

The Faculty of Social Sciences, Benue State University, Makurdi, Nigeria, is committed to promoting high standards and excellence in the creation and dissemination of scientific knowledge and the furtherance of scientific practice. The Faculty publishes *Benue Journal of Social Sciences*, BJSS— an open-access and double-blind peer-reviewed journal for the study and advancement of social science.

Benue Journal of Social Sciences welcomes high quality conceptual, theoretical, empirical and applied original research papers, case studies, book reviews, general reviews, viewpoints, and short communications, analytical and simulation models, technical papers from researchers, academics, professionals, practitioners and students from all over the world.

You are therefore cordially invited to share and publish your research with *Benue Journal of Social Sciences* in such areas as: Anthropology, Archaeology, Business (e.g. Accounting, Advertising, Banking, Finance, Economics, Econometrics, Management, Marketing), Communication, Criminology, Education, Geography, Government, History, Hospitality, Law, Linguistics, International Relations, Political Science, Psychology, Sports, Sociology, Tourism, Social Welfare, Anthropology, Religious Studies, Visual Arts, Development Studies, Public Administration, Philosophy, History, Education, Women Studies Environmental Studies, Agriculture, Rural Development, Urban Studies, Human Resources and so on.

Date of Publishing: BJSS is inviting papers for Vol. 3 No. 1 which is scheduled to be published in June, 2015.

Submission Deadline: April 30, 2015.

Send your manuscript to the editor at: bnssjrn1@gmail.com

Attention Authors!

Before submitting the manuscript, the author must proofread his/her paper for grammatical and spelling corrections as well as for readability. Each manuscript would be reviewed by the editor-in-chief for general suitability. If it is judged suitable, a double-blind review process takes place. Based on the recommendations of the reviewers, the editor-in-chief then decides whether the article/paper/case should be accepted. The evaluation period is short; usually two to three weeks or less. Please remind us if you do not receive the review results after two weeks. Papers that do not conform strictly to APA style would be rejected.

NIGERIA'S POLITICAL CHANGES AND FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA

Faculty of Social Sciences 2nd National Conference

16 - 18 June, 2016

BOOK OF PROCEEDINGS

edited by

Rodney Ciboh

Ronke Awopetu



©A PUBLICATION OF THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
BENUE STATE UNIVERSITY MAKURDI, BENUE STATE

CONTENTS

PART ONE:

Access to Information, Freedom of Speech, Journalism,
Communication and the Media

The Freedom of Information Act and Democratic Governance in
Nigeria: Basic Challenges (2011 – 2014)

Robert O. Dode and Mgbebuibe, Wisdom Chibueze

An Analysis of *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* Newspapers

Framing of *Dasukigate*

Patrick Udende and Abubakar, I.Y.

New Media Technologies and Political Socialization of
Children: The Exigency of Parental Mediation

Jude Terna Kur and Msoo Martha Iorpagher

Ethnicity Social Relations and Democracy: A Public Perception of
Press Reportage of Fulani Pastoralists and Agatu Farmers

Conflict of 2016

Igyuve, Anthony Iorver and Akpede, Kaior Samuel

Framing and Priming of Terrorism in the Media:

Analysis of Audience Perception of Boko Haram Coverage

Chile, Daniel Ngusha and Momoh, Tairu Nuhu

Women and Mass Communication in Nigeria: A Focus on the

Future of Print Journalism and Development

Grace Anweh

Social Media, Censorship, Ethics and Public Morality:

A Call for Responsibility

Henry Ogaraku

PART TWO:

Political Parties, Party Relations, and Democracy

From Opposition to Ruling Political Party: Looking Backward and

Forward to the Roles of the All Progressive Congress (APC) in

Nigeria's Democratic Journey

Usman Solomon Ayegeba

119

Political Party, Party Relations and Democracy in Nigeria: A Review of
the Practices among Major Political Parties in the 2015 General Elections

140

Lawal A. Oladimeji

Party Cross-carpeting in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Cases and Causes

154

Olu, Awofeso and Irabor, Paul. A.

From Corridors of Power to Opposition Bench:

The Transformation of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in

Nigeria's Fourth Republic

Aliyu Mukhtar Katsina

165

PART THREE:

Leadership, Transition of Power and Democracy

187

Leadership and Sustenance of Democracy in Nigeria

189

Ololo Kennedy Okechukwu and Owonibe Elizabeth

PART FOUR:

Ethnicity, Religion, Social Relations and Democracy

197

Ethnicity, Religion and Democracy: Evidence from the Voting Pattern

199

of the 2015 Nigeria's Presidential Election

Efiong, Joel and Oba, Demitrus Okim

214

The Impact of Ethnicity and Religion on the Survival of

Democracy in Nigeria

Targba Aondowase

232

PART FIVE:

Civil Society, Gender and Youths

233

The Plight of Women and Children in Terrorists Ravaged

Zones: A Case Study of Nigeria and Kenya

Amakihe Bartholomew and Ishola Adebola Olubunmi

249

Analysis of Gender Inequality in Nigeria's Democratic Governance:

A Study of Kebbi State Executive Council

Zuwaira H. Rasheed, Abdulrahman Adamu and Taofiq J. Fadeyi

Civil Society Organizations, The Nigerian State and Good Governance in Nigeria's Fourth Republic <i>Ugba Dajo</i>	259	PART EIGHT: Electoral Commissions, Election Management and Democracy	359
The Menace of Youth Rural-Urban Migration and its Implications for Election Thuggery in Kogi East, Nigeria <i>Ibrahim, M.K., Usman, S.O. and Bernard, A.O</i>	268	Nigeria's 2015 General Elections and the Question of Democratic Consolidation <i>Lawrence I. Edet, Edet J. Tom and Mkpoikankeabasi I. Harry</i>	361
A Critical Survey on Democracy, Youth and the Scourge of Unemployment in Nigeria <i>Kabir Umar Musa</i>	281	Election Administration and Democratization Process in Nigeria: Success, Challenges and Opportunities from the Conduct of 2015 General Elections <i>Abdullahi Mu'awiyya and Osebi Sophia Balogun</i>	359
Women and Youth Empowerment as Groundwork to Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria <i>Tinuke Ademilua</i>	291	PART NINE: Intolerance, Protests, Crime, Violence, Insurgency/Terrorism and Democracy	387
PART SIX: Economy, Foreign Investment and Democracy	297	Terrorism and Democracy: Emerging Trends and Perspectives in Nigeria <i>Peterside Zainab Brown</i>	389
Determinants of Microfinance Bank loan Default in Niger state, Nigeria <i>Abdullahi Shafii Sayuti and Kabiru Hannafi Ibrahim</i>	299	PART TEN: Democratic Institutions, Culture and Practices	402
Nigeria's Trade Complementarity and Similarity with West African Sub-Region <i>Kabiru Hannafi Ibrahim and Sayuti Abdullahi Shafii</i>	315	Assessing propaganda content in selected Nigerian newspapers: A Study of 2015 Presidential campaigns <i>Bo, Daniel</i>	403
PART SEVEN: Poverty, Education, Health, Food Security, Unemployment and Democracy	325	Democracy and Sustainable National Development in Nigeria <i>Ayaka, Simon Silas</i>	413
Impact of Supervision on the Performance of Secondary School Teachers in Benue State <i>Oravee Aule and Kokona Bulus Patrick</i>	327	Freedom and Equality as substance of Democracy: How Democratic are (African) Democracies? <i>Bruno Yammeluan Ikuli</i>	423
Poverty alleviation "A Catalyst for Sustenance of Democracy in Nigeria" <i>Rabi'u Ibrahim Kankia</i>	337		
The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Agricultural Productivity among the Rural People in Gwer Local Government Area of Benue State <i>Ankar Catherine Tersoo and Uji Terese</i>	345		

**AN ANALYSIS OF DAILY SUN, DAILY TRUST AND
THE NATION NEWSPAPERS FRAMING
OF DASUKIGATE**

Patrick Udende
Abubakar, I.Y.



Abstract

The paper analyses how selected newspapers framed stories on the alleged diversion of 2.1 billion US dollars meant to fight Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria by Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd). Using quantitative and qualitative research methods, it purposively selects three national newspapers; *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *The Nation*. The three-month study systematically selects 48 editions at the interval of 4th number beginning from December 2, 2015 to February 29, 2016. The study quantitatively analyses pattern of frames with a view to determining the dominant frames the newspapers use in constructing stories. Also, the study descriptively analyses stories in terms of how newspapers cover the story. Findings show that conspiracy frame is the dominant frame (21%) in the newspapers reports. This is followed by human interest frame (17%) while attribution of responsibility and conflict frames each has (15%). The study also finds that newspapers use different frames like conspiracy, conflict/human interest, attribution of responsibility and appeal to principle frames to construct stories depending on the nature of a story. The study recommends among other things that newspapers should maintain the use of appropriate frames to construct stories as issues arise with a view to enhancing informed public debate.

Key words: Newspaper, framing, *Dasukigate*, Boko Haram, presidential election.

Introduction

When President Muhammadu Buhari emerged as the 2015 presidential candidate on the platform of All Progressives Congress, APC, one of his

Patrick Udende+ and Abubakar, I.Y., PhD both lectures in the Department of Mass Communication, University of Ilorin, Ilorin. udendepatrick@yahoo.com, ibrahimyaale@yahoo.com

tripartite campaign mantra was fight against corruption. The other two were fight against insecurity and improvement in the economy. Probably, his decision to combat corruption was due to his steadfast recognition that corruption and specifically financial misappropriation is a bane of good governance in our democratic experience which Nigeria painfully re-secured in the past 16 years. The disastrous consequence of corruption on the Nigerian nation and the need to confront it was attested to by Olusegun Obasanjo in his swearing-in speech as President on May 29, 1999. According to Obasanjo cited in Odo (2015), "corruption, the greatest single bane of our society today will be tackled head on; no society can achieve anything near its full potential if it allows corruption to become the full blown cancer it has been in Nigeria" (p.185).

In living up to his electioneering campaign promises, shortly on assumption of office on May 29, 2015, Buhari left no one in doubt that the war against financial recklessness is total. This manifests in his body language, utterances and ultimately, actions. Thus, barely few months in his administration, serial cases of huge financial irresponsibility were severally reported in the press involving high-ranking individuals and corporate entities. Citing Moody-Stuart (1994), Ciboh (2014) categorised high-ranking individuals, who involve in corruption as "grand" rather than "petty" political corruption. Ciboh (2014) elucidated that:

In Nigeria, practitioners of grand corruption are public office holders, political leaders and bureaucrats who participate in public administration and hold positions of public trust as heads of state, governors, ministers, legislators, chairmen of councils, commissioners, secretaries, special advisers and personal assistants, heads of government departments, and the councillors. This makes corruption elitist and the seat of government the fulcrum of grand corruption (p. 58).

Consequently, the cases President Buhari administration sought to fight include serious cases of financial misconduct of monumental proportions. Some of these cases were under legal consideration but seemed to have died a natural death which he exhorted. Worthy of note include but not limited to the Halliburton scam, the mystery about the whereabouts of recovered Abacha loot, the Otedola/Lawal bribery scandal, diversion of four billion naira meant for Nigerian Air Force by former Chief of Defence Staff, Air Chief Marshal Alex Badeh to buy a choice mansion for himself in Abuja, the alleged missing of more than six hundred million naira 2013 Immigration recruitment fee that ended in fiasco, distribution of 2.2 billion naira to Muslim clerics by a former Executive Director of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), Mr. Aminu Baba-Kasa for prayers against Boko Haram, discovery of 1 million US dollars in a soak away in the residence of former

Chief of Air Staff, Air Vice-Marshal Adesola Amosu, alleged misappropriation of over 29 billion naira arms deal by former Chief of Air Staff, Air Vice-Marshal Adesola Amosu, discovery of about 450 million naira illicit fund traced to account of Mrs. Lara Amosu, wife of former Chief of Air Staff, Air Vice-Marshal Adesola Amosu, as well as alleged financial fraud of Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd), who was the National Security Adviser to erstwhile President Goodluck Jonathan.

Dasuki was allegedly arrested on December 1, 2015 for diverting 2.1 billion US dollars meant for the procurement of 12 helicopters, four fighter jets, and ammunition meant to fight Boko Haram insurgency to facilitate the 2015 presidential campaign in favour of his principal, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. Sequel to the arrest of Dasuki, stunning revelations were and are being made on how the funds were distributed among prominent Nigerians like Chief Tony Anenih, who was a Peoples Democratic Party chieftain; Chief Olu Falae, former presidential candidate; Yakassai, an elder statesman in the north and Peoples Democratic Party stalwart; Oliseh Metuh, spokesman of Peoples Democratic Party and (all) the northern Emirs.

Customary with the Nigerian press, various newspapers have been consistently covering the alleged financial crime christened Dasukigate. On the basis of this, the study seeks to bring to perspective how selected newspapers constructed stories on the alleged Dasuki saga.

Conceptual Clarification

Dasukigate is a derivative of the alleged diversion of 2.1 billion US dollars meant to fight Boko Haram insurgency by Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd) to facilitate the 2015 presidential election of incumbent Dr. Ebele Goodluck Jonathan.

Statement of the Problem

To say that corruption and financial misappropriation has become a dominant feature in Nigeria is not an exaggeration. What is baffling about it is the dimension and magnitude of funds and personalities involved. Even though the amount is sometimes ascertained and the persons and corporate bodies are identified, those involved in pilfering public funds do this with impunity. Few cases that attract attention of the two agencies; Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) vested with the direct responsibility to combat financial crimes appear weak in discharging their mandate. However, based on newspapers reports, the renewed interest and vigour buoyed by the current administration is an indication that the two agencies are equal to

the task. As a matter of necessity, newspapers have been purveying information on certain issues pertaining to financial misappropriation over the years. Nevertheless, there is lack of research on how newspapers frame stories regarding financial crimes. More so, it is unlikely that research has been conducted on the *Dasukigate* being a nascent issue. On account of this, the study seeks to break new grounds in the study of newspapers framing of corruption and financial misappropriation with close reference to the alleged diversion of funds by Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd).

Objectives of the Study

- 1 Identify the dominant frames newspapers construct stories on *Dasukigate*.
- 2 Analyse how newspapers frame reports on *Dasukigate*.

Research Questions

- 1 What are the dominant frames newspapers construct stories on *Dasukigate*?
- 2 How do newspapers frame reports on *Dasukigate*?

Theoretical Framework

This study uses media framing theory which explains how the mass media influence society. Framing is used here to explain how the mass media "promote a particular definition of an issue through selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2010 cited in Okoro & Odoemelam" (2013, p.89). This means that the mass media could frame subjects by placing various degrees of emphasis on the attributes of an event, person, public issue or other objects while reporting. This position is further amplified by Ojebuyi and Ekennia (2013, p.5), who noted that "when the news media supply the context, select what to emphasize or exclude information, they show us how to think about an object/issue/candidate."

Due to the fact that the mass media is a primary source of news, people always turn to the media to satisfy their information need. However, while information through the mass media is important, framing of the news media has direct bearing on how the issue is perceived. News media achieve this by presenting stories in terms of how serious is the issue, the contending issues, the personalities involved, public knowledge, understanding and perception of the issue depends on information from the mass media. This makes it important to "understand the different ways the mass media frame prominent news information" (Ashieke & Kingdom, 2014, p.23).

Justification for using framing theory in this work is predicated on the fact that the theory is one of the mass media effects theories, which thrust is

to analyze how the mass-media filter information with a view to influencing the way people perceives issues as reported.

Literature Review

The milestone in the 17 years of uninterrupted democratic history of Nigeria has shown varied national experiences. These experiences manifest in terms of observance of rule of law, separation of powers, and steady rise in national revenue and (mis)appropriation of public funds for national development. From 1999, Nigeria's estimated population also rose from 100 million to almost 170 million in 2015. The numerical strength and wealth profile of Nigeria finds expression in the words of Fayeye (2013, p. 38), who concluded that "Nigeria is black African wealthiest country with it (sic) Gross National Product roughly one third of the other 47 African nations combined (and almost equal to that of South Africa)".

Nevertheless, within the Nigerian polity, certain negative traits undermine Nigerian democracy. Mbachu (2006) cited in Dahiru (2011) noted that pervasive corruption among state officials has been a common feature. Incidentally, those involved in diversion or misappropriation of public funds are top echelon of society categorised as grand corrupt officials. According to Kolade (2001, p.78), such people are "holders of influential positions (in public office, bureaucracy and private sector) who have access to national economic resources in their vantage positions as custodians and stewards of these resources".

Naturally, financial misappropriation is anathema and anti-development. Perhaps, this prompted Odo (2015) to aver that "Corruption is anti-development such that Nigeria, despite its rich endowment in resources is perpetually seeking for foreign aid while what is corruptly taken away from the national purse is often over and above the loan expected from the World Bank, Parish (sic) and London Clubs" (p.179). Substantiating this claim, Uke (2009) pointed out that, for the period a government is in power, \$10 billion may be borrowed while during the same regime, \$30 billion may be corruptly taken abroad by the leaders into their private accounts. In reference to Igwe (2010), Odo (2015) maintained that:

Corruption is akin to the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). As the virus renders comatose inbuilt immune capacity of the body system so also does systemic corruption subvert the immunity of a political system destroying all its institutions and consequently rescinds its growth, which is why nothing works wherever, it exists; no social programme or economic policy however lofty can achieve its set objectives to the latter wherever corruption virus strives (p. 183).

The effect of financial misappropriation becomes even more rampant and profound when existing political institutions are weak and inefficient in ensuring accountability of public servants (World Bank, 1997). This could be the reason for inability of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission to beam her search light on how huge amounts of money budgeted to fight Boko Haram was expended.

In a futile attempt to exonerate the bureaucratic class from public condemnation of their corrupt practices, Adebayo (2000, p.20) argued that "officials are constantly conscious of public accountability and are, therefore, anxious not to make mistakes that would expose them, and the system they operate, to public criticism". This assertion does not reflect the correct and prevailing situation and practice in the Nigerian public bureaucracy. In affirmation of this, Ibieta (2013) posited that the experience in Nigeria smacks with "inefficiency, ineptitude and general rot as exemplified by various and several media reports of corruption, nepotism and sundry malfeasance in the public service" (p.44).

Public officials who indulge in financial misappropriation are linked to moral deficit and the trend remains unabated. In view of this, Fayeye (2013, p.41) observed that "erosion of values and integrity in national sphere of activities" has become the order of the day. This view brings to the fore an ethical /behavioural dimension to this discourse. It suggests that unless "sound moral principles anchored on enduring cultural values and practices are imbibed, the anti-graft campaign could amount to chasing shadows, especially in a country like Nigeria" (Ibieta, 2013, p. 42).

Through framing, credible newspapers exercise strong influence over the public and play an important part in revealing financial misappropriation perpetrated by public officials. Newspaper frames appear in form of human interest, conflict, morality, and economic consequence, attribution of responsibility or conspiracy frames (Cho & Gower, 2006; Semetko & Valekenburg, 2000; Neuman, Just & Grigler, 1992; Iyengar, 1991). The appropriate use of frames, however, depends on the issue, circumstances and personalities involved.

Methodology

The study which was anchored on framing theory was undertaken using quantitative and qualitative content analysis. The researchers identified the dominant frames newspapers used to frame stories and by explaining how newspapers construct stories on *Dasukigate*. Population of study was three national dailies namely; *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* which were purposively selected due to their regularity, wide reach, transferability and durability. The researchers systematically selected 48 editions at the interval

of the 4th number between December 2, 2015 and February 29, 2016. Unit of study was collection of news, interviews, editorials and analysis or opinion articles, and columns. While the frames identified were presented in percentages, how the writers use frame to construct stories was descriptively analysed.

Data Analysis and Presentation

RQ1: What are the dominant frames newspapers construct stories on *Dasukigate*?

In order to answer this research question, the researchers relied on frames identified by Cho and Gower (2006); Semetko and Valekenburg (2000); Neuman, Just and Grigler (1992) and Iyengar (1991). Based on the various stories analysed, data revealed that 53 frames were identified with *Daily Trust* using 24(45%) frames. While *Daily Sun* used 17(32%) frames, *The Nation* made use of 12(23%) frames.

Out of the total number of 53 frames, conspiracy frame was the dominant frame (20.7%) the newspapers used to construct their stories. This was followed by human interest frame (16.9%). Both conflict and attribution of responsibility frames which came third each had 8(15%) frequency. Similarly, consequence and morality each had 4(7.5%) frequency. Label frame and appeal to principle frame had 6(11%) and 3(5.6%) frequency respectively while metaphor frame was not used in any of the stories.

Table 1: Frames used to construct stories on *Dasukigate*

Frame	Daily Sun	The Nation	Daily Trust	Total
Conspiracy	2(18%)	3(27%)	6(55%)	11(20.7%)
Appeal to Principle	1(33.3%)	1(33.3%)	1(33.3%)	3(5.6%)
Consequence	1(25%)	2(50%)	1(25%)	4(7.5%)
Conflict	2(25%)	4(50%)	2(25%)	8(15%)
Human Interest	3(33.3)	2(22.2%)	4(44.4%)	9(16.9%)
Attribution of				
Responsibility	3(37.5%)	2(25%)	3(37.5%)	8(15%)
Label	2(33%)	-	4(67%)	6(11%)
Metaphor	-	-	-	-
Morality	1(25%)	-	3(75%)	4(7.5%)
Total	17(32%)	12(23%)	24(45%)	53(100%)

RQ2: How do newspapers frame reports on *Dasukigate*?

Newspapers used different frames to construct stories on *Dasukigate*. The frames can be seen in the titles and content of the stories beginning with

those that appeared the following day Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd) was arrested. At the front page of *Daily Sun* (2015, December 2), the newspaper reported in its lead story: DSS clamps ex-NSA Dasuki in detention. The headline was followed with a kicker: As EFCC quizzes Dokpesi. Similarly, *The Nation* (2015, December 2) screamed that \$2b arms deals: Bafarawa, Dasuki, Dokpesi arrested: EFCC goes after ex-PDP chair Bello. On its part, *Daily Trust* of same date reported in its lead story that: Dasuki, Bafarawa, Dokpesi arrested. In the opening paragraph of the story, *The Nation* (2015, December 2) reported thus:

After a month's siege to his Abuja home and legal fireworks, former National Security Adviser (NSA) Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd) was yesterday arrested for interrogation on the \$2b phoney arms deal (p.1).

In view of the personalities involved, the writer implicitly used both human interest frame and attribution of responsibility frame, "National Security Adviser (NSA) Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd) was yesterday arrested for interrogation on the \$2b phoney arms deal". The writer also used conflict frame, "After a month's siege to his Abuja home and legal fireworks" to construct the story.

Justifying the rationale for the arrest, *Daily Sun* (2015, December 2) reported that:

In its interim report, the committee found extra-budgetary spending by the Jonathan administration to the tune of NG43.8 billion and an additional \$2.2 billion as the foreign currency component (p.12).

Evidently, the writer used attribution of responsibility, "extra-budgetary spending by the Jonathan administration" to frame this story as he holds the Jonathan administration responsible for the extra-budgetary spending.

However, in a swift reaction, the main opposition party decried the arrest. In a story titled: Dokpesi's arrest - a persecution', says PDP, *The Nation* (2015, December 2) reported that:

The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) has described the arrest of Daar Communications Emeritus Chairman Raymond Dokpesi as persecution (p.6).

In the same vein, *Daily Trust* (2015, December 2) reported the story titled: PDP condemns arrest of Dokpesi, others. According to *Daily Trust* (2015, December 2):

PDP's National Publicity Secretary, Chief Olisa Metuh said in a statement in Abuja that it was government's plan tailored to decimate the opposition and cow the media in Nigeria.

"While the PDP is not against the war against corruption, we insist that the crusade must be carried out within the limits of the law and not as guise to persecute and torture opposition elements", it said (p.5).

Frame used in the two stories is conflict frame as it inferentially pitched the main opposition party, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) against the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC).

The leading opposition Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), which did not hide her disdain over what the party considered as witch-hunting of opposition parties by the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC)-led government had cause to maintain her stance at every available opportunity. *Daily Sun* (2016, January 11) reported a story titled: *Dasukigate*: Jafaru Isa's release vindicates us - PDP, that:

The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) declared yesterday that the release of a chieftain of All Progressives Congress (APC), Brigadier General Jafaru Isa (rtd) by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) while its spokesman, Chief Olisa Metuh is still in detention without being charged to court since last Tuesday, vindicates its claim that the Buhari administration was on a course of political witch hunt (p.7).

In this story too, the writer made use of conflict frame to construct the story. Incidentally, the spokesman of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Chief Olisa Metuh, together with other personalities were mentioned, invited or arrested by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) for complicity in the financial arms saga. The prelude of Metuh's arrest was investigations that linked his company to the arms contracts. Giving insights into this, *Daily Trust* (2016, January 27) reported a story titled: Arms deal: Metuh's firm listed among 78 beneficiaries. In a report in *The Nation* (2016, January 5) titled: EFCC to quiz Metuh over N1.4b in firm's account: PDP spokesman denies role in \$2.1b arms contract, the newspaper reported that:

Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) detectives probing the \$2.1 billion arms contracts have traced N1.4 billion to the account of a company allegedly linked with Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) spokesman Chief Olisa Metuh (p.1).

In this story, the writer used conspiracy frame, "traced N1.4 billion to the account of a company allegedly linked with Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) spokesman Chief Olisa Metuh" to construct the story. Consequently, on additional discovery that Metuh had transferred 21 million naira to Chief Tony Anenih as captured in the headline of *The Nation* (2016, January 15) that "EFCC accuses Metuh of transferring N21m to Anenih (p.6)", the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) accused him of money laundering.

What began as mere accusation led to the arraignment of Chief Olisa Metuh on a 7-point charge. This was reported in *Daily Trust* (2016, January 15) in a story titled: EFCC files corrupt charges against Metuh that:

The 7-point charges border on money laundering, criminal breach of trust and criminal diversion of public funds contrary to Section 15(2), (d) of the Money Laundering (Prohibition) Act, 2012 and punishable under Section 15(3) of the same Act.

Metuh was alleged to have on November, 2014 received the sum of N400 million from the former National Security Adviser, retired Col. Sambo Dasuki through his company Destra Investment Ltd (p.10).

Evidently, the frames used to construct the story are morality frame, "money laundering, criminal breach of trust and criminal diversion of public funds" and conspiracy and attribution of responsibility frames, "Metuh was alleged to have on November, 2014 received the sum of N400 million from the former National Security Adviser, retired Col. Sambo Dasuki".

On January 21, 2016, *Daily Trust* reported a story titled: Metuh's handcuffs in order – Oshiomole. The reason advanced for handcuffing the National Publicity Secretary of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) as reported in the newspaper is that:

Those who are accused of stealing he-goats are handcuffed and paraded by the police and got no sympathy, why then should Metuh and others who diverted huge public funds be treated with respect and sympathy? (*Daily Trust*, 2016 January 21, p.5).

In this story, the writer used human interest frame, "Those who are accused of stealing he-goats are handcuffed" as well as conspiracy frame and attribution of responsibility frame, "why then should Metuh and others who diverted huge public funds be treated with respect and sympathy?" to construct the story.

Piqued by the shoddy manner the alleged \$2.1 billion was disbursed even to some questionable contractors, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) disclosed its intent to extend its tentacles to those who appeared to be accomplice. This was reported in *Daily Trust* (2015, December 14) in a story titled: Arms deal: EFCC quizzes CBN officials. According to the newspaper:

The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) is set to interrogate some former governors of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) over the disbursements of monies in the Office of the Chief National Security Adviser (ONSA) during President Goodluck Jonathan administration (p.3).

Daily Trust (2015, December 14) further reported that:

Among the top beneficiaries of some of the released funds by the NSA was Dalhatu Investment Ltd, a company owned by Attahiru Dalhatu Bafarawa, who benefitted from N2.8 billion released in 10 batches between April, 2015 and May 2015 and Daar Investment and Holding Company Ltd with N500m....Meanwhile the Bureau of Public Procurement, an agency recognized by law to provide certificate of no objection for the settlement of the contractors said they are not aware of such deal (p.3).

Featured in the two stories are attribution of responsibility frame, conspiracy frame and label frame involving Office of National Security Adviser, Central Bank of Nigeria and the contractors. A corollary to the above story reported in *Daily Trust* (2015, December 14) was the one on reinvigorated attempt by EFCC to trace properties and monies belonging to former service chiefs and their cronies. In a report in *Daily Trust* (2016, January 15) entitled: Arms deal: EFCC swoops on ex-service chiefs, the newspaper reported that:

The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) has intensified its ongoing investigations into the culpability of former Service Chiefs in the ongoing probe of arms purchase under ex-President Goodluck Jonathan's administration (p.3).

It can be inferred that the writer used human interest and conspiracy frames, "Service Chiefs in the ongoing probe of arms purchase under ex-President Goodluck Jonathan's administration" to construct the story.

The outcome of investigations of Service Chiefs was brought to bear when army officers were subsequently interrogated. In a report in *Daily Trust* (2016, February 12) titled: Arms deal: EFCC begins interrogation of army officers, the newspaper reported that:

The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) has commenced interrogation of army officers allegedly indicted in ongoing investigation into the arms procurement scam in the Office of the National Security Adviser (p.6)

In its report, *Daily Trust* (2016, January 15) titled Arms deal: EFCC swoops on ex-service chiefs maintained that:

Concurrent investigations by the Office of National Security Adviser (ONSA) and investigation teams at EFCC are painstakingly tracing monies and properties of the ex-service chiefs in order to establish if they were acquired with proceeds of corruption (p.3)

The dominant frame the writer used to construct the story is conspiracy frame, "tracing monies and properties of the ex-service chiefs" and morality

frame, "if they were acquired with proceeds of corruption".

As some former Chiefs of Staff were being investigated and interrogated, other military personnel were also investigated of their involvement in the financial misconduct. In a story reported in *Daily Sun* (2016, February 12) titled: If I open up, Nigerians'll burn – Jonathan's ex-ADC...As EFCC declares Toppo wanted, the newspaper reported that:

Former aid-de-camp to former president Goodluck Jonathan, Col. Ojogbane Adegbe has said another Dasuki-gate may be imminent if he reveals what transpired in that administration (p.7).

Here, the writer used human interest frame and label frame, "another Dasuki-gate may be imminent" to construct the story.

A former Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal Olusola Amosu was among those investigated for his perceived involvement in the arms scam. According to report in *The Nation* (2016, February 18) titled: \$117, 000 recovered from ex-Air Chief Amosu's house, says EFCC, the newspaper reported that:

The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) said yesterday that \$117, 000 cash was seized from the Lagos home of the former Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal Olusola Amosu (p.8).

To construct this story, the writer made use of conflict frame, "\$117, 000 cash was seized from the Lagos home of the former Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal Olusola Amosu". In the case of former Chief of Army Staff, Lieutenant General Tukur Buratai, mixed reactions trailed reports on accusation and possible interrogation of the Chief of Army Staff. One of these reactions was reported in *Daily Trust* (2016, January 27) entitled: Linking Buratai with arms deal will affect insurgency (p.51). On the contrary, the same edition reported a story titled: Arms deal and looters; pointed out that:

Records are collection of facts with regards to arms deal and looters. Those in these deals should handover the money into the government to avoid embarrassment (p.51)

In this story, the writer used label frame, "looters" to construct the story. Probably, the report informed call by EFCC on beneficiaries of the arms deal to make refunds before the arm of the law would catch up with them. Accordingly, *The Nation* (2016, January 11) reported a story titled: EFCC to Falae, Odili, Ladoja: refund cash or face trial. According to the newspaper:

All politicians who shared in the allegedly diverted \$2.1 billion arms cash must return what they got or face trial, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) has said (p.1).

In this story, the writer used appeal to principle, "All politicians who shared in the allegedly diverted \$2.1 billion" and consequence frame, "or face trial" to construct the story.

Reports on the principal actor in the arms deal continued to make headlines. One of these reports appeared in *Daily Trust* (2015, December 18) with the title: Releasing Dasuki, Bafarawa now is risky (p.58). On December 14, 2015, *The Nation* reported in its lead story titled: Dasuki: I was acting on Jonathan's instructions. According to the newspaper:

Dasuki, who protested that the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) has subjected him to 'media trial', said that such a treatment might jeopardise his defense. But the ex-NSA expressed regrets that he was being drilled by EFCC when he acted on the instructions and approval of the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces (p.1).

Here, the writer used conflict frame, "Dasuki, who protested", human interest and conspiracy frames, "But the ex-NSA expressed regrets that he was being drilled by EFCC when he acted on the instructions and approval of the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces" to construct the story.

What seems to be a reprieve for Dasuki was short-lived. Shortly after he was released from the Kuje Prison, *Daily Trust* (2015, December 30) reported a story titled: Dasuki released, re-arrested thus:

The Department of State Service (DSS) yesterday re-arrested former National Security Adviser Sambo Dasuki shortly after he was released from the Kuje Prison in Abuja (p.5).

The identifiable frame used in this story is human interest frame, "The Department of State Service (DSS) yesterday re-arrested former National Security Adviser Sambo Dasuki shortly after he was released". While Dasuki remained in detention, the case of his ex-finance director was not different. In a story carried by *The Nation* (2015, December 14) titled: 21-day detention: Ex-NSA's finance director seeks bail, the newspaper reported that:

The embattled former director of finance in the Office of the National Security Adviser, Mr. Shuaibu Salisu has asked the High Court of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) to release him on bail after 21-day in detention (p.5).

Deducing from the story is the writer's use of conflict frame, "embattled former director of finance" to construct the story. The newspaper (*The Nation*, 2015, December 14) went on to report the court's justification for its refusal to grant bail to the former finance director that:

When it comes to the issue of whether to grant or refuse bail pending trial of an accused by the trial court, the law has set out some criteria which the trial court is to consider in the exercise of its judicial discretion to arrive at a decision (p.5).

Apparently, the writer used conflict frame and human interest frame to construct the story.

The determination of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to unearth those likely to be appendage to the arms scam spurred the agency to storm even the office of former Vice-President Namadi Sambo. In a story titled: Arms deal: EFCC raids ex-VP, Sambo's office: Carts away documents, seizes \$50, 000, *Daily Sun* (2016, February 2) reported that:

Operatives of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), at the weekend, stormed the office of former Vice-President Namadi Sambo at the Central Business District of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja (p.8).

In this story, the writer made use of attribution of responsibility frame, "Operatives of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission" as well as conflict and human interest frames, "stormed the office of former Vice-President Namadi Sambo" to construct the story.

While Nigerians were awash with newspapers' reports on personalities involved in the arms scandal without mention of former president Goodluck Jonathan, few reports subsequently drew attention of the public to that direction. In a report by *Daily Sun* (2015, December 8) titled: Arms deal scandal: Where was Jonathan? the newspaper reported that:

The Presidency is a prize with heavy price. As a result, when things go wrong, to use the words of Hars Morgenthau, "the virtues of the politician can easily become vices when they are brought to bear upon the statesman's task". This is why the burden of national unity rests heaviest on the man who holds the levers of power – the authority. This is why by all accounts former President Dr. Goodluck Jonathan must answer questions on what he knows or doesn't know about the current astonishing and chilling revelations on the \$2.1 billion arms procurement by the office of the former National Security Adviser, Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd) under the presidency (p.19).

A cursory look at the story reveals the writer's use several frames to construct the story. These include consequence frame, "The Presidency is a prize with heavy prize"; attribution of responsibility frames, "the burden of national unity rests heaviest on the man who holds the levers of power" and "the \$2.1 billion arms procurement by the office of the former National Security Adviser" as well as conspiracy frame, "under the presidency."

The direct involvement of the erstwhile president and other stakeholders likely to have been responsible for the arms scandal is further put to perspective by another report. In a story carried in *Daily Sun* (2016, February 12) with the title: What's Dasuki's worth? The newspaper reported that:

As NSA, he was answerable to the president, but the disbursement of the money by Dasuki could not have been the decision of the president alone. Members of and different chieftains of the former ruling party, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), must have sat to determine who gets what and to (sic) what purpose before instruction gets to Dasuki to disburse (p.18).

In this story, the writer used conspiracy frame, "the disbursement of the money by Dasuki could not have been the decision of the president alone" to construct the story. The conspiracy in looting the national treasury specifically diversion of funds meant for procurement of arms to fight insurgency is further established in a story in *Daily Trust* (2016, January 15) titled: Not Amusing. According to the newspaper:

There have to be answers around the process by which these funds ended up in a hundred hands, pockets and accounts. Since \$2.1b did not just get up and walk out of the vaults of the CBN, we have to ask who had responsibility for custody, approval for release and accountability from President Jonathan, Coordinating Minister for the Economy, CBN Governor, Accountant-General of the Federation, Auditor-General of the Federation, civil servants and security officials (Back page).

In this story, the writer used appeal to principle frame, "we have to ask", attribution of responsibility and conspiracy frames, "who had responsibility for custody, approval for release" to construct it.

One of the effects of the arms scandal is made manifest in *The Nation* (2015, December 18) titled: Arms bazaar sends Abacha loot account down to \$26m. According to the newspaper:

The issue of the cash returned to the front burner when former Minister of Finance and Coordinating Minister of the Economy Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, admitted that she gave \$300m and £5 million from the loot's accounts to former National Security Adviser (NSA) Col. Sambo Dasuki for arms purchase (p.6).

In constructing this story, the writer used attribution of responsibility and conspiracy frames, "former Minister of Finance and Coordinating Minister of the Economy Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, admitted that she gave \$300m and £5 million from the loot's accounts to former National Security Adviser (NSA) Col. Sambo Dasuki for arms purchase (NSA)

30 NIGERIA'S POLITICAL CHANGES AND FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA

Col. Sambo Dasuki" and consequence frame, "Abacha loot account down to \$26m".

The *Daily Trust* (2015, December 14) in a story titled: Arms-gate: Beyond our expectations reported that:

Much has been heard from our gallant soldiers fighting those barbarians about the superiority of the weapons used by the insurgents compared with that of our soldiers, but alas, dismissal from the service and apprehension to court-martial is the answer they received after they have complained for (p.67).

Daily Trust (2015, December 14) further cautioned that:

Buhari should do the needful to ensure that all those dismissed in the name of not fighting this corruptible and insincere war be returned back to their various duty posts, since the deep-buried truth has finally came out (p.67).

While the writer made use of label frames, "barbarians" and "insurgents"; and consequence frame, "dismiss from the service and apprehension to court-martial is the answer they received" in the first story, he went on to use appeal to principle frame, "Buhari should do the needful" in the second story.

In the wake of call on president Buhari-led administration to reinstate the surviving soldiers that were dismissed, others have also called on the administration to thoroughly investigate and penalize those involved in the diversion of the arms fund. In a story in *Daily Sun* (2016, January 15) titled: Impunity, arrogance, audacity. What not? *Daily Sun* newspaper reported that:

The looting scandal is a test of President Buhari's firmness. There is no rule of law, which allows criminals to empty national treasury and then repulsively exhibits the arrogance of shamelessness in the guise of constitutional right. The culprits are spoiling for a showdown and they must be subdued (p.35).

In constructing the story, the writer used morality frame, "There is no rule of law, which allows criminals to empty national treasury". On the part of the general public, it is a considered opinion of the writer of a story in *Daily Sun* (2015, December 14) titled: Nigeria's arms bazaar; to be proactive in reasoning to avert other financial recklessness. According to the newspaper:

We must as a nation look beyond the current armsgate, to x-ray the whole concept of security vote...Hiding under that sub-head, all kinds of slush funds are funneled through it, including money for mistresses, concubines and wild parties (Back page).

Evident in this story is the writer's use of appeal to principle frame, "We must as a nation", label frame, "armsgate" to construct the story. Probably, for the fear of being arraigned innocently, the Ogun Social Democratic Party (SDP) swiftly denied to have benefitted from the alleged 100 million naira which founder of the party, Olu Falae claimed to have disbursed to different state chapters of the party to campaign for the re-election of former president Goodluck Jonathan in 2015. In a story titled: Arms deal: Ogun SDP disowns Falae over N100m, *Daily Trust* (2016, January 11) reported that:

The Social Democratic Party (SDP), Ogun state chapter yesterday denied that it was one of the beneficiaries of the N100 million allegedly collected to campaign for the re-election of former President Goodluck Jonathan (p.3).

Implicitly, the writer used morality frame, "denied that it was one of the beneficiaries of the N100 million" in the story.

Discussion of Findings

Based on data, a total of 53 frames are identified in the different stories under review. Among these frames, conspiracy frame is most frequently used (20.7%) by the newspapers to construct their stories. This was followed by human interest frame (16.9%). Both conflict and attribution of responsibility frames which came third each had 15% frequency. In answer to research question one therefore, conspiracy frame, is by implication, the dominant frame the three newspapers collectively use to construct reports on Dasuki arms deal scandal. By virtue of their frequency, the prominence conflict frame attracts as the third dominant frame contradicts findings by Semetco and Valkenburg (2000) that, the conflict frame is the second most common frame that could be found in news reports on crisis events, and the more serious the newspaper, the more the conflict frame is evident.

On how newspapers construct stories, their choice of appropriate frames appears in the several stories evidenced in the data. For example, the newspapers' use of label frame manifests in a story carried by *Daily Trust* (2015, December 14) when the newspaper labels perpetrators of Boko Haram activities as "barbarians" and "insurgents". Similarly, *Daily Trust* (2016, January 27) uses label frame "looters" to describe those who misappropriate or divert public funds for their private gain. Also, in a report carried in *Daily Sun* (2016, February 12) titled: If I open up, Nigerians'll burn – Jonathan's ex-ADC, the newspaper labels imminent persons involved in the arms saga as "another Dasukigate". The use of these labels as attributes of the subjects signify that newspapers could frame subjects by placing various degrees of emphasis on the attributes of an event, person, public issue or other objects while reporting

so as to shape thoughts. This position is amplified by Ojebuyi and Ekennia (2013, p.5), who noted that "when the news media supply the context, select what to emphasize or exclude information, they show us how to think about an object/issue/candidate."

The newspapers' use of conspiracy frame which is the dominant frame the newspapers construct some stories is noticeable. In linking former President Goodluck Jonathan to the questionable disbursement of the arms funds, *Daily Sun* (2016, February 12) gives testimony to this when it reports that, "the disbursement of the money by Dasuki could not have been the decision of the president alone". This implies apart from Goodluck Jonathan and Sambo Dasuki, other stakeholders must have been deeply involved at least in taking decision on who gets what and for what purpose.

Further use of conspiracy frame manifests in a story reported in *Daily Trust* (2015, December 14) that, "Among the top beneficiaries of some of the released funds by the NSA was Dalhatu Investment Ltd, a company owned by Attahiru Dalhatu Bafarawa, who benefitted from N2.8 billion released in 10 batches between April, 2015 and May 2015 and Daar Investment and Holding Company Ltd with N500m...". In addition, *The Nation* (2016, January 5) in a story titled: EFCC to quiz Metuh over N1.4b in firm's account: PDP spokesman denies role in \$2.1b arms contract uses conspiracy frame to construct a story that the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) detectives probing the \$2.1 billion arms contracts have "traced N1.4 billion to the account of a company allegedly linked with Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) spokesman Chief Olisa Metuh".

Apparently, the newspapers' application of conflict frame occasionally used jointly with human interest frame is obvious in the newspapers reports. In a story in *The Nation* (2015, December 2, 2015) the writer uses conflict frame, "After a month's siege to his Abuja home and legal fireworks" to construct the story. *The Nation* (2015, December 14) titled: 21-day detention: Ex-NSA's finance director seeks bail features conflict frame, "embattled former director of finance" to construct the story. The use of conflict frame reflects disagreement among the subjects. Also, *Daily Trust* (2015, December 30) uses both human interest and conflict frames, "The Department of State Service (DSS) yesterday re-arrested former National Security Adviser Sambo Dasuki shortly after he was released". Curiously, one would expect that when an accused is on bail, under normal circumstances, he should enjoy some latitude of freedom. This was not so with the former National Security Adviser Sambo Dasuki. Stretching the use of human interest frame, *Daily Trust* (2016, January 21) reports a story titled: Metuh's handcuffs in order – Oshiomole that, if "Those who are accused of stealing he-goats are handcuffed", there is no justification why Metuh and others who diverted huge public funds should

be treated with respect and sympathy. Another obvious use of conflict frame can be seen in *The Nation* (2016, February 18) when the newspaper reports that, "\$117,000 cash was seized from the Lagos home of the former Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal Olusola Amosu". The personalities and magnitude of amount of money misappropriated affirms Ciboh's (2014) assertion that:

In Nigeria, practitioners of grand corruption are public office holders, political leaders and bureaucrats who participate in public administration and hold positions of public trust as heads of state, governors, ministers, legislators, chairmen of councils, commissioners, secretaries, special advisers and personal assistants, heads of government departments, and the councillors. This makes corruption elitist and the seat of government the fulcrum of grand corruption (p. 58).

Suffice to state that newspapers make use of attribution of responsibility frame in given stories. Newspapers use the frame "as a way of attributing responsibility for [a] cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group" (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p.96). Thus, as shall be seen, the use of attribution frame apportions responsibility to Sambo Dasuki, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala and Goodluck Jonathan and his administration as causative agents in the diversion of the arms funds. In *The Nation* (2015, December 2) the newspaper reports that, "National Security Adviser (NSA) Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd) was yesterday arrested for interrogation on the \$2b phoney arms deal". The use of attribution of responsibility frame is also evident in *The Nation* (2015, December 18) when the newspaper reports that, "former Minister of Finance and Coordinating Minister of the Economy Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, admitted that she gave \$300m and £5 million from the loot's accounts to former National Security Adviser (NSA) Col. Sambo Dasuki". Similarly, *Daily Sun* (2015, December 2) report holds former president Goodluck Jonathan responsible for extra-budgetary spending. According to the newspaper, "the committee found extra-budgetary spending by the Jonathan administration to the tune of N643.8 billion and an additional \$2.2 billion as the foreign currency component". Such serial cases of financial recklessness contradict what Dahiru (2011) argues that in democracy, there are expectations of the citizens that under democratic rule their lots will be significantly improved. These high expectations are premised on the view that in contemporary period, democracy remains the most widely acclaimed form of government (Dahiru, 2011).

By every standard, the newspapers do not in any way ignore the use appeal to principle frame in constructing stories. Accordingly, *The Nation* (2016, January 11) reports a story titled: EFCC to Falae, Odili, Ladoja: refund cash or face trial. According to the newspaper, "All politicians who shared in the allegedly diverted \$2.1 billion arms cash must return what they got". The

newspapers' use of appeal to principle is also evident in a story in *Daily Trust* (2016, January 15) titled: Not Amusing. According to the writer, "we have to ask" those who had responsibility for custody and approval for the diverted funds to at least rationalise their action or inaction. To further establish the use of appeal to principle, *Daily Sun* (2015, December 14) is emphatic that, "We must as a nation look beyond the current armsgate, to x-ray the whole concept of security vote" with a view to ensuring transparency and accountability.

Recommendations

- It is recommended that newspapers should sustain the use of appropriate frames in their reportage for an informed citizenry.
- Newspapers should make frames more visible as latent meanings of most of the frames are inferentially determined with much degree of efforts.
- Further research should be conducted on news framing and bias reporting on *Dasukigate*.

Summary and Conclusion

The study was undertaken to analyse how selected newspapers constructed stories on the alleged diversion of \$2.1 billion meant to purchase arms to fight insurgency in Nigeria by Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd). Anchored on framing theory, the study made some insights into series of financial misappropriation in Nigeria. In order to achieve the objective of the study, the following two research questions came handy:

- 1 What are the dominant frames newspapers construct stories on *Dasukigate*?
- 2 How do newspapers frame reports on *Dasukigate*?

Findings show that out of the 53 frames identified in the 48 editions of the three newspapers purposively selected namely; *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *The Nation*, conspiracy frame dominated the reports followed by human interest frame. Also, the various frames analysed reflect the conduct of subject. On account of this, the study suggested three-point recommendations on newspaper framing. The study concludes that newspapers make use of different frames depending on context and personalities involved. A significant contribution of the study to scholarship cannot only be measured in its timeliness but also in its novelty consequently serving as basis for subsequent studies.

References

- Ashiekpe, J.A. & Kingdom, D. (2014). An analysis of *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* Newspapers coverage of the Fulani herdsmen attacks in Benue State, 2013/2014. *Jos Journal of Media & Communication Studies*, 1(1), 19-33.
- Adebayo, A. (2000). *Principles and practices of public administration in Nigeria* (Second Edition). Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Cho, S.H. & Gower, K.K. (2006). Framing effect on the public's response to crisis: Human interest frame and crises type influencing responsibility and blame. *Public Relations Review*, 32(4), 420-422.
- Ciboh, R. (2014). Newspapers' constitutional responsibility of holding government accountable to the people in Nigeria: Some seemingly unassailable challenges? *New Media and Mass Communication*, 22, 58-66.
- Dahiru, U. (2011). Democracy and internal security in Nigeria: An example of 2011 post election violence. In The social dimension of the Nigerian democratizing process: The proceeding of 6th annual conference of Anthropological and Sociological Association of Nigeria, pp. 900-907.
- Fayeve, J.O. (2013). The boko haram phenomenon and other side of the coin in Nigerian experience. *African Journal of Peace & Security*, 1(1), 37-45
- Ibietan, J. (2013). Corruption and public accountability in the Nigerian public sector: Interrogating the omission. *European Journal of Business and Management*, 5(15), 41-48.
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kolade, C. (2001). Corruption in Africa: Causes, effects and counter-measures," in D. Belshaw, R. Calderisi & C. Sugden (eds). *Faith in development*. (pp. 79-87), Oxford: Regnum Books International.
- Neuman, W.R., Just, M.R. & Crigler, A.N. (1992). *Coman knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Odo, L.U. (2015). The impact and consequences of corruption on the Nigerian society and economy. *International Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 4(1), 177-190.
- Retrieved from DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/ijah.v4i1.13> on March 2, 2016.
- Ojebuvi, B.R. & Ekennia, C.U. (2013). Godfatherism, ownership influence and media treatment of political conflicts in Oyo State, Nigeria. *Covenant Journal of Communication (CJOC)* 1(2), 97-117.
- Okoro, N. & Odoemelam, C.C. (2013). Print media framing of boko haram insurgency in Nigeria: A content analytical study of the Guardian, Daily Sun, Vanguard and Thisday newspapers. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3(11), 86-94.
- 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.
- Uke, I. I. (2009). The antecedents of corruption in Nigeria: A trend analysis. *Journal of Political Studies*, 1(4) University of Abuja.
- World Bank (1997). *Helping countries combat corruption: The role of the World Bank*. Washington, DC: World Bank Institute.