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Coverage of the eight months strike of Academic Staff Union of Universities in Leadership and The Nation newspapers

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#### Abstract

This study investigates the media's role in covering the 2022 eight months strike of the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) in Nigeria, focusing on Leadership and The Nation newspapers. Using a content analysis design, data collection involved a code sheet which analysed 276 stories. Of these, 53% were published by *The Nation* and 47% by Leadership. Results reveal a reliance on official sources for news, with minimal attention to non-official perspectives such as students and parents, thereby limiting the scope of coverage. Furthermore, most stories were medium in length, indicating a moderate volume of coverage that failed to treat the strike as an urgent issue. The study found a dominance of straight news reports, with fewer feature and opinion pieces. This lack of in-depth analysis or diverse perspectives reduced the opportunity for the public to grasp the underlying complexities of the strike. Notably, both newspapers rarely proposed solutions to the crisis, reflecting a limited role in promoting dialogue or industrial harmony. By not setting a clear agenda for resolving the strike, the media missed an opportunity to fulfil their social responsibility to advocate for constructive outcomes. Grounded in agenda-setting and social responsibility theories, this study highlights the media's potential yet underutilised role in influencing public discourse and policymaking during crises. The findings extend prior studies on strike coverage by providing empirical evidence on the content, style, and scope of media reporting in Nigeria's education sector. The study concludes that newspapers should expand their sources, allocate more space for diverse content types, and actively suggest solutions to such industrial disputes to contribute meaningfully to societal progress.

**Keywords**: ASUU Strike, Newspaper Coverage, Media Responsibility, Industrial Disputes in Nigeria

# Introduction

Industrial harmony is an essential requirement for peace and progress in the workforce. This is because a workforce in crisis will be unable to meet its mandates effectively. For this reason, industrial harmony is often promoted as a fundamental requirement for orderliness and progress in the workforce. Wobodo (2019) says that industrial harmony is an essential ingredient for motivating workers and ensuring that they achieve the aim of their organisation. According to Barinem and Porbari (2021), industrial harmony exists when an organisation's workers, employers and management enjoy fair play on issues that can affect the performance of employees

and, eventually, the growth of an organisation, industry, or institution. When there is a breakdown in industrial harmony, it leads to industrial disharmony.

Industrial disharmony is the disagreement that erupts between the workers and management or their employers. Dankara (2021) defines industrial disharmony as a state of unrest characterised by the inability of parties to reach a consensus about issues concerning jobs and service conditions. One of the industrial disharmonies that has continuously surfaced in Nigeria involves the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) and the government of Nigeria. Although local ASUU branches have also had issues with their state governments, the concern of the current study is the industrial crisis involving ASUU and the Federal government.

Usually, industrial disputes involving ASUU and the federal government negatively impact Nigeria's university system. The crisis stops academic activities and prolongs students' stay in school such that programmes meant for four years last for six years and those for five years later for seven years, respectively. The media in Nigeria are responsible for reporting issues related to the strike to set a proper agenda on the crisis and suggest ways of addressing it. This is important because of the negative impact of the crisis on the Nigerian university system. For example, Ibrahim (2015) conducted a study to determine the effect of ASUU strikes on the Nigerian university system. He reported that strikes by the academic union negatively impact Nigerian university graduates' quality. Also, during strike actions, students stay at home and are vulnerable to different anti-social behaviour. Some of them do not return to school when the school eventually reopens. For example, *The Guardian* newspaper of 8th March 2022 carried a story of a student of the University of Jos who committed suicide as a result of the strike (Ahovi, 2022).

University workers are equally negatively affected by ASUU strikes. For example, during the 2022 eight-month strikes, university staff were not paid their monthly salaries. This posed a severe challenge to their survival because most were family members with responsibilities, so withholding their salaries for eight months was a considerable challenge. Some lecturers died during the strike, while others sold their properties to stay alive. For example, the *Punch* newspaper reported that ten lecturers from the University of Calabar died during the strike because they did not have money for treatment. In a study, Okeke et al. (2021) found that ASUU strikes also hurt the psycho-social composition of university staff because they lead to a drop in selfesteem, the development of a negative self-concept, deviant behaviour, frustration, aggression and withdrawn behaviour. The implication is that ASUU strikes affect both staff and students negatively. The media in Nigeria have a social responsibility to promote positive development and discourage issues that retard development. Through its reports, the media can highlight the labour crisis in ways that draw the attention of the main actors of the crisis, advocate for an end to constant strikes, and promote industrial harmony for the overall interest of the Nigerian educational system. Based on the above background, the researcher examined newspaper coverage of the 2022 eight-month strikes by the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU).

The 2022 eight-month strike by ASUU significantly negatively impacted university staff, students and the university system. Although the strike is over, issues that led to the declaration of the strike are still subject to legal disputes. Limited studies, if any, have been conducted regarding newspaper coverage of the eight-month-long strike. Issues that are of particular attention but are yet to be examined in the literature are how newspapers covered the strike with particular attention to the type of stories used; the sources cited, and the availability of solutions suggested to address the strike. These issues are important because they will provide information for understanding the contribution of the Nigerian media in addressing industrial disputes in Nigeria's educational system. This is the problem that this study sought to address, and the scope was to understand the newspaper coverage of the 2022 ASUU eight-month strike. The study in the area of content was limited to sources of stories, volume, story

type and solution highlighted. Regarding duration, the study was limited to 14th February to 14th October 2022. This is the duration of the strike. Regarding newspapers, the study examined *Leadership* and *national* newspapers. This study is significant because it could be helpful in theory, journalism studies, and policy advocacy. In the area of theory, the result of this study has offered information that could be beneficial in interpreting the agenda-setting and social responsibility theories. The information in this study could help test these theories and suggest new stories related to media coverage of issues.

This study offers valuable insights into professional journalism practices, particularly in assessing how Nigerian journalists perform during crises, such as industrial disputes. It provides critical information to guide policy formulation and advocacy efforts in addressing such challenges. The study's primary objective was to evaluate how newspapers covered the 2022 eight-month Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) strike. To achieve this, the research focused on four specific objectives: 1. Sources of Information: Identifying the most frequently cited sources in newspaper coverage of the strike. 2. Volume of Coverage: Examining the extent to which newspapers covered the 2022 ASUU strike in frequency and depth. 3. Story Types: Categorising the types of stories published, such as straight news, feature stories, opinion pieces, and others, to understand the narrative styles employed in reporting the strike. 4. Solutions Highlighted: Determining whether newspaper stories included proposed solutions to address and resolve the strike action. These objectives provide a framework for analysing media performance during industrial disharmony, highlighting areas of strength and opportunities for improvement in journalistic practice.

#### **Historical Context and Literature Review**

The 2022 strike is not the first strike action that ASUU has embarked on, and it may not be the last. The strike is also linked to an agreement signed between the union and the government in 2009. In those years, lecturers in public universities across the country embarked on an industrial action that lasted four months. The strike started in June and was called off in October 2009. Before the strike was called off, the Federal Government and the union had an agreement, the 2009 ASUU/FG agreement, which later became the reason for subsequent industrial action. After that strike, several other strike actions took place in 2011, 2013, 2017, and 2018, respectively (Bayo,2018).

Introducing the Integrated Personnel Payment and Information System (IPPIS) as a compulsory platform for paying lecturers' salaries has caused disagreement between lecturers and the federal government. When neither party reached an agreement on the issue of enrollment on the IPPIS platform, the withdrawal of services occurred in 2020. While the Federal government insisted that all workers under her payroll must enrol as a condition to receive their salaries, ASUU insisted that enrolment into the platform is a violation of University autonomy, which is backed by extant laws. ASUU, however, embarked on a two-week warning strike to show their disapproval of the government's move; before the end of the warning strike, the February 2020 salaries of other University workers were paid, leaving ASUU members who did not enrol on IPPIS. This resulted in a full-blown conflict when ASUU members without enrollment had their salaries withheld (Emejo, 2020).

The union reacted by embarking on a two-week warning strike and an indefinite strike on Monday, 23rd March 2020. The withholding of the lecturers' salaries impacted their income, limiting their purchasing power. Such a situation provides an excellent example of the impact of labour-union conflict on the workers and their families. It is essential to note that although members of ASUU resisted IPPIS, their counterparts from NAAT, NASUU, and SANU accepted and enrolled. The 2022 ASUU strike was based on the following demands: improved funding of the university system, payment

of areas of academic allowance, setting up a committee to renegotiate the wages of university lecturers, the use of University Accountability Solution (UTAS) to replace Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS) as a payment platform, and the setting up of university visitation panels. Also, among the reasons for the strike action was a need to address the growing problem of increased proliferation of universities, the release of the withheld check-off dues and an increase in the budgetary allocation to education (Onyedinefu, 2022). Based on the above, the strike lingered for eight months, and at the time of this study, issues involving the strike were still with the National Court of Arbitration. The unions' eight-month salaries were not paid. The strike was suspended because of a court order, and the issues were still being addressed in court.

Martin (2005) conducted a study to determine media coverage of strikes in the New York Times and the Daily Labor Report. The researcher used content analysis and collected data using a code sheet. The researcher found that both newspapers covered strikes in manners that were similar to other forms of protests. The result showed that the New York Times reported strikes in industries that impacted the public, but the same was not valid with the Daily Labor Report. This study is related to the current one because it examined media coverage of strikes. However, it was not a strike involving university workers. Kariithi and Kareithi (2007) did a study to examine newspaper coverage of anti-privatisation strikes in South Africa. The researchers used critical discourse analysis and Stuart Hall's concepts of signification and ideological theory of the media as a framework for the study. The researchers examined four daily newspapers: Sowetan, The Star, Business Day and Citizen. And four weekly newspapers, namely Sunday Independent, Mail & Guardian, Sunday Times and City Press. The study result showed that all the newspapers examined sufficiently covered the strike and supported it through a legitimation approach. The newspapers presented the strike as a legitimate right for the citizens. This study is related to the current one because it examined how newspapers reported the industrial crisis. However, this was not a crisis for university workers. as a legitimate right for the citizens. This study is related to the current one because it examined how newspapers reported the industrial crisis. However, this was not a crisis for university workers.

Kart (2017) studied newspaper coverage of The British Miners' Strike of 1984–1985. The researchers applied the discourse analysis approach to conduct the study. The researcher sampled eight national newspapers: Daily Mirror, The Daily Mail, The Daily Express, The Telegraph, The Guardian, The Morning Star, The Sun, and The Times. The study showed that newspapers constructed the strike as a war between the state and the National Union of Miners. Such metaphor was expressed in linguistic, multimodal and visual forms. While it is good that the study has examined strike action, the researchers did not investigate strikes by university lecturers. Ugwuona (2016) conducted a study examining the discourse of the ASUU strike in Nigerian newspapers. The researcher focused on the 2013 ASUU strike and collected data from *The Punch* newspaper. The researcher found that ideological differences between the ASUU and the Federal government play a huge role in the lingering dispute. Although the researchers examined the ASUU strike, it was not the 2022 strike. In addition, the study did not examine newspaper coverage of the crisis but focused on the online comments of newspaper readers. Abimbola et al. (2015) did a study to examine newspaper coverage of the 2013 strike by the Academic Staff Union of Universities. The researchers applied content analysis and studied three newspapers: The Punch, Nigerian Tribune and The Nation. The researchers examined 60 editions of each newspaper and found that The Punch, Nigerian Tribune and The Nation newspapers frequently covered and reported the July to December 2013 ASUU strike. The researchers noted that the newspapers did not attach enough importance to the strike coverage. The researchers then concluded that the newspapers did not sufficiently set an agenda for the labour crisis. Although this study examined the ASUU strike, it did not discuss the 2022 strike, which was longer than in 2013.

The researcher used two theories in this study. They are the agenda-setting theory and the social responsibility theories. Agenda-setting theory is attributed to Walter Lippmann's 1922 classic, *Public Opinion*, which opened with a chapter captioned "The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads (Lippmann, 1922, p.29). According to Lippmann, the agenda of issues or other objects presented by the news media influences what the pictures in our heads are about. The theory was proposed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972. McCombs and Shaw, in a famous study called Chapel Hill, reported that the editors, in choosing and displaying news and pictures, play an essential role in shaping public reality. McCombs and Shaw conducted a study wherein they studied 100 voters in Chapel Hill, United States and found that when news editors make decisions related to news content, they play a role in determining which issues to consider essential. According to the theory, the media shapes public views about issues. This is done through strategies like frequency of reportage, contents of reportage and placements. Gever (2015) tested agenda-setting theory using a sample of 400 respondents and found that their media play substantial roles in influencing public views of issues. This theory is relevant to the current study because it indicates that the media can draw attention to issues related to the ASUU strike. The media plays a critical role in setting the public agenda and must exercise this power responsibly, avoiding actions that could incite violence or create unrest. Mass media must set agendas thoughtfully and constructively, especially in critical moments like strikes or societal conflicts. This principle aligns with the social responsibility theory, which emerged from the Hutchins Commission of Inquiry in 1947. This commission established that media freedom is inseparable from its corresponding responsibility. Journalistic integrity and ethical standards are at the heart of this theory, emphasising that the press should prioritise societal well-being while maintaining professional accountability.

As Asemah (2011) outlines, the social responsibility theory is built on key principles. Firstly, the media has a fundamental obligation to serve society by ensuring the dissemination of accurate, truthful, and objective information. Secondly, while media freedom is essential, it must be accompanied by self-regulation through established codes of ethics and conduct. Additionally, the theory underscores the media's pluralistic nature, which involves representing the diversity of society, fostering various viewpoints, and providing a forum for public ideas and discourse. Moreover, media ownership is regarded as a public trust, implying that journalists and media entities are accountable to their audiences and readers, not solely to corporate interests. In essence, the social responsibility theory reminds the media of its profound impact on shaping public opinion and societal dynamics. It calls for a balanced approach that upholds journalistic integrity while serving as a responsible information steward for the greater good. This theory is relevant to the current study because the media promotes positive societal developments. The ASUU strike was an issue that negatively affected the Nigerian educational system, and the media are responsible for presenting the issue positively so that stakeholders will be drawn to it. The media needs to show in a manner that will engineer solutions. The media's focus during such a crisis should be to provide solutions to bring the issue to attention. Therefore, these two theories were helpful for the current study because they serve as barometers for evaluating how the media played its role during labour crises in a developing country like Nigeria.

# **Methodology and Findings**

The researcher applied content analysis in this study. Content analysis is suitable for studies examining written content, such as newspapers or books. Therefore, through content analysis, the researcher examined how Nigerian newspapers reported the ASUU strike of 2022. This study's population was all the editions of the *Leadership* and *The Nation* newspapers for the eight months of the strike. This population was

considered appropriate for the study because it contained newspaper stories on the 2022 ASUU strike. This study's sample size was 276 stories on the ASUU strike from the Leadership and *The Nation* newspapers. A breakdown showed that *The Nation* newspaper had 145 stories, while the Leadership newspaper had 131. The researcher used a motif search technique to select the editions for this study. This approach is used by searching keywords and selecting stories that match the aim of the study. The keywords that were used in the study included "ASUU strike", "University strike", "University lecturers indefinite strike", and "ASUU/FG agreement." The researcher continued to modify the search until a reasonable number of stories were selected. It is important to note that after the search results, the researcher used purposively sampling to select only the newspaper stories on the 2022 eight-month ASUU strike.

The unit of analysis for this study was articles from the two newspapers selected. The news items were evaluated based on the following: Official sources: These are sources from people speaking in an official capacity, like government and ASUU officials. *Non-Official sources:* These are sources from people who spoke in their capacities, such as students and parents. Only the first cited source was counted in stories with multiple sources. *Volume of coverage*: Here, the attention was dedicated to the strike coverage. Therefore, the following were used: *Long stories* and stories above 500 words. *Medium stories*: Stories that were within 300-499 words. *Short stories*: Stories that were between 1-299 words. It is important to clarify here that the rationale for using this scale is that it was observed that stories across media outlets mostly stay within 1000 words.

Story Type: This category was designed to classify the stories used to report the strike. The categories are as follows: Straight News: These stories provided factual reports on the strike without including background information. Feature Stories: These stories offered in-depth coverage, including detailed background information on the strike. Opinion Pieces: These included individual opinions, such as those from columnists and newspaper editorials. Others: Stories that did not fit the above categories were grouped here. Solutions to the Strike: This section assessed whether newspaper stories proposed ways to resolve the strike. The categories are as follows: Solution Included: These stories presented potential solutions or steps to address and resolve the strike action. No Solution: These stories reported on the strike without offering suggestions or solutions to end the action.

The researcher used the code sheet to collect data for the study. The researcher developed the code sheet for the study. The code sheet was in two sections. The first section contained information on instructions to the coders on how to code the data. The second section contained the actual code sheet with columns. The researcher measured the reliability of the study with the use of two coders who were randomly selected to do the coding. In the view of Riffe, Lacy, and Fico (2005), a random sampling of content samples for inter-coder reliability testing is helpful. Wimmer and Dominick (2013) suggested that 10 – 25% of the content should be tested. Consequently, the inter-coder reliability for this study was carried out by randomly selecting 10% of the news items with the use of Holsti's formula (cited in Wimmer & Dominick, 2006), as illustrated below:

$$R = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$$

Where:

M = The number of coding decisions on which two coders agree.

N1 & N2 – The number of coding decisions the first and second coders make, respectively. The calculation yielded an inter-coder reliability of 0.82, indicating high reliability. The researcher used percentages and frequency to analyse the data for the study. The Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) was used to analyse the study data. The researcher presented the results in chats for graphical illustration.

The researcher examined all the newspaper editions of both *Leadership* and *The Nation* within the time frame of the strike, which yielded 276 stories on the ASUU strike from the Leadership *The Nation* newspapers. A breakdown showed that *The Nation* newspaper had 145 (53%) stories while the *Leadership* newspaper had 131(47%) stories. Therefore, it can be said that *The Nation* newspaper had more stories on the strike than *Leadership*. The result of the study is further presented below:

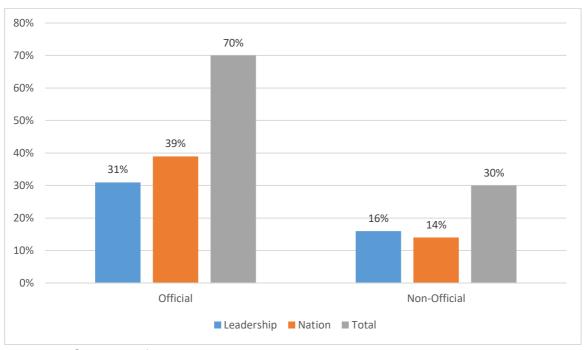


Figure 1: Sources of stories

In the chat above, the researcher determined the sources of stories cited in newspaper coverage of the 2022 ASUU eight months strike. The study revealed that the newspapers cited official primary sources. Few non-official sources indicated that the newspapers did not allow the ventilation of sources from the general public, including students and parents.

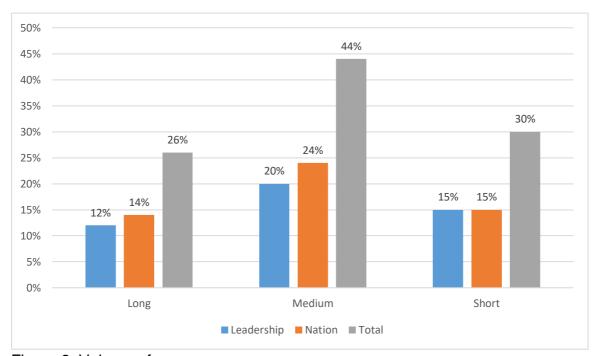


Figure 2: Volume of newspaper coverage

In Figure 2, the researcher examined the volume of newspaper coverage of the 2022 eight-month ASUU strike. The researcher found that most of the stories were medium, and few were long. The implication is that the newspapers did not dedicate sufficient

space to the strike. The researcher further examined the type of stories that were used to report the strike, and the result is presented below:

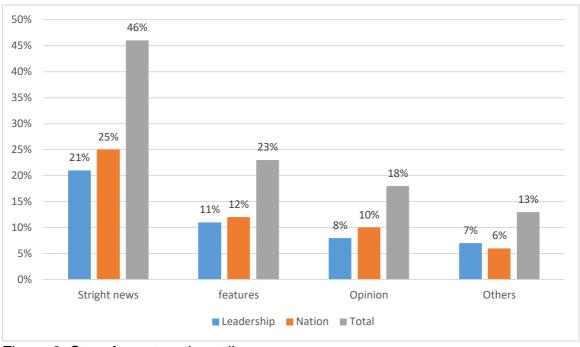


Figure 3: Story format on the strike

In the chart above, the researcher ascertained the newspaper story format for reporting the strike. The study revealed that most stories were in a straight news format, with less attention to features and opinions. This implies that the newspapers did not analyse the strike in-depth. The researcher further examined whether the newspapers suggested solutions to the strike. The results are presented in Figure 4.

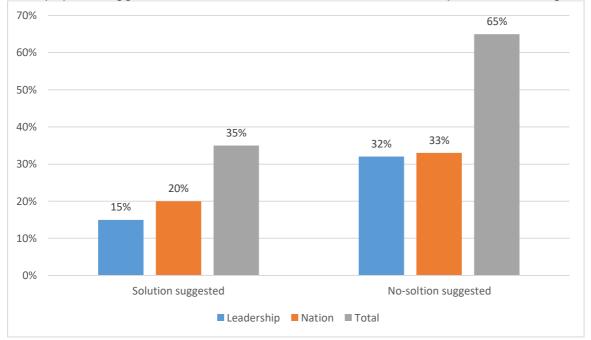


Figure 4: Suggestions for the strike

The researcher plotted the chart above to determine whether the newspapers suggested solutions to the strike. The study's results revealed that most stories did not suggest ways of ending the strike. This means that the newspapers merely reported events regarding the strike with less attention to how to bring it to an end.

This study aimed to ascertain newspaper coverage of the 2022 ASUU strike that lasted eight months. The researcher's content analysed stories from *Leadership* and *The Nation* newspapers. The result of the study revealed that there were 276 stories on the strike from both newspapers. *The* newspaper contributed 53% of the stories,

while the *Leadership* contributed 47%. Further results revealed that both newspapers cited mainly official sources, with less attention paid to non-official sources. This means the newspapers did not allow sufficient space for non-official sources to vent their views on the crisis. This denied the general public the opportunity to understand different aspects of the crisis. Such one-sided sourcing of stories could affect media content, as a study by Gever (2018) has shown that the sources of stories significantly affect media content. When officials provide information to the media, they do so from the perspective of the official position and may not present a broad perspective on the issue involved. It is left for the newspapers to broaden their scope and source for information from a variety of sources.

The researcher found that the newspapers essentially gave moderate volume to the strike as most of the stories were medium in length. The implication is that the newspapers gave limited attention to the strike and did not consider it a pressing issue that should occupy much space on their pages. This aspect of the study has extended the studies of Kariithi and Kareithi (2007) and Kart (2017), who examined newspaper coverage of strike actions but did not focus on strikes organised by the academic staff union. By providing information on the volume of coverage of the ASUU strike, the current study has provided empirical data for understanding the contributing role of newspapers in promoting industrial harmony in the university. The researcher further found that the newspapers examined used mainly straight news format in reporting the strike. There were fewer instances of feature and opinion stories. This suggests that the newspapers examined did not provide sufficient background information on the strike; instead, the issues were reported with less reference to the background of such problems. This type of reporting could deny the public the opportunity to understand issues related to the strike. This result has extended the study of Ugwuona (2016), who examined newspaper coverage of the ASUU strike but did not focus on the type of stories used in reporting the industrial action. Finally, the results of this study show that newspapers reported the strike without addressing the crisis's solutions. The newspapers did not suggest solutions to the situation or ways of addressing it and promoting industrial harmony. This study extended the study of Abimbola et al. (2015). who investigated newspaper coverage of the ASUU strike without considering whether the newspapers suggested solutions. This addition could be a reference point for other researchers examining newspaper coverage of labour crises.

#### Conclusion

Based on this, the researcher concludes that the *Leadership* and *The Nation* newspapers used mainly official sources to report the ASUU strike in 2022. The researcher also concludes that the newspapers used mainly straight news format, and the stories were medium in length. The researcher also concludes that the newspapers did not suggest solutions to the ASUU strike. This study has implications for agenda-setting and social responsibility theory by showing how the newspaper reported the 2022 ASUU strike. Based on the results of this study, the following recommendations are made:

- 1. Newspapers should improve the sources cited by including non-official sources to allow diverse opinions on ASUU strike issues.
- 2. News outlets need to do more in feature stories for detailed reporting of the ASUU strike.
- 3. Newspapers should also increase the space allotted to stories on the ASUU strike to communicate more information on the issue to the general public.
- 4. Finally, newspapers should consider recommending solutions to the ASUU strike in their coverage.

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