

## **Interrogating the Framing of anti-corruption war by Newspapers in Nigeria from 2015-2019: A study of Daily Sun and The Nation Newspapers.**

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**ABSTRACT:** *The study examines the framing of anticorruption war by newspapers in Nigeria from 2015 to 2019. Content analysis was adopted for the study while 608 hard copies of the Daily Sun and The 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 analysed 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 organisations 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, content analysis, anti-graft.

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Framing entails the selection and attachment of salience to communication texts. This explains why Stecula and Merkley (2019) submit that framing is an essential concept of media studies which 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). However, issues that are most influenced by mediated narratives appear to be intricate ones that are mostly 'indiscernible' to the public and perhaps difficult to comprehend for not a few (Schäfer and O'Neill, 2017). Nevertheless, If the frames the public encounter lead citizens to think of anti-corruption stories as mitigating the menace of sleaze, then it is highly probable to expect their predisposition in supporting anti-corruption measures (Hornsey and

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Fielding, 2016; Walker, Kurz and Russel, 2018). 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. 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. It is against 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 while Spence and Pidgeon, (2010) say frames play crucial functions in defining complex topics into more manageable components so that the public can identify its germaneness and draw their conclusions or opinions. 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.

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). 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.

### **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). However, prior studies have dealt with framing of anti-corruption stories by the mass media, howbeit, there are no sufficient empirical studies with emphasis on the potency of frequency and prominence of framing of the anti-graft war by newspapers in Nigeria within the period under review. The gap this study seeks

to fill therefore is to underscore the place of frequency and prominence in the framing of corruption stories in the anti-graft war and its impact on the war against sleaze.

### **Objectives of the Study**

Since it has been established that there is direct link between corruption and underdevelopment in a country, the general objective of this study is to investigate how newspapers reported the anti-graft crusade in Nigeria. This investigation became more pungent because the Nigerian President, Muhammadu Buhari, came to office in May 2015, with a promise to tackle corruption headlong. Therefore the study is configured to:

1. Establish the frequency of framing of the anti-graft war by the newspapers.
2. Establish 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 will be no significant difference in the frequency of framing of anti-corruption war between *Daily Sun* and *Nation* newspapers
2. There will be no significant difference in the degree of prominence in the framing of anti-corruption war between *Daily Sun* and *Nation* newspapers

### **Scope of Study**

This study evaluated only two newspapers with national spread from June 2015 to May 2019. Content categories examined in this study were news stories only. Editorials (official position on the subject), photographs and cartoons were 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**

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) that communicative texts whether for purposes of information, instruction or persuasion require narrative structures to organize its discourse. Also, it is widely accepted that framing can have a significant influence on public attitudes toward important policy issues and on the application of such issues directly thus prompting Boydston, Gross, Resnik & Smith (2013) to amplify the place of language processing

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as key to identifying and analyzing frames that cross-cut issues be it political communications, traditional news media, or particularly in the social media.

### ***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). 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, despite the plethora of definitions offered by several scholars, only one was adopted for this study. 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***

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 while 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. 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 assertion, submits that these roles become even more important when existing political institutions are weak and inefficient in ensuring accountability of public servants. Stapenhurst (2000) is of the view that a ‘hard-hitting reportage provides the needed impetus for state actors to launch formal investigations into corruption issues. He is persuaded that anti-corruption journalism will assist in re-orientating the society through reports that are against tolerance of corruption especially in African culture (Halilu, Garba & Abdulmumin, 2014). Furthermore, Camaj (2012) submits that a vibrant media can assist the judiciary in the investigation and exposure of corruption practices.

### ***Empirical studies***

In a study on frequency and prominence on anti-corruption stories in some newspapers, Salaudeen, Adebisi and Sanni (2018) revealed 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*

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*Punch* gained front page attention which meant that prominence given to corruption stories by the two newspapers was abysmally low. Prominence is conceived as a function of both story length and story position in the news media (Bourkes, Jones and Vliegthart, 2022). 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. 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 make it difficult for the media to play its watchdog role over public authorities. Also, Halilu, Garba & Abdulmumin (2014) in another study observed that the ratio of anti-corruption coverage was insignificant compared to other stories like politics and economy. Halilu *et al.*, maintained that prominence was also not given to anti-corruption stories in the newspapers they reviewed. Furthermore, the study established that anti-corruption stories were not properly followed up and were also not given in-depth coverage to stimulate robust public discourse on the issues. Their findings prompted the researchers to recommend that the media should embark on massive and aggressive sensitization. deVreese (2004) says 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 thus corroborating Yoza (2015) that massive media coverage is crucial in exposing corrupt practices in public service or corridors of power. In yet another study, Edmond and Wilson (2018) submit that though the issues of corruption were reported frequently by newspapers, they reported corruption stories mainly in the inside pages.

Expanding the conversation further, 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. For them, the first page of the newspaper provides the menu that wets the appetite of a reader (McQuail, 2010; Singer, 2001). 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.

### ***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. 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).



## METHODOLOGY

The quantitative and qualitative content analysis approach was adopted for this study. Two hard copies each of the 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 were used for the study. 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 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 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 Sun</i>	76	76	76	76	304
2	<i>The Nation</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.

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

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

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.

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

$$48$$

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).

**Data presentation and analysis**

Hypothesis 1. There is no significant difference in the degree of frequency of framing of the anti-graft stories in the selected national newspapers

Table 2. Degree of frequency given to anti-corruption stories

<i>Daily Sun</i> newspaper							<i>The Nation</i> 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	23	29	26	32	110	18.7	FP	27	47	56	55	185	37.4
IFP	-	-	8	12	20	3.4	IFP	-	-	5	2	7	1.4
IP	71	102	122	144	439	74.5	IP	55	62	82	98	297	60
CP	-	-	-	1	1	0.2	CP	-	-	-	-	-	-
BP	3	3	3	2	11	1.9	BP	-	-	3	3	6	1.2
IBP	1	1	4	2	8	1.3	IBP	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	98	135	163	193	589	100	Total	82	109	146	158	495	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 2 represents the degree of frequency of anti-corruption stories in the *Daily Sun* and *The Nation newspapers* during the period under review. For the *Daily Sun*, the issue of anti-corruption was used 110 times on the front pages of the newspaper representing 18.7 percent, the subject was published 20 times on the inside front pages representing 3.4 percent, was ran 439 times on the inside pages representing 74.5 percent, was used only 2 times on the center pages representing 0.2 percent, published 11 times on the back pages representing 1.9 percent while it featured only 8 times on the inside back pages of the paper accounting for 1.4 percent. On the whole, *Daily Sun* published anti-corruption stories only 589 times from June 2015 to May 2019. For *The Nation* newspaper, on its front pages, the paper published the subject 185 times representing 37.4 percent, 7 times on the inside front pages representing 1.4 percent, 150 times on the inside pages of the paper representing 60 percent, the subject published 6 times on the back pages representing 1.2 percent and none on its center and inside back pages. Therefore, *The Nation* published anti-corruption stories only 495 times from June 2015 to May 2019.

Hypothesis 2. There is no significant difference in the degree of prominence given to the framing of the anti-graft war by the selected national newspapers?

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

*Daily Sun* newspaper

*The Nation* 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	23	29	26	32	110	18.7	FP	27	47	56	55	185	37.4
IFP	-	-	8	12	20	3.4	IFP	-	-	5	2	7	1.4
IP	71	102	122	144	439	74.5	IP	55	62	82	98	297	60
CP	-	-	-	1	1	0.2	CP	-	-	-	-	-	-
BP	3	3	3	2	11	1.9	BP	-	-	3	3	6	1.2
IBP	1	1	4	2	8	1.3	IBP	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	98	135	163	193	589	100	Total	82	109	146	158	495	100

Source: field work, 2022.

Table 3 represents the degree of prominence given to anti-corruption stories by the *Daily Sun* and *The Nation* newspapers in the period under review. For the *Daily Sun*, the issue of anti-corruption appeared 110 times on the front pages paper representing 18.7 percent, the subject appeared 20 times on the inside front pages representing 3.4 percent, appeared 439 times on the inside pages representing 74.5 percent, was used 2 times on the center pages representing 0.2 percent, published 11 times on the back pages representing 1.9 percent while it appeared only 8 times on the inside back pages of the paper accounting for 1.3 percent. On the other hand, *The Nation* newspaper during the period under review, published the subject 185 times on its front pages representing 37.4 percent, 7 times on the inside front pages representing 1.4 percent, 297 times on the inside pages of the paper representing 60 percent, the subject appeared 6 times on the back pages representing 1.2 percent and none appeared on its center pages.

### Hypotheses Testing

Hypothesis One: there will be no significant difference in the frequency of framing of anti-corruption war between *Daily Sun* and *The Nation* newspapers.

SPSS version 25 was used to conduct a Chi-Square test of Independence to analyse the assumption of the first hypothesis. The results presented in Table 5 below show that there was a significant difference in the number of anti-corruption war stories published by both national dailies,  $X^2(1, N = 1,084) = 8.151, p < 0.05$ . The data in Table 3 above further indicate that the frequency of framing anti-corruption war stories by *Daily Sun* ( $N = 589, 54.3\%$ ) was significantly higher than that of *The Nation* newspaper ( $N = 495, 45.7\%$ ). Hence, the assumption of the study's first hypothesis was rejected.



Table 4: Chi Square Test of Independence on the frequency of framing anti-corruption war stories by *Daily Sun* and *The Nation* newspapers

Chi-Square	8.151 <sup>a</sup>
Df	1
Asymp. Sig.	.004

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 542.0.

Hypothesis Two: there will be no significant difference in the degree of prominence in the framing of the anti-corruption war by *Daily Sun* and *The Nation* newspapers.

Chi Square test of Independence was also conducted to test the assumption of the second hypothesis. According to the data shown in Table 5, there was a significant difference in the degree of prominence in the framing of the anti-graft war reports published by the two tabloids,  $X^2(5, N = 1,084) = 2402.111, p < 0.05$ . Furthermore, the distribution of the data presented in Table 3 shows that the two studied tabloids adopted a significantly different degree of prominence in the framing of the anti-corruption war stories with stories placed on the Inside pages ( $N = 736, 67.9\%$ ) and Front Pages ( $N = 295, 27.2\%$ ) topping the charts. Consequently, the assumption of the study's second hypothesis was rejected.

Table 5: Chi Square Test of Independence on the degree of prominence in the framing of the anti-corruption war by *Daily Sun* and *The Nation* newspapers

Chi-Square	2402.111 <sup>a</sup>
Df	5
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 180.7.

## 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 Sun* newspaper, frequency of framing of the anti-graft stories was 54.3% higher than that of *The Nation* newspaper that amounted to 45.7%. 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

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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 indicate 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. For instance, 67.9% of all the anti-graft stories were planted on the inside pages of both newspapers while only 27.2% of the stories on the anti-corruption war were placed on their front pages. This outcome confirms the position of Edmond and Wilson (2018), that newspapers reported corruption stories mainly in the inside pages. This finding also supports that 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 Stapenhurst (2000) on the role of the media in curbing corruption through robust reportage that leads to consequential or identifiable results.

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Going by the assertion of several media scholars the prominence and frequency given to key national issues including corruption in all its ramifications can stimulate national discuss and provoke state actors into action. The study also concludes that there is a deficiency in the editorial policy of newspapers in Nigeria with respect to prominence and frequency given to anti-corruption stories. The study resolves that there was significant statistical difference in the frequency of framing of the anti-graft stories in the selected newspapers during the period as the percentage of anti-corruption stories in the newspapers was largely insignificant compared to other news stories. The findings provide the basis to concur that a larger percentage of the anti-graft stories were buried on the inside pages of the newspapers thereby reducing the visibility of such stories and negating the potency of front page stories on both the public and state actors on the war against corruption.

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

1. Mainstream media organisations should review their editorial policies in order to give more prominence to anti-corruption stories and campaigns in their front pages and center spread to achieve the desired objective in the fight against sleaze.
2. Mainstream media organisations should increase the degree of frequency in the framing of anti-corruption stories in their daily, weekly, monthly or periodical publications to achieve significant mileage in the anti-graft war so as to assist state actors in the anti-graft war and also make corrupt practices less attractive in developing countries especially in Nigeria to mitigate the effect of corruption on the socioeconomic and political development of the country.
3. Mainstream media organisations should review their news value with regards to commodification of news stories with a view to increasing the ratio of anti-corruption stories.

### *Suggestions for further studies*

- i. A study on how newspapers use editorials (official position of media houses on public issues) to frame the effectiveness of state actors in the implementation of anti-corruption measures and how corruption suspects are framed should be conducted.
- ii. A study on how newspapers use cartoons to frame the patriotism or otherwise of state actors in the execution of anti-corruption measures should be conducted.
- iii. A study on how newspapers use news photographs to frame state actors and their anti-corruption measures, corruption suspects should also be conducted.

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