be traced to the geographical set up of the country. Nigeria is one of the most populated country in the world and most populated in Africa with an estimated population of 198 million people (National population commission, 2019). The northern region of Nigeria is occupied by 19 states while the southern region has 16 states. The country is further sub-divided into 6 geopolitical zones for easy political mapping and power distribution, each region has three zones, southsouth, southeast, southwest, northcentral, northwest and northeast (Yahaya, 2018).

The period leading to an election serves as an avenue for citizens to know more about various candidates. The information gathered during this period can shape their choice of voting. It is impossible for every citizen to have a one on one talk with every candidate, so as to fully understand their political ideology and what they have to offer, citizens rely on the media to report information about each candidate contesting for a political position and an informed analysis of each candidate's background in relation to the election. Citizens rely on the media because it is the easiest avenue to obtain information, hence the media coverage of each candidate becomes paramount because it is a potent tool that can shape voter's choice. Due to the importance of a presidential election, it is therefore necessary for the media to present factual and verifiable information to the citizens.

News media coverage of elections usually portrays candidates and their ideology positively or negatively regardless of its effort to be neutral. Positive and negative portrayal is a recurring finding in political communication study; it is therefore an

important aspect of research on election coverage (Stempel & Windhauser, 1991). From previous studies regarding prominent media frame used in election coverage; there is a difference in positive and negative coverage (Diamond & D'Amato, 1996), the credibility of a candidate can be affected by the level of positivity or negativity from the media coverage of him or her (Norris, 1997). More often than not, media has a tendency of portraying candidate's words as more negative than they are while this cannot be generalized; there are situations where a particular candidate is continuously portrayed in a very negative light than the other candidates (Ukonu & Ajaero, 2017).

Nigeria's 2019 presidential election is remarkable not only that it gives a fascinating combination of candidates but also it provides an avenue to study ways media covered the election regarding common attributes of political news. Nigerian presidential election, which happens to be Africa's biggest economy, is very important together with its consequences. Hence, it is imperative that scholarly attention is given to how media covers the process, as information presented by media to the public contributes to voters' decisions. It is on this premise that this study stands to examine the coverage of the 2019 Nigeria Presidential election in relation to framing theory.

1.2 Motivation for the Study

A number of factors motivated this study. Firstly, this study is unique as the case study (Nigeria's 2019 presidential election) was a relatively fresh event as at when the study was carried out, since an election is an important aspect of democracy. Secondly, this study was carried out to increase the limited research on media coverage of elections in Nigeria. Thirdly, the study was done to explore and examine how three Nigerian print media house cover and report 2019 presidential election. Finally, the study was done to understanding use of frames by Nigerian print media.

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Research

The research aims to find out how three Nigerian newspapers, “Vanguard, “Punch” and “Daily Trust” covered 2019 presidential election in terms of the following specific objectives:

- To examine how selected newspapers framed the two major candidate.
- To examine how selected newspapers framed the candidate’s period as a public officeholder.
- To examine how selected newspapers framed electoral process on the 23rd of February.
- To examine how selected newspapers framed post-election events of the 2019 Presidential election.

1.4 Research Questions

Informed by literatures on political communication particularly media coverage of elections, this study aims at examining the features of media coverage of 2019 election by three Nigerian newspapers. Also, in line with the aforementioned objectives the study will provide answers to the following questions:

RQ 1. What are the dominant frames used by the newspapers in coverage of the 2019 election?

RQ 2. How did the selected newspapers frame the two major party’s presidential candidate's campaign promises in Nigeria's 2019 general election?

RQ 3. How did the newspapers frame the two major candidates based on antecedent in Nigerian politics?

RQ 4. How did the newspapers frame the overall conduct of the electoral process in Nigeria’s 2019 general election?

RQ 5. How did the newspapers frame post-election events in the 2019 election?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Election is a crucial moment in democratic setup of any country and media is a watchdog to the government hence it is imperative to study how media performs this role. One-way media perform their duties is by providing information about politics to citizens, one of which is coverage of elections. A lot of studies have been done on elections in different countries of the world (Carstea, 2012; Kasmani, 2013; Dimitrova & Stromback, 2011; Buller, 2012) on media coverage of elections. In Nigeria, only a handful of studies have been done on media coverage of election, hence it is imparative to conduct this research, so as to properly understand the impact of media in Nigeria’s electioneering process.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

This study is limited in scope to coverage of Nigeria’s 2019 presidential election conducted on Saturday 23rd day of February, 2019 in three Nigerian most read Newspapers “Vanguard” “Punch” and “Daily Trust”. This study is limited to news articles related to 2019 election published between 1st of February and 28th of February, 2019. Vanguard, Punch and Daily Trust were purposively chosen because they are considered among topmost newspapers in terms of website visit and readership based on 6th February, 2109 ¹Alexa ranking of newspapers in Nigeria.

¹Alexa is a company that a measure of website popularity using a proprietary methodology that combines a site’s estimated traffic and visitor engagement over the past three months. <https://www.alex.com/topsites/countries/NG>

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will review previous studies and literature in relation to media coverage of elections. The theoretical framework and related studies which sets the research in context are also examined.

2.2 Framing Analysis and Election Coverage

Development of democracy and democratization is of importance to the world. One basic tenets of democracy as explained in chapter is periodic election. In which citizens decide who will be their leader for a specific number of years. Citizen depends on the media to provide information about candidates during election. According to Strömbäck & Nord (2008) in discussing important role of media in the process of democracy, asserted that media coverage of election is important as it is necessary for an informed electorate as well as the development of democracy.

By adopting different approaches in reportage of election news, news media can employ various types of frames. However, four dominant frames are commonly used in media coverage of election, which includes issue frames, personality centered frames Strategic frames and episodic frames (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997). As Strömbäck & Nord (2008) argued, the extent to which these four frames are used differs across countries.

Researches in political communication such as (Chaffee, Zhao, & Leshner, 1994; Cook, 1998; Sullivan, Aldrich, Borgida, & Rahn, 1990) are concerned that media outlets or journalist often adding their own ideological opinion and biases rather than simply reporting only facts about candidate involved in the elections. The presence of personal interpretation is arguable; that it exists however does not mean a deliberate attempt to present citizens with biased news. Although, there are various common practices in coverage of elections, however due to some ideological/political worldview or editorial preference, no two media houses are expected to report news in exact similar way. There is numerous political communication research done regarding media coverage of election all over the world (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Bystrom, Robertson, & Banwart, 2001; D'Angelo, Calderone, & Territola, 2005). A common result in most research is horserace or game frame media coverage, where election is seen as a game and winner takes it all.

Hart (2013) studied the role of media in 2011 Thailand election between Democrat Party and Pheu Thai Party. The study found that newspaper focused more coverage of Pheu Thai Party. Further findings show that the tone of coverage was quite favorable to Pheu Thai party before election, this according to the study is due to elite class that makes up readers of the newspaper. The dominant frame found was episodic because news items are reported using the horse race frame. Similarly, Gan, Teo, & Detenber (2005) studied media coverage of the unprecedented 2000 US Presidential Election in foreign media. The study compared news framing in news articles published in Singapore's "The Straits Times" and France's "Le Monde", from 7th of October to 20th of December, 2000 about the election. This comparison was carried out to find ways framed election news is connected to journalistic ideology of objectivity, as well as ability of framing practices to change when a foreign force upsets news convention.

The study found that horse race frame dominated Straits Time while Le Monde used more of issue frame. Gan et al. (2005) opined that subjective newspapers favours interpretation of situations while pointing out issues in their coverage. They also suggested that this differences could be as a result of Le Monde being an subjective newspaper than the Straits Times. This suggestion correlates with Iyengar (1990) opinion that an objective newspaper journalist would tend to frame election stories around events rather than issues. This reflected in Straits Times minimal use of issue frame. However, with the unexpected occurrence of an election deadlock, the study found a major change in dominance frame used over time in both newspapers. The constitution crisis frame was more dominant and this was attributed to journalists' innate proclivity to accentuate antagonistic parts of an event. Most especially, failure of Americans to decisively elect her president and also the engagement of a supreme court in a democratic election (Gan et al, 2005).

Another common frame found in study of election coverage is personaity- centered framed. Here, media focuses more attention on personal attributes of candidates rather than their stance on issues or policies. This is very common in coverage of election involving a female candidate. A study by ag (2005) examined coverage of Belinda Stronach, a woman constesting for a political leadership post. The study revealed that Stronach's campaign got excessive media attention however, a larger part of attention analyzed her physical appearance, wardrobe, sexuality as well as her personal background while largely ridiculing her leadership ambition and her qualification for political office. The study also found that Stronach was covered within the game frame however she was reported less than her male counterparts, she was reported as a political alien (Trimble, 2005). While this reportage is fair because she lacked conventional political qualifications, coverage is more about her sex as much as a

political qualification. Finally, the study revealed that Stronach was sexualized, her business experience chattered and her political aspiration criticized. Trimble (2005) concluded that media framing of Conservative leadership race affirms prioritization of gender in political spaces and predisposition of the news media to normalize male leadership. Also, Aday & Devitt (2001) did a comparative study of the newspaper coverage of the campaign of Elizabeth Dole and that of former Texas Governor George W. Bush, Arizona Senator John McCain, and publisher Steve Forbes. The study examined five American newspaper and found that Dole received less media attention when compared to Bush, but she received more than McCain and also Forbes. The study also found that her position on issues received less coverage while the media was more focused on her personality and gender. Aday & Devitt (2001) concludes that differences in the media coverage were as a result of the news stories written by male journalist covering the 2000 presidential campaign.

Busher (2006) used four pre-determined frames to examine how New York Times newspaper framed Hillary Clinton's campaign for 2000 New York Senate election. The study found political activity as the dominant frame used. Busher's study also revealed the use of negative tone in respect to her political activities while it is either positive or neutral when using the traditional first lady frame. Furthermore, the tone of the framing was most negative in terms of political issues, campaign, and chances to win the race. Scharrer (2002) also studied media framing of Clinton's transition from first lady to Senate candidate. The study analyzed three hundred forty-two (342) newspaper stories in order to examine tone of the media coverage in response to Hilary Clinton's adoption of politically active roles. The study found the use of positive tone when she is framed in performing traditionally supportive role as a first-lady. When she plunders into independent political activities, Senate candidacy as an example, the

coverage appears to be negative. Scharrer (2002) opined that there are two possible reasons for this pattern of coverage. Firstly, the result of the study could show that Hilary is pinned to a smaller definition of gender roles and receiving unfavorable coverage because she doesn't align into these stereotypes. Secondly another explanation given by Scharrer (2002) is that coverage of Hilary choice to run for Senate is just another game of politics hence the reports are similar to the scrutinizing and negative point of view of media houses toward potential politicians.

Media coverage differs in each country; many scholars find it difficult to provide an answer for the differences in media coverage of election. However, political economic of media houses is seen as a strong indicator for this change (Cook, 1998; Abate, 2013; Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; D'Angelo, Calderone, & Territola, 2005). Strömbäck & Luengo (2008) conducted a study of election news coverage by Spanish and Swedish news media. The study provided a better understanding of election news coverage been shaped by national media systems and political systems. The study compared two country's media coverage in the following frames; game vs issues, thematic vs episodic, horse race and politicians as individuals. Strömbäck & Luengo (2008) found that there are various major differences in the manner in which the two newspaper framed the election in each country however, the study also found some similarities. These notable differences largely conform with the understanding that both countries have different media and democratic styles. Their study concluded that the political and economic situation of a country as well as the type of media will determine the kind of news coverage produced.

Santas (2017) also studied the tone and type of frames used in media coverage of Postponement of 2015 Nigerian Election. The study carried out a content analysis of

four Nigerian Newspapers, the study found that rescue frame is the dominant frame used by newspapers. This is followed by ethnic and economic frames, religious frames and hopelessness frame. The also study found that newspaper differ in their tone, some were negative while some were positive in the reportage of the election. The study concludes on the existence of political bias in Nigerian media coverage of political activities.

In Africa, media coverage of election focuses more on tone of the media, either positive or negative. For example, a study by Temin & Smith (2002) examined media coverage of year 2000 Ghanaian elections in which John Agyekum Kufuor of New Patriotic Party (NPP) defeated Jerry Rawling, candidate of incumbent party National Democratic Congress (NDC). The study found that the ruling NDC received majority of media attention. The study noted that 45 percent of all political story in government owned newspapers focused attention on NDC, which is the party in government. The study further indicated that the tone of state-owned newspaper was relatively balanced as both the incumbent and opposition parties got more positive or neutral reportage coupled with few negative media coverages.

Also, Santas (2017) investigated the manner in which newspapers in Nigeria covered postponement of Nigerian elections in 2015. The study found that the tone of coverage differs, some leaning towards negative issues while some newspapers were positive on the postponement of the election. According to Santas (2017) the difference in tone of reportage showed that Nigerian media still shows bias based on ethnicity, political and religious affiliation in the coverage of political events in Nigeria. The study examined dominant frames used in newspapers news stories during election period as well as the tone adopted by the newspaper in the coverage.

However, a study by Ukonu & Ajaero (2017) examined newspaper framing Nigeria's unprecedented 2015 presidential election in which the challenger, General Muhammadu Buhari defeated incumbent president Dr. Goodluck Jonathan. The study examined coverage of the election by four dominant Nigerian Newspapers to determine how news was constructed and framing patterns in the newspaper's reports using the continuous week formula. Findings from the study showed that history frame was dominant closely followed by frame of national security and corruption. The study also indicated that although the election was adequately covered by media, reports is focused more on candidates than issues and policies. Ukonu & Ajaero (2017) recommend that issues highlighted by contestants in their manifestos could be apportioned by media to broaden their discourse on issues affecting citizens rather than personality of candidates.

The review of related literature was useful in understanding directions taken and findings made by scholars in this field of study. However, media coverage of elections can be very complicated to understand, specifically, when there are difficult issues to follow up without adequate background knowledge. Hence, media tries to produce something for everyone (Kosicki & McLeod, 1990). This most times includes less focus on policy issues and campaign manifesto to non-issues such as candidate's personal life, image in public and various controversies that was raised during campaign period. This can be seen in a study by Carstea (2012) on Romania 2009 presidential election, news media provides a negative coverage of candidates by focusing mainly on their characters and conducts rather than their campaign manifesto and political ideology. This non issue topics are capable of reducing political credibility of a candidates as well as shaping choice of voters (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997). Valentino, Beckmann, & Buhr (2001) are of the opinion that focus on non issue

topics rather than issues centred on policy, has become a negative trend in current media coverage of elections.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

This section expatiates on the theoretical background to the study. It explains the concept of framing as media theory as well as the relationship between framing and political communication. It further describes the agenda setting theory and its interrelation with media framing.

2.3.1 Framing Theory

The basis for this study is framing, which is one of the most researched fields of study in sociology, political science and communication because framing can reveal the extent to which media affect people's comprehension of politics (Lecheler & De Vreese, 2012). Ervin Goffman is generally accepted as the founder of framing theory because his pioneering work on Frame analysis in 1974 is regarded as the background of framing theory (Botan & Hazleton, 2006). He explains the concept of framing to mean culturally driven definitions of reality which enables people to make sense of objects and events. (Goffman, 1974). Since the development of framing as a theory, it is one of the most used theories in communication and media analysis particularly in the coverage of political issues by the media (Shih, Wijaya, & Brossard, 2008). According to Shih, et al. (2008) framing theory has been used in various research studies such as technological hazard (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989), political communication (Carstea, 2012), controversial scientific issues (Nisbet, Brossard, & Kroepsch, 2003), Public health (Shih, Wijaya, & Brossard, 2008) and biotechnology (Nisbet & Huges, 2006).

One of the most cited scholars, who encapsulate framing as theory of the media is Robert Entman (1993). For him, framing as a case of selection and prominence, which

he explains as “to frame is to select some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text in a way that can promote a certain definition, interpretation, moral evaluation or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p.52). This explains how media creates meaning through communication by placing focus on specific issues and event within a specific space.

Regardless of the extensive use of the theory, scholars in the field of communication have not reached an agreement as regarding the definition of framing. Different scholars have defined framing in various ways. Entman (1993) was of the opinion that framing is the selection of aspect of an event or issues and giving it more importance in a communicative text. Similarly, Tankard (2003) defined framing as “a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration” (p.100). Although many scholars have described framing theory, it simply means the way in which media describe the news in their rhetoric and how the description influences public opinions and cognition (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997). Although frames can be defined in many ways, all definitions of media frames are centered on the concept of silencing of some observed reality. From the various definitions above, the selected event or issue is emphasized by focusing attention on it while excluding those which are perceived as not of major concern (Abate, 2013).

Framing specific issues of an event, enables media to give different interpretation to one issue and thus shape public understanding of certain reality. The significance of framing theory originates from its capacity to shape public through understanding actions and making a sense for them from specific perspective. It also allows scholars to measure and examine media content and its role in influence audience. Hence,

framing aims to shape the reality of the public. Generally, framing focuses on thematic as well as the stylistic arrangement of an issue or event reported in a news stories, which puts an importance on it.

Scheufele (1999) identified two types of framing; individual framing as well as the media framing because “Framing should be considered as a pattern for both presenting and understanding news” (p. 106). In better perspectives, media frame is a method through which media help audience to comprehend various news events. On the other hand, an individual frame is defined as the “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information” (Entman, 1993 p.53). Individual frame is a method that enables audience comprehend news events. In the current study, the media frames will be used and it refers to ways media frame election such as, game or horse race, personality-centered, issue centered etc.) using metaphors, catch phrases, and key words.

Strömbäck & Kaid (2008) opines that the type of media, political system as well as economic statues of the country influences the use of different types of stories. Hence, the prevailing economic situations of a country affect it media coverage. So far in study of framing of media coverage of election, there is no specific and defined set of categorizations for framing. However, numerous frames have been highlighted as important in coverage of elections by media (Jamieson and Cappella, 1993; Patterson, 1993). Some of which include conflict frame, personality centered frame, issue frame and game frame. Conflict frame emphasizes disagreement between candidates or political actors to draw attention of electorate (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). This news commonly mirrors disagreement between political actors by focusing on their differing positions on issues and events. Such news often portrays involved political

actors as individuals rather than formal institutions they stand for (Price et al., 1997). Personality centered frame often portrays images, characteristics, personality and reputation of candidates. This frame focus on characteristics of major political actor such as, candidates. The issue/policy frame focuses on candidate's position on issues/policy. It also presents information about consequences of such policies (Rhee, 1997). Game frame, which can also be called strategic frame or horse race frame and it is one of the often-used frames in election coverage (Stempel & Windhauser, 1991). Game frame portrays election as a competition; hence, it makes use of language of competition or a game. In the game frame, coverage of election centers on candidates' strategy to win election (Patterson, 1994). Therefore, it focuses on win/lose parts of election and sometimes politician's selfish interests (Abate, 2013).

2.3.2 Framing and Political Communication

The term framing/frames has become a highly used concept in communication studies, most importantly by scholars examining the influence of political communication. Frames are components of our culture; they influence journalist news selection and they show in media texts as well as their communication with the public. Frames can be seen in discourse of political actors. Matthes (2011) identified four principles of the framing. Firstly, there is a constant clash of frames among political actors. Secondly, political actors does not just utilize frames of political actors rather they choose certain frames ahead of others or remodel available frames or sometimes they can introduce their own frames. Thridly, the process of framing is dynamic and historical as it develops over time Entman (2004). Lastly, frames are not just some singular compelling information, rather they apply their persuasive authority by regularly using same form of meaning thereby helping their audience to understand and have a cognitive understanding for prospect application (Entman, Matthes, & Pellicano 2009).

Studies in political framing has shown media has a immense influence on framing of candidate (Patterson, 1994). Lemert (1993) opined that political understanding of potential voters and public is directly influenced by media. This implies that candidates framing by media can be important to voter's comprehension of presidential election. Entman (1993) asserted that frames are frequently self-reinforcing hence, media representation of candidate can influence voters' choice.

A sizable number of study has been carried out on use of frames in political communication however, (D'Angelo et. al. 2005; Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Entman R. , 1993) opined that there is a cogent area to study approaches in which media use these frames in it reportage of elections. This study investigates media frames used in 2019 Nigerian presidential election.

2.3.3 Agenda Setting Theory

In communication, the concept of framing is a paramount development. (McCombs, 2014) opines that framing is an extension of agenda setting while other scholars such as Dearing & Rogers, 1996; Kalvas, Štípková, Kreidl, & Vane, 2012 described it as a second level agenda setting. Agenda setting deals with the idea of a relationship between level of importance media place on an issue and level of importance audience attach to such issue (Mccombs & Shaw, 1972). The way media portrays an issue to the public shows the importance of that issue. Agenda setting portrays the power of media, which Cohen (1963) explains as “The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.” (p.13). Agenda setting theory explains a way in which the public prioritize an issue because of its emphasis by media. Issue in this context means “a conflict between two or more identifiable groups over procedural or substantive

matters relating to the distribution of positions or resources” (Cobb & Elder, 1983 p. 32).

Kalvas, Štípková, Kreidl, & Vane (2012) claimed that issues are conflict, which is identified on three levels: 1) the existence of the issue, 2) should the issue be solved and 3) how the issue is to be solved. However not all conflict can be an issue but for a conflict to turn into an issue, it must be recognized as one and there has to be a condition for its solution (Dearing & Rogers, 1996). When an array of issues are programmed in order based importance it is known as an agenda, hence an agenda can change with time. McCombs & Shaw (1972) while investigating agenda setting function of media concluded that media exercise an influence on what voters think is a major issue of the campaign. There are two basic assumption of agenda setting theory: (1) media filter and shape reality, it does not mirror the reality. (2) the priority placed on few issues by media, makes audience see those issues more imperative than others. Agenda setting theory is helps us in understanding the significant role of media in society such in political communication.

Dearing & Rogers (1996) highlighted three parts of agenda setting. Which includes media agenda, public agenda, and policy agenda. These three components are different from each other from the context of the research conducted and involves different dependent variables. In public agenda, the agenda depends on variable while media agenda remains the dependent variable, also in policy agenda, policy maker’s agenda is the dependent variable. This study focuses on the media agenda.

McCombs expanded agenda setting theory by displaying the parallels to framing, he called this new theory second level agenda setting (Baran & Davis, 2012). The concept

of framing is closely related to agenda setting since both concepts focus on how media draws attention of audience to specific topics, thereby, setting agenda. However, Framing takes this a step further in the way in which the news is presented creates a frame for that information. McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver (1997) were of the opinion that there are two levels to agenda setting: object level and attribute level. Traditional agenda setting has aimed at the object level and has considered how media coverage of could affect importance attached to objects such events (e.g. elections), candidates and issues. Through this process, media has succesful told us what to think about as Cohen (1963) pointed out. However for media to affect second order, it can successfully tell us how to think regarding an issue, candidate or events. In addition, second level agenda setting differs from traditional agenda setting by aiming at salient issues and public's agenda is considered as one of the necessary variable. The earlier agenda-setting research as well as recent framing studies focus on the correlation between issues in the news and how the public perceives them (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Nonetheless, the study of frames goes beyond agenda-setting study into 'what people talk or think about by examining how they think and talk' about issues in the news (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p.70), since the effect of news frames on reader is to make some ideas available through an inquisitive process (McLeod & Detenber, 1999).

Although there are different opinion to how framing should be incomporated into agenda setting at a second level, McCombs et al (1997) sees framing as an aspect of agenda setting which works at a second level. However Scheufele (1999) argued that framing and agenda setting contains distictive frameworks and works through different cognitive method. Furthermore, it relates to diffferent results in which agenda setting is understanding of importance of issues while framing is the interpretation of news

issue. Media Framing and agenda setting provides an understanding into ways in which media influence their audience. While agenda setting deals with salience of issues, framing is more concerned about how these issues are presented. The main purpose of this study is to examine media coverage of the 2019 election and these theories play an important role within the context of this research.

Chapter 3

COUNTRY PROFILE

3.1 The profile of Nigeria

Nigeria, officially Federal Republic of Nigeria is located in the south east of west Africa sharing borders with the Gulf of Guinea, between Benin and Cameroon with an area of 923,768 km². It is the most populated country in Africa and 7th in the world with a population of about One hundred and Ninety-eight million (198,000,000) people (National population commission, 2019). Nigeria attained political independence on October 1st 1960 from the United Kingdom, and it runs a presidential system of government modeled after that of the United States of America. Nigeria operates on three different types of laws: a common law which is an offshoot from their former British colonization, a customary law which was derived from indigenous cultures and traditions, and a Sharia law which is an Islamic law practiced in predominant Northern Muslim part of the country (Nigeria, 2014).

There are about two hundred and fifty ethnic groups in Nigeria, however, economic factors accounts for a significant movement of Nigerians from different ethnic and religious backgrounds to settle in places with Nigeria that are out of their ethnic or religious zone, resulting in communal living of different ethnic and religious groups, specifically in urban cities (nigeria.gov.ng, 2016). Due to diverse language differences in the country, English is the official language while the language of the three major ethnic groups, Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo are also used in government. The country is

sub-divided into 36 states with Abuja as its administrative capital, for easy administrative control and power sharing, the states are further divided into 774 local governments. The northern part of Nigeria has 13 states and majority of the people are Muslims while the southerners are vastly Christians comprising of the Yoruba in the south west and the Igbo in the south east (nigeria.gov.ng, 2016).

With one of the biggest democracies in the world and a presidential system of government, Nigeria has a dual economy (nigeria.gov.ng, 2016), the country is rich in human and natural resources such as natural with crude oil as the mainstay of the economy. Despite this strong basis, the oil-rich country has been hampered by partial governmental policies, deficient power supply, pervasive corruption, lack of proper infrastructure, a slow and not effective judicial system, inadequate dispute resolution structure, insecurity, and underdevelopment, where ethnicity has diffused into every aspect of the Nigerian life, and it is more important to the sharing formula of the country's commonwealth.

Nigeria is a country with ethnic and religious divisions, clashes between the Northern and the Southern (ethnic groups) as well as the different religious groups often coincide and in recent times ended in factional violence (Campbell, 2010). Since the start of the 4th republic 20 years ago which ended military rule, Nigeria's elites have prevented national presidential elections from creating factional divisions along ethnic and religious lines by pre-deciding presidential and vice-presidential winners through a process of political horse trading, known as zoning. The religious and ethnic interest outweighs credibility in the politics of Nigeria and this has been a major cause of political alignment in the country.

The country's population is envisaged to skyrocket 392 million by 2050, thus becoming the fourth most populated country in the world (TheCable, 2017). Nigeria's current population increase rate will continue for the proposed future due to its population propulsion and the country's high birth rate. However, the government has recorded zero success in implementing family planning programs to reduce child birth due to a lack of political will as well as the availability of health services and the cultural choice for a large family. Nigeria must utilize the potentials of its teeming population of it youth so as to increase development in economy, reduce poverty rate as well as reduction of religious and ethnic violence.

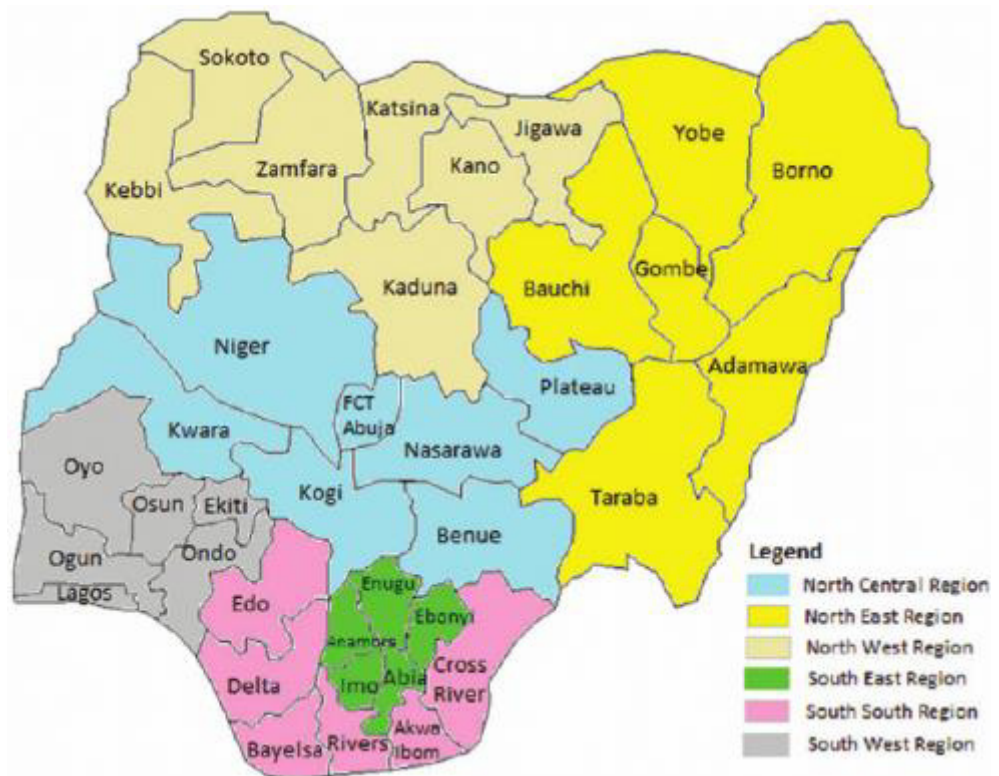


Figure 1: Map of Nigeria showing 36 states and FCT (Google, 2019)

3.2 Politics in Nigeria

Politics is an integral aspect of every society(Giroux, 2004) and it has a distinctive mode of operation in Nigeria. Politics in Nigeria is typified by ethnicity and religion crisis. This is as a result of the British amalgamation of different groups to form a country. As Mayowa, 2014 traced the history of pre-colonial Nigeria, it observed that the British forced the amalgamation of the southern and Northern protectorate for economic reasons to form one entity known as Nigeria. The difference in the regions was obvious during the quest for independence, as the northern leaders kicked against the motion for self-government by Anthony Enahoro, a southern leader in 1953. However, a consensus was later reached for self-government in 1959 and independence in 1960. Nigeria at independent adopted the British parliamentary system of government.

It is on this note that the idea of democracy is appreciated; regrettably, Nigerian politicians have compromised this essence of governance by their inability to delay impulsive indulgence such as personal quest for power and wealth. Although it is called democracy, patronage remains vital in Nigeria's politics. Patronage in politics involves some kind of social relations in a classed socio-political system, here the ruling class exchange valuable resources with the ruled (Lemarchand, 1981). Only politicians and political parties that 'deliver the of offices, projects, gift etc. in exchange for the loyalty of the ruled enjoy governance. Since the ruled (electorates) determines who gets to power, it is important for anyone seeking power to gained their loyalty. This is why Joseph (1991) asserts that only politicians and political parties that 'deliver the goods' survive Nigeria's political terrain (p.116).

Numerous literatures have analyzed the pro and cons of patronage politics. Lazar (2004) in his study of politics in Bolivia, views patronage politics as a social system, that strengthens citizenship apprehension of the majority of the underprivileged so as not to alienated from the process of politics. In same vein, Philip (2001) is of the opinion that patronage is a kind of mechanism use for accountability in a society where it is seen a norm or culture. While Marty (2002) opines that patronage politics impedes the basic tenants of democracy and protects the personalisation of power by autocratic leaders from checks and balances in government. Also Randall & Svasand (2002) sees it as a hindarnce to strenghtning of the principles democracy in Africa.

Regardless of the diverse opinons of scholars highlighted, it is imparative to notice that patronage politics is not a stranger to Nigerian social and political arrangement and it has been in existence as far back as the pre colonial period. For example in the old Empire, the patronage politics is built upon the “babaogun” (Father of war) exchange relationship, where valuable resources are exchanged between leaders and the people for loyalty (Watson, 2005).

3.2.1 Democracy and Governance in Nigeria

The practice of the basic tenets of democracy in Nigeria existed before colonization. A study by Mayowa (2014) showed that pre-colonial Nigeria composed of different societies with an organised stucture of government. Some of the society had a centrally organised struture of the state, others were stateless societies i.e. there were different groups within the system that oversees the affairs of the society. However, in both cases , the democratic system was consensus oriented. Igbo, Idoma and the Tiv are examples of societies without a centralized system while the Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani had a centralized system. In 1914, the different societies under two British proctectorate were amalgamated to form the entity now known as Nigeria (Adeyemi,

2018). This centrally organized society leaders were used by the British during the colonial era to promote their indirect rule system of government.

Following the country's independence in 1960, the exercise of democracy in Nigeria was unstable by the constant military interventions. Onifade (2015) opines that while the military can be blame for constantly disrupting democracy , the corrupt practices of the politians in public offices has been enormous. The subsquent military coups and the return to democracy as lead to what is known as republics in Nigeria. Between 1960 and 1999, Nigeria has experieced four republics.

3.2.2 First Republic

The period between the independence day, 1st october, 1960 and 15th of January, 1966, is commonly known as the first republic. Nigeria at independent adopted the parliamentary system of government tailored after the British system with the Queen of England as her Head of state represented by Nnamdi Azikiwe. In 1963, the country became a republic with a new constitution and Nnamdi Azikiwe become the ceremonial Head of state and Tafawa Balewa was elected the prime minister of the country. The first republic witnessed political crisis such as the census crisis of 1962/63, 1964 election, the western regional crisis and mismanagement of public funds by politicians.

Politicians and government officials misappropriated public fund and displayed their ill-gotten wealth for ordinary citizens to see without remorse. The Politics of the first republic was about personal gain and getting rich. High level of corruption, regional politics as well as total collapse of the political system which ended in disruption of law and order, accounted for military intervention and the subsequent fall of the first republic.

The first military coup d'état of January 15th, 1966 was generally considered to a tribal coup against the northerners (predominantly Hausa) by the Easterners (Igbo) (Gberevbie & Oni , 2014). No eastern was killed in the coup whereas Northern and western leaders were killed. This caused enmity between the regions military personal and a counter coup was staged by young northern colonels on July 15th, 1966 resulting in the killing of Military head of state and top military personnel from the eastern and western region (Onifade, 2015). This altercation from the second military coup led to the Nigeria civil war between July 6, 1967 and January 15, 1970 with General Philip Effiong of Biafra surrendering to the Nigerian troops led by General Olusegun Obasanjo, who eventually became two-time president of the country (Atofarati , 1992). Following the end of civil war, two coups were staged to topple the head of states. The military government returned power to a democratic government in 1979 that ushered in the second republic.

3.2.3 Second Republic

The federal military government in 1979 surrendered power to a popularly elected government following the 1979 election putting an end over a decade of military rule. With the start of the second republic, the country adopted a new constitution which introduced a new system of government, the presidential system tailored after the American system thereby abandoning the parliamentary system it adopted from the British. As at the time of its adoption, it was seen as a constitution for the people.

The military government headed by General Olusegun Obasanjo conducted the 1979 election with strict conditions to be met by political parties so that the politics does not become an ethnic competition (Beckett, 1987). However, the major contenders were from the three major ethnic groups of the country and votes were won along ethnic lines. Shehu Shagari, a northerner emerged as president and Alex Ekwueme, an easterner as

vice president (Ijere, 2015). The 1979 election was believed to be without widespread violence because of use of the military and the enthusiasm of a new elected government. However, after the first tenure of the newly formed democratic government, the 1983 election was marred with political contrivance by politician to influence the results of the election (Ashindorbe, 2018).

The ruling party (NPN) was accused of using the power of incumbency to manipulate the outcome of the election by the opposition parties. There was widespread violence, death and lose of properties worth Millions of dollars. Troubles associated with the election made the military once again take over government in a bloodless coup. The coup of December 31, 1983 ousted the government of Shehu Shagari and brought in Major General Muhammadu Buhari as Military Head of State. Hence bringing to an end the much anticipated second republic.

3.2.4 Third Republic

The Military government of Major general Buhari was ousted through a palace coup and a new regime came into power in 1985 with Major general Babangida as Head of state. The New regime promised to restore social order as well return the country back to democratic rule. A process to usher in a new republic started with the initiation of a political commission in 1986 saddled with the responsibility to gather the opinions of Nigerians on a future political arrangement (Shettima, 1995). The military government conducted an election on June 12, 1992. The election was believed to be won by MKO Abiola, a southern Yoruba businessman. However, the military president, Major general Babangida cancelled the election which was believed to be a free and impartial election in the history of Nigeria (Onifade, 2015). The annulment of the election sparked tension and violence around the country leading to death and lose of property. The military government formed an interim government and rescinded to another

Yoruba business man, Ernest Shonekan who became the head of the interim government. The interim government was to be in power till a new election was conducted. After three months, General Sani Abacha ousted the interim government and ended a political period known in Nigeria as the third republic.

3.2.5 Fourth Republic

Nigeria is currently in her fourth republic which commenced in 1999, it is the longest uninterrupted republic enjoyed by the country. After ousting the interim government in 1993, General Sani Abacha ruled for five years and died on the in June 1998. General Abdulsalam Abubakar took over as the head of state following Death of Abacha and immediately started plans to return to democracy. Political activities resumed with the formation of three political parties, Alliance for democracy AD, APP and PDP. The April 1999 presidential election was won by General Olusegun Obasanjo and he was sworn in as president on May 29, 1999 with the adoption of fourth republican constitution. He led the country for 8 years of two tenures and handed over power to Umar Musa Yar'adua on May 29, 2007. President Musa Yar'adua died in office on 2010 hence his deputy Goodluck Jonathan, as recommended by the law took over the mantle of leadership. After completing the tenure of Yar'adua, Jonathan ran for the post of president on the platform of PDP and won. The cases of political manipulation to influence the outcome of the election were reported. Jonathan's First tenure was marred with high rate of corruption by government officials and politician coupled with the high level of insecurity majorly, the issue of Boko Haram. In 2015, Goodluck Jonathan lost his re-election bid to his major challenger General Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressive congress (APC). Buhari was sworn in May 29, 2015, he also won his re-election bid at the recent 2019 election, defeating his Major opponent, Abubakar Atiku by over two million votes.

As with previous democratic elected government, the governments of the fourth republic has been marred by corruption and misappropriation of public funds for person gains. It is on this premise that the APC and its candidate Buhari campaigned to change and fight corruption aggressively.

3.2.6 Presidential Elections in Nigeria

At independent, the country adopted a parliamentary system of government after the British system. A parliamentary election was held in 1959 with 26 political parties contesting for sits in the house of representatives. However, a tri regional party system representing the three major tribe were becoming dominant (Ogbeidi, 2010). The election produced Tafawa Balewa as the prime Minister while Nnamdi Azikiwe selected as ceremonial president of the country. The 1964 and 1965 elections were also a parliamentary election marred by accusations of rigging and abuse of electoral process. This led to crisis in some regions of the country and the eventual ousting of the government by the military in 1966 which brought the first republic to an end.

A Federal Election Commission (FEDECO) was created to conduct the first presidential election was held in 1979, when the military government led by General Olusegun Obasanjo returned the country back to civilian rule after more than a decade of dictatorship. A new presidential constitution was adopted and for the first time the president is the head of state and government. The constitution made provisions for the creation of Federal Electoral commission elections for the country (Ogbeidi, 2010). FEDECO successfully registered five political parties, which included People's Redemption Party (PRP), National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Nigeria Peoples Party (NPP), Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP) and Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) (Oduote, 2014). Shehu Shagari of NPN won the election and was thereafter sworn in as the president of Nigeria. Obafemi Awolowo of UPN challenged in supreme court

as it alleged that NPN candidate did not get the required percentage of vote as stipulated by the constitution (Oduote, 2014). The military government regardless handed over power to Shehu Shagari. The 1983 elections alleged to have been rigged massively by the incumbent government of NPN, overall the election was blighted by corruption, political violence and electoral irregularities.

The subsequent violence that emerged from the electoral irregularities led to a military intervention on 31st December, 1983 and brought a sharp end to the second republic. The 1993 election is very famous for its annulment by the then military head of state, General Babangida. The election was believed to have been won by MKO Abiola, the candidate of the Social Democratic party (SDP). The annulment led to widespread protest and violence in the western region of the country.

The country current democratic dispensation was ushered in with an election in 1999. The election was contested between General Olusegun Obasanjo of PDP and Olu Falae, a consensus candidate of AD and APP. General Obasanjo won the election with fine margins. Four years later, General Obasanjo re-contested for the position of president along nineteen other candidates and came out victorious for a second tenure of four years. The 2007 election was significant because for the first time since independence political leadership successfully moved from one person to another democratically. The election was between Umar Musa Yar'adua of PDP and twenty-four other candidates including Muhammadu Buhari and Atiku Abubakar, the two major candidates of the 2019 election. Musa Yar'adua was the declared the winner of the election that was marred with rampant rigging and vote buying. Musa Yar'adua died in office, paving way for his deputy, Goodluck Jonathan to take over power till the end of the tenure. Jonathan contested the 2011 presidential election alongside 19

other candidate including Muhammadu Buhari again. The election was indicated to be as among the fairest in the history of Nigeria however, Nigeria also experienced one of the worst post-election violence since independent (Odusote, 2014).

The 2015 Presidential serves as a landmark election because it was the first time an incumbent president was defeated in an election in Nigeria. The election was keenly contested between sitting president Goodluck Jonathan of PDP and Muhammadu Buhari of APC, who was a presidential candidate for a record fourth time. Buhari won with 15 million votes while Jonathan got 12 million votes (Pulse.ng, 2015)

3.2.7 The context of the 2019 Nigerian Presidential Election

On the 23rd of February, 2019 Nigerians went to poll to determine who will be their next president. The election was originally scheduled for the 16th of February, 2019 but was postponed few hours before the commencement of the election. The Independent electoral commission (INEC) chairman, Professor Mahmood Yakubu cited logistics issues as the reason for the postponement (Akinkuotu, 2019). Prior to election day, the commission released a statement indicating that thousands of Voters' Cards and other election materials were among the things destroyed by the fire that affected two of the commissions' offices (Jannah, 2019).

The 2019 election was keenly contested between two major candidates, however 73 political parties presented candidates for election (INEC, 2019). The two major candidates were the incumbent president Buhari of the APC and two-time vice president of the country, Atiku Abubakar of PDP. The two candidates hail from the northern part of the country and they are also Muslims which is one of the uniqueness of the election. The major discourse surrounding the candidate is the issue of corruption and integrity, Atiku has been alleged with cases of corrupt practices during

his tenure as the vice president of the country between 1999 and 2007 while Buhari is generally perceived as a man of integrity (Kirby, 2019). Atiku's campaign slogan was "Get Nigeria working again" which sums up his action plan to move the country forward from its current state. Buhari moving away from the change mantra of 2015 to "Next level" meaning if given another chance, he will take the country to a new level of development. Another uniqueness of the election is the large number of political parties vying for the position of the president, 73 political parties presented a candidate for the election (INEC, 2019). Another interesting fact about the election is that young Nigerians also contested in the election, Notable ones include Omoyele Sowere, Founder of Sahara reporters, an online media outlet. Fela Durotoye , A renown motivational speaker and Kingsley Moghalu, the former deputy governor of the central bank of Nigeria. This is coming after the campaign tagged "Not too young to rule" which demands for the reduction of age to allow youth participation in politics. On the 31st of May, 2018, President Buhari assented the "not too young to rule bill" into law which reduces the minimum age to participate in politics. (Tukur, 2018). The bill also approved independent candidate to contest in elections, however, the financial implication of participating in Nigeria politics is very high and available only to a majority of the older generation. Therefore, the election was mainly between Buhari and Atiku, age 76 and 72 respectively.

Once again, as it were in 2015, President Buhari of APC won the election claiming 15 million votes (56%) while his major contender Atiku claimed 11 million votes (41%) with majority of their votes coming from the Northern part of the country. Buhari won in nineteen states including Lagos and kano (Nigeria's most populous states) while Atiku won in seventeen states of the federation. Atiku Abubakar in a press statement rejected the election result cited high militarization of the electoral process as well as

electoral irregularities by INEC officials, therefore he will head to the court of law to challenge the legitimacy of the result.

According to multiple reports, the just concluded 2019 general elections was disrupted by violence in the north-east and south as well as cases of technology failures and electoral malpractices (Maclean, Egbejule , & Alfa , 2019). A statement released by INEC indicated that officials of the commission were inflicted with threats, physical and sexual harassment, physical assault and kidnapping during the election (CNN, 2019). The commission also condemned the high level of violence in some places however, it concluded that the election was generally peaceful.

3.3 An overview of Nigeria Newspapers

The history of Nigerian media is older than the Nigerian nation, its history predates the official merger of any part of the country by the British (Agbaje, 1992). The history of Nigeria media is centered on the British missionary activities. The British missionaries contributed greatly to the growth of the Nigeria press. Eight years after the installation of a printing press by the Presbyterian mission in 1946, Rev. Henry Townsend published the first newspaper known as “Iwe Irohin fun awon Egba ati Yoruba” (Newspapers for the people of Egba and the Yoruba) (Onuoha & Onwubere, 2012). The objective for publishing the newspaper was to make the people literate however, the prime motives of the newspaper were to combine social, cultural and political news along with missionary stories, which was published in Yoruba (Oso, Odunlami, & Adaja, 2011). As Omu (1978) was of the opinion that the newspaper later became Townsend’s major instrument for his political propaganda and astute manipulation for power in Egbaland. This political ambition led to the collapse of the newspaper in 1867 after Townsend’s ambitions clashed with the British colonialist (Oso, Odunlami, & Adaja, 2011). This shows that the press has been used for nationalist and political propaganda in Nigeria.

The early press in Nigeria was used by Nationalist for protest and as oppositional press against the colonialist. The press was used to express their anti-colonialist position and also used to mobilize the people against the colonial government (Oso, Odunlami, & Adaja, 2011). Hence, the press has remained a crucial member of the political class of Nigeria, drawing its strength from the division of the ruling class as well as the popularity of the Nigerian society (Agbaje, 1992). The expectation of the independence created a new aspect to the orientation of the Nigerian press by

becoming the agent major public along ethnic lines. This is why Omu (1978) said “the newspaper press provided a remarkable example of overzealous and irresponsible partisanship and recklessness (p. 248).

Before the collapse of the first newspaper in Nigeria, Robert Campbell established a weekly publication called Anglo African in Lagos in 1863. The newspaper lasted for two years and Robert was motivated by the politics happening in Lagos as at that time (Oso, Odunlami, & Adaja, 2011). Between 1867 and 1880 after the collapse of Iwe Iroyin, there was a pause in newspaper publishing because of low political activities during that period, this period was known as the blank period. The lack of satisfaction from the local citizens against the colonial government led to the creation of various newspapers after the blank period. Some of the newspapers included Lagos observers (1882), The Mirror (1887), Lagos Echo (1890), The chronicles (1908) and Nigerian Daily Times (1926) among others (Oso, Odunlami, & Adaja, 2011). The Major objective of the newspapers was the freedom of the colonies and its subsequent independence. However, Nigerian Newspapers were developed along ethnic and political party affiliations. With the prospect of independence in Nigeria, the division between the elites were obvious in the content of newspapers. This division existed into independence and it led to the fall of the first republic when the Military took over government.

The development of newspapers in Nigeria changed after the first military coup. Newspapers were established to serve as a watch dog and expose the bad dealings of the military and subsequent civilian government. with this, the people read the newspaper to get information and stay update with the happenings within the country. A study by Layefa, Johnson, & Taiwo (2016) indicated that majority of Nigerians read

newspaper for education and information purposes. Another study by Ogbemi (2007) found that majority of Nigerians prefer to read National newspapers rather than regional newspapers because a national newspaper contains better contents and it is balanced in reporting news. Below is some background information on the selected newspapers.

3.3.1 History of Daily Trust Newspaper

Media Trust, the producing company of Daily Trust, is a privately-owned newspaper company published in Abuja. It publishes the Daily Trust, Weekly Trust, the Sunday Trust and the Hausa-language Aminiya newspapers. This is one of the largest circulating newspaper firm in Nigeria. The weekly Trust which was their first title started in Kaduna on March 20th, 1998 before the Daily Trust was launched in January 2001 and it was the first daily newspaper published in Abuja. The newspaper has online editions and content from the newspapers is republished by All Africa and Gamji, which is well organized, simple, content rich as easy to navigate.

3.3.2 History of Vanguard Newspaper

Vanguard is a daily newspaper published by Vanguard Media in Lagos. Established in 1984 by Nigerian renowned veteran journalist, Sam Amuka-Pemu. The newspaper started with as a weekly newspaper on Sunday June 3rd, 1984 with a motto: Towards a better life for the people. It became a daily newspaper on July 15, 1984. It aims to serve the people with obedience to the rule of law and police the government for good governance.

The paper also has an online edition and it is one of the few newspapers in Nigeria that is free from political control. Currently, the publishes the Daily Vanguard, Saturday Vanguard and Sunday Vanguard. Vanguard is one of the leading Newspapers in Nigeria today which has developed a culture of entertaining, refreshing as well as a

reader friendly newspaper in the country. It offers a daily newspaper in print and on the internet and one of the most popular websites in Nigeria.

3.3.3 History of Punch Newspaper

The Punch was established by James Aboderin, and Sam Amuka, The started production with a Sunday publication on 17th March, 1973. The newspaper was published Punch Nigeria Limited. The started with the aim of to defend press freedom, the freedom of the people and also to function as the watch dog for the Nigerian people.

The Sunday Punch gained popularity within two years; hence, it started the daily edition on 1st of November 1976. The two newspapers, Punch (daily) and Sunday Punch radical criticized the Nigerian governments. The paper adopted a radical political stance and covered almost every issue affecting the society. Today, Punch Newspaper is one of the largest Nigeria daily newspaper as it covers the whole country. It covers a wide range of national and international news. The punch now has Sunday issues and Sunday Punch online all produced in English language.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study examined how three Nigerian newspapers, “Daily Trust”, “Vanguard” and “Punch” covered the 2019 presidential election. Using a quantitative methodology, this chapter covers the Research Methodology, Research Design, Population and Sample, Data Collection Instrument, Research Procedures, and Reliability and Validity of the research.

4.1 Research Methodology

Using a quantitative research methodology, this will examine three Nigerian newspapers, “Daily Trust”, “Vanguard” and “Punch” Newspaper framed 2019 presidential election. Online version of these newspapers was selected as case study. Cheong & Teoh (2013) defined quantitative research as numerical representation and manipulation of observations for the purpose of describing and explaining phenomena that those observation reflect (p.97). Quantitative research deals with quantity (numbers) and focuses on gathering numerical data and generalizing it to explain a particular phenomenon.

As stated earlier, the major objective of this study is to examine media framing of 2019 presidential election by Nigeria newspapers. Hence, this study employed a quantitative research method to provide answers research questions. In addition, using a quantitative research method is suitable in summarizing large set of information. Thereby making comparison over time and across categories attainable. Quantitative

research method can also be used to develop a more accuracy and annihilates any bias through refraining the researcher's subjective values or preferences.

Furthermore, content analysis of quantitative research was used in collecting and analyzing data from the three newspapers during coverage of the election. Neuendorf (2002) defined content analysis as the systematic, objective and the quantitative analysis of the characteristics of a message (p.1). Holsti (1969) is of opinion that content analysis is the methodology for "making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of message (p.14). Content analysis is applicable for this study in that it identify and quantify framing patterns in the media coverage of the 2019 elections because it seeks to reveal the media frames used in the 2019 presidential election.

4.2 Research Design

This study is a case study, a specific event namaely 2019 Nigeria's presidential election is taken as it case study. Mitchell (1983) defined case study as "detailed examination of an event (or series of related events) which the analyst believes exhibits (or exhibit) the operation of some identified general theoretical principles" (192

The importance of case study cannot be undermined, it helps in shaping the research. It remains a special method of observing any naturally occuring phenomenon which exists in a set of data (Yin, 1984). By being unique, it simply means that only a defined number of issues of interest are analyzed in detail. Hence, this study analyzed 159 news articles from three Nigerian newspapers and it examines how Nigerian media covered 2019 presidential election as case study.

4.3 Population and Sample

In order to examine Nigerian media coverage of 2019 presidential election, the researcher took newspapers as source of data. Newspapers were selected because they are the popular items for research that conducts either qualitative or quantitative content analysis than broadcast media (Entman R. , 1993; Iyengar, 1990). Furthermore, newspapers have accessible archives, which makes it easy for researchers to review findings of this studies which increases the validity of the study. Using the the qualitative content analysis method, the population of this study includes three Nigerian newspapers, Daily Trust, Punch and Vanguard. They were selected because they rank among the top 10 Nigerian newspapers in terms of website visit and readership according to Alexa rank; The newspapers were also selected based on their national dominance and presence in Nigeria (Odiboh, Omojola, Ekanem, & Oresanya, 2017). However, it is important to note that there is no proper record of newspaper circulation in Nigeria. Likewise, as Onifade (2015) opined, Nigeria newspapers lack socio-political ideologies and their supposed ideologies changes frequently as their publishers change political stance. The three Newspapers are privately-owned hence, they survive on their own without any subvention from the government.

Using the purposive sampling technique, the sample for the study included all news articles published between February 1st – February 28th, 2019 in the three selected newspaper. This period covers the time of campaigns up to the announcement of the 2019 presidential election result. All news article published in the three newspaper between this time period is selected as the sample for analysis in the study. To collect the stories for analysis, a search was conducted using the keyword “2019 presidential

election” on the web page of the three newspapers. The search yield a result of $n=61$ from *vanguard*, $n= 56$ from *punch*, $n= 42$ from *Dailytrust*. Hence, a total sample of 159 news stories published within the time period were analyzed.

4.4 Data Collection Instrument

The study aimed to examining media coverage of 2019 presidential election by analyzing news stories from three selected newspapers, Vanguard, Punch and Dailytrust newspaers. Therefore, the researcher obtained news stories from the three newspapers website, Vanguard², Punch³ and DailyTrust⁴. The study used a content analysis coding scheme as an instrumtment to analyze the collected data according the categories as designed by the researcher. Afterwards, the datas collected were entered in the SPSS software to obtain statistical results.

4.5 Data Collection Procedures

This research was done using quantitative research method in the Spring semester of the 2019. The data was collected through a coding scheme of content analysis which was prepared and first tested through 20 randomly selected news stories. For this study, A news story focuses on reporting news about a recent issue or event. It uses the w/h question—who, what, where, why, when and how— with the most prominent information in the first paragraphs and less important information in following paragraphs.

As earlier mentioned, news stories were obtained from the online version of the selected newspapers using the keyword “2019 presidential election”. News stories within the selected time frame from each newspapers were copied with title and date

² <https://www.vanguardngr.com/>

³ <https://punchng.com/>

⁴ <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/>

of publication and archived for future reference. Afterwards, the collected data were analyzed using the SPSS software.

4.6 Validity and Reliability of Research

Validity refers to the extent to which empirical evidences and theoretical rationales support adequacy and appropriateness of interpretations and actions based on test scores other modes of assessment (Messick, 1993 p.1). That is the extent to which a test measures what we veritably desire to measure. Reliability on the other hand refers to a measurement that produces consistent results (Blumberg, Cooper, & Schindler, 2005). A research conducted must be valid to be able to answer the research questions. Hence, it is necessary to conduct research that is both reliable and valid.

To test the validity and reliability of the research, a pilot test of the coding scheme was conducted by two independent coders using a coding guide of 10% (n=7) of the total sample (N=159). The research made use of Cohen's Kappa formula to test for the inter-coder coefficient, which is a statistic measurement for inter-coder agreement for qualitative i.e. categorical items (Cohen, 1960).

$$\kappa = \frac{p_o - p_e}{1 - p_e},$$

The total number of sample for the study is 159 news stories, 10% of the total is about 16 news stories, the (Po)⁵ is 14 news stories and (Pe)⁶ is 2 news stories. The K⁷ = (14-2) / (16-2), which results to (12/14) = 0.857: $K = \frac{14-2}{16-2} = \frac{12}{14} = 0.857$. The reliability of the inter-coder and the value of agreement between the two independent coder which

⁵ P_o = the proportion of units in which the judges agreed

⁶ P_e = the proportion of units for which agreement is expected by chance.

⁷ K = Cohen Jacob's Kappa coefficient formula

is “K” is 0.857, however, Cohen (1960) suggested that a Kappa result ≥ 0.81 is an almost perfect agreement

Chapter 5

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This study examines newspaper coverage of the 2019 presidential election within the context of framing theory. The collected news stories, which represent the sample of the study the data were inputted into the SPSS software to get the results of analysis in descriptive statistics. By analyzing the data collected (n=159), this study focused only on news stories. Editorials and letters to editors were excluded from this study.

5.1 Data Presentation and Analysis

The intensity to which media covers and report an event can directly influence the importance of such event in the public agenda in general, particularly the media agenda. Scheufele (1999) argues that the more emphasis the media place on certain issue, the more such an issue become the agenda of the public. An event needs to directly influence the socio-political as well as the socioeconomic situation of the public for it to be at the top of the media agenda and subsequently the top of the public agenda. Election remains one of such events that has direct influence on the public. Although election is important to the political situation of most democratic countries, the media coverage and the media agenda differs cross-nationally (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008). Hence, it is paramount for communication scholars to examine how the media frame elections. It is on this note that the researcher examines how three popular newspapers framed the Nigerian 2019 presidential election. The following table shows the frequency distribution of the total news stories as published by the three newspapers.

5.2 Demography of News Stories, Timeline and Candidates

Table 1 below shows that from the data collected from three newspapers for this study, the majority of the news stories were from Vanguard newspaper with 61 news stories which represents 38.4% of the total population. This is closely followed by Punch newspaper with 57 news stories which is 35.8% of the total sample. Daily Trust produced the latest new stories which is 41 which represents 25.8% of the samples.

Table 1: Frequency Distribution of News Stories Published in the Three Newspapers

Newspapers	Frequency	Percent
Punch	57	35.8
Vanguard	61	38.4
Daily Trust	41	25.8
Total	159	100.0

The study examined three timelines; pre-election period between February 1, 2019 and February 21, 2019 which is part of the campaign period. The election period between February 22, 2019 and February 24, 2019, which are the days when the polls were conducted. Lastly the post-election between February 25, 2019 and February 28, 2019 which included the day after the polls up to when the election results was announced. A study by Abate (2013) indicated that the intensity of coverage received by some public issues is very much dependent on time. Hence, the media coverage receives more intensity in times when more public or political attention is attached to the issue (Abate, 2013). This is evident in times of election where the campaign period is more important than any other period. The result showed that more news stories were published during the pre-election period with 116 news stories (73%) out of a total of 159 news stories. The post-election period produced 23 news stories (14.5%) which

is followed closely by the election period with 20 news stories (12.6). This result is so also because the campaign period happened over a long period of days (21 days) compared to the election day (3 days) and the post-election period (4 days).

Table 2: Frequency Distribution of News Stories Published Across Timeline

Timeline	Frequency	Percent
Pre- election period	116	73.0
Election period	20	12.6
Post-election period	23	14.5
Total	159	100.0

Table 3 below shows the amount of coverage each candidate received during the election period. The result shows 51.6% of the news stories was centered around the incumbent president, President Buhari while 48.4% was centered around Abubakar Atiku, the major opposition. There is an almost equal media attention on both candidates which is due to their popularity and strength of their political parties, APC and PDP respectively.

Table 3: Frequency Distribution of News Stories Candidates

Candidates	Frequency	Percent
Muhammadu Buhari	82	51.6
Abubakar Atiku	77	48.4
Total	159	100.0

5.3 Dominant Frames

A dominant frame could not be identified in 24 news stories which leaves 135 news stories with identifiable dominant frame which of interest to this study. Three dominant frames were identified from the news stories. Abate (2013) posits that the game frame is the most dominant media frame used by most western media organization while reporting election related events. However results from this study showed that the issue frame is the most dominant frame used in the 2019 Nigerian presidential election. Table 4 below indicates the predominance of issue frame in 51.1% of the analyzed news stories. The issue frame, for example, a news story published by Vanguard newspaper on the 3rd of February, 2019 titled, “You cannot rig this election, Nigeria is bigger than you, PDP tells Buhari, APC”. This highlighted an issue facing Nigeria’s election, which is the use of incumbency power to rig election. This is followed by game frame which takes 28.1%. Game frame sees election as a competition between candidate, hence the media uses the notion of winner-loser in framing the news. For example, a news story published by Punch newspaper, “My victory is sure, Atiku boasts”. The news was framed using word of competition, winner-loser in its report.

The personality centered frame was the least used media frame having only 15.6%. Personality centered frame is used in framing the images, personality and reputation of the candidates. However, the table further showed that 3% of the news stories used multiple frames, that is the news stories contains two or more frames. The remaining 2.2% of the news stories used another kind of frame known as the conflict frame. Conflict frames highlight conflict between candidates or political groups as a way to attract the interest of the electorate audience interest. For example, a news story published by Vanguard newspaper on the 18th of February, 2019 titled “Atiku slams

N2bn suit against Buhari, demands public apology”. Mr. Atiku accused the incumbent president, Buhari of false accusation ad libels.

Table 4: Media Frames used During the Coverage of the 2019 Presidential Election

Frames	Frequency	Percent
Game	38	28.1
Issue	69	51.1
Personality-Centered	21	15.6
Multiple	4	3.0
Others	3	2.2
Total	135	100.0

The three newspapers placed special focus to the numerous issues which the candidates rised to win the votes of the electorate. A larger number of the news stories primarily focused on the policy issues which candidates raise as a solution to the various socio-political and socio-economic problems such as poverty, unemployment, hunger, corruption facing the country. For example, a news story published by vanguard on the 3rd of february, 2019 titled “Atiku in Kebbi, pledges autonomy for LGs” this is coming after a public call for local government autonomy. Another example is a Punch publication of 8th February, 2019 titled, “We’ll generate \$30bn, 1.5m jobs from `Made in Nigeria for Export`, says Buhari” this is also related the increase in unemployment rate in the country and the high rate of importation in Nigeria. Similarly, of the 23.9% of news stories that used the game frame, significant amount of them consist of stories that focus on the strategies employed by the candidates and their political parties to win the election. The election is reported as a game of winner takes it all. For example, a Punch newspaper story published on 11th February,2019 titled “APC will win in a free, fair election, says Oshiomhole” this story

frames the election as a contest or a race. Another instance is a news story published by daily trust published on the 23rd of February, 2019 “Elections: I will be the winner —Buhari” frames the election has a horse race between the two major candidates.

However, considering the frequency of the media frames used by each newspaper in table 5 below, there is a little difference in the use of issue frames by both Punch and Vanguard, 17.8% and 17.1% respectively as against the use the frame by Daily Trust, 7.4%. Contrary to this, there is a difference in the use of game frame by each newspaper, the frame was used 12.6% by Punch newspaper, followed by Vanguard 8.1% and the frames was least used by Daily Trust newspaper, 7.4%. Likewise, the personality-centered frame was used in 3.7% of new stories by Punch and Daily Trust newspapers respectively while it was used in 8.1% of the news stories by Vanguard newspaper. An example of the personality centered frame is a news article published by Vanguard titled “Nigeria’s presidential election: The main candidates”. The multiple frame was also used mostly by Vanguard newspaper, 2.2%, while Daily Trust did not use the frame at all while Punch used it in 0.7% of its news stories. The table shows that only Vanguard used other types of frames in 2.2% of its news stories. The other frame used by Vanguard is the conflict frame.

Table 5: Crosstabulation for Distribution of Dominant Frame According to each Newspaper

	Game	Issue	Personality centered	Multiple	Others
Punch	17 (12.6%)	24 (17.8%)	5 (3.7%)	1 (0.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Vanguard	11 (8.1%)	23 (17.0%)	11 (8.1%)	3 (2.2%)	3 (2.2%)
Daily Trust	10 (7.4%)	22 (16.3%)	5 (3.7%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Total	38 (28.1%)	69 (51.1%)	21 (15.6%)	4 (3.0%)	3 (2.2%)

However, as it can be seen from the table 6 below, there is a difference in the usage of media frames by each newspaper under examination across timeline. The table reveals that the use of game frame decreased from 16.3% in the pre-election period to 2.2% during the election period but increased to 9.6% during the post-election period leaving a huge difference across the timeline. The use of issue frames also showed a decrease from 42.2% in the pre-election period to 1.5% in the election period but increased slightly to 7.4% during the post-election period, the difference is similar to the use of game frames. Contrary to this, personality-centered frame was absent in the election period and post-election period but it was used 4 times (3%) during the pre-election period. Similarly, the use of multiple frames was only present during the pre-election period, it was used in 3% of news stories. In the same vein, two other types of frames, politicians as individual frame and conflict frame were identified in 2.2% of the news stories published during the pre-election period. The significant difference in the use of frames across the three timelines is due to the huge gap in the number of news stories published during the across the timeline.

Table 6: Crosstabulation for distribution of Timeline According to Dominant Frame

Timeline	Game	Issue	Personality-Centered	Multiple	Others
Pre-election	22 (16.3%)	57 (42.2%)	21 (15.6%)	4 (3.0%)	3 (2.2%)
Election	3 (2.2%)	2 (1.5%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Post-election	13 (9.6%)	10 (7.4%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Total	38 (28.1%)	69(51.1%)	21 (15.6%)	4 (3.0%)	3 (2.2%)

5.4 Media Framing of Campaign Promises and Candidates'

Antecedents

The campaign promise of candidates is an important element of a political campaign. It is an avenue for citizens to know the plans the politicians have if elected into office. Therefore, the manner in which the media cover and report these campaign promises can directly and indirectly affect the chances of the candidates winning the election. Out of the 159 news stories examined, 116 news stories talked about the campaigns promises of the candidates. Hence, Table 7 below shows how the three newspapers frame the campaign promises of the two major candidates of the election. Overall, 55.2% of the news stories in the three newspapers framed the campaign promises of the candidates as viable, while 30.2% framed the campaign promises as unviable, 5.2% of the news stories framed the campaign promises as unprogressive to the future of Nigeria. Lastly 9.5% of the news stories used multiple frames for the campaign promises.

Table 7: Frequency Distribution of Media Framing of Candidates' Campaign Promises

Frames	Frequency	Percent
Viable	64	55.2
Unviable	35	30.2
Unprogressive	6	5.2
Multiple	11	9.5
Total	116	100.0

A crosstabulation of the candidates' campaign promises against each candidate revealed that 34.5% of the news stories about Buhari's campaign were framed as viable as opposed to Atiku's 20.7%. Similarly, 14.7% of Buhari campaign promises was framed as unviable while 15.5% of Atiku campaign promises was framed as unviable. The progressive nature of the campaign promises towards the economy was also put into consideration by the newspapers, 0.9% of the new stories about Buhari accounted for that while 4.3% of news stories about Atiku used the frame. 6% of the multiple frames was used in reporting news stories regarding Atiku's campaign promises, while 3.4% of news stories about Buhari's campaign promises used multiple frames.

Table 8: Crosstabulation Distribution of Candidates' Campaign Promises According to Candidate

Candidates	Viable	Unviable	Unprogressive	Multiple
Muhammadu Buhari	40 (34.5%)	17 (14.7%)	1 (0.9%)	4 (3.4%)
Abubakar Atiku	24 (20.7%)	18 (15.5%)	5 (4.3%)	7 (6.0%)
Total	64 (55.2%)	35 (30.2%)	6 (5.2%)	11 (9.5%)

Considering the antecedents of each candidates, that is their respective terms as public office holder. 63 news stories that mentioned the antecedents of the candidate were examined. Table 9 below shows that 38.1 of the news stories framed the candidate's antecedents as corrupt for example a news story published by Punch titled, "We have fresh evidence of corruption against Atiku, says FG", statements such as diversion of funds, allegations, indictment used in the news story. 28.6% of the news stories were framed as integrity, in a news story by Vanguard used a statement such as." integrity is President Muhammadu Buhari's greatest asset". However only 7.9% of the news stories frame highlighted the notion of dictatorship, for example a news story used the phrase "...a reformed democrat" "survival of democracy" in describing Buhari. 17.5% of the news stories framed the candidates' antecedent as democratic, for example a news story by Punch titled "Atiku says he's a democrat". 7.9% of news stories framed the candidate's antecedents using multiple frames.

Table 9: Frequency Distribution of Media Coverage of Candidates' Antecedents

Frames	Frequency	Percent
Corruption	24	38.1
Integrity	18	28.6
Democratic	11	17.5
Dictatorship	5	7.9
Multiple	5	7.9
Total	63	100.0

To better understand how the media framed the candidate's antecedents, the study examined the framing of each candidate's antecedents. Table 10 below shows that 22.2% of the news stories about Atiku's antecedent were framed as corrupt while 15.9% framed Buhari's antecedent as corrupt. Similar, under the frame of integrity, 15.9% of the news stories was for Buhari while 12.7% was for Atiku. The antecedent of president Buhari was framed as autocratic in 4.8% of the news stories, this could partly be because of his time as head of state and the allegations of flouting court orders while 3.2% of news stories about Atiku's antecedent was framed as corrupt. Multiple frames were also employed in describing the candidate's antecedents, with 6.3% of the news stories using them for Atiku while it was used in only 1.6% of news stories about Buhari.

Table 10: Frequency Distribution of Candidates' Antecedents According to Candidates

	Corruption	Integrity	Democratic	Dictatorship	Multiple
Muhammadu Buhari	14 (22.2%)	8 (12.7%)	4 (6.3%)	2 (3.2%)	4 (6.3%)
Atiku Abubakar	10 (15.9%)	10 (15.9%)	7 (11.1%)	3 (4.8%)	1 (1.6%)
Total	24 (38.1%)	18 (28.6%)	11 (17.5%)	5 (7.9%)	5 (7.9%)

5.5 Media Framing of the Electoral Process and Post-election Events

The election held on the 23rd of February, 2019 with the polling expected to start by 8am Lagos time across the country. The media coverage of the electoral process by the three newspapers is presented below. Only 39 news stories that made reference to the electoral process were analyzed. 23.1% of the news stories framed the electoral process as violent such as civilian casualties, killing of voters by thugs and stray bullets, abduction of electoral officers etc. A news story published by Daily Trust newspaper on election day titled “#Electionday: 16 killed in election violence” reported the killing of as much as 16 people and many feared injured. 5.1% of the news stories framed the electoral process as peaceful. There were allegations of rigging across the country, a news publication by Vanguard “Rigging claims fly as Nigeria election results come in” is an example. The table shows that 15.4% of the news stories framed the electoral process as rigged, while 15.4% framed the electoral process as been militarized that is, the use of military personnel to intimidate the voters. This kind of frame can be seen in the new story published by Vanguard, “Atiku to army: Protecting territorial integrity your business, not elections”. Also, 17.9% of the news stories framed the electoral process under the theme of punctuality, there were reports of lateness by electoral office at polling units. 5.1% of the news stories made us of

multiple frames to report the electoral process. For example, a news report from Abuja, the state capital by Daily Trust “Voters resort to writing names in Karu, Abuja” pointed that voters wrote down their news on a piece of paper because the electoral officers showed up late.

Table 11: Frequency Distribution of Media Coverage of the Electoral Process

Frames	Frequency	Percent
Violence	9	23.1
Peaceful	2	5.1
Rigging	6	15.4
Militarization	6	15.4
Use of Political thugs	5	12.8
Disenfranchisement	2	5.1
Punctuality	7	17.9
Multiple Themes	2	5.1
Total	39	100.0

The post-election period starting from the end of vote casting by the electorate to the day the election result was announced (February 25, 2019 - February 28, 2019) had reports of events and issues which is presented in table 13 below. 19 news stories were examined in this category. 36.8% of the news stories framed the events after the election under the theme of violence. For example, a news publication by Punch newspaper, “One killed as mixed reactions greet elections in Oyo” while 31.6% of the news stories framed the events under the theme of legal issues. An example of the news published by Punch newspaper, “Legal battle looms after Nigerian presidential election” Due to post-election violence, there were high profile arrests by security

personnel, 21.1% of the news stories used this theme in the reportage while 10.5% of the news stories employed multiple frames in reporting the post-election events.

Table 12: Frequency Distribution of Media Coverage of the Post-election Events

Frames	Frequency	Percent
Violence	7	36.8
Election Tribunal	6	31.6
Election arrest	4	21.1
Multiple theme	2	10.5
Total	19	100.0

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

This chapter provides a summary of this study in a precise and more cogent style. The conclusions drawn from this study are also discussed appropriately in this chapter. The findings will be linked to the aims of the research as well as the research questions.

6.1 Summary of the Study

This study is about the media coverage of the 2019 Nigerian general election, which aimed at finding out how the Nigerian media, particularly three Nigerian highly circulated newspapers, Daily Trust, Punch and Vanguard newspapers covered election process. The study also examined how media depicted the two major presidential candidates in the election. As the time of this study, Nigerian 2019 presidential election was a relatively topical issue as the election was just concluded. Hence it is important to examine such a phenomenon as an election.

The study employed a quantitative methodology and content analysis was used for data collection. 159 news articles on 2019 election published between February 1st, 2019 and February 28th, 2019 were collected from three newspapers. The collected data was analyzed using SPSS software. The results obtained from analysis were used to provide answers to the research questions asked in chapter one.

6.2 Conclusion Drawn from the Study

This study was conducted to investigate media coverage of 2019 Nigerian presidential election. The study evaluated three periods; pre, during and post-election period. It is can be argued that previous empirical literatures written about framing of election has not really considered how the media covers election in Nigeria. Hence this study seeks to understand how the media covered the election by providing answers to the research questions.

6.3 Dominant Frame of 2019

The finding of the study shows the dominance of issue frame in news stories from the three newspapers while covering election related news. This finding is contrary to the argument that the game frame is the most dominant media frame used by western media in the coverage of election. The finding shows that the issue frame is the most dominant frame in the coverage of election by the Nigerian newspaper. Strömbäck & Kaid (2008) argued that the media reporting style is directly dependent on the media system as well as the socio-economic/political situation of the country. Therefore one explanation for this finding is the type of media policy used in Nigeria. Nigeria like most developing country favours the use of development journalism, which requires journalists and media practitioners to place premium attention on various issues which can bring about unity and general development of the country (Edeani, 1993). Also, as Strömbäck & Kaid (2008) further claimed that the socio-political/economic differences between countries can be another reason for differences in the media frames. Also, studies by Esser & D'Angelo (2006) & Lawrence (2000) found that the use of various media frames is depending on time but they found that the use of game frame is more dominant as election day draws closer. However, contrary to this finding, this study showed that there is a reduction in the use game frame as election

day approached. Although, it is away from the aim of the study, Strömbäck & Kaid (2008) opined that the current socio-political as well as the socio-economic situation of the country during the period leading to the election can be a cause of the change in the use of game Frame.

Taking cues from previous studies on media coverage of elections, this study examined if there is a variation in the use of dominant frame across the timeline of election. A study by Rhee (1997) indicated that there is an increase in use of game frame as election day draws close. However, result here shows a decrease in tuse of game frame during the election period. While it is difficult to give a reason for this decrease, media policy of Nigeria as well as socio-political situation of the country could be responsible for this. A multi ethnic country like Nigeria could be at war without responsible journalism hence it is imparative for journalist and media outlets must minimize the use of game frame.

6.4 Campaign Promises of Presidential Candidates

One of the major talking point of the 2019 election was the campain promises of candidate geared towards providing a solution to the challenges of the country. The study thus examined the manner in which media covered candidates plan. The result showed that more than half of the analyzed news stories reported both candidate's plans as viable, which indicate that the promise can be accomplished within their four years term in office. However 30.2% of news stories reported their plan as a unviable in Nigeria that is it is unrealistic within the context of Nigeria, for instance, a news story published by Daily Trust on 12th of February titled "I'll fulfil my promise to restructure Nigeria – Atiku" was framed as not a functional plan because of the constitutional constraints that will affect such plans. within the socio-economic and

socio-political conditions of Nigeria. Nigeria over the year has been affected by issues of corruption and poor leadership with a teeming population of over 200 million people hence, the campaign promises of presidential candidate is important to win votes of electorates. Revamping the economy was a major highlight leading to the election since the country just recovered from an economic recession, majority of the campaign promises regarding the economy was reported as feasible within four years term of the winner of the election. However, 3.8% of the news stories reported the campaign promises of the two major candidates as not functional in Nigeria. The socio-economic situation of the country makes the plans not achievable within the short timeframe of four years.

6.5 Newspapers Framing of the two Major Candidates Based on Antecedent in Nigerian Politics

The study found that only 63 of the news stories reported candidates' antecedent. The incumbent president, Muhammadu Buhari was one-time military head of state between 1983 and 1985 after he overthrew the civilian president Alhaji Shehu Shagari in a bloodless coup. While his challenger, Abubakar Atiku, was a two-time vice president of the 4th republic between 1999 and 2007 under president Olusegun Obasanjo's regime. The media was constantly making references to their past terms in office but the most dominant frame in this part is the issue of integrity, the incumbent Buhari enjoyed the use of integrity frame in reporting new about is last term in office. The incumbent government is centered around fight against corruption. While Atiku had more news story around corruption. This could be because there were allegations of corruption against him while in office although he was never convicted while Buhari has been reported to fighting corruption and as a man of integrity.

6.6 Newspaper Framing of the Overall Conduct of the Electoral Process

The study was divided in three different timelines, with the aim to examine how the media reported the different phases of the election independently and collectively. The election day was slated for February 23rd, 2019 between 8am and 2pm Lagos time but due to some technical issues reported by the electoral commission, election was delayed in some places up until the 24th of February, 2019 (INEC, 2019) . Election in Africa, Nigeria in particular was usually marred by violence (Egobueze & Ojirika, 2017). There were reports of violence especially in Lagos and Port Harcourt. Also, there were reports of peaceful conducts of the election especially in the northern part of the country where the two major candidates originated from. Electoral malpractices are another issue affecting democracy in Africa. Atiku, major challenger rejected the election results citing irregularity and rigging. The news stories also framed the used electoral as militarized, as there was heavy use of military personnel especially in the opposition strongholds.

6.7 Newspapers Framing on the Post-election Events

Post-election period in Nigeria is usually occupied with court cases and sometimes violence due to unacceptable results by the losing parties. Therefore, it is important to examine how the media reported the 2019 post-election events. 19 news stories framed the post-election events. The analysis shows that issues around violence, court cases and post-election arrests most especially perpetrators of evil during the election are prominent.

As stated in the literature review, the theoretical framework for this study is framing theory and agenda setting theory. The study examined how the newspaper framed the

election by making some aspect more prominent than the other, thereby setting the agenda for the audience. The dominant frame from the findings was issue frame. The issues under discussion included, poverty, economy, unemployment and insecurity. By making these issues prominent, the media sets the agenda for the public. As mentioned in the literature review, through agenda setting, media filter and shape reality and the priority was placed on the issues by the media makes the audience see those issues as more important than others. Another example, of how the media set the agenda by framing the election is in describing the antecedent and personalities of the candidate. Media framed Atiku as corrupt and Buhari as a man with integrity, this represented in the way the people perceived both candidates.

Like in every research related to elections, the amount of coverage given to each candidate can impact the chances of such candidate. The result of this study however showed that the two-candidate received nearly equal media attention from the media which in turn takes them to the top of public agenda. There are two possible reasons for this, one is the political structure of the party the two candidates represent in terms of power, finance and members which is spread across the 774 local governments of Nigeria. Secondly, each candidate possesses the financial power to contest in the election which entails spending of millions of naira to purchase their political party nomination form as well the ability to mobilize voters. The study also showed the presence of various kind of media frame which is defined by the use more event-aligned type of media reportage with some addition of issue frames. Also, the study found that just like previous studies on election coverage by the media, there exist political parallelism in the Nigerian news.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Codes for Data Analysis

1. Newspapers

1.	Punch	1
2.	Vanguard	2
3.	Daily Trust	3

2. Timeline

1	February 1, 2019 – February 21, 2019	1
2	February 22, 2019 – February 24, 2019	2
3	February 25, 2019 - February 28, 2019	3

3. Frames used in the coverage of the election

1	Game Frame	1
2	Issue Frame	2
3	Personality-centered frame	3
4	multiple	4
5	Others	5

4. Media Framing of candidates' policy plan

1	viable	1
2	unviable	2
3	unprogressive	3
4	Multiple themes	4
5	Others	5

5. Media framing of candidates' antecedents

1	Corruption	1
2	Integrity	2
3	Democratic	3
4	Dictatorship	4
5	Multiple themes	5
6	Others	6

6. Media framing of the electoral process

1	Violence	1
2	Peaceful	2

3	Rigging	3
4	Militarization	4
5	Use of Political thugs	5
6	Dis enfranchisement	6
7	Vote buying	7
8	Smooth process	8
9	Punctuality and election Timing	9
10	Multiple Themes	10
11	Others	11
12	None	12

7. Media framing the 2019 electoral process in comparison to the 2015 electoral process

1	Progress	1
2	No improvement	2
3	Credibility	3
4	Vote buying	4
5	Multiple themes	5
6	Others	6

8. Media Framing of post-election events

1	Violence	1
2	Election tribunal	2
7	Political arrest	3
4	Multiple themes	4
8	Others	5

Definition of Frames

1. Timeline

1	February 1, 2019 – February 21, 2019	Pre-election and Campaign period
2	February 22, 2019 – February 24, 2019	The period of the polls
3	February 25, 2019 - February 28, 2019	The period after the polls

2. Frames use in the media coverage

1	Game Frame	All news articles that reported the news as a strategy, race, game, competition etc.
2	Issue Frame	All news articles that talks about candidate's positions on issues

3	Personality – centered frame	All news articles that focuses on the personality of the candidates
4	Multiple	All news articles that have more than more frame
5	others	News articles that have other frames not listed.

3. Media Framing of candidates' policy plan

1	Feasible	All news stories that indicated that policy plans of the candidate were possible to achieve.
2	Not feasible	All news stories that indicated that policy plans of the candidates look impossible to achieve.
3	Not functional	All news stories that indicated that the policy plans of the candidates cannot be functional in the country
4	Not comprehensive	All news stories that indicated that the policy plan of the candidates is not broad enough to tackle the issues in a multi-ethnic Nigeria.
5	Adoption of an attenuated policy/plans of a developed nation	All news stories that indicated that the policy plans of the candidates is an adoption of a weaker version of a developed country's policy plan.
6	Too conservative	All news stories that indicated that the policy plan of the candidates will not change the current situation of the country
7	Too progressive	All news stories that indicated that the policy plan of the candidates is too revolutionary for the current state of the country.
8	Multiple themes	All news stories that contains more than one theme regarding the candidate's policy plan
9	Others	All news stories that indicates other themes not mentioned.

4. Media framing of candidates' antecedents

1	Corruption	All news articles that contains allegations of corruptions
2	Integrity	All news articles that talks about the incorruptibility of the candidates

3	Performance	All news articles that focused on the candidate's previous performance in office
4	Democratic	All news articles that focuses on the democratic actions of the candidates and obedience to the rule of law.
5	Dictatorship	All news articles that focuses on the undemocratic actions of the candidates
6	Progressive	All news articles that focuses on the candidates as a progressive person
7	Recession	All news articles that focuses on the candidate's economic decisions that plunged the country into economic recession
9	Multiple themes	All news articles that focuses on more than one themes on the candidate's antecedents.
10	Others	All news article that focuses on other themes not mentioned

5. Media framing of the electoral process

1	Violence	All news article that focuses on cases of violence during the polls
2	Peaceful	All news articles that focuses on the peaceful atmosphere of the election
3	Rigging	All news articles that focuses on electoral malpractices during the polls.
4	Militarization	All news articles that focuses on the use of military to suppress voters and the process
5	Use of Political thugs	All news articles that focuses on the use of political hooligans and thugs to disrupt the elections
6	Disenfranchisement	All news articles that focuses on electoral irregularities to disenfranchise some voters
7	Number of political parties	All news articles that focuses on the large number of political party and candidates on the ballots
9	Punctuality and election Timing	All news articles that focuses on the punctuality and the keeping to the proposed time of the election
10	Multiple Themes	All news articles that focuses on more than one themes about the electoral process

11	Others	All news articles that focuses on other themes about the electoral process.
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6. Media framing the 2019 electoral process in comparison to the 2015 electoral process

1	Progression	1
2	Regression	2
3	Credible	3
4	Vote buying	4
5	Acceptance of result	5
6	Security	6
7	Public perception of both elections	7
8	Multiple themes	8
9	Others	9

7. Media Framing of post-election events

1	Violence	All news articles that focused on violence after the election
2	Election tribunal	All news articles that focuses on court cases regarding the announcement of result
3	Protest	All news articles that focuses on protest by the losers of the election
4	Ethnic clashes	All news article that focuses on ethnic crisis due to the result of the election
6	Preparation for 2023	All news articles that focuses on the country preparation for a better election in the next four years
7	Multiple themes	All news articles that contains more than one theme mentioned above.
8	Others	All news articles that focuses on other themes not mentioned.

Appendix B: News Stories Analyzed

Atiku to army: Protecting territorial integrity your business, not elections

FEBRUARY 19, 2019

By Anthony Ogbonna

Presidential candidate of the People's Democratic Party, PDP, Atiku Abubakar, has countered the latest warning by the Nigerian military, saying military has no role during elections. Atiku was countering the statement wherein the army warned that it would deal ruthlessly with anybody who dares snatch ballot boxes during coming Saturday's general election. Atiku Police arrest 5 fake army officers escorting politician in Imo The army's warning is coming barely 24 hours after President Muhammadu Buhari had threatened that any party thug caught trying to snatch ballot boxes during election would pay with his or her life. Buhari had warned saying, "I have briefed the law enforcement agencies and the military. They have identified the hot spots, flashpoints. "They should be prepared to move. We have made as much arrangement as possible and resources provided as much as the country can afford. "Anybody who decides to snatch ballot boxes or lead thugs to disturb it, maybe this is the last lawful action you will take. "I really gave the military and the police (order) to be ruthless. We are not going to be blamed that we want to rig election. I want Nigerians to be respected. Let them vote whoever they want across the parties. "I am going to warn anybody who thinks he has enough influence in his locality to lead a body of thugs or to disturb the voting system, he will do it at the expense of his own life." Sequel to the threat by the President, the army, on Tuesday, issued its own warning that it would deal ruthlessly with anybody caught disrupting the election. The

Deputy Director, Army Public Relations, Colonel, AMINU ILIYASU, had, via a statement, warned that the military would not show mercy to any political thug caught causing confusion or snatching ballot boxes on the day of election. The army's statement partly read, "...authorities of 6 Division NA wish to unequivocally state that anyone found to be disrupting the electoral process under any guise will be decisively dealt with in accordance with the laws no matter how highly placed he or she is." But countering the Nigerian army's stance, the former Vice President and PDP's presidential candidate in the forthcoming election, Atiku Abubakar faulted the army saying 'boot and gun' has no business in the country's election. Atiku, however, told the army that its role is to protect the territorial integrity of the country. Atiku gave the statement on Tuesday during the party's NEC meeting in Abuja. Atiku who reiterated his earlier position that his political ambition is not worth the blood of any Nigerian, however urged President Buhari to reverse his death threat order on ballot box snatchers and make the same commitment of no blood-letting during elections like he (Atiku) has promised. He reminded the army that its role is not in the conduct of elections but to protect the territorial integrity of the country. According to Atiku, "You will recall that during the Peace Accord process, I stated in clear terms, quoting from former president Jonathan Goodluck, that my ambition is not worth the blood of any Nigerian. "That man is a great man. "Today I call on President Buhari to make that same commitment to the people whose mandate he holds, while also urging all security agencies to uphold our Constitution with an understanding that voting is a civil activity and civic responsibility. "The Nigerian military is constitutionally responsible for protecting our territorial integrity and national borders and has no role to play in the conduct of elections."

Read more at: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/02/atiku-to-army-your-role-is-to-protect-territorial-integrity-not-elections/>

You cannot rig this election, Nigeria is bigger than you, PDP tells Buhari, APC

FEBRUARY 3, 2019

The People's Democratic Party (PDP) has said that the All Progressives Congress (APC) and President Muhammadu Buhari will lose the 2019 election going by the endorsement of its presidential candidate by different groups and individuals just as it said that: 'our nation will never succumb to Buhari Presidency's assault on our National Assembly, the attack on our judiciary and besieging of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) where President Buhari's relation is being foisted as the head of the collation center.' National Chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Prince Uche Secondus and President Muhammadu Buhari PDP spokesman, Kola Ologbondiyan, at a press conference on Sunday, said: 'The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), after consideration of all factors, reinforced the global unanimity and affirmation by various credible and independent bodies within and outside Nigeria, including the Afenifere, the Ohaneze Ndigbo, the Northern Elders' Forum, the Pan Niger Delta Forum, the Middle Belt Forum, among several others, that Atiku Abubakar will win the February 16, Presidential election. 'Nigerians have chosen democracy with its tenets, as a way of life, including justice and constitutional freedom it offers the citizens to determine who their leaders should be at any given time, and nobody, not even President Buhari, can take away this freedom and rights, under any circumstance whatsoever. 'Nigerians know how the PDP restored, nurtured and allowed our democracy to thrive to the extent that it was possible for the opposition to win in a general election with President Buhari as the

major beneficiary. The PDP allowed a free and fair election, respected the will of the people and handed over power to President Buhari, without any shenanigans that would have denied him victory. ‘PDP wants President Buhari to note that Nigeria will not fall. Our country, as a nation of over 200 million resilient men and women, is bigger than President Buhari as well as the APC and would resist all anti-democratic forces being unleashed against our democratic order.’ Read full statement below

Gentlemen of the press, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) has called you up today to announce to President Muhammadu Buhari and the All Progressives Congress (APC) that Nigeria is bigger than them and that there is no way Nigerians will allow them to rig the 2019 general elections or achieve their self-succession plan. Our history as a nation has amply shown that no individual leader, no matter the authority wielded, has ever succeeded, at any point in time, in subduing the spirit of our nation or place our people under a siege and not even this strange recourse to importation of mercenaries into our country can change that reality. The world can recall how certain leaders in the past attempted to subvert our constitutional democracy, arrogate excessive powers to themselves and how they failed in the face of the Nigerian spirit. Today, that Nigerian spirit, with which we won our democracy and nurtured it to this stage, is being assailed by the APC and the Buhari Presidency with their unrelenting constitutional breaches, attacks on our democratic institutions, violation of human rights, siege on our electoral system and opening of our territorial borders to mercenaries, all in the bid to subdue our citizenry and achieve a self succession plan, having realized that there is no way they can win in a free, fair and peaceful election. There is a ferocious attempt to take away our liberty as a people. There is total clampdown, arrest and detention of dissenting voices; invasion of media houses, manhandling and illegal detention of journalists by state forces have become the order

of the day; but all these will not break the Nigerian spirit. Our nation will never succumb to Buhari Presidency's assault on our National Assembly, the attack on our judiciary and besieging of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) where President Buhari's relation is being foisted as the head of the collation center. Nigerians have decided to vote out President Buhari, come February 16, and no amount of intimidation, clampdown and harassment can change that resolve. It has become manifest that compatriots, irrespective of creed, ethnicity and political leanings, are today extremely eager to vote out the Buhari Presidency which, out of sheer incompetence, has wrecked our once robust economy and brought so much poverty, hunger, pain and anguish to Nigerians, once reputed as the happiest people in the world. The Buhari Presidency and the APC have come to the stark reality that the influences on which they rode to power in 2015 no longer avail. They have come to the moment of truth that Nigerians have seen through their lies, propaganda, false promises, beguilements and holier-than-thou posturing and are now poised to take back their country at the polls. Only last week, the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), after consideration of all factors, reinforced the global unanimity and affirmation by various credible and independent bodies within and outside Nigeria, including the Afenifere, the Ohaneze Ndigbo, the Northern Elders' Forum, the Pan Niger Delta Forum, the Middle Belt Forum, among several others, that Atiku Abubakar will win the February 16, Presidential election, having secured the overwhelming support of Nigerians across the board. Today, the APC and the Buhari Presidency have become uncontrollably feverish over the overwhelming acceptance gained by Atiku Abubakar in all the geo-political zones, particularly in the North West states of Sokoto, Kebbi, Zamfara, Kano, Katsina, Kaduna and Jigawa states, hitherto considered as President Buhari's political stronghold. Having lost genuine followership in the North West, the

North Central, the North East and a greater part of the South West, all of which gave them a ride to victory in 2015, and having no prospects in the South East and South South, the APC and the Buhari Presidency are now seeking ways to derail our electoral process. This accounts for the manipulations in INEC and the smuggling in of mercenaries from Niger Republic to populate APC rallies, ostensibly to unleash them on our nation immediately it is clear that President Buhari is losing at the polls. However, the PDP wants President Buhari to note that Nigeria will not fall. Our country, as a nation of over 200 million resilient men and women, is bigger than President Buhari as well as the APC and would resist all anti-democratic forces being unleashed against our democratic order. Nigerians have chosen democracy with its tenets, as a way of life, including justice and constitutional freedom it offers the citizens to determine who their leaders should be at any given time, and nobody, not even President Buhari, can take away this freedom and rights, under any circumstance whatsoever. Nigerians know how the PDP restored, nurtured and allowed our democracy to thrive to the extent that it was possible for the opposition to win in a general election with President Buhari as the major beneficiary. The PDP allowed a free and fair election, respected the will of the people and handed over power to President Buhari, without any shenanigans that would have denied him victory. Now that Nigerians are determined to vote out President Buhari from office due to his incompetence, divisiveness, executive high-handedness and corruption, he must not allow his ambition to set our nation on fire. We therefore urge President Buhari to avail his mind to accept his imminent defeat when it eventually comes on February 16. President Buhari should know that Nigerians have chosen Atiku Abubakar as their next President to return our nation to the path of national cohesion and economic prosperity. This national consensus is bigger than President Buhari or any other

Nigerian for that matter.

Read more at: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/02/you-cannot-rig-this-election-nigeria-is-bigger-than-you-pdp-tells-buhari-apc/>

My victory is sure, Atiku boasts

February 24, 2019

By Eniola Akinkuotu

The Presidential candidate of the People Democratic Party and former Vice President Atiku Abubakar has thanked Nigerians for turning out to vote for him in their millions and confirmed that the initial indications from the PDPs Simultaneous Vote Count show a PDP victory is assured. Atiku in a statement issued in Abuja by his Special Assistant On Public Communication, Mr. Phrank Shaibu, said “I would like to sincerely thank the millions of people who, despite having to bear the additional burden of a postponed election, came out yesterday to vote for me and the other PDP candidates standing in this election.” He said with the PDP’s high tech, cloud-based SVC system – which is able to collate in real-time the results from the 176,000 voting points across the nation – the Presidential candidate could boldly assure his supporters that victory was at hand. “With strong shares of the vote in South-South, South-East as well as an increased share in South-West and North-Central, are very pleased with the progress the PDP has made. We look forward to sharing some exciting news in other parts of the country very soon, which will confound all the armchair pundits.” He said the people of Nigeria can take solace that very soon the living Nightmare of the last four years will come to an end so that together we will get Nigeria working again. The PDP Presidential candidate asked Nigerians to maximise their eternal vigilance in the next 48 hours to prevent the majority votes recorded at the polling

units being disrupted by force by the APC at the collation centres. He said, “I am familiar with how brazen and the complete lack of shame the APC can exhibit, but even I was shocked to witness just how low they went last night by accusing the PDP of ‘recruiting armed thugs’ to do just that. Why would we want to do that when we are winning?” “Furthermore I would like to say how proud I was of the PDP supporters who conducted themselves so peacefully despite the significant provocations and threats of violence, removal and burning of ballot boxes and the likes.” Atiku also thanked the security forces and election officials who conducted their duties with exemplary professionalism but tasked General Buhari on his promise of a free and fair election. He said. “General Buhari you have promised our people and the world that you would conduct ‘free, fair and credible elections’ so please call off the wilder elements within your party and deliver on your promise.”

2019 Elections: Atiku slams N2bn suit against Buhari, demands public apology

FEBRUARY 18, 2019

By Ikechukwu Nnochiri

The Presidential candidate of Peoples Democratic Party, PDP, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, has approached a High Court of the Federal Capital Territory, asking it to bar President Muhammadu Buhari and security agencies in the country from interfering with the 2019 general elections. President M Buhari and Atiku Atiku, further asked the court to compel President Buhari to pay him damages in the aggregate sum of N2billion, as well as tender a public apology to him, for sponsoring frivolous suits against him. The demands were contained in a counter-claim the PDP presidential candidate filed in response to a N40million libel suit the Buhari Campaign Organisation, BCO, slammed against him over an allegation that he defamed President Buhari and his family. The BCO had in its suit marked FCT/HC/CV/ 804/2019, accused Atiku and his aide, Mr.

Phrank Shaibu, of making several defamatory statement in the media, to the effect that Buhari used his position as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and head of the government, to fraudulently acquire two private companies, Keystones Bank Plc and 9Mobile Communication Ltd for himself, his family members, and friends. The plaintiff told the court that Atiku and his aide falsely claimed that President Buhari acquired the said companies using his influence and the control he has over the head of parastatals or organisations that are connected with activities of the companies. The BCO maintained that the unverified and false allegations it said was sponsored by Atiku, “caused grave pain, embarrassment”, to President Buhari whose integrity it said was called to question. Postponement’ll not deter Nigerians from giving you a defeat certificate – PDP In an affidavit that was deposed to by its Director of Communication and Strategic Planning, Mallam Gidado Ibrahim, the BCO, told the court that Atiku and his media aide engaged in smeared campaign of calumny against Buhari, by willfully allowing and sponsoring the said purported defamatory and image damaging statements made by the 1st Defendant to be published by some newspapers to members of the public. Ibrahim averred that as such, President Buhari’s reputations was greatly affected by undue diligence with regards to the authenticity of the information as it relate to the true ownership of the alleged companies which the 1 st Defendant on behalf and for the 2nd defendant, falsely published in the newspapers for the consumption of the general public. “The 2nd Defendant permitted and sponsored the 1st Defendant, Mr. Phrank Shaibu to make and publish defamatory and damaging statement against the 1st Plaintiff in order for 2nd Defendant to get undue advantage in terms of votes from the member of the public more than the 1st Plaintiff (Buhari), the presidential candidate of the All Progressives Congress. “That the 2nd Defendant who is a Presidential Candidate of the People Democratic Party hanged on this

publications and using same on every campaign grounds to smear the person of the 1st Plaintiff to his supporters and other members of the public”, the BCO added. President Buhari was cited as the 2nd Plaintiff in the suit. Meanwhile, Atiku, in a counter-claim he filed through his lawyer, Mr. Chukwuma-Machukwu Ume, SAN, challenged the competence of the suit he said was highly frivolous. He applied for an order mandating that the N2billion damages to be paid by both President Buhari and the BCO, should be sent to all the camps of Internally Displaced People, IDPs, across the country and for equipment of libraries and Information Technology equipment for all State Universities in Nigeria. More so, Atiku, sought for an order, “mandating President Buhari and his agents including security operatives and officers to abide by the rule of law and the principle of separation of powers entrenched in the constitution and should not intervene in the forthcoming elections”. In a 56 paragraphed witness statement on oath deposed to by one Abraham Udoh, the PDP presidential flag-bearer told the court that President Buhari has failed Nigerians by his inability as a President, to stop ruthless and wanton killings across the country. He said the killings and destructions had rendered citizens, farmers, women and children homeless without food or basic amenities of life, as well as led to the emergence of various IDP camps in the country. He said: “That under the present administration, there are over 108, 000 Internally Displaced Persons grappling with a litany of infections and hunger”. “In Taraba State the number of IDPs in the various camps are: Mayo Dassa (402 IDPs); Gullong (1259), ATC Kofai (968), Abuja I and II (357), Dorowa/Magami/Malam Joda(579), Sabon Gari (482), Malum (872), Murtai/Yaukani/Yelwa(554), Mile six (74), Nyabukaka/Tutan Kurma/Kasa(148) and Nukkai (30). NIGERIA DECIDES: How 36 states will vote “That in Plateau State there are a total of 38, 051 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) who were victims of the June 23 and 24 violence involving suspected

herdsmen and villagers in Barkin Ladi, Riyom, Mangu, Bokkos and Jos South Local Government Areas are taking refuge in 31 camps. “That in Benue State they have registered more than 180, 000 displaced persons in eight camps while over 500, 000 IDPs are taking shelter wherever they find space. Atiku further informed the court that President Buhari’s “lopsided appointments and insensitivity to the principle of Federal character laid down in section 14 (3) of the 1999 constitution that has led to disunity amongst Nigerians. “That the current division in Nigeria was ignited by that infamous 5% versus 97% speech that President Buhari gave in Washington on June 23, 2015. No father should ever tell some of his kids in the presence of the rest of his kids that he loves them more than the others. When this happens, the discontent that it will cause may lead to the breakup of that home. “That in a report by Transparency International (TI) released on February 21, 2018, Nigeria was still ranked as one of the most corrupt countries in the World. That the inability of the Buhari administration to combat grand corruption has led to astronomical plundering of public coffers costing the Nigerian taxpayers around 25% of annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP). “That according to a recent report released by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on February 28, 2018, Nigerians are getting poorer despite the country’s slow recovery from a devastating recession”. Atiku further told the court that Buhari’s desecration of the judicial process of the nation, led to a high tension and democratic instability in the country. “That Buhari in flagrant abuse of his veto power, without any unilateral support from other tiers of government illegally and unconstitutionally suspended the Chief Justice of Nigeria (CJN), Justice Walter Onnoghen from office on January 25, 2019 without strict adherence to the provisions of section 292 of the 1999 constitution which laid down the procedure for the removal of a judicial officer in his capacity. “That in further usurpation of the Constitutional functions of the National Judicial

Council (NJC), Buhari swore in an illegal Acting Chief Justice of Nigeria, Tanko Mohammed”, Atiku added. Meantime, the case has been adjourned till March 7 for hearing.

Read more at: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/02/2019-elections-atiku-slams-n2bn-suit-against-buhari-demands-public-apology/>

Atiku in Kebbi, pledges autonomy for LGs

FEBRUARY 3, 2019

Former Vice President Atiku Abubakar, the presidential candidate of the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), on Sunday pledged to ensure autonomy for local governments, if elected in the Feb. 16 presidential election. Atiku/obi Shut down Enugu/ebonyi Abubakar made the pledge in Birnin Kebbi, the Kebbi capital, during his presidential campaign rally. “If elected on February 16, I will make sure the local governments in our country have autonomy and joint accounts between states and local governments will be scrapped. “I will not allow any governor to take a penny from local governments’ coppers as the money are meant for LGAs and their development,” he said. He also promised to create jobs for the teeming unemployed youths and empower women to start up businesses in order to make the economy more stronger. “I will also make sure that poverty is chased away and hunger decimated in the country. ” When we do this we are, at the same time strengthening the security of our country and fighting insecurity,” Atiku said. Earlier, the Director General, PDP Presidential Campaign Council, Sen. Bukola Saraki, accused the ruling APC government of failing to deliver on its promises to Nigerians. “They promised security, employment, and to fight poverty but we still have no security, unemployment is on the increase and hunger is at its highest ebb,” Saraki claimed. Earlier, PDP National

Chairman, Chief Uche Secondus, said that the party was committed to preserving the unity of Nigeria. Secondus urged the people of Kebbi to vote massively for PDP candidates at all levels of the elections. He also advised the electorates to take measures to protect their vote and resist any form of malpractice. He called on the relevant agencies to put necessary strategies in place to ensure that the elections are free and fair. Also speaking, the state Chairman of the party, Alhaji Haruna Saidu, said the mammoth crowd witnessed at the rally was an indication that the PDP would take over the state. “We have no doubt that with what we have witnessed today, come Feb.16 and March 2, we will sweep all the polls ,” he said. Saidu commended the party followers for coming out en masse to welcome the PDP presidential candidate and his campaign team.(NAN)

Read more at: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/02/atiku-in-kebbi-pledges-autonomy-for-lgs/>

We'll generate \$30bn, 1.5m jobs from 'Made in Nigeria for Export', says Buhari February 8, 2019

President Muhammadu Buhari says the implementation of the Federal Government's Made in Nigeria for Exports will generate 30billion dollars and create 1.5million jobs by 2025.

MINE is a presidential special priority intervention programme implemented by the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, but under Buhari's direct supervision.

The president stated this at the signing of the agreement between Nigeria Special Economic Zones Investment Company and Strategic Investment Partners at the State House, Abuja on Friday.

According to him, MINE is using Special Economic Zones to achieve the objectives of boosting the share of manufacturing in Gross Domestic Product to 20 per cent.

“Under my direct supervision, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Investment is implementing Project MINE (Made in Nigeria for Exports) as a Presidential special priority intervention using Special Economic Zones to achieve the objectives of; boosting manufacturing’s share of GDP to 20%, generating \$30bn in annual export earnings; and creating 1.5 million new jobs all by 2025.

“In order to achieve these ambitious objectives, we are implementing a comprehensive plan including but not limited to the following:

“We have set up the Nigeria SEZ Investment Company Limited as a vehicle for participating in Public-Private Partnerships involving Federal and State governments and local and foreign private investors.

“This company will develop new Special Economic Zones all over the country, offering advanced infrastructure and facilities at competitive costs,” he said.

The president revealed that the projects in the pilot phase included Enyimba Economic City, Funtua Cotton Cluster and Lekki Model Industrial Park.

He announced that experienced SEZ developers and operators were needed to partner with the government to upgrade its Free Trade Zones in Calabar and Kano, and to offer first-class standards of infrastructure and facilities.

He said, “Whilst we await the completion of the process of bringing in these investors, the Federal Executive Council has approved the award of contracts in excess of N19.45 billion for the needed investment in Calabar and Kano Free Trade Zones and work is currently ongoing.

“This is the highest amount of capital investment ever in the history of these zones.”

The President said the federal government had allocated funds to upgrade the capabilities of management and the systems in the Nigeria Export Processing Zones Authority, to strengthen it as a regulator of the SEZ.

He added that government was also allocating substantial resources to the provision of “outside the fence” infrastructure to ensure that SEZ are connected to global, regional and domestic markets.

“We are reviewing our incentive framework to ensure competitiveness relative to the other countries with whom we are in the race to attract export-oriented global manufacturing investment.

“We will extend the early successes we have achieved in Ease of Doing Business to the areas critical to globally competitive export-oriented manufacturing operations,” he said.

The president thanked the investment partners including the Africa Export and Import Bank; Africa Finance Corporation; Bank of Industry; Nigerian Sovereign Investment Authority and the African Development Bank for their support for the initiative.

The *News Agency of Nigeria* reports that those who signed the agreement included President Afreximbank, Dr Benedict Oramah; the Managing Director, Bank of Industry, Mr Olukayode Pitan and the Managing Director of the Nigerian Sovereign Investment Authority, Mr Uche Orji.

(NAN)

ICYMI: APC will win in a free, fair election, says Oshiomhole

February 14, 2019

Mr. Adams Oshiomole, the National Chairman of the All Progressives Congress has assured that the party would win the forthcoming general election in a free, fair, and transparent manner.

According to a statement issued by Malam Lanre Issa-Onilu, the APC National Publicity Secretary, Oshiomhole gave the assurance at a meeting convened by the party's National Working Committee in Abuja.

Issa-Onilu said the special meeting was necessary to review and deliberate on the party's preparation and general issues ahead of the general election scheduled to commence on February 16.

He added that the meeting which was presided over by Oshiomhole, was attended by the party's state chairmen, secretaries and governorship candidates from across the federation.

“The APC will win the election in a free and fair manner as against the practice in the past when the Peoples Democratic Party was in charge.

READ ALSO: [Three arrested with weapons, charms at Ogun APC presidential rally](#)

He said the PDP administration had always stole people's mandate by manipulating the electoral process and state institutions to win elections.

Oshiomhole identified the state executives represented at the meeting by their respective chairmen and secretaries as important grassroots base that would work and ensure the party's victory in the Presidential, Governorship, National and State Houses of Assembly Election.

He hailed the huge turnout of party supporters in the presidential campaign rallies held so far, and urged the party's state executives to work cordially with state governors and stakeholders to ensure victory for all APC candidates.

Oshiomhole while cautioning against complacency, said the party's victory in the coming election was assured judging by the continued support of the electorate and the unprecedented achievements of the President Muhammadu Buhari led administration.

He, however, urged APC members and leaders not to be distracted by the daily falsehood and propaganda by the opposition PDP, saying that PDP's strategy was a fallout of its infamous Dubai meeting.

(NAN)

Elections: I will be the winner —Buhari

February 23, 2019

President Muhammadu Buhari on Saturday morning reaffirmed his confidence in winning the presidential election.

Buhari told newsmen shortly after voting at Kofar Baru, Sarkin Yara "A" ward in Daura, his home town, that he would win the election and congratulated himself.

Clad in a light blue 'Babbar Riga', the president was accompanied by his wife, and some security details.

Aisha was the first to vote before the president at 8.06 a.m., while the president voted at 8.10 a.m.

"So far, so good. Nigerians understand and are behaving themselves," Buhari said when asked to give his assessment of the exercise, so far.

When asked if he would congratulate the winner if he lost the election he said, “I will congratulate myself; I am going to be the winner,” the president said.

(NAN)

#electionday: 16 killed in election violence

FEBRUARY 23, 2019

Sixteen people were killed on Saturday in electoral violence across Nigeria during presidential and parliamentary elections, a network of civil society organisations said.

Area Boys fight over the alleged distribution of money for votes at a polling unit in Alagomeji-Yaba in Lagos on February 23, 2019. – Nigerians voted for a new president after a week-long delay that has raised political tempers, sparked conspiracy claims and stoked fears of violence. Some 120,000 polling stations opened from 0700 GMT, although there were delays in the delivery of some materials and deployment of staff.

(Photo by STEFAN HEUNIS / AFP) Area Boys fight over the alleged distribution of money for votes at a polling unit in Alagomeji-Yaba in Lagos on February 23, 2019.

– Nigerians voted for a new president after a week-long delay that has raised political tempers, sparked conspiracy claims and stoked fears of violence. Some 120,000

polling stations opened from 0700 GMT, although there were delays in the delivery of some materials and deployment of staff. (Photo by STEFAN HEUNIS / AFP) The

Situation Room umbrella group of pro-democracy groups, which is monitoring the vote, said on Twitter that “16 deaths have been recorded across 8 states”. Violence

recorded included “disruption of voting, ballot boxes and papers set ablaze by political thugs in Lagos”, it added, without giving further details. Electoral violence has marred

previous votes in Africa’s most populous country and is relatively low compared to other years. Most voting took place without incident. Analysts SBM Intelligence said

233 people were killed in 67 incidents of election-related violence from last October to Friday — an average of two people per day. MEND backs Buhari, warns oil assets vandals In the southern state of Rivers, unknown gunmen shot dead a former local government leader and his brother in the Andoni area, police said. Both were members of President Muhammadu Buhari’s ruling All Progressives Congress (APC) party. Police spokesman Nnamdi Omoni said “hoodlums” dressed in military uniforms also invaded some polling stations in the Okrika area of the state and snatched voting materials. “Police have moved in to restore order in Okrika and INEC (Independent National Electoral Commission) is making efforts to ensure voters are not disenfranchised in the area,” he said. There were sporadic reports of violence and attacks on polling units across the country. At one polling unit in the Yaba area of Lagos, AFP reporters witnessed bloody fights between youths, as unknown men distributed cash to waiting groups. #Electionday : Unprecedented crowd overwhelms INEC staff in Abuja There were also reports of voter intimidation by thugs, according to local residents. But in many other areas, voting went on without disruption

Read more at: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/02/nigeria-16-killed-in-election-violence/>

Rigging claims fly as Nigeria election results come in

FEBRUARY 26, 2019

Nigeria’s main opposition on Monday accused the ruling party of trying to rig presidential elections as the incumbent cemented a lead, but monitors voiced concern about polling day problems and violence that caused dozens of deaths. The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) accused the All Progressives Congress (APC) of President

Muhammadu Buhari of colluding with the electoral commission in an attempt to “manipulate the results”. PDP chairman Uche Secondus told reporters the APC was using security agencies and ministers to put pressure on the authorities. “It’s as if we are in the military era,” he added. The accusation, rejected by the APC as a “childish” attempt to discredit the commission and the process, came as Buhari — a former military ruler — took an early lead when first results were announced. With 12 states declared and counting adjourned until 0900 GMT Tuesday, Buhari was ahead by seven states to five, with 2,976,721 votes to 2,690,616 for former vice-president Atiku Abubakar, of the PDP. To win, a candidate needs a majority of votes and at least 25 percent of support in two-thirds of Nigeria’s 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja. A total of 72.7 million people were eligible to vote in the presidential poll as well as parliamentary elections held at the same time. The election — the sixth in the 20 years since Nigeria returned to democracy after decades of military rule — took place on Saturday, a week after a last-gasp postponement. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) blamed logistical difficulties, which were not entirely ironed out by the weekend, forcing voting to go into a second day. – ‘Serious shortcomings’ – The European Union said there were “serious operational shortcomings”, which saw polling units open late, leaving voters waiting for hours with no idea when voting would start. The Situation Room umbrella group of over 70 civil society organisations observing the vote called for an inquiry into what it said was INEC’s “poor management” of the process. It highlighted lapses in logistics, technology and security and said INEC had “not managed the election efficiently and significant shortcomings have been recorded”. “The election has been a step back from the 2015 General Election and actions should be taken to identify what has gone wrong and what can be corrected,” it added. The head of the African Union observer mission,

Ethiopia's former prime minister Hailemariam Desalegn, also said they were concerned "by the pattern of consistent postponement". The last two elections suffered similar delays and Hailemariam said the latest postponement had "implications for citizens' participation and turnout". Thugs ambush INEC staff in Ogun, shoot policeman dead "Last-minute election postponements should not become the norm in Nigeria," added the National Democratic Institute and International Republican Institute. Monitors Yiaga Africa said early indications put voter turnout at 36-40 percent. In the southeast state of Abia, where pro-Biafran separatist leaders had urged supporters to boycott the vote, turnout was just 18 percent. – Security gaps – The election took place against a backdrop of fears about security across the country, as well as claims from both parties that the other was looking to rig the result. Neither produced evidence but INEC chairman Mahmood Yakubu on Sunday said there were reports of ballot-snatching, vote-buying and violence. One election volunteer was killed by a stray bullet in the southern state of Rivers, where some INEC staff and even police were held hostage before being released unharmed. Other election staff were attacked in the southern state of Akwa Ibom and Kogi in the north central region. The Situation Room, which had some 8,000 monitors on the ground, said "at least 39 Nigerians" were killed in election-related violence in 11 states on Saturday and Sunday. Worst-affected was the oil-rich southern state of Rivers, where 16 people were killed. Previously, analysts SBM Intelligence said 233 people were killed in 67 incidents of election-related violence from last October to Friday — an average of two people per day. The Situation Room said just over a quarter of the nearly 120,000 polling units were under-policed, and said there were "shortfalls and gaps" in security elsewhere. At least six states saw disruption in polling. In the Okoto area of the country's biggest city, Lagos, voters were chased away. Ballot boxes were destroyed

in Okoto as well as in Osun state, where voting papers were also affected. There were also reports of some “partisan” security officials as well as “compromised” INEC staff and incidents involving the military, including blocking some voters. Police said 128 people had been arrested for electoral offences.

Read more at: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/02/rigging-claims-fly-as-nigeria-election-results-come-in/>