

## **Framing of the anti-corruption war in Nigeria from 2015-2019: An Evaluation of *the Punch* and *Daily Trust* Newspapers**

**Patrick Kelele Edema**

Department of Mass Communication, Delta State University, Abraka, Delta State

**Professor Emmanuel Ufuophu-Biri**

Delta State Polytechnic. Otefe-Oghara

**Harvey G.O.Igben, DBS, Ph.D**

Department of Mass Communication, Delta State University, Abraka

---

**Citation:** Patrick Kelele Edema, Emmanuel Ufuophu-Biri and Harvey G.O.Igben (2022) Framing of the anti-corruption war in Nigeria from 2015-2019: An Evaluation of the Punch and Daily Trust Newspapers, Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol.10, No.8, pp.20-42

---

**ABSTRACT:** *The study examines the framing of anti-corruption war by newspapers in Nigeria from 2015 to 2019. Content analysis was adopted for the study while 608 hard copies of the The Punch and Daily Trust Nation newspapers published during the period were examined. The study was situated in the framing theory which posits that the media give salience to issues in a manner to shape public opinion. Data were collected and presented in tables were analyzed with the Chi-square statistical tool. Findings show that there were significant differences in the frequency and prominence in the framing of the anti-corruption war by the newspapers. The study recommends that mainstream media organizations should review their editorial policies to increase the frequency and prominence in their framing of the anti-corruption war to help mitigate the consequences of corruption on the socio - economic and political development of the country.*

**KEY WORDS:** framing, anti-corruption war, sleaze, mainstream media, public relations

---

### **INTRODUCTION**

Newspapers serve as one of the components of the mass media for the dissemination of information because it plays a critical function in presenting a set of news perspectives through various frames to their publics (Utt & Pasternack, 2003). Media frames from the mass mediated perspective is the way interpretations of a message, text or symbols are subtly encouraged or discouraged. News framing is attributed to Goffman (2010) who argues that people interpret what is going around their world through their primary framework. In fact, Goffman was the first to concentrate on framing as a form of communication in 1974 when he explains that, framing, as a schemata of interpretation, enables a researcher to locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences or life experiences. Framing as one of the theories of communication focuses on the way a story or event

---

is explained or portrayed in the news media and its direct impact on how audiences perceive it. Framing has been applied in a variety of settings, resulting in a robust line of research. Timothy and Matthew (2013) explain that framing theory has a rich history in anthropology and sociology focusing on human interaction, advertising and marketing, decision making, health communication campaigns and approaches to understanding audience compliance as well as the analysis of social problems, agenda building, audience perceptions of responsibility and most prevalently in crisis communication and the media's portrayal of news events. It involves a process by which people develop a particular perception of an issue or disabuse their mind about an issue (Boydston, Gross, Resnik, & Smith, 2013).

Framing entails selection and salience as key properties prompting Stecula and Merkley, (2019) to submit that framing is an essential concept of media studies and has been a theme of interdisciplinary research for decades. Media framing is regarded as a major subject in communication studies because of its impact in setting agenda for the public (Ghazali and Azmi, 2013). Reese (2007) sees media framing as a process where events or issues are organized and made sense of through the process of the media and media professionals by emphasizing issues in a certain manner before they are published in the public domain. Also, Niemeijer and Groot (2008) cited in Ghazali and Azmi, (2013) posit that the multiple uses of framing to shape, communicate and establish effective messages and information in various fields and sectors have made framing an indispensable instrument in media studies.

In amplifying the elements of selection and salience in news framing, Entman (1993) modernized the concept by pontificating that framing is about selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition whether regional, political or religious, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.

The concept of 'framing' was further amplified when it was described as a higher level of agenda setting role of the mass media (Asemah, Nwammuo and Nkwam-Uwao, 2017). For instance, while Agenda Setting theory only describes water scarcity in a place, framing theory talks about how the government is causing water scarcity thereby influencing the opinion of the people about government. According to McQuail (2005) framing is a rational postulation that explains the method in which news content is characteristically couched and contextualized by Journalists while Timothy and Matthew (2013) explain that news reporters and editors regularly deploy several approaches in the presentation of news stories or articles that create persistent patterns of coverage that may profoundly influence the way audiences perceive policies and programmes of individuals or institutions. It is on this score that Soderlund (2010) posits that the importance of media framing is its ability to sway various audiences on how to gain an understanding of trending events. Following this submission, Oboh, (2014) explains that the media do not have a neutral

position on any issue because whichever angle the press approaches a story is a mirror of the predetermined position of the mass media adopted to protect the interest of the target publics, advertisers' desires and the socio-economic and political motives of the media owners.

The two fundamental ways through which the concept of framing can be seen and applied in communication research include the individual and media frames prompting Baran and Davis (2012) to explain that the individual frame entails the individual's cognitive understanding of a given situation while media frame deals with the words, images, phrases and presentation styles used in the media about an issue. The choice of those words depends on the content producers, their media outlet and of course, their perception about an issue. Stecula and Merkley. (2019) offer a deeper reflection on framing by noting that issues that are most influenced by mediated communication tend to be intricate ones that are mostly "invisible" to the public and, thus, challenging to comprehend for many.

Over the years, several measures have been initiated to curb the menace of corruption by successive administrations whether military or civil. These efforts include having more accountability in the public sector, enforcement of existing anti-corruption laws, establishment of a Public Procurement Commission, the publication of information and requirement of transparency in the petroleum industry, the privatization and market liberalization processes, and the political process, (Brademas and Heimann, 1998). Each initiative has its own policies and methods of enforcement. However, Ezekwesili (2005) believes that the rampant cases of corruption in the country cannot be attributed to lack of laws. The success of these laws according to Ribadu (2005) depends largely on the level of enforcement given by the Police surmising that the mere existence of laws does not necessarily mean they will be successful in eliminating corruption from the nation. For instance, Section 172 of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria as amended provided a code of conduct for public officers which among other things, mandates all public office holders to publicly declare all assets periodically to the Code of Conduct Bureau established to monitor compliance with anti-corruption regulations while a Tribunal with a quasi-judicial powers was established to try and penalise defaulters.

In addition to the above, the country in December 2002, also established the Economic and Financial Crimes commission (EFCC), to investigate cases of financial crimes with a special department known as the Financial Intelligence Unit to strengthen its capacity for monitoring and enforcing laws against money laundering and other economic crimes.'(EFFC Act, 2002). In 2003, Nigeria also adopted the African Union Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Corruption, with the primary purpose of eliminating corruption in African Nations. 108. The Convention covers corruption and related offenses associated with a public official's solicitation or acceptance of any benefit, gift or advantage in the performance of public duties; the diversion of public property for individual or personal use; and any illicit enrichment, or other related

---

benefits received in the discharge of public affairs (Opara, 2007). Opara notes that the Nigeria's government's anti-corruption war also saw continuous reforms in its justice administration system and Police Force. Obasanjo (2003) notes that the establishment of a Public Procurement Commission, the Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit, known as the Due Process Office to oversight public procurement, contract award and certification process were part of efforts to fight corruption.

The signing of the Nigerian Financial Intelligence Unit (NFIU) Bill into law by President Buhari on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July 2018 as an autonomous entity further gave bite to the fight against corruption in the country as that the move by the Nigerian government is to meet the requirements of Recommendation 29 of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) Standards and Article 14 of United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) (Ogunmade, 2018). Tade (2021) sees the implementation of the Treasury Single Account, Biometric Verification Number (BVN) and 'Whistle Blowing' policy by the government as a further boost to the anti-corruption fight. Speaking further on the anti-corruption crusade, Tade believes that the setting up of the Presidential Advisory Committee Against Corruption (PACAC) headed by Professor Itse Sagay, for the recoveries of looted funds and the political will to prosecute and jail some corrupt former governors and other public office holders are bold steps by the Nigerian government to curtail corruption. However, he believes that despite the efforts of the Buhari's administration to tackle corruption, the menace still pervades both the public and private sectors. For instance, citing a study by the National Bureau of Statistics on the prevalence of corruption between May and June 2019 involving 33,000 households in the six geopolitical zones of the country, Tade notes that the outcome of the study shows the prevalence of corruption in the North-Central, South-East and South-South zones from 2016 to 2019. The media are described as change agents because of their capacity to influence and change public perception, opinion and attitudes. Bello (2014) in accentuating the power of the media in nation building, submits that the media are major stakeholders in the campaign against human right abuses, environmental issues, bad governance, crimes including sleaze among others because they act as the conscience and mirror of society. However, Abubakre (2017) says the media have the capacity to curb corruption and enthrone good governance in a truly democratic society. Furthermore, Camaj (2012) submits that a vibrant media can assist the judiciary in the investigation and exposure of corruption practices. Robust media coverage of corruption cases provides the oxygen that galvanize anti-corruption bodies to launch formal investigations especially where such bodies are sometimes reluctant to investigate corruption allegations (Phiri, 2008).

Despite becoming increasingly critical of the nation's fight against corruption, government functionaries and the ruling party have also began to allege that the media have been engaging in

---

the discriminatory campaign and mockery of the anti-graft war of the administration through the frames created in their reportage (Okakwu, 2017). Edmond and Wilson (2018) in their assessment of media coverage of the anti-corruption campaigns submit that while giving prominence to anti-corruption issues, the framing of the anti-corruption war confirms that newspapers framed corruption suspects and those convicted as unpatriotic and selfish in the eyes of the public. Also, another study by Abubakre (2017) established a witch-hunting frame because of the editorial biases of the newspapers pointing out that the Buhari's anti-corruption drive appear to be prejudiced because of the failure of the government to secure conviction for certain individuals arraigned for corruption charges as responsible for the cloud of doubt hanging on the President's anti-corruption campaign. The study also established that the *Punch* newspaper captured concerns that the anti-graft war appears to be a battle against a few.

In assessing the impact of corruption on the nation's economy, PricewaterhouseCoopers (2016) in its report says that it lowers governance effectiveness leading to inefficient government expenditure. Leads to weak investment particularly Foreign Direct Investment FDI, and lowers human capital as fewer people, especially the poor, are denied access to quality healthcare and education. Quantifying the cost of corruption on Nigeria, the report indicates that corruption in Nigeria could cost up to 37 percent of the Gross Domestic Product, GDP, by 2030 if the scourge is not addressed with urgency. Nogara (2009) points out that how well media can perform the role of a watchdog on corruption is a function of the political, economic and legal environment in which media operate. Suphachalasai (2005) believes that absence of repressive laws against the media, freedom of expression, access to information, ownership, competition, credibility among others are critical factors that can influence the vibrancy and effectiveness of media in fighting corruption.

In Nigeria, there is the Freedom of Information Act and Section 22 of the 1999 Constitution as altered provides that the mass media including the press, radio, television and other media institutions are empowered by the provision to defend and advocate the implementation of the fundamental objective principles contained in Chapter 2 of the Constitution and hold government accountable and responsible to the citizens. By implication, the media in Nigeria are empowered by law to investigate and report incidences of corruption in a professional, effective and ethical manner. Bebenimibo (2017) says the pluralistic nature of newspapers in Nigeria ought to be an impetus in the fight against corruption given the historic role the media played in the fight against colonialism and military dictatorship in the country.

### **Statement of the Problem**

There is widespread belief that corruption is responsible for the underdevelopment in third world countries including Nigeria (Enweremadu, 2012; Transparency International, 2016). It was on this premise that President Muhammadu Buhari, in the 2015 South-South Zonal election presidential campaign rally in Port-Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria, said if efforts are not made to eradicate

corruption in Nigeria, corruption will exterminate Nigerians. This is a position he re-echoed in his inaugural speech while taking the oath of office on May 29, 2015, declaring that he will be dispassionate in his anti-corruption war (Premium Times, 2015). Several studies have dealt extensively on framing of the anti-corruption stories by the mass media, however, sufficient studies have not placed emphasis on the potency of frequency and prominence of framing of the anti-graft war by newspapers in Nigeria. The crux of this study therefore, is to fill this gap.

### **Objectives of the Study**

1. Establish the significant difference in the frequency of framing of the anti-graft war by the newspapers.
2. Establish the significant difference in the prominence of framing of the anti-graft war by the newspapers. .

### **Hypotheses**

To address the above objectives, two hypotheses were formulated for the study.

1. There is no significant difference in the frequency of framing of anti-corruption war between *The Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers
2. There is no significant difference in the degree of prominence in the framing of anti-corruption war between *The Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers

### **Scope of Study**

This study evaluated only hard copies of 2 selected newspapers with national spread from June 2015 to May 2019. The period was chosen majorly because President Muhammadu Buhari who came into office in May 2015, promised to tackle corruption headlong and the period marked his first term in office. Content categories examined in this study are news stories only. Editorials (official position on the subject), photographs and cartoons are not part of the study. Also not considered in this study were features/articles, Letters to the editor and opinions as well as foreign news, advertisements, fashion, sports and other entertainment materials, were not considered for the study.

### **Significance of the Study**

This study will help media organizations re-appraise their editorial policies on coverage of anti-corruption stories and also produce an academic frame work that will fill noticeable gap(s) in previous studies on framing for further studies.

Literature review

### **Concept of framing**

The foundation that birthed the use and development of framing stem from the sociology that people's interpretation of reality and everyday life depends fundamentally on interaction and the

---

definition of situations. This position was amplified by Ardèvol-Abreu (2015) who asserts that communicative texts whether for purposes of information, instruction or persuasion require narrative structures to organize its discourse. According to Sádaba-Garraza, (2001), this description is apt because peoples' approach to reality is shaped by the contributions of others. Succinctly put, the behaviour of people would be determined by action and interaction within the society.

Also, it is widely accepted that framing can have a significant influence on public attitudes toward important policy issues and on the application of policy issues directly thus prompting Van Gorp (2005) to posit that it is extremely challenging to neutralize the effect of the researcher in framing research. Boydston, Gross, Resnik & Smith (2013) amplify the place of language processing as key to identifying and analysing frames that cross-cut issues whether political communications, traditional news media, or particularly at social media noting that the availability of online data creates an unprecedented opportunity to track framing in near-real-time, and understand it as an evolutionary process across time, issues, and communication venues. They posit that understanding framing as a general phenomenon that requires large-scale text data analysis well beyond what has been accomplished by expert manual annotation alone.

The origin of framing is attributed to Bateson (1955/1972) who used the term 'frame' with the current sense for the first time in an essay on the psychology of perception. Bateson as the originator of framing explains the concept of frame by adopting two analogies of a picture frame and Venn diagrams used in mathematical set theory. Bateson sees frame, as a diagram with a dual function of including elements within its borders and excluding items that are outside of it just like a picture frame that tries to organise people's perception by urging people to pay attention to what is within it and to ignore what is outside of it Goffman (2010) later expanded the concept of frame and became useful for the study of journalistic messages noting that the media have a prodigious capability to provoke and alter the social frameworks of interpretation in the information chain.

However, Gitlin (1980) provided subsequent definition by positing that a frame is built through selection, emphasis, and exclusion. Available data reveal that the first communication research article that used the term framing was published in 1980 in *Journalism Quarterly*, and in the 2001-2005 period the number of articles indexed in Communication Abstracts reached 165 (Weaver, 2007). However, the birth of framing theory changed the narratives on journalistic objectivity as several questions began to dominate the conversation of framing. These questions prompted Sádaba-Garraza (2001) to surmise that the response offered by the theory of framing to objectivism is to deny its postulates, because when journalists narrate what happens, it is difficult to eliminate their point of views when they frame reality.

### **Concept of corruption and its dimensions**

Corruption as a concept is difficult to define with precision because of cultural relativity resulting in different perceptions of the word (Park, 2012). Many scholars and human rights activists including organizations have defined or described corruption in different ways based on their orientation. For instance, Tanzi (1998), Ladipo (2000), Aduda (2007), Svensson (2005) and Transparency International (2009) define corruption as the abuse or misuse of public office or power for private gain or benefit. There is a consensus among them that public office is abused when officials accept, solicit, or extort bribe and when private agents offer bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profits.

A common denominator uncovered by researchers in literature that interrogated corruption as a concept is that there is no nation irrespective of advancement that is completely immune from the scourge of corruption and its tendencies. (Halilu, Garba & Abdulmumin, 2015; Transparency International, 2021). This position is accentuated by statistics from the 2021 Global Perception of Corruption Index released by Transparency International (TI). Out of the 168 countries assessed in the 2021 index, no single country recorded ‘a perfect score’ with two-thirds scoring below 50 in an index where the scale is “0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean)” (TI, 2021).

However, some definitions offered by some scholars were adopted for this study. Lawal (2007) sees corruption as deliberate diversion of resources from the satisfaction of the general interest for personal gain. In the same vein, Adewale (2011) cited in Nageri, Gunu, and Abdul (2013) explains corruption as the process of diverting the resources meant for developmental purposes of the society to private use. Nageri *et al.*, (2013) assert further that the consequences of corruption on the growth and development of a country are quite debilitating.

Also, Rajak (2014) explains corruption as manipulating public office for private gain or use of official position, rank or status by the individual occupying an office for his own personal benefit. Deducing from Rajak’s definition, examples of corrupt behaviour would include: bribery, extortion, fraud, embezzlement, nepotism, cronyism, appropriation of public assets and property for private use and influence peddling. In this list of corrupt behaviour, activities such as fraud and embezzlement can be undertaken by an official alone and without involvement of a second party. While others such as bribery, extortion and influence peddling involve two parties – the giver and taker in a corrupt deal. Furthermore, Idris and Salisu (2016) define corruption as any action deliberately perpetrated by any person or group of persons either in the public or private sector aimed at securing undue advantage for oneself, relation or third party against established procedures, morals or ethical standards.



---

**Media and the anti-corruption war**

The media often referred to as the ‘fourth estate of the realm’ have an indirect but crucial role in influencing the political system. The expression ‘fourth estate of the realm’ was first used in a parliamentary debate more than two centuries ago in England despite the fact that the media are not directly part of the political system but wield significant power to influence and bring about changes in policies due to the status of the practitioners (Cooke, 2019). Edmond and Wilson (2018) posit that because credible media exercise strong influence over the public, they play crucial roles in investigating allegations of impropriety whether financial or otherwise in public affairs, expose corruption and corrupt practices. Coronel (2009) in lending credence to the position of Edmond and Wilson, submits that these roles become even more important when existing political institutions are weak and inefficient in ensuring accountability of public servants.

For Arogundadeh (2016), media ownership in Nigeria, excessive commercialization of news, the ‘public relations’ news phenomenon which supplants independent news reporting, self-censorship, unmerited conferment of awards by media organizations and Journalists associations on individuals and corporations as well as the practice of retentions whereby news outlets receive regular payments from public officials and politicians in the name of special projects make it difficult for the media to play its watchdog role over public authorities. Stapenhurst is of the view that a ‘hard-hitting reporting provides the needed impetus for official bodies to launch formal investigations’, Stapenhurst is persuaded that another effect of anti-corruption journalism by the media is to assist in re-orientating the society through reports that are against tolerance of corruption by African culture. Halilu, Garba & Abdulmumin, 2014; They observe that the ratio of anti-corruption coverage was insignificant compared to other stories like politics and economy. Halilu *et al.*, maintain that prominence was also not given to anti-corruption stories in the newspapers they reviewed. In the study, the researchers also submit that anti-corruption stories were not properly followed up and investigated and were also not given in-depth coverage to stimulate robust public discourse on the issues. Their findings prompted them to recommend that the media should embark on massive and aggressive sensitization. deVreese (2004), persistence is a key variable for media framing to be impactful in reporting issues that relate to corruption and by extension supporting the war on corruption. For them, this on one hand, corroborates the position of Yoza (2015) that massive media coverage is crucial in exposing corrupt practices in public service or corridors of power.

However, Yung and Deborah (2017) submit that the most important position to find such representations of society’s most critical events is a newspaper’s front page. However, they aver that stories are not the only elements contained on the front page pointing out that other carefully designed elements including but not limited to headlines and photos must be given due

---

consideration. The first page of the newspaper provides the menu that wets the appetite of a reader prompting editors to devote much energy and dexterity in determining stories should make the most prized page of their publication (McQuail, 2010; Singer, 2001). Moen (2000) says the goal of the front page is to make the newspaper irresistible to readers until they grab a copy of the newspaper. Idogun (2018) corroborates this position by noting that the front page could contain headlines of news stories, pictures and other graphical illustrations to command the attention of prospective readers. Because of the functionality of the front page, Reisner (1992) argues that designing the front page entails a complex process because the editor must ensure that important stories must be featured prominently to entice impulsive buyers. Similarly, Shoemaker & Reese (2013) posit that organizational politics, such as conflict whether vertical or horizontal have the tendency to determine how stories are selected for the front page. Edmond and Wilson (2018) however, submit that though the issues of corruption were reported frequently by newspapers, they reported corruption stories mainly in the inside pages. On frequency and prominence, Salaudeen, Adebisi and Sanni (2018) in their study of newspapers that covered numerous corruption related stories reveal that while front page attention was limited for the two newspapers, they found that 11.7% of corruption related stories in The Guardian and 10.8% in The Punch gave front page attention which meant that prominence given to corruption stories by the two newspapers was abysmally low. The authors found the two newspapers appear to be neglecting their roles of supporting government policies on the war against graft as posited by Eme (2013) and Yoza (2015) who identified adequate media exposure as a strategy in fighting corruption.

Theoretical framework.

This study is situated in the framing theory. The basis of framing theory is that the media focus attention on certain events and then place them within a field of meaning. Framing has gained significant prominence due to its influence in communication and other studies. Ardèvol-Abreu (2015) attributes the origin of framing to Bateson (1955/1972) who used the term 'frame' with the current sense for the first time in an essay on the psychology of perception. Bateson explains the concept of frame by using two analogies of a picture frame and Venn diagrams which are used in mathematical set theory. Bateson sees frame, as the diagram that includes the elements of a mathematical set with a dual function of including elements within its borders and excluding items that are without just like a picture frame that tries to organise people's perception by urging people to pay attention to what is within it and to ignore what is outside of it. Framing became useful for the study of journalistic messages especially because the media have a prodigious capability to provoke and alter the social frameworks of interpretation in the information chain (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015).

Available data reveal that the first communication research article that used the term framing was published in 1980 in *Journalism Quarterly*, and in the 2001-2005 period, the number of articles indexed in Communication Abstracts reached 165 (Weaver, 2007).

## METHOD

The quantitative and qualitative content analysis approach was adopted for this study. Two hard copy general interest newspapers with national spread, wide circulation and robust editorial policies were selected through purposive sampling method for this study. Two newspapers published between June 2015 and May 2019 amounting to 2,920 editions of the newspapers sourced from the Petroleum Training Institute, PTI, Library, Effurun, Delta State, were used for the study. Secondary data generated from this study were analyzed using descriptive and discuss analysis of all selected content categories to determine the frames, prominence and frequency of anti-corruption stories in the newspapers. The data were presented in tables and frequencies while the Chi-square statistical tool was used to test the hypotheses. To further reduce the sample size to a manageable proportion, the Krejcie and Morgan table, Bukhari (2021), for determining sample size for a given study population was also used to determine the sample size. Consequently, a total sample of 304 copies each for the 2 newspapers amounting to 608 copies annually, formed the total sample size for the study. To further determine the editions of the newspapers selected, each edition of the newspaper was examined to ascertain if there were specific days in the week that anti-corruption stories were published before they were purposively selected. Thereafter, a systematic random sampling technique with an interval of 3 was used to select the total number of newspapers studied. See table 1 below.

Table 1: Samples of selected Daily Newspapers with national coverage in Nigeria

S/N	Newspaper	Year				Total
		June 2015- May 2016	June 2016 - May 2017	June 2017- May 2018	June 2018- May 2019	
1	<i>Daily Trust</i>	76	76	76	76	304
2	<i>The Punch</i>	76	76	76	76	304
	Total	152	152	152	152	608

Source: Field work, 2022.

### Inter-coder Reliability

Coding sheet was used to collect data for the study. The Holsti's (1969) formula for determining inter-coder reliability cited in Erubami (2019) was used to test the reliability of the instrument.

$$\text{Thus: Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N1+N2}$$

Where M is the number of coding decisions on which two coders agreed and N1 and N2 are the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coder respectively (Ekwueme, 2017). Two coders were trained and allotted the November edition of the two newspapers. They judged a sample of 24 and agreed on 19.

$$\text{Thus, reliability} = \frac{2(19)}{24+24} = \frac{38}{48} = .79$$

Therefore, the inter-coder reliability coefficient was 0.79 (79 percent) which is beyond the generally accepted bench mark of 0.70 (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011).

### Limitation of study.

The study centred only on two hard copies of selected newspapers with national spread from June 2015 to May 2019. Content categories examined in this study were only news stories.

The newspapers selected for the study do not have their printing press in the six geopolitical zones of the country but have correspondents and offices in the six geo - political zones as well as dedicated pages that cover the regions. However, that they do not have printing press in the six geopolitical zones may not likely affect their contents on the subject.

### Data presentation and analysis

Hypothesis 1: there is no significant difference in the frequency of framing of the anti-graft stories in the selected national newspapers?

Table 2. Frequency of anti-corruption stories in the newspapers

Newspapers	No of coverage	%
<i>Daily Trust</i>	620	46
<i>The Punch</i>	735	54
<i>Total</i>	1,355	100

Source: Field work 2022.

Table 2 depicts the frequency of anti-corruption stories by the two newspapers under review. *Daily Trust* captured anti-corruption stories 620 times representing 46 percent and *The Punch* carried anti-corruption stories 735 times representing 54 percent of the entire anti-corruption stories.

Table 3. Degree of frequency given to anti-corruption stories

*Daily Trust* newspapers*The Punch* newspapers

Page	June 2015- May 2016	June 2016- May 2017	June 2017- May 2018	June 2018- May 2019	Total	%	Page	June 2015- May 2016	June 2016- May 2017	June 2017- May 2018	June 2018- May 2019	Total	%
FP	34	35	30	20	119	19.2	FP	80	74	79	92	325	44.2
IFP	-	-	-	-	-	-	IFP	-	2	5	6	13	1.7
IP	124	109	99	79	411	66.3	IP	113	87	90	91	381	51.8
CP	-	-	-	-	-	-	CP	-	1	1	-	2	0.2
BP	40	43	4	3	90	14.5	BP	-	2	5	9	16	2.1
IBP	-	-	-	-	-	-	IBP	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	198	187	133	102	620	100	Total	193	166	181	198	735	100

Source: field work, 2022.

KEY:

FP-Front Page

IFP-Inside Front Page

IP-Inside Page

CP-Centre Page

BP-Back Page

IBP-Inside Back Page

Table 3 captures the degree of frequency given to anti-corruption issues during the period under review by *Daily Trust* and *The Punch* newspapers. For instance, in *Daily Trust*, anti-corruption issues were published 119 times amounting to 19.2 percent, none for the inside front pages, the subject was published 411 times on the inside pages of the paper representing 66.3 percent with none appearing on the center pages of the paper during the period under review. Anti-corruption stories were published 90 times on the back pages of the paper representing 14.5 percent while

none was published on the inside back pages of the newspaper during the period. Also, for *The Punch*, stories on the subject appeared 325 times on the front pages of the paper representing 44.2 percent, 13 times on the inside front pages representing 1.7 percent, published 381 times on the inside pages of the newspaper representing 51.8 percent, used 2 times on the center page of the paper amounting to 0.2 percent, appeared 16 times on the back pages of the newspaper representing 2.1 percent of anti-corruption stories while none appeared on the inside back page of the paper.

Hypothesis 2: there is no significant difference in the prominence of framing of the anti-graft stories in the selected national newspapers?

Table 4. Degree of Prominence given to anti-corruption stories  
*Daily Trust* newspapers

*The Punch* newspapers

Page	June 2015- May 2016	June 2016- May 2017	June 2017- May 2018	June 2018- May 2019	Total	%	Page	June 2015- May 2016	June 2016- May 2017	June 2017- May 2018	June 2018- May 2019	Total	%
FP	34	35	30	20	119	19.2	FP	80	74	79	92	325	44.2
IFP	-	-	-	-	-	-	IFP	-	2	5	6	13	1.7
IP	124	109	99	79	411	66.3	IP	113	87	90	91	381	51.8
CP	-	-	-	-	-	-	CP	-	1	1	-	2	0.2
BP	40	43	4	3	90	14.5	BP	-	2	5	9	16	2.1
IBP	-	-	-	-	-	-	IBP	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	198	187	133	102	620	100	Total	193	166	181	198	735	100

Source: field work, 2022.

Table 4 captures the degree of prominence given to anti-corruption issues during the period under review by *Daily Trust* and *The Punch* newspapers. For instance, in *Daily Trust*, anti-corruption issues were given front page attention 119 times amounting to 19.2 percent, none for the inside front pages, the subject was published 411 times on the inside pages of the paper representing 66.3 percent with none appearing on the center pages of the paper during the period under review. Anti-corruption stories were published 90 times on the back pages of the paper representing 14.5 percent while none was published on the inside back pages of the newspaper during the period. Similarly,

for *The Punch* newspaper, stories on the subject appeared 325 times on the front pages of the paper representing 44.2 percent, 13 times on the inside front pages representing 1.7 percent, published 381 times on the inside pages of the newspaper representing 51.8 percent, used 2 times on the center page of the paper amounting to 0.2 percent, appeared 16 times on the back pages of the newspaper representing 2.1 percent of anti-corruption stories while none appeared on the inside back page of the paper.

## Hypotheses Testing

**Hypothesis 1:** there is no significant difference in the frequency of framing of the anti-graft stories in *The Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers?

The Chi Square statistical tool was used to test the assumption of hypothesis one which stated that there will be no significant difference in the frequency of framing the anti-corruption war by *The Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers. Inconsistent with this assumption, the results presented in Table 5 below show that there was a significant difference in the frequency of anti-corruption war stories published by the two national dailies,  $X^2(1, N = 1,355) = 9.760, p < 0.05$ . Similarly, the data in Table 4 above indicate that the frequency of framing anti-corruption war stories by *Daily Trust* newspaper ( $N = 735, 54.2\%$ ) was significantly higher than that of *The Punch* newspaper ( $N = 620, 45.8\%$ ). Hence, the assumption of the study's third hypothesis was rejected.

Table 5: Chi Square Test of Independence on the frequency of framing anti-corruption war stories by *The Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers

Chi-Square	9.760 <sup>a</sup>
Df	1
Asymp. Sig.	.002

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 677.5.

**Hypothesis 2:** there is no significant difference in the prominence of framing of the anti-graft stories in *The Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers?

Also, the Chi Square statistical tool was used to test the assumption of hypothesis two. Findings presented in Table 6 below show that there was a significant difference in the frequency of anti-graft issues published by the two national dailies,  $X^2(4, N = 1,355) = 1727.616, p < 0.05$ . On the actual difference, the data in Table 4 above indicate that both *The Punch* and *Daily Trust*

newspapers used a significantly different degree of prominence in the framing of the anti-graft campaign with stories published on the Inside pages ( $N = 792$ , 58.5%) and Front Pages ( $N = 444$ , 32.8%) leading the charts. Consequently, the assumption of the study's fourth hypothesis was rejected.

Table 6: Chi Square Test of Independence on the degree of prominence in the framing of the anti- corruption war by *The Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers

Chi-Square	1727.616 <sup>a</sup>
df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 271.0.

## DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In testing hypothesis one which states that there is no significant difference in the frequency of framing of the anti-graft stories in the selected national newspapers, the findings reveal that there is significant difference in the frequency of framing of the anti-graft stories in the selected national newspapers under the period reviewed. For instance, in *Daily Trust* newspaper, the frequency of framing of the anti-graft stories was 54.2% which was significantly higher than that of *The Punch* newspaper that recorded 45.8%. This finding confirms that of Halilu, Garba, and Abdulmumin (2014) who observed that the ratio of anti-corruption coverage was insignificant compared to other stories like politics and economy and corroborates the position of Yoza (2015) that massive media coverage is crucial in exposing corrupt practices in public service or corridors of power as well as that of deVreese (2004) who posited that persistence is a key variable for media framing to be impactful. The development may also be attributed to the commodification of news and the political economy of mass media production which tend to erode the power of the media to combat corruption because according to Arogundadeh (2016), media ownership in Nigeria, excessive commercialization of news, the 'public relations' news phenomenon which supplants independent news reporting

Also, in testing hypothesis two which states that there is no significant difference in the prominence of framing of the anti-graft stories in the selected national newspapers, findings from the study indicates that there is significant difference in the prominence given to the framing of the anti-graft war on the front pages of the selected national newspapers. *Daily Trust* and *The Punch* newspapers buried 58.5 % of anti-graft stories on their inside pages while 32.8 % of anti-



---

corruption stories were placed on their front pages in the period under review. This outcome confirms the position of Edmond and Wilson (2018), that newspapers reported corruption stories mainly in the inside pages. This finding also supports the submission of Salaudeen, Adebisi and Sanni (2018) that prominence given to corruption stories by the newspapers was abysmally low and therefore not impactful in the fight against sleaze. It also gives credence to the positions of Eme (2013) and Yoza (2015) who identified adequate media exposure as a strategy in fighting corruption. This shows that all the newspapers studied did not attach the needed importance to the framing of the anti-corruption war in the period under review. This position also confirms that of Edmond and Wilson (2018) that credible media, therefore exercise strong influence over the public and play an important part in revealing improper and unfair administrative actions and corruption.

Furthermore, the front page of any newspaper serves as the window that gives the reader a menu of the content. Yung and Deborah (2017) agree that the front page of a newspaper in terms of front-page content, news values, such as timeliness, prominence, proximity, magnitude among other variables are crucial for any newspaper stating that Perhaps the most important location to find such representations of society's most critical events is a newspaper's front page. Also, McQuail, (2010) and Singer (2001) submit that the first page of the newspaper commands reader's attention hence editors devote much energy and time in determining which story elements should be placed on the most prized page of their publications. Editors agree that the most important stories should be placed prominently on the front page to entice impulsive buyer (Yung and Deborah, 2017). Therefore, given the devastating consequences of corruption in the country, the newspapers under evaluation did not give sufficient attention to corruption stories in their front pages. The findings also confirm the study of Halilu, Garba, and Abdulmumin (2014) which maintained that prominence was also not given to anti-corruption stories in the newspapers they reviewed. In the study, the researchers also submit that anti-corruption stories were not properly followed up and investigated and were also not given in-depth coverage to stimulate robust public discourse on the issues. It is also in consonance with the position of Staphenurst (2000) on the role of the media in curbing corruption through robust reportage that leads to consequential or identifiable results.

## **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The study exposed what appears to be a deficiency in the editorial policy of newspapers in Nigeria with respect to the fight against corruption. Therefore, media organisations in the country will need to redefine their editorial policies with a view to justifying the constitutional mandated entrusted on them to hold government accountable to the citizenry.

The study revealed that there was no significant statistical difference in the frequency of framing of the anti-graft stories in the selected newspapers during the period. The findings rejected the null hypothesis due to the level of frequency given to anti-corruption stories by the newspaper. Also, the study indicated that there was significant statistical difference in the prominence given to the framing of the anti-graft war by the selected national newspapers based on the level of prominence given to the subject in their pages thereby rejecting the null hypothesis.

Based on the empirical findings, the following recommendations were made:

1. Mainstream media organisations should increase the degree of frequency in the framing of anti-corruption war stories in their daily, weekly, monthly or periodical publications to achieve significant mileage in the anti-graft war and mitigate the effect of corruption on the socio-economic and political development of the country.
2. Mainstream media organisations should review their editorial policies in order to give more prominence to anti-corruption stories and campaigns in their front pages to achieve the desired objective in the fight against sleaze.
3. Media organisations should review their news value with regards to commodification of news stories with a view to increase the ratio of anti-corruption stories.

## References

- Abubakre, F. I. (2017). Press Framing of Anti-Corruption War on Buhari's First Year Anniversary Article in *Journal of Media Critiques*. DOI: 10.17349/j.
- Aduda, G.T. (2007) Budget Monitoring And Price Intelligence Unit (Due Process); A Mechanism For Combating Corruption In Infrastructure Delivery In Nigeria.Partnership To Combat Corruption Series. Leicester Shire Water Engineering and Development Centre. Loughborough University, United Kingdom
- Ardèvol-Abreu, A. (2015). Framing theory in communication research in Spain. Origins, development and current situation. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 70, pp. 423 to 450. <http://www.revistalatinacs.org/070/paper/1053/RLCS-paper1053en.pdf>. Retrieved 8 July 2021.
- Arogundadeh, L. (2016), Role of Media In Fighting Corruption: Untold Stories Of How Corruption And Conflicts Of Interests Stalk The Newsroom, *Ethical Journalism Network*.
- Asemah, E. S., Nwammuo, A. N and Nkwam-Uwaoma, A. O. A., (2017). Theories and Models of Communication (Revised Edition). Jos University Press, Murtala Mohammed Way, Jos, Plateau State.
- Baran, S. J., & Davis, D. K. (2012). Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment, and future. <https://elearning.shisu.edu.cn/course/view.php?id=95>. Retrieved 8 July 2020.
- Bateson, G. A. (1955/1972). A theory of play and fantasy. In G. A. Bateson (ed.). *Steps to an ecology of mind* (reprinted by American Psychiatric Association Research Reports, 1955, II, 1939-1951). New York: Chandler.

- [http://courses.bloodedbythought.org/play/images/7/7e/Bateson%2C\\_Gregory\\_A\\_Theory\\_of\\_Play\\_and\\_Fantasy.pdf](http://courses.bloodedbythought.org/play/images/7/7e/Bateson%2C_Gregory_A_Theory_of_Play_and_Fantasy.pdf). Retrieved 9 Jan. 2021.
- Bebenimibo, P. (2017). *Nigerian Newspapers' Coverage Of The Anti-Corruption Crusade In Nigeria* (June 2015 To May 2017: (Unpublished doctoral dissertation) Department of Mass Communication, Faculty of Social Sciences, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka
- Bello, A. O. (2014). United Nations and African Union Conventions on Corruption and Anti-corruption Legislations in Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis. *African Journal of International and Comparative Law, Volume 22, Issue 2* /.  
<https://www.eupublishing.com/toc/ajicl/22/2>.
- Boydston, A. E., Gross, D. J.H., Resnik, P. & Smith, N. A. (2013). *Identifying Media Frames and Frame Dynamics Within and Across Policy Issues*.
- Brademas, J. and Heimann, F. (1998). *Tackling International Corruption; No Longer Taboo*, S.C. Foreign Affairs.
- Bukhari, S. A. R. (2021). Sample Size Determination Using Krejcie and Morgan Table.  
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/349118299>. Retrieved 5 Aug. 2021.
- Camaj, L. (2012). The Media's Role in Fighting Corruption: Media Effects on Governmental Accountability. *The International Journal of Press/Politics, 20*(10) 1-22
- Cooke, P. (2019, July 20). What is the Fourth Estate, why is the press called the fourth estate and where does the term come from? *THE SUN*. Retrieved from  
<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/6600872/fourth-estate-media-fourth-estate-term/>
- de Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal Document Design, 13*(1), 51-62.
- Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, EFCC Act 2004*
- Edmond, L. and Wilson, F. (2018). An Assessment of Media Coverage of Anti-Corruption Campaigns by the Buhari Administration in 2016: A Study of the Nation and
- Ekwueme, A. (2017). Newspaper coverage of the economic recession under the Buhari administration: *A study of Guardian and Vanguard. Global Journal of Human Social Science, 17*(3), 53-63
- Eme, O. I. (2013). Strategies for winning war against politically exposed persons in Nigeria. *Singaporean Journal of Business Economics and Management Studies, 1*(11), 60-81.
- Erubami, J. A. (2019). Economic Fluctuations and Newspaper Advertising Expenditures During and After The Nigerian Economic Recession: *Journal of Management Sciences (Vol.17, No.3, 2019)*, University of Maiduguri.
- Ezekwesili, O., (2005, March 10), Ensuring Transparency in Nigeria's Oil and Gas Sector, Alexander's Gas and Oil Connections. Retrieved from <http://www.gasandoil.com/goc/news/nta51048.htm>.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication 43*: 51-58.
- Enweremadu, D. U. (2012). Anti-corruption campaign in Nigeria (1999-2007): The politics of a failed reform. African Studies Centre/ French Institute for Research in Africa. *West African Politics and Society Series, 1*, 1-18.

- Ghazali, R. B. & Azmi, J. B. N (2013). Global Climate Change Coverage in Malaysia Mainstream Newspapers. *International Journal for Innovation Education and Research*, Vol. 1-03, www.ijer.net. Retrieved 18 June 2020.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goffman, E. (2010). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Boston: Northeastern Univ. Press.
- Halilu, B. I., Garba, A. B., & Abdulmumin, A. (2014). *Media Coverage of Corruption In Nigeria: An Analysis Of The Sun And New Nigerian Newspapers*. <https://www.africanscholarpublications.com/wpcontent/uploads/>. Retrieved 29 Dec. 2020.
- Idogun, O. J. (2018). *Newspaper Front Page Graphics and Readers Preference*. A Research Project Submitted To The Department Of Mass Communication Faculty Of Arts Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko, Ondo State In Partial Fulfilment Of The Requirements For The Award Of Bachelor Of Arts (B.A Hons) Degree In Mass Communication. Available at <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/322941214>. Retrieved 9 June 2022
- Idris, M., & Salisu, S.J. (2016). Corruption and Infrastructural Development In Nigeria. *International Journal of Arts & Sciences*, CD-ROM. ISSN: 1944-6934 09(01):135–146.
- Ladipo, Y.O., (2000). Bribery and Corruption in Nigeria. The Public Accountant, *the journal of the Institute of Certified Public Accountants of Nigeria*. Vol.1, July- October.
- McQuail, D. (2005). *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, Fifth Edition. Thousand Oaks. New Delhi, Sage. <https://www.worldcat.org/title/mcquails-mass-communication-theory/oclc/444174608?referer=&ht=edition>. Retrieved 8 Feb. 2020.
- McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's mass communication theory* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Nageri, K.I., Umar, G. and Abdul, F. A. (2013). Corruption And Economic Development: Evidence From Nigeria. Kuwait Chapter of Arabian *Journal of Business and Management Review* Vol. 3, No.2; Retrieved from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/300371479\\_Corruption\\_and\\_Economic\\_Development\\_Evidence\\_from\\_Nigeria](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/300371479_Corruption_and_Economic_Development_Evidence_from_Nigeria)
- Neimeijer, D. & Groot, R.S. (2008). Framing Environmental Indicators: Moving from Causal Chains to Causal Networks. *Environmental Development Sustain*, Vol.10.
- Nogara, M. (2009). *Role of Media in Curbing Corruption: The Case of Uganda under President Yoweri K. Museveni during the 'No-Party' System*. [DESA Working Paper Series No. 72] <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1338167> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1338167>. Retrieved 23 July 2020.
- Obasanjo, O. M (2003, November 7). *Nigeria: From Pond of Corruption to Island of Integrity*, [Lecture at the 10th Anniversary Celebration of Transparency International] <http://www.dawodu.com/obas35.htm>. Retrieved 30 Aug. 2020.
- Oboh, G.E. (2014). *Mediatization of Nigerian Elections Issues and Perspectives for African Democracy*. Stirling-Horden Publishers Ltd. Ibadan.

- Ogunmade, O., (2018, November 7). Buhari Signs NFIU Bill into Law. *ThisDay Live*. <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2018/07/11/buhari-signs-nfiu-bill-into-law/>. Retrieved 20 July 2020.
- Okakwu, E. (2017, November 7). Media mocking Buhari's govt with failed corruption war headlines Lai Mohammed. *Premium Times*. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/250763-media-mocking-buharisgovt-failed-corruption-war-headlines-lai-mohammed.html>. Retrieved 20 July 2020.
- Opara, I. (2007). Nigerian Anti-Corruption Initiatives. *Journal of International Business and Law: Vol. 6: Iss. 1, Article 4*. <http://scholarlycommons.law.hofstra.edu/jibl/vol6/iss1/>. Retrieved 20 Nov 2019.
- Park, C.S., (2012), *How The Media Frame Political Corruption: Episodic and Thematic Frame Stories Found in Illinois Newspapers*, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- Phiri, I. (2008). Evolution of Anti-corruption Journalism in Africa: Lessons From Zambia *Global Media Journal Africa, Vol 2, No 1*.
- Premium Times (2015, May 29) For the records: President Muhammadu Buhari's 2015 Inaugural Speech.
- PricewaterhouseCoopers. (2016). Impact of Corruption on Nigeria's Economy. <https://www.pwc.com/ng/en/assets/pdf/impact-of-corruption-on-nigeriaseconomy.pdf>. Retrieved 20 July 2020.
- Rajak, J. S. (2014). The Role of Media to Fight Against Corruption. Barkatullah Vishwavidhyala, Bhopal (M.P), *India International Journal of Current. Vol. 6, Issue, 07*. <http://www.journalcra.com>. Retrieved 22 August 2020.
- Reese, S. (2007). The framing project: a bridging model for media research revisited. *Journal of Communication, 57*, pp. 148-154.
- Reisner, A. E. (1992). The news conference: How daily newspaper editors construct the front page. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 69*(4), 971-986.
- Ribadu, N. (2005, Feb. 24). Sanitizing Nigeria's Business Environment for Direct Foreign Investment, Paper presented at Annual Patriots' Club of Nigeria Luncheon. <http://www.efccnigeria.org/index.php?option=comdocman&task=docdownload&gid=I5&Itemid>. Retrieved 22 August 2020.
- Sádaba-Garraza, M. T. (2001). Origen, aplicación y límites de la 'teoría del encuadre' (framing) en comunicación. *Comunicación y Sociedad, 24* (2), pp. 143-175.
- Salaudeen, K. A., Adebisi, R., A., & Sanni, A. O. (2018). Framing of the Anti-Graft War in Select Nigerian Newspapers. Department of Mass Communication Fountain University, Osogbo, Osun State. *Novena Journal of Communication, Vol. 6*, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327222529>. Retrieved 22 August 2020.
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (2013). *Mediating the message in the 21st century: A media sociology perspective* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Singer, J. B. (2001). The metro wide web: Changes in newspapers' gatekeeping role online. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 78*(1), 65-80.

- Soderlund, W. C. (2010), "Africas's deadliest conflict: US Television news coverage of the wars in the Democratic Republic of Congo, 1997-2008." *The 28<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Association of the Third World Studies*. Georgia: Office of the Provost, Seton Hall University. <https://apps.gsw.edu/atws/wp-content/upload/2010/09/ATWS-2010-final-conference-programme>. Retrieved 22 August 2020.
- Stapenhurst, R. (2000). *The media's role in curbing corruption*. Washington DC: World Bank Institute, Washington D.C. <https://gsdrc.org/document-library/the-medias-role-in-curbing-corruption/>. Retrieved 29 July 2020.
- Stecula, D. A. and Merkley E (2019). Framing Climate Change: Economics, Ideology, and Uncertainty in American News Media Content From 1988 to 2014. *Front. Commun.* 4:6. doi: 10.3389/fcomm.2019.00006.
- Suphachalasai, S. (2005), *Bureaucratic Corruption and Mass Media, Environmental Economy and Policy Research*, [Discussion Paper]. Series Number 05.2005, University of Cambridge.
- Svenson, J. (2005). Eight questions about corruption. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. Vol. 19, No.3, pp.19-42.
- Tade, O. (2021), Why Buhari's government is losing the anti-corruption war Retrieved from <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2020/index/nzl>.
- Tanzi, V. (1998). Corruption around the world; causes, consequences, scope and cures. *IMF Staff paper*, Vol.45, No.4, December (Tele62 it2, it3, k4, N4).).
- Timothy L. S., & Matthew W. S. (2013) (Ed.), *Theorizing Crisis Communication*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Transparency International. (2016). Corruption perceptions index 2017 table. [www.transparency.org](http://www.transparency.org). Retrieved 20 Nov. 2020.
- Transparency International. (2009). Corruption perceptions index 2010 table. [www.transparency.org](http://www.transparency.org). Retrieved 20 Nov. 2020.
- Transparency International. (2017). Corruption perceptions index 2016 table. [www.transparency.org](http://www.transparency.org). Retrieved 20 Nov. 2020.
- Transparency International. (2021). Corruption perceptions index 2020 table. [www.transparency.org](http://www.transparency.org). Retrieved 20 Nov. 2020.
- Utt, S. H., & Pasternack, S. (2003). Front page design: Some trends continue. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 24(3), 48–61.
- Van Gorp, B. (2007). The constructionist approach to framing: bringing culture back in. *Journal of Communication*, 57, pp. 60-78
- Weaver, D. H. (2007). Thoughts on agenda-setting, framing and priming. *Journal of Communication*, 57, pp. 142-147.
- Wermiel, S.J. (2019). Freedom of the Press: Challenges to this Pillar of Democracy. *Insights on Law and Society*, Volume 19. [https://www.americanbar.org/groups/public\\_education/publications/insights-on-law-and-society/volume-19/insights-vol-19-issue-2/freedom-of-the-press/](https://www.americanbar.org/groups/public_education/publications/insights-on-law-and-society/volume-19/insights-vol-19-issue-2/freedom-of-the-press/). Retrieved 20 Nov. 2020.

Yoza, T. (2015). *Impact of democratisation on corruption in Nigeria*. (Unpublished Master's thesis). University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada.

Yung, S. K and Deborah S. C. (2017). Anatomy of Front Pages: Comparison Between The New York Times and Other U.S. Major Metropolitan Newspapers. *International Journal of Communication*, v. 11, p. 949–966

Available at [https://uknowledge.uky.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=jat\\_facpub#:~:text=Importance%20of%20Front%20Pages&text=The%20front%20page%20of%20the%20newspaper%20is%20the%20most%20important,29](https://uknowledge.uky.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=jat_facpub#:~:text=Importance%20of%20Front%20Pages&text=The%20front%20page%20of%20the%20newspaper%20is%20the%20most%20important,29)).

<https://web.archive.org/web/20090723124003/http://award.dailytrust.com/index.php>? Retrieved 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2022.