

Framing Of President Buhari's Medical Trips in The *Leadership, Daily Trust, Punch And Vanguard* Newspapers

CHUKWUDI JUSTUS ANYIANUKA, PhD

Institute of Management and Technology, Enugu, Nigeria

+234(0)8037872301 email: canyianuka@imt.edu.ng

Abstract

This study examined the framing of President Buhari's medical trips in the *Leadership, Daily Trust, Punch* and *Vanguard* newspapers. Anchored on the Framing theory by Entman, the study sought to determine the dominant frames, sources cited and tone of frames in the stated newspapers' framing of the president's medical trips to London, UK. Deploying content analysis, a total of 255 stories that covered the period of the medical trips: 6th – 9th June 2016, 9th January – 10th March 2017, and 7th May – 19th August 2017, were examined from the population of 96 editions of the four newspapers. Findings indicate the dominance of responsibility frame followed by morality frame in the framing of the medical trips. It was also found that most of the newspapers stories cited interest groups as their sources, while the tone of framing was found to be negative. Based on the result of the study, the researcher concludes that sources cited influenced the frames and tone of reportage of Buhari's medical trips. Results of this research also show an insignificant representation of the economic frames in the four newspapers content analysed. It, therefore, recommended, among others, that Nigerian newspapers should pay attention to the economic implications of overseas medical trips such as, the pressure it imposes on the local currency from sourcing foreign exchange for medical bills and other costs of travel, the erosion of investors confidence in the health sector, the flight of cash in billions of naira expended by Nigerians on medical tourism, and the resulting total neglect of the domestic health sector, since funds that would have been invested in the sector is channeled into developing the economy of the nations where the medical trips are made, and in this case, the UK economy.

Keywords: *President Buhari, Medical trip, Content analysis*

Introduction

The health of Nigeria's President -Muhammadu Buhari- has remained one of the controversial issues surrounding his government. The controversy even began during the presidential campaign, as many people expressed doubts over the health of the then-presidential candidate to withstand the pressure associated with the office of the president. One of such skepticism was expressed via an advocacy advertisement sponsored by Governor Ayodele Fayose of Ekiti State wherein he warned Nigerians not to vote President Buhari. The advertisement, which had the pictures of Murtala Muhammed, Sani Abacha, and Umaru Yar'Adua – past Nigerian presidents who died in office – was accompanied by excerpts from the Bible book of Deuteronomy 30 verse 19 that reads: "Nigerians be warned! Nigeria...I have set before thee Life and death. Therefore, choose life that both thee and thy seed may live". This clearly implied that Muhamadu Buhari represented death, while his then rival, President Goodluck Jonathan represented life. The advertisement went ahead to put a huge question mark over the picture of Mr. Buhari, which was placed beside the pictures of the late leaders. The advertisement asked its readers: "Will you allow history to repeat itself?" ending tersely with: "Enough of State burials." The advertisement further promoted the candidacy of the Peoples Democratic Party, PDP as it noted: "Nigerians vote wisely, vote Goodluck Jonathan". It then

attempted to spur ethnic controversy by stating, “Northern presidency should wait till 2019.” National newspapers like the *Punch* and the *Daily Sun* ran this advertisement. Sahara Reporters in reporting the advertisement paints a picture of the controversies surrounding Buhari’s health.

The controversy concerning Buhari’s health continued even after he was declared the winner of the 2015 presidential election and eventual inauguration into office. Although after taking over, the President embarked on several diplomatic shuttles to different countries like Niger Republic (June 2015), Chad (June 2015, August 2016), Germany (June 2015, October 2016), South Africa (June 2015, December 2015), USA (July, September 2015, March, September 2016), Cameroon (July 2015), Benin Republic (August, December 2015, January 2016), France (September 2015, February 2016), Ghana (September 2015), India (October 2015) among others, his health remained an issue of national concern.

Since assumption of office, President Buhari has embarked on medical trips to the United Kingdom three times. The first was in 2016 when he wrote to the National Assembly informing them of his intent to proceed on a medical vacation. It lasted from 6th-19th, June 2016. In the second medical trip, the President left Nigeria on January 9, 2017, for what the presidency described as a medical leave. He returned to the country on March 10, 2017. The third medical trip was on May 7 to August 19th, 2017. All the medical trips raised many issues that were framed differently by the media. That is, the framing of President Buhari’s trip is an essential tool through which newspaper could construct the issue and shape public understanding of it.

By its very scope, framing is the type of angle promoted by the newspaper. Okoro and Odoemelam (2013, p.86) note that one manner in which news media shape perceptions of key events is through the act of ‘Framing.’ Therefore, news content analysis is essential to studying the pattern of media frame of news. Frames present structured cross slices of perpetually evolving public affairs. According to Entman (1993) framing “involves selection and salience (Boykoff, 2006). To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman 1993). Therefore, by framing socio-political issues and controversies in specific ways, news organizations present—if tacitly—the foundational causes and potential consequences of a social problem or issue, as well as possible remedies. Frames not only overlap and reinforce each other but also frequently compete with each other (Boykoff, 2006). This study, therefore, adopted framing theory to determine newspaper framing of President Buhari’s medical trips.

Statement of the Problem

Although the construction of presidential trips in the media, especially newspapers has been studied by different scholars, (e.g., Edwards, 2007; Cohen & Powell, 2005; Cohen, 2016, Eshbaugh-Soha, 2010), not much is known concerning presidential medical trips. Also, most of the studies on newspaper framing of presidential trips are from advanced democracies like the United States of America. Again, even though president Buhari’s medical trips have often generated public discourse, not much is known regarding how such trips are framed in the media. Knowledge of newspaper framing of President Buhari’s medical trips is essential because it will provide empirical evidence for understanding salient issues in newspaper framing of the president’s medical trips, hence the need for this study.

Research Questions

This study sought answers to the following questions:

1. What are the dominant frames in the *Leadership*, *Daily Trust*, *Punch* and *Vanguard* newspapers framing of President Buhari’s medical trips?

2. What are the sources cited in the *Leadership*, *Daily Trust*, *Punch* and *Vanguard* newspapers framing of Buhari's medical trips?
3. What is the tone of framing of Buhari's medical trips in the *Leadership*, *Daily Trust*, *Punch* and *Vanguard* newspapers?

Review of Literature

Media and framing of Presidential Trips

Presidential trips usually attract local and international media coverage. When presidents travel, people want to know why they travelled, where they travelled to, and when they will be back. Barrett and Peake (2007) regret that even though scholars, the press, and presidential advisors agree that presidential travel generates lots of positive local news coverage, this assumption has never been systematically tested. When such issues are related to the health of the president, there is even heightened tension as political gladiators, power brokers and the masses begin to re-align their thoughts, in case the worst happens. In the case of Nigeria, the death of Yar'Adua in 2010 while still serving as Nigeria's president could not help matters either, as it is still fresh in the minds of many Nigerians.

Looking at Eshbaugh-Soha (2010), Kee, Ibrahim, Ahmad and Khiang (2012) and Dardis (2006) one can say that the three key issues in newspaper reportage of presidential activities include framing, tone and sources of stories. This tripod is critical to the current study because it provides a framework for understanding how president Buhari's medical trips have been framed. Framing is critical in media studies because the manner of the framing of an issue affects public perception of such an issue. This assumption is supported by evidence in literature (e.g., Chong & Druckman, 2007; Lee, McLeod, & Shah, 2008 all cited in Yang & Ishak, 2012). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) investigated the prevalence of these news frames in 2,601 newspaper stories and 1,522 television news stories in the period surrounding the Amsterdam meetings of European heads of states in 1997 and found that the attribution of responsibility frame was most commonly used in the news, followed by the conflict, economic consequences, human interest, and morality frames.

Apart from the frames, the story source is pivotal in newspaper framing. Aaroe (2017) posits that one key factor that moderates framing effect is the source of the frame. Other evidence in the literature (e.g, Fahmy, 2005) suggests that the source of media contents significantly influences its frames. This implies that the sources of stories on President Buhari's medical trips are likely to influence the frames adopted. The tone of presentation is another critical aspect of framing studies. Yang and Ishak, (2012) hold that the tone of framing could be positive, neutral or supportive. Overall, they describe the tone of framing as the general interpretation of issues by the media.

Review of Empirical Studies

The researcher reviewed the following empirical studies to understand what has been done in the past.

Eshbaugh-Soha (2010) examined the tone of local presidential news coverage using content analysis. Eshbaugh-Soha relied on theories of media politics, based primarily on the profit-seeker model of news coverage, to explore the impact of newspaper characteristics, audience preferences, and story characteristics on local newspaper coverage of the presidency. The researcher used a sample of 288 stories taken from the Bill Clinton and George W. Bush administrations and demonstrated that everyday local newspaper coverage of the presidency is slightly more negative than positive and that audience support for the president, newspaper resources, and corporate ownership affect the tone of local newspaper coverage of the presidency. The interest of the current study in this study is on the tone of reportage.

Ngwu and Ekwe (2015) examined newspaper coverage of 78 days presidential power vacuum crisis under President Umaru Yar Adua. The researchers adopted content analysis and with code sheet as the instrument of data collection. Four national dailies namely *The Guardian*, *The Sun*, *New Nigerian* and *Daily Trust* newspapers were used. Using five units of analysis as news, features, editorials, cartoons and opinion articles and seven content categories, findings revealed that Nigerian newspapers gave the presidential power vacuum crisis prominence. The results also showed that the issue was adequately covered and took a positive tone. However, it was also discovered that Nigerian newspapers frequently covered the power lacuna in their reports, which were influenced by regional and ownership factors. This study is related to the current one because the researcher investigated the media coverage of the Nigerian presidency with the tone as a variable.

Barrett and Peake (2007) examined local newspaper coverage of domestic presidential travel. The researchers examined this with a study of local and national newspaper coverage of President George W. Bush's 2001 domestic travel. Content analysis was used in the study while the code sheet was the instrument of data collection. The results were analysed using simple percentages while findings were presented in tables. Barrett and Peake found that the local press covers presidential domestic trips both more comprehensively and favourably than the national press. The researchers also analysed variations in local newspaper coverage of presidential visits and further discovered that the most important factor influencing both the amount and tone of such coverage is the level of presidential support within a community. Other factors discovered to affect either the amount or tone of local coverage include the availability of adversarial sources, whether a newspaper has a democratic editorial bent, and whether a visit occurred after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. This study is related to the current one because the researchers examined newspaper coverage of presidential trips. Jasper (2016) deployed content analysis to determine select US newspapers framing of Mexican child migrants as victims of economic and political instability and found that most newspapers used economic frame in portraying migrants as victims and criminals. George Lakoff in his study of the 2016 US Presidential election discovered that the tone and constant repetition of a frame strengthens the frame and subconsciously causes an audience to view an issue in line with the way it is framed (Rathje, 2017).

Theoretical Framework

The framing theory was used in this study. The framing theory posits that the volume accorded a particular issue is not as essential as the frame the media adopt (Druckman, 2001). It is concerned with the way presentation of issues guide public opinion (Shulman & Sweitzer, 2018). The framing theory as propounded in 1974 by Goffman, maintains that people interpret what is going on around their world through their primary framework. According to the theory, people make sense of their experiences using interpretational packages called frames. To frame is to slant a story towards a particular direction. Bryant and Miron (2004) aver that in recent years, framing theory has taken over from agenda setting and cultivation theory as the most commonly applied research approach in the field of communications science. In the views of Zhou (2008), Tuchman and Gitlin were two of the earliest scholars to introduce framing to media studies, which happened in 1978 and 1980 respectively. Cacuatore, Scheufele & Iyengar (2016) propose a refocus of attention on framing's original foundation, to improve the empirical contributions of the theory to the field of communication and understanding of media effects. The framing theory was found useful to the current study because it provides the theoretical framework for understanding newspaper reports on President Buhari's medical trips

Methodology

Design of the Study: This study adopted content analysis to examine newspaper framing of Buhari's medical trips. Content analysis was used because it helped the researcher to study newspaper contents on Buhari's health in the newspapers.

Population of the study: The population of this study was made up of all the national newspapers in Nigeria. There are a total of 28 newspapers circulating in Nigeria (International Media Newspapers, 2016).

Sample/ Sampling Technique: A total of four newspapers namely: *The Punch, the Vanguard, the Leadership and Daily Trust* were selected for this study. These newspapers were selected to ensure equitable representation of the northern and southern parts of Nigeria. The duration of the study was 6th-19th June 2016, 9th January -10th March 2017, and 7th May-19th August 2017. These periods were chosen for the study because they marked the time when President Buhari embarked on medical trips. Cumulatively, President Buhari's medical trips lasted for 179 days. The researcher used constructed week to sample the newspaper issues. This was based on the result of Stempel (1952) who first reported that twelve issues from two constructed weeks could effectively predict a year. Therefore, the study made use of four newspapers for a period of two years because Buhari's medical trips span across two years. Therefore, a total of 12 editions of each of the newspapers were selected for two years, thus leading to 48 issues for the four newspapers per year and 96 issues for the two years. In the selection, only months within which the president embarked on medical trips were selected. This is represented in the table 1.

Table 1: Selected Weekdays from Constructed Weeks for the study

	2016	2017
January		9 th - 14 th
February		11 th - 19 th
March		1 st - 7 th
May		7 th - 22 nd
June	6 th -12 th	13 th - 17 th
August		10 th - 17 th

Measurements of Study Variables

Frames

The researcher adopted and modified five most commonly used news frames (conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality and responsibility) identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). These frames are explained as follows:

Conflict Frame: News frame that present the medical trips from a conflict perspective. Such frames will include protests on the presidents' continuous absence or the clash between the acting president and Buhari's loyalists.

Human interests frame: News frame on the trips that present the human side of the medical trips. Example, anybody can fall sick.

Economic consequences frame: News frames that present the cost of the medical trips.

Morality frame: This frame presents the medical trips from the perspective of why Buhari would seek medical treatment abroad instead of upgrading the local medical facilities.

Responsibility frame: This frame presents the medical trips from the perspective that Buhari has a responsibility to Nigerians. Hence he should come back and do his work.

Sources of stories

To examine the sources, the researcher counted the number of attributed statements, defined as either a quote or paraphrase, included in each story. The researcher coded each attributed statement into one of the following categories of sources: (a) interest such as Nigerian medical association, Non-governmental organization etc., who are expected to be more neutral (b) media team (d) political opponents (c) others - anyone who does not fit into any of the above categories.

Tone of Framing

This study adopted and used Barrett and Peake's (2007) criteria that examined newspaper coverage of presidential trips in the United States. In their study, Positive statements include descriptions of an applauding or enthusiastic audience, an upbeat assessment of the president's remarks by an audience member, or statements in support of the president by political allies. Negative statements include descriptions of protests surrounding a trip, negative analysis of the president's remarks by a group representative or a political opponent, or statements that place the visit in a context that reminds readers of something negative related to the presidency. Stories that did not belong to either of the categories were coded as neutral. These measures were modified to fit into the study (see appendix i).

Unit of Analysis

For this study, the units of analysis were the articles that included news, editorials, columns, opinions, as well as letters to the editor. Two coders were randomly selected to do the coding. The Inter-coder reliability was determined using Holsti's inter coder reliability formula thus:

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

Where:

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

N1 & N2 – The number of coding decisions by the first and second coder respectively.

The inter coder reliability was

$$\frac{3(42)}{50+50} = 0.84$$

The calculation above yielded 0.84 reliability figure. This calculation indicated high reliability.

Method of Data Analysis

The researcher used simple percentages in the analysis. The results were then presented in tables.

RESULTS

The result of this study is presented as follows:

Table 2: Newspaper Frames of Buhari's Medical Trips

			Newspaper				Total
			<i>Punch</i>	<i>Vanguard</i>	<i>Leadership</i>	<i>Daily Trust</i>	
Frames	Conflict	Count	8	7	10	7	32
		% of Total	3.1%	2.7%	3.9%	2.7%	12.5%
	Human interest	Count	6	8	8	15	37
		% of Total	2.4%	3.1%	3.1%	5.9%	14.5%
	Morality	Count	11	9	34	5	59
		% of Total	4.3%	3.5%	13.3%	2.0%	23.1%
	Responsibility	Count	32	19	16	12	79
		% of Total	12.5%	7.5%	6.3%	4.7%	31.0%
	Economic	Count	12	14	9	13	48
		% of Total	4.7%	5.5%	3.5%	5.1%	18.8%
	Total	Count	69	57	77	52	255
		% of Total	27.1%	22.4%	30.2%	20.4%	100.0%

The result from table 2 above revealed the dominance of responsibility frame followed by morality frames. This implies that most of the newspapers framed the medical trips of President Buhari from the perspective that he has a responsibility to govern Nigeria and where he cannot do that effectively, he should summon the courage to resign, hence the morality frame.

Table 3: Sources of Newspaper Stories on Buhari's Medical Health

			Newspaper				Total
			<i>Punch</i>	<i>Vanguard</i>	<i>Leadership</i>	<i>Daily Trust</i>	
Sources	Media team	Count	6	14	15	13	48
		% of Total	2.4%	5.5%	5.9%	5.1%	18.8%
	Interest groups	Count	38	29	26	18	111
		% of Total	14.9%	11.4%	10.2%	7.1%	43.5%
	Political opponents	Count	15	3	11	8	37
		% of Total	5.9%	1.2%	4.3%	3.1%	14.5%
	Others	Count	10	11	25	13	59
		% of Total	3.9%	4.3%	9.8%	5.1%	23.1%
Total		Count	69	57	77	52	255
		% of Total	27.1%	22.4%	30.2%	20.4%	100.0%

The result from table 3 above showed that most of the stories cited interest groups. This result could be as a result of the attention that the health of a president will usually attract. Even when the media team of the president, released a statement on the issue, one interest group was either calling on the president to resign or disclose his health status or the cost of the medical trip. The next table showed the overall tone of the frames presented in the four newspapers.

Table 4: Tone of Newspaper Framing of President Buhari's Medical Trips

			Newspaper				Total
			<i>Punch</i>	<i>Vanguard</i>	<i>Leadership</i>	<i>Daily Trust</i>	
Tone	Positive	Count	29	17	19	11	76
		% of Total	11.4%	6.7%	7.5%	4.3%	29.8%
	Negative	Count	26	28	21	18	93
		% of Total	10.2%	11.0%	8.2%	7.1%	36.5%
	Neutral	Count	14	12	37	23	86
		% of Total	5.5%	4.7%	14.5%	9.0%	33.7%
Total		Count	69	57	77	52	255
		% of Total	27.1%	22.4%	30.2%	20.4%	100.0%

The result from table 4 above suggests that most of the newspaper stories on President Buhari's medical trip were framed in a negative tone. This result may have been influenced by the sources cited in the stories. This is because, during the medical trips, different interest

groups and political opponents expressed their reservations over the medical shuttles and the continuous absence of the president from duties.

Discussion of Findings

The result of this study is presented based on the research questions thus:

Research question one: What are the dominant frames in the *Leadership*, *Daily Trust*, *Punch* and *Vanguard* newspapers framing of President Buhari's medical trips? The result of this study showed that even though there were manifestations of frames like conflict, human interest, responsibility, morality and economic frames, most of the stories were framed in responsibility frame followed by morality frame. What this means is that the newspaper studied were more concerned about the responsibility the president has to the populace and the moral burden of seeking medical attention overseas. For example, the *Punch* of August 14th 2017, reported a story captioned: 'Buhari, Dos Santos, Mugabe lack faith in health systems at home.' While Buhari is Nigeria's president, Dos Santos is Angola's and Robert Mugabe was Zimbabwean president as at the time of the story. The story painted a picture of the awful health systems in these countries, showing the responsibility of such presidents to fix it and questioning their morality in seeking for healthcare overseas. It notes:

For Nigeria, the public health system is terrible because of poor funding. The Nigerian president has spent more than four months in London this year getting treatment for an undisclosed illness, causing considerable disquiet at home. ...The issue with these trips abroad is not only the implied criticism of the medics at home, but that also serves to undermine the health system.

The submission above showed the power of the media in framing issues. Although there may be other angles to project in the report, critical issues of funding, the morality of seeking medical attention abroad as well as the implications on the medical system have been projected. This result has implications on the framing theory. This is because it has confirmed the postulations of the theory concerning the power of the media in projecting certain aspects of an issue.

Research Question two: What are the sources cited in the *Leadership*, *Daily Trust*, *Punch* and *Vanguard* newspapers framing of Buhari's medical trips? The result of this study showed that most of the stories cited sources from interest groups and political opponents of the president such as the opposition political parties. Such sources may have influenced the framing because Fahmy (2005) found that the sources of stories influence how such stories are framed. Not many stories cited the media team of the president. This could be because of the magnitude of attention the health of the president attracted and in just one newspaper edition, there could be four stories on the issue with just one citing the president's media team. In some cases, there may not be a story citing the president's media team at all. Rather, all the stories cited may be responding to a previous release from the presidency.

Research Question three: What is the tone of framing of Buhari's medical trips in the *Leadership*, *Daily Trust*, *Punch* and *Vanguard* newspapers? The result of this study suggests that most of the newspaper stories on President Buhari's medical trips were framed in a negative tone. That is, they were largely against the presidency. Again, the power of the source comes to mind. When newspapers cite sources, it is largely to determine the tone of their framing. The result of this study is consistent with that of Eshbaugh-Soha (2010), who examined the tone of local presidential news coverage, using content analysis, and reported that everyday coverage of the presidency is more negative than positive. The result is, however, contrary to that of Ngwu and Ekwe (2015) who examined newspaper coverage of the

power vacuum, following late Yar'Adua's medical trip, and reported that the coverage was largely positive.

Conclusion / Recommendations

Based on the result of this study, the newspapers studied presented responsibility and morality frames more than any other frame. Also, most of the sources cited in stories on President Buhari's health were from interest groups. Again, the tone of the newspapers framing of president Buhari's medical trips was generally negative. Therefore, the major contribution of this study is that it has provided evidence for understanding how source selection could influence framing and tone of presentation. Based on the result of this study, the following recommendations are made:

1. Nigerian newspapers should pay attention to the economic implications of overseas medical trips considering that the result showed an insignificant representation of the economic frames. Medical trips impose pressure on the local currency, as foreign exchange is sourced for medical bills and other costs of travel. It also erodes investors' confidence in the domestic health sector. Again, there is a high rate of capital flight, as Nigerians expend billions of naira on medical tourism. These culminate in the total neglect of the health sector, since funds that would have been invested in the sector is channeled into developing the economy of the nations where the medical trips are made.
2. It is also essential to highlight the political and ethnic conflicts that arise from prolonged presidential medical trips. This is needed as a precautionary measure.
3. Newspapers must also pay attention to their source selection as this influences their frames.

References

- Aaroe, L. (2017). *Framing: Audience frames*. Retrieved from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118783764.wbieme0049/abstract>
- Barrett, A. & Peake, J. (2007). When the president comes to town: Examining local newspaper coverage of domestic presidential travel. *American Politics Research*, 35 (1), 3-31.
- Boykoff, J.(2006). Framing dissent: Mass media coverage of the *Global Justice Movement*. *New Political Science* 28 (2)202-228.
- Bryant, J., & Miron, D. (2004). Theory and research in mass communication. *Journal of Communication*, 54(4), 662–704.
- Cacuatore, M. A., Scheufele, D. A., & Iyengar, S. (2016). End of framing and the future of media effects. *Mass Communication and Society*, (19), 7-23.
- Cohen, J. (2016). Presidential attention focusing in the global arena: The impact of international travel on foreign publics *Presidential Studies Quarterly*,46 (1), 30-47.
- Cohen, J. E., & Powell, R. J. (2005). Building presidential support from the grassroots up: The impact of presidential travel on state-level approval. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 35, 11-27.
- Dardis, F. E. (2006). Marginalization devices in U.S. press coverage of Iraq war protest: A content analysis. *Mass Communication & Society*, 9, 117–135.
- Druckman, J. (20001). Evaluating framing effects. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 91-101.
- Edwards, G. C., III. (2007). Governing by Campaigning: *The politics of the Bush presidency*. New York: Pearson, Longman
- Entman, R (1993). *Education research: Issues and methodology*. Ibadan: Wisdom Publisher
- Eshbaugh-Soha, M. (2010). The tone of local presidential news coverage. *Political Communication*, 27:121–140
- Fahmy, S. (2005). Emerging alternatives or traditional news gates: Which news sources were used to picture the 9/11 attack and the Afghan war? *International Communication Gazette*, 67(5), 381–398.
- International Media Newspapers (2016). Top newspapers in Nigeria by web ranking. Retrieved from <http://www.4imn.com/ng/>
- Jasper, S. (2016). Framing of children in news stories about US immigration from Latin America. *Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research*, 7 (2), 68-77.
- Kee, C, Ibrahim, F., Ahmad, F. & Khiang, C. (2012). Frame contention between news sources and news media: Framing the dispute of teaching mathematics and science in english. *Asian Social Science*, 8 (5), 16- 28.
- Ngwu, C & Ekwe, O. (2015). Nigerian newspapers coverage of the 78 days presidential power vacuum crisis under President Umaru Yar’adua: managing or manipulating the outcome. *Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences* 3, (11), 101-127.
- Okoro, N, & Odoemelam, C. L. (2013). Print media framing of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria: A content analytical study of *the Guardian, Daily Trust, Vanguard* and *Thisday* Newspapers. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3(11)86-94.
- Rathje, S. (2017). The power of framing: It’s not what you say, it’s how you say it. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/science/head-quarters/2017/jul/20/the-power-of-framing-its-not-what-you-say-its-how-you-say-it>
- Sahara Reporters, (2015, Jan 9). Governor Fayose Places Death-wish Advert On Buhari In National Newspapers. <http://saharareporters.com/2015/01/19/governor-fayose-places-death-wish-advert-buhari-national-newspapers>
- Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication*, 50(2), 93–109.

- Shulman, H. C., & Sweitzer, M. D. (2018). Advancing framing theory: Designing an equivalency frame to improve political information processing. *Human Communication Research*. Retrieved from <https://academic.oup.com/hcr/advance-article/doi/10.1093/hcr/hqx006/4841749>
- Stempel, G. H. III (1952). Sample size for classifying subject matter in dailies. *Journalism Quarterly*, (29), 333-334.
- The Punch (2017August, 14) 'Buhari, Dos Santos, Mugabe lack faith in health systems at home. Retrieved from <http://punchng.com/buhari-dos-santos-mugabe-lack-faith-in-health-systems-at-home/>
- Yang, L., & Ishak, M. (2012). Framing interethnic conflict in Malaysia: A comparative analysis of newspaper coverage on the Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf). *International Journal of Communication*, 6, 166–189.
- Zhou, X. (2008). Cultural dimensions and framing the Internet in China: A cross-cultural study of newspapers' coverage in Hong Kong, Singapore, the U.S. and the UK. *International Communication Gazette*, 70(2), 117–136.