

ANALYSIS OF COVERAGE OF POLITICAL THUGGERY BY SELECT MAINSTREAM NEWSPAPERS IN NIGERIA

Samuel Idowu Ogunbadejo^{1*}, Chinyere Felicia Nweke² & Gloria Nwakego Chukwuemeka³

^{1,2,3}Department of Mass Communication, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria.

*og.samuelidowu@unizik.edu.ng

ABSTRACT: This study investigated how three major Nigerian newspapers covered political thuggery. The goal was to assess the frequency of political thuggery coverage in the newspapers and to identify the perspectives each paper presented between July and December. Content analysis was employed to gather data from news and feature stories on political thuggery in Nigeria during the period from July to December 2022. A total of 160 editions of the newspapers were analysed. The research was based on framing theory and conflict theory, using frequency tables and simple percentages to present the data. The study found that November and December 2022 saw the highest coverage of political thuggery in the newspapers. It also indicated that the predominant stance in the selected papers was that political thuggery should be deterred, with perpetrators arrested and prosecuted by the relevant authorities. The study suggested that there should be increased reporting on political thuggery in Nigeria and that journalists should receive training on how to cover and report on this issue to prevent escalation.

Keywords: Analysis, Coverage, Political Thuggery, Mainstream Newspapers

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria, the acclaimed giant of Africa, with one of the highest populations is set for another election. The stage is set in the midst of various huddles significant among which is political thuggery. In recent times, especially as the nation moves toward Election Day, many deaths have been recorded in the National Dailies arising from thuggery and violent related instances. No doubt, elections are mostly marred by violence. The Common Country Analysis (2022) of the United Nations Nigeria posits that, since 2016 there has been a near continuous deterioration in the scale of conflict-associated casualties. Ugboja (2017) opines that political thuggery has become one of the major problems in Africa generally, adding that, political thugs are often recruited and trained for various purposes including intimidation, harassment, abduction, assassination, maiming and violence. In fact, Ezeabasili (2022) believes that political thuggery has become one of the glaring characteristics of the political processes in developing economies, particularly in Nigeria. According to her, this has given rise to a series of crises, political violence, rebellion, arms proliferation and political instability. This act, Ezeabasili opines led to the destruction of lives and properties, leading to choosing the wrong

candidates, electoral malpractices and manipulation, robberies, kidnapping and other social vices.

No doubt, these daily activities of political thugs are covered and reported in National Newspapers. The Newspapers in an attempt to cover and report political thuggery, expressed various views. The views expressed differ from one paper to another. Irrespective of the views expressed by the Newspapers, one thing is common, the Newspapers seem to have one dominant view in the coverage of political thuggery in Nigeria.

News, in its classified format, is fundamentally a narrative about current but unexpected events whose occurrence interest readers and draws debates and discussions on the event. (Okon, Ajiboye, Ekanem & Omojola, 2018). News reporting is a type of journalism, typically written or broadcast, which involves a social process of narrative construction (information gathering, processing and reporting) guided by acceptable news language, news style and news distribution system. (Hassan, 2013) cited in Okon (2018).

Coverage of political thuggery therefore is a herculean task as each Newspaper thrives to express different views. One of the views expressed is the fact that political thuggery leads to the destruction of lives and properties. Furthermore, some Newspapers believe that political thuggery is a threat to democratic dividends and also a bane to good governance. Moreover, others expressed the view that politicians and political parties trade blame among one another on who sends political thugs between the various political parties. However, some newspapers believe that political thug and their sponsors if caught should be brought to book, this will serve as a deterrence to others and by so doing, peace will be restored in Nigerian society. Therefore, coverage of political thuggery by the media should be done circumspectively with the aim of restoring peace and sanity to the Nigerian polity.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The central theme of this work revolves around some key concepts that require a brief discussion in order to have a clear focus.

Thuggery

Different scholars give different definitions to the term, thuggery. Kwasau and Mohammed (2022) define thuggery as a violent behaviour consciously intended to pose a threat or scare people who are perceived to be opponents in order to achieve an undue advantage. Shankyula (2011) on his part believe that thuggery is any act of intimidation, violence, hooliganism, brutality or gangsterism whether leading to death or not, calculated to pose a threat or scare people or perceived opponents aimed at achieving an undue advantage. Ogbonna, Ajayi and Bello (2022) see thuggery as a brutal or violent act of thugs. Thugs, on the other hand, refer to violent, lawless or vicious people who commit crimes and are hired by others, (especially, power seekers) to carry out their dirty jobs (assassination, assaults, riots or any form of violent act) with the intent to protect their vested interest. The Los Angeles Times (2003) traced the origin of the word thuggee. Originally, the word, *thuggery* was pronounced as “Thuggee”

which means actions and crimes carried out by thugs- which, historically, refers to gang of professional robbers and murderers in Indian.

From the above, one can infer that thuggery is any act orchestrated by a thug in an effort to disrupt another set of people. The disruption is usually forceful on the opponent and can warrant physical, mental, and emotional torture of an individual who is perceived as an enemy or a threat to one's progress either physically, politically or even economically.

Political Thuggery

Ogbonna (2022) opines that political thuggery connotes an organised act of violence, intimidation and blackmail directed against a political opponent to achieve a selfish political aim. He further states that political thuggery is a violent act in which thugs are used to victimise, terrorise, and intimidate others during political activities. The phenomenon of political thuggery according to Umar et al (2016) makes individuals pose deadly threats by deterring other individuals from being active in the political process and routine socio-economic activities at their homes, shops and on the street.

Rasak and Garuba (2017) define political thuggery as an act of political violence or behaviour by ruffians hired or instigated by politicians to intimidate their opponents. It is the intentional use of physical force threatened against another person or a group or community that either results in injury, death, psychological harm or deprivation within a political circle. Mandyen (2017) sees political thuggery as an organised act that seeks to influence an electoral process with the objective of gaining an unfair political advantage over another and geared towards winning political power by subverting the ends of the electoral and democratic process through intimidation and disempowerment of political opponent.

It should be stressed that political thuggery is an upshot of political violence. Jonathan (2016) cited in Rasak et al (2022) believes that political violence encourages militarization of the political space with the consequent proliferation of arms, ammunition and other dangerous weapons purposely for act of criminality, including thuggery. Political thuggery is evil that must be avoided.

Causes of Political Thuggery

Many reasons have been adduced as the causes of political thuggery in Nigeria. Aliyu (2018) sees unemployment as one of the major causes of political thuggery. Unemployment, according to Aliyu (2018) is a state where someone of working age and with requisite qualifications is unable to get a job but will like to be in full-time employment. It is often said that an idle hand is the devil's workshop. Hence, these armies of jobless youth, are working tools in the hands of politicians to be used as political thugs.

Vanguard Newspaper of 7th January, 2023 quoted the popular Nigerian Clergy, the General Overseer of the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), Pastor Adeboye as saying "You

have to be jobless to attend political rallies”, this by extension connotes that many of these jobless youth are willing tools in the hands of politicians.

Another cause of political thuggery is poverty. Poverty is a multifaceted concept, which may include social, economic and political elements. Absolute poverty, extreme poverty or destitution refers to the poverty is the scarcity or lack of a certain amount of material possession or money.

Godfatherism is another cause of political thuggery in Nigeria. Okolue (2011) states that since the return of democratic rule in Nigeria in 1999, the god-father has remained a force to be reckoned with. Aliyu (2018) believes that it is the godfathers who recruit, finance and empower the political thugs who engage in political violence and manipulate the electoral process to satisfy the wishes of their sponsors.

Sit-tight or do-or-die syndrome has also been adduced as another reason why politicians use thugs. Such desperate politicians, wouldn't want to leave office either as Governor or President. Even Senators and other members of the House of Assembly would want to retain their position in perpetuity, hence, they would want to win elections at all costs. Oyatope (2002) observes that sit-tight syndrome is a situation in which an individual tries to hold on to power for personal aggrandisement or gain. In an attempt to hang on to power, leaders often create a regime of violence, repression, hooligans and bloodshed. They organise political thugs, hooligans and scavengers to sing their praises, intimidate opponents and kill them if they become intersegment. Therefore, the idea to hold on to political office tightly make politics a do or die affairs. Hence, thuggery is used as a great tool to achieve their political aim.

Effects of Political Thuggery

No doubt, political thuggery poses serious threat to democratic consolidation in Nigeria in the following ways. Aliyu (2018) believes that political thuggery leads to the militarization of the political environment. This simply means that the political environment is made heated up so as to discourage credible from participating in seeking for elective position.

Furthermore, political thuggery leads to the destruction of lives and property Guardian July 2022 reports how thugs attacked the motorcade of APC senatorial candidate in Kano, leaving 17 injured. In fact, the killing of innocent people is the foremost evil of thuggery in Nigerian politics. Abubakar (2015) believes that thugs attack innocent people, as they hardly lay a hand on their target, they attempt to attack everybody they come across. This trend is affecting democratic and social activities negatively.

Moreover, thuggery activities tend to create great fear and intimidation in people's psyche. When people are afraid, it will be very difficult for them to join any political activity, this will ensure that bad people who hold political offices will be there in perpetuity. In fact, with political thuggery, the security of lives and properties cannot be fully guaranteed because law enforcement agencies are sometimes afraid, either that they wouldn't want to offend or disobey the 'powers that be' or even compromise in their operation to support the regime in power.

After all, it is a common knowledge that he who plays the piper dictates the tune. Fear here works as double edge sword, first against the innocent citizens to hinder people from political participation and on the other hand, fear makes security agencies to compromise their job and support the evil doers. How then do the media cover political thuggery?

Mass Media and Politics

Mass media an institution that gathers and disseminate information about various issues ranging from social to economic, educational and political affairs. No section of society can thrive without the mass media. The media perform various functions ranging from information to education, surveillance, interpretation of meaning and even in socialization. Again, the importance of media in reporting political issues cannot be underestimated. The media cannot be detached from politics. Therefore, media also have some political importance; that is, deliberate manipulation of the political process through proper reporting, especially when reporting on violence or conflict... this function of the media, it was believed affects the lives of individuals, groups and social organizations, as well as the course of domestic politics. By reporting politics, especially conflict such as thuggery, citizens are engaged in the business of governance by informing, educating and mobilizing them as well as building peace and social consensus

In the Nigeria political sphere, the media have been deeply involved with politics and have also been vital to the political development of the country. (Ike &Udeze, 2016). It has made some quite outstanding contributions toward the development of politics and political communication, which according to McNair (2011) is a purposeful communication about politics. How then is this done?

Peace Journalism

Peace journalism was introduced in the 1960s in Johan Galtung's article 'The structure of foreign news', in which he critiqued the prevailing style of journalism at the time. Peace journalism according to Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) concerns the choices of editors and reporters of what stories to report and about how to report them that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value no violent responses to conflict. Majid Tehranian (2002) has also identified similar issues regarding peace journalism. He describes peace journalism as a kind of journalism and media ethics that attempts to transform conflict from its violent channels to constructive forms by conceptualizing news, empowering the voiceless and seeking common ground that unites rather than divides human society. Peace journalism encourages the adoption of conflict-responsive journalism (Tsado, Jacob & Shoubu, 2016)

Conflict Sensitive Reporting

Conflict-sensitive reporting is another concept closely related to peace journalism. This concept according to Howard (2009) reflects the modernization of the original values of the news media and is rooted in the belief that the media in many societies can be a powerful force to reduce causes of conflict and to enable them to pursue better conflict resolution. The central

concept of conflict-sensitive reporting, according to Howard, is that violent conflict attracts intense news media attention that requires greater analytical depth and skills to report on without contributing to further violence or overlooking peace-building opportunities. It should be noted that conflict sensitive reporting essentially shares the concerns and the objective of peace journalism in the reportage of conflicts. They both stem from a critique of the approach and predispose the process to negative reporting

Theoretical Framework

Framing Theory and Conflict Theory

The Framing Theory has its roots in Erving Goffman's phenomenology—a philosophical system which provides that world views, experiences and knowledge are the factors that determine how individuals perceive social reality. Phenomenology, as Littlejohn and Foss (2009) explain, constitutes some interpretive designs, which are the “frames that we use in our day-to-day experience to make sense of the world” interpret and construct social reality. In reference to the mass media, McCombs (2004) defines framing as “the selection of—and emphasis upon—particular attributes for the news media agenda” in a way that filters and shapes a news story as the sender wants. Chong and Druckman (2007) submit that a frame in news reporting refers to the words, phrases, visual elements, and presentation styles that a message source employs to relay information about an issue. The nature of these framing elements always influences how the audience perceives and interprets the communicated message. According to Entman (2007), to frame is to select some fragments of social reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in a manner that could promote or suggest causal interpretation, definition, moral evaluation or treatment of perceived reality. Based on the foregoing definitions, we consider media framing theory as the appropriate theoretical framework for this study, which focuses on coverage of political thuggery by the media in Nigeria, to determine the dominant view expressed therein

For the purpose of this paper, the study wishes to adopt framing analysis theory and Conflict theory as the driving conceptual frameworks. There is diversity of approaches to newspaper news analysis (Chiluwa, 2012). Framing is a significant approach to discourse analysis. Framing analysis is concerned with the way the world is seen through the lens of the news reporter (DeFleur, 2010). Framing analysis focuses on the kind of subjective frames (words, ideas, images, sound, emotions, etc.) reporters bring to bear on their news stories. In this regard, ‘frames’ are abstractions that work to organize message meanings or the values that news media place on the information they convey to the public, which influence how audiences perceive and respond to the news (DeFleur, 2010). The audience's response to the reporter's depiction of the ‘real world’, of course, is dependent on the accuracy of how reality is represented. Often, it is a reporter's subjective or objective interpretation of reality that guides the audience's response and social behaviour to what is represented (DeFleur, 2010).

Seen in this light, framing theory is closely tied with Agenda Setting theory; yet framing theory operates as a second level of Agenda Setting imperative. While Agenda Setting theory operates to *inform the audience of what to think about any issue of public importance* as conveyed

through news media, framing theory *tells the audience how to think about that issue* (emphasis is mine). Goffman (1974), the first to apply this theory to the field of communication, makes a distinction between two frameworks by which people come to make sense of the reality of the world around them as conveyed through news media: the *natural* and the *social* frames. Natural frameworks present events as physical occurrences without attributing any to the causation of social forces; but social frameworks see events as socially driven occurrences, driven and manipulated by the whims and goals of other social players. Both play the role of helping audiences interpret news data and understand their experiences in a wider social context. The difference between the two, Goffman admits, is functional. Yet, social frameworks build on natural frameworks. For Goffman (1974), these frameworks and the values they create are significantly influential in the way audiences interpret and respond to communicated news messages.

Conflict Theory

Karl Marx (1818-1883) is the exponent of conflict theory. Other proponents of conflict theory include Ludwig (1838-1909), Pareto (1848-1923), George Simmel (1858-1918), Ralph Dahrendorf, Gluckman, M. (1965), Lewis Coser (1956/1968), and Gurr, T. (1968). Conflict theorists are of the view that there are groups in the society that have different interests. In this regard, they believe that social arrangement will tend to benefit some groups at the expense of others. This is because of existence of the different interests; the potentials and the likelihood of conflict is always present. According to this theory, some groups come to dominate others and to win for themselves a disproportionate share of the society's political power, which includes wealth and privileges in the society at the expense of the less powerful ones. They also incriminate the activities of the less powerful while they protect that of the powerful persons. Such situations according to this theory creates violence which often lead to violence especially political violence. The theory is of the view that, the masses are not bound to society by their shared values, but by coercion at the hands of those in power. This theory emphasizes social control, not consensus and conformity. Groups and individuals advance their own interests, struggling over control of societal resources. Those with the most resources exercise power over others with inequality and power struggles resulting. There is great attention paid to class, race, and gender in this perspective because they are seen as the grounds of the most pertinent and enduring struggles in society which often lead to electoral violence in the society (Anderson, & Taylor, 2009).

Based on the foregoing assumptions of the theories- Framing and Conflict theories, have been adopted as the theoretical frameworks on the coverage of political thuggery by three Nigerian Newspapers with the aim of determining the dominant view expressed by the papers.

METHODOLOGY

The primary objective of this study was to examine the coverage of political thuggery by three Nigerian Newspapers- Vanguard, the Sun and the Guardian with the aim of determining the dominant view of the Newspapers while covering political thuggery. This study therefore was designed using the content analysis method. The manifest content of the selected dailies was

evaluated to ascertain the views expressed by each paper and the overall view expressed by all the papers. The select newspapers were the Vanguard, the Sun and the Guardian for a period of six months- (July to December, 2022). These papers were selected because they are national newspapers and their reach is nationwide. They enjoyed wide readership all over the country at the time of this study. They, therefore can be used to represent other National Dailies in the country. Furthermore, the selected newspapers are not specialised readers but rather target the general public. Since the newspapers are published daily, including on weekends, the total number of days in six months was multiplied by three different newspapers. This resulted in a total of 558 editions (31 days x 6 months x 3 newspapers). However, because September has 30 days, the actual total is 557 editions. From this population, a sample of 160 editions was intentionally selected for analysis.

The Unit of Analysis of this study was the straight news and feature news on political thuggery in Nigeria, while the **Content Categories** are Frequency of Coverage, view expressed and Dominant view expressed in the selected newspapers.

Data Analysis

Data were analysed using SPSS to get Simple percentage. In analysing the work, four views were identified and appropriately coded:

1. Political thuggery leads to the destruction of lives and properties
2. Politicians and political parties trade blame between themselves on who instigates and sponsors political thuggery
3. Political thuggery is a threat to democratic dividend and also a bane to good governance
4. Thugs and sponsors of political thuggery should be punished to serve as a deterrence to others and bring about peace in the country. This view is geared toward Peace Journalism.

The study considered only these aspects of the data that fitted the four types of views and drew the one that held the highest view (Dominant view) in the three newspapers.

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Analysis Based on Frequency of Coverage of Political Thuggery by the Papers

Table 1: Frequency of coverage of political thuggery by each newspaper

How many times did each Newspaper report cases of political thuggery between July and December 2022?

MONTHS	VANGUARD		SUN		THE GUARDIAN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	percent	Frequency	percent
July	16	27.6	2	3.6	3	6.5
August	9	15.5	5	8.9	3	6.5
September	8	13.8	5	8.9	4	8.7
October	12	20.7	13	23.2	6	13.0
November	9	15.5	15	26.8	13	28.3
December	4	6.9	16	28.6	17	37.0
Total	58	100.0	56	100.0	46	100.0

The above table indicates that between July and December 2022, Vanguard Newspaper reported thuggery activities for 58 times. July edition carries the highest number of reportage 16(27.6%), but the number fluctuates in its subsequent months, while in The Sun Newspaper, political thuggery was reported 56 times, with its December edition having the highest reportage 16(28.6%). There is however a progressive increase in the number of reportage from July through to December 2022. Again, in The Guardian Newspapers, 46 number of reportage of political thuggery were recorded with the December edition having the highest number of reportage 17(37%). It should also be noted that The Guardian newspapers progressively increase the number of reportage of political thuggery as the months go by. The implication of the above analysis is that Vanguard Newspaper gave more time for reporting political thuggery within the months under review

Table 2: Frequency of Coverage of Political Thuggery by all Newspapers According to Month

Months	Frequency	Percent
July	21	13.1
August	17	10.6
September	17	10.6
October	31	19.4
November	37	23.1
December	37	23.1
Total	160	100.0

African Journal of Social and Behavioural Sciences (AJSBS)
Volume 14, Number 2 (2024) ISSN: 2141-209X

From the table above, it is obvious that a total of 160 reportage of political thuggery was recorded in the selected newspapers in the months under review (July to December 2022). There was a progressive increase in the reportage of political thuggery from August to December meanwhile, November and December editions have the highest number of reportage 37(23.1%). This may not be connected with the fact that these periods are termed festive periods in which thuggery activities will be on the increase with the aim of defrauding people of their hard-earned money.

Analysis Based on Views Expressed by the Papers

Table 3: Views Expressed by Each Newspaper Between July and December

VIEWS EXPRESSED	Vanguard		The Sun		The Guardian	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Destruction to Human life and Properties	13	22.4	13	23.2	11	23.9
Blame Trading Instrument	18	31.0	11	19.6	12	26.1
Threat to Democratic dividend and good governance	9	15.5	12	21.4	11	23.9
Need to Discourage Political Thuggery and Call for Peace	18	31	20	35.7	12	26.1
Total	58	100	56	100	46	100

From the table above, the Vanguard Newspaper holds the view that politicians and political parties trade blame as who is responsible for political thuggery in the country, 18(31%) and also believes that political thuggery should be discouraged and peace should be restored in the country, 18(31%). Sun Newspapers on the other hand, holds the view that, political thuggery should be discouraged in order to promote peace in the country with 20(35.5%) furthermore, The Guardian Newspapers is of the view that political thuggery is used as a blame trading instrument among politicians and political parties 12(26.1%) and also believe that political thuggery should be discouraged and make way for peace to reign.

Table 4: Dominant Views Expressed by all Newspapers between July and December

DOMINANT VIEW EXPRESSED	Frequency	Percent
Destruction to Human life and Properties	37	23.1
Blame Trading Instrument	41	25.6
Threat to Democratic dividend and good governance	32	20.0
Need to Discourage Political Thuggery and call for Peace	50	31.3
Total	160	100.0

The table above shows the dominant view expressed by all the selected newspapers. The overall view or dominant view expressed is that political thuggery should be discouraged and political thugs, punished to serve as deterrence to others, this will bring about peace in the country, 50(31.3%). This view was followed by the fact that political thuggery is used as a blame-trading instrument by politicians and political parties 41(25.6%), then, political thuggery leads to the destruction of lives and properties, 37(23.1%). The last view is that political thuggery is a threat to democratic dividend and good governance, 32(20%).

These views were chosen based on the tone and language used in the reportage as well as the line of argument by the reporter. The stance of each Newspaper forms the basis for the choice of the views expressed.

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper examines the frequency of reportage of political thuggery and also determines the views and dominant views expressed in three Nigerian Newspapers- Vanguard, the Sun and The Guardian Newspapers between July and December, 2022. First, on the frequency of reportage of political thuggery, it was discovered that each of the papers gave considerable time to report political thuggery. The highest of reportage by Vanguard was in its July edition. Political thuggery was reported for 16 times (27.6%), The Sun's highest number of reportage was on its December edition with a total of 16(28.6) times. However, The Guardian Newspapers has the highest number of reportage of political thuggery under the months in review. A total number of 17(37%) reports was recorded in its December edition.

There was however an increase in the number of reportage of political thuggery for all the papers in review for the months of November and December, 2022 as seen from Table 2 above. This is expected as the 2023 General election is drawing nearer and the activities of political thugs increase, consequently, the media beam their searchlight on such occurrences, giving credence to the agenda setting functions of the media.

On the views expressed by the papers, it was discovered that Vanguard Newspapers was of the view that political thuggery was used both as a blame trading instrument 18(31%) and also thuggery should be discouraged, thugs punished in order for peace to reign, 18(31%). The Sun held the view that Thuggery should be discouraged, thugs punished to serve as deterrence to others and also for peace to reign in the country 20(35.7%). The Guardian held the view that political thuggery is used as a blame trading instrument by politicians and political parties 12(26.1%) and also believed that thuggery should be discouraged, thug punished to serve as deterrence to others and also for peace to reign in the country.

On the overall dominant view expressed, it was discovered that the papers discouraged political thuggery and believed that thugs should be adequately punished so as to serve as deterrence for other thugs, then when this is done, peace will be restored in the country, 50(31.3%). Furthermore, blame trading ranks second in the view expressed by the papers 41(25.6%). Here, the papers believed that politicians and political parties always trade blame on the sponsors of political parties between themselves.

Also, this study examined the coverage of political thuggery by three Nigeria newspapers with the aim of deterring or showing the dominant view expressed by the newspapers. Content analysis was used to examine news stories (headlines) and feature stories on political thuggery in Nigeria between July and December, 2022. Three National Dailies- Vanguard, the Sun and The Guardian newspapers were purposively selected and content analysed. The analysis was based on the frequency of coverage and the dominant view expressed by the papers.

A total of one hundred and sixty editions of the papers were investigated. Frequency table and simple percentage were used to present the data. The study found out that November and December 2022 had the highest number of coverages of political thuggery by the newspapers. Also, it was discovered that the dominant view expressed by the selected papers is that, political thuggery should be discouraged, political thugs, if caught, should be arrested and prosecuted by appropriate security agency. Therefore, this study suggests that for peace to be maintained in the society, political thugs should be brought to book as this will serve as deterrence to other political thugs. Also, the sponsors of such act should be identified, arrested and prosecuted, this will bring ensure peace in Nigeria as far as thuggery is concerned. Finally, based on the findings of the study, the researchers recommended that more reportage should be given to political thuggery in Nigeria and also journalist should be trained on how to cover and report political thuggery with the aim of making sure that the situation is not escalated.

REFERENCES

- Abubakar, U.A. (2015). Democracy and Violence: An Assessment of the Impact of Kalare Thuggery in Gombe State. An M.Sc. Thesis submitted to the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Aliyu, A.U. (2015). The Causes and Effects of Political Thuggery in Nigeria. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Research*, 1(12), 22-34. Retrieved from <http://www.gphjournal.org/index.php/article>
- Chiluwa, I. (2012). *Language in the News: Mediating Sociopolitical Crises in Nigeria*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Common Country Analysis, United Nations Nigeria (2022). Retrieved from <https://Nigeria.un.org/en/190049-common-country-analysis-2022>
- DeFleur, M. L. (2010). *Mass Communication Theories: Explaining Origins, Processes, and Effects*. New York: Allyn& Bacon, 345-347.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Howard, R. (2009). *Conflict Sensitive Reporting: State of the Art, a Course for Journalists and Journalism Educators*. UNESCO, France.

Ike, O., & Udeze, E. (2016). Emerging Trends in Gender, Health, and Political Communication in Africa. RhyceKerex, Enugu.

Ogbonna, H.O., Ajayi, B.I., & Bello, E.O. (2022). Examining the Implications of Political Thuggery on Electoral Process in Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Science*, 13(5). Retrieved from www.richtmann.org.

Okon, P.E. (2017). Rethinking Media Policy in Anglophone Sub-Saharan Africa: The Challenge of Community Media. In *Journal of Communication Media Watch*, Vol. VIII No.II, May 2017, pp. 270-286.

Okon, P.E., Ajiboye, E., Ekanem, T., & Omojola, O. (2018). Gendered News Reportage? A Study of The Guardian and The Sun Newspapers, Nigeria. *International Journal of Media, Journalism, and Mass Communications (IJMJMC)*, 4(3). Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.20431/2454-9479.0403003>.

Rasak, B., & Garuba, R.O. (2017). Political Thuggery and Women Participation in Politics in Nigeria. 8(1), 63-78. *Political Science Review*.

Shankyala, T.S. (2011). Political Thuggery and Elections in Nigeria and the Law. In Ezinge, E., & Bello, F. (Eds). *Law and Security in Nigeria* Publication of Nigerian Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, Lagos, Nigeria.

Tehrani, M. (2002). Peace Journalism: Negotiating Global Media Ethics. *Harvard International Journal of Oress/Politics*, 7(2), 58-83.

Ugboja, Kingsley (2017). Weapon Proliferation and its Impact on Youth Restiveness. Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/political_thuggery.

Vanguard Newspapers (2023). "You have to be jobless to attend political rallies"-Adeboye.