

Framing of President Bola Tinubu's One-Year Leadership administration in selected Nigerian Newspapers

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Abstract

This study examined the framing of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers. The study was anchored on framing theory. The content analysis research method was utilised. Two newspapers; The Nation and Vanguard newspapers were used. The study discovered that the framing of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers was dominated by straight news stories and photographs. It was also found that the majority of the stories on President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers were reported in a positive direction. This study concludes that the most dominantly used frame in the coverage of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in Nigeria is persuasive, while the least frame is the indifference frame. The researchers recommended that newspapers should strive to report political stories in a more detailed manner, using feature format. The feature format will enable Nigerians to know what the President has achieved so far and other activities in the presidency.

Keywords: Framing, leadership, Newspaper, Nigeria, President Tinubu

Introduction

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu was sworn in as the 16th president of Nigeria on May 29, 2023. The President campaigned on the ticket of the All-Progressive Congress (APC) in the February 2023 election conducted by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) using 'renewed hope' as his campaign mantra. The mantra revolves around an eight-point agenda, which can be taken as President Tinubu's social contract with the electorate. The eight-point agenda, upon which President Tinubu's economic plan is

anchored, includes food security, poverty alleviation, growth, job creation, access to capital, inclusion, rule of law, and anti-corruption fight.

However, after taking over, President Tinubu removed the fuel subsidy. As expected, the announcement was met with resistance from labour unions and citizens who were unaccustomed to paying so much for fuel. In addition to subsidy removal, President Tinubu took further steps to unify the multiple foreign exchange markets. He also enacted the Students' Loan Bill, which the president signed into law on June 12, 2023. President Tinubu also assembled a cabinet with an impressive representation of young people and women, while also creating new Ministries and ministerial portfolios to reflect the pressing realities of the 21st century. For instance, Nigeria now has a Ministry of Marine and Blue Economy, recognizing the unlimited potential of that sector to produce national prosperity (Idris, 2023). There is also now a dedicated Ministry for the Creative Economy. The president appointed his ministers and other special advisers to help pilot the affairs in their various units. Also, Nwachukwu (2023) notes that the president approved for ASUU to exit IPPIS, which will advance university autonomy and also bring greater operational stability to the Federal University System.

In a bid to ensure food sufficiency and tackle the increase in food prices in the country, President Tinubu declared a state of emergency on food security. That decision was in sync with the rechristening of the name of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security. The president unified the official and parallel markets' exchange rates with the Central Bank collapsing the multiple official foreign exchange rates, a move designed to streamline the financial systems.

More so, assessing a president's performance or leadership in 100 days or one year in office seemed to have become the norm from the days of 32nd US President Franklin Roosevelt who in his inaugural address on March 4, 1933, indicated that he wanted to move with unprecedented speed to address the problems facing the United States of America, yet it was acknowledged that to judge an incoming President on the accomplishments of his first 100 days in office is to hold him to an impossible standard (Rahman, 2023).

Despite all these achievements, wanton killings and abductions continue across the country. The News Agency of Nigeria reported in August 2023 that no fewer than 23 local government areas are controlled by bandits in Sokoto, Zamfara, and Kebbi States. The country was thrown into economic turbulence due to the subsidy removal and Naira fluctuation. Ndujihe (2024) reported that 6, 931 people have been killed under Tinubu leadership in 10 months as of March 23, 2024. The 67 reported souls lost to the Okuama crisis are among the 6,931 people killed across the country in 10 months since President Bola Tinubu assumed power in May 2023. He also added that in the immediate past President Muhammadu Buhari's first 10 months in office, from May 2015 to March 2016, Nigeria lost 8, 356 people to insecurity. In former President Goodluck Jonathan's first 10 months as elected head of state, from May 2011 to March 2012, insecurity claimed 2,059 lives. The figures under Jonathan and Buhari were obtained from the records of the Nigeria Security Tracker, NST, a project of the Council on Foreign Relations Africa programme, which documented and mapped violence in Nigeria motivated by political, economic, or social grievances. However, the death toll under Tinubu is based on media reports. The report also remarks that, in all, the figures are conservative because some killings are under-reported or not reported.

However, some analysts have argued that Tinubu's one year in office has been sub-par, detached from the people, and generally uninspiring. The media have the responsibility of setting an agenda and shaping the way the public understands certain issues like politics, economy, and insecurity among other things. Journalists report events via newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and the Internet (Santas, Inobemhe & Asemah, 2023). Thus, the media of mass communication are seen as channels through which information is disseminated to a large number of people, usually at the same time. Asemah (2020) notes that the media, whether electronic or print, often set an agenda for the public to follow. They monitor trends and events in our society and raise their agenda based on what they have monitored.

According to Mahatma Gandhi, (no date as cited in Ezegwu and Asemah, 2021) "One of the objectives of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling of the people and give expression to it, another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; the

third is to expose popular defects fearlessly.” This means that newspapers have the responsibility to unravel a potential act that is capable of depriving the citizens of their rights. The Nigerian media, especially the print media should play a significant role in informing the populace and educating them on the activities of the government (like President Bola Tinubu’s one year leadership administration in Nigeria), Thus, it is the sole responsibility of the mass media (newspapers) to communicate various issues relating to the Tinubu’s government, his policies and others. Therefore, it is against this background that this study was conceived to investigate the framing of President Bola Tinubu’s one year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers with the view of analysing the manifest contents of two selected Nigerian newspapers: *The Nation* and *Vanguard* newspapers.

Statement of the Problem

Nigeria President Bola Ahmed Tinubu was sworn in on May 29, 2023, after the disputed 2023 presidential election. Tinubu, 71, succeeds Muhammadu Buhari. President Tinubu is the fifth since the return of democracy in 1999. In his first speech as President, Tinubu promised to run an inclusive government and ensure proper representation of women and young people. It is a year since Tinubu took over as Nigeria's President. The media must inform the public of his leadership administration and keep the people informed about his government.

The Nigerian mass media over the period have been in the business of shaping the public's understanding of several issues of national interest. It has served as a vehicle for informing, educating, and enlightening the public. Most times the coverage of issues by the Nigerian media has been described as loop-sided given the inherent power of the media to shape public understanding of issues (Ozohu-Suleiman cited in Ogono and Asemah, 2021). Omoera (2010 cited in Nwaoboli and Ajibulu, 2023) states that the Nigerian press has always been useful as a vehicle for constructing the political landscape of the country, an avenue for agitation and proper political leadership. Odo (2016) using library research methodology studied former President Buhari’s one year administration in Nigeria: Challenges and achievements. Santas and Ogoshi, (2016) in their study critically assessed

the performance of Nigerian mass media in consolidating democracy in Nigeria. The study made use of secondary data. There is a literature gap in the area of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers. This study is an attempt to cover the gap in the literature by examining the framing of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers, specifically *The Nation* and *Vanguard* newspapers from June 1, 2023, to April 30, 2024, and also to contribute to the existing knowledge on the topic of discourse.

Research Questions

1. What is the format of stories on President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in Nigeria?
2. What is the direction of stories on President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in Nigeria?
3. What kind of frames did Nigerian newspapers use in their coverage of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in Nigeria?

Some of the Achievement of President Tinubu in the last One Year

Removal of Fuel Subsidy

In what many experts believed to be ill-timed, President Tinubu announced the end of the fuel subsidy era during his inaugural address on May 29, 2023. A few hours after President Bola Tinubu made the announcement, petrol pump prices skyrocketed from N195/litre to over N500/litre in all states and the Federal Capital Territory. Consequently, the huge spike in petrol prices has caused the prices of most goods and services to shoot up throughout the country, further lowering the disposable income for most Nigerians, not excluding the cost of transportation. The privatisation of the power sector has done little to improve the electricity supply in the country, compelling Nigerians to rely on petrol-powered generators for their household and business electricity needs. Due to the epileptic power supply, Nigerians depend heavily on petrol to run their daily businesses and household necessities. Over the years, analysts have clamoured for the removal of petrol subsidies,

which had been costing the country trillions of naira annually, nevertheless, the populace has maintained the opposite opinion, because of the resultant impact on the economy, especially for those at the lowest part of the economic pyramid. Hence, a slight upward review of fuel prices often has ripple impacts on Nigerians.

In his inauguration speech, President Tinubu alluded to the fact that the removal of the petrol subsidy would impose an extra burden on citizens, he however claimed it would free up money for education, regular power supply, transport infrastructure, and healthcare. “I admit that the decision will impose an extra burden on the masses of our people. I feel your pain.” If any truth is to go by in the President’s first four weeks, among other things, the fuel subsidy removal has led to a huge increase in the cost of companies’ production, operating costs as well as the cost of doing business.

Asks Shettima-led NEC to find palliatives for subsidy

Following the announcement of the removal of subsidy, in his meeting with the oil marketers, the president directed the National Economic Council (NEC) led by Vice President Kashim Shettima to devise an approach and begin the process of working on interventions to mitigate the impact of subsidy removal on the Nigerians. The NEC is to come up with palliative measures to aid Nigerians even as the nation transitions and adjusts to being without subsidy. However, it is five weeks now and the NEC is yet to come up with any palliative to ease the burden of the subsidy removal on the populace.

Removal of Godwin Emefiele as CBN Governor

In an unexpected move on the night of Friday, June 9, 2023, President Tinubu suspended the Governor of the Central Bank, Godwin Emefiele. In a statement credited to the Director of Information at the Office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation SGF, Emefiele’s suspension was “sequel to the ongoing investigation of his office and the planned reforms in the financial sector of the economy.” Aside from speculations that his suspension may be a political witch-hunt for the role he played in the buildup to the 2023 general elections, since Emefiele’s tenure as CBN governor ends in June 2023, it came as a

surprising move to see him suspended the same month he was bided for retire. Nevertheless, under Emefiele the CBN had been co-opted by Buhari's administration and lent more than \$50 billion to the government.

Forex Market Liberalisation

Not long after the subsidy move, central bank governor Godwin Emefiele, President Tinubu, through the CBN liberalized the foreign exchange market to have a parallel rate. The central bank abandoned its longstanding policy of tightly controlling the foreign exchange market to artificially prop up the value of the naira currency against the US dollar. The bank replaced that policy with market-determined rates and eliminated the several exchange rate 'windows' that created a multi-tier system for those seeking hard currency. In response, the official naira exchange rate plunged to its lowest level on record, moving it closer into line with the black market rate that most Nigerians have long had to accept. Many analysts believe President Bola Tinubu's bold actions, including removing restrictions on the naira currency that allowed it to hit a record 790 to the dollar and subsidy removals that tripled petrol prices, could take the stress off the battered finances of Africa's largest economy. But investors, burned by previous reforms that ultimately proved hollow, say it will take time to build trust and listed myriad questions over the final shape of the economy. The tangle of multiple exchange rates for everything from international school fees to food imports created foreign currency shortages and hobbled investment due to issues getting money out.

Equities Rebound

Nigeria equities were put back on the radar of badly scarred investors by Tinubu's market-friendly moves: Fuel subsidy cut, CBN governor removal, FX rates harmonisation, and electricity deregulation. This created investor optimism and confidence in his administration's economic policies and reforms. This development led to an increase in market capitalisation on Tuesday, May 30, by 5.22 percent, rising to N30.3 trillion compared to N28.844 trillion posted on the previous trading day. Furthermore, the All-Share Index increased by 2,764.47 points or 5.22 per cent, settling at 55,738.35 as opposed

to 52,973.88 recorded in the previous trading session. Consequently, the year-to-date gain moderated to 8.76 per cent. This development has set an encouraging tone for the country's economic outlook under the leadership of Tinubu. According to data from Statista, a data company, Tinubu's first day in office stock performance of 5.22 per cent surpassed the growth seen during the first day of the previous administrations since Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999 (Ehigiator, 2023).

Suspension of EFCC Chairman, Abdulrasheed Bawa

On June 14, 2023, President Tinubu suspended the Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Abdulrasheed Bawa. Bawa's suspension, according to a statement by the Director, Information, SGF Office, Willie Basse, is to allow for proper investigation into his conduct while in office. The statement reads, "This follows weighty allegations of abuse of office leveled against him." Mr Bawa was directed to immediately hand over the affairs of his office to the Director of Operations in the Commission, who will oversee the affairs of the Office of the Chairman of the Commission pending the conclusion of the investigation. "Bawa's invitation and grilling by the DSS came days after Emefiele was arrested and flown from Lagos to Abuja to also face interrogations over alleged corruption and abuse of office. He has been replaced by Ola Olukoyede.

The Student Loan Bill

On Monday, June 12, 2023, President Bola Tinubu signed into law the Student Loan Bill in fulfillment of a promise he made during his campaign. Former spokesperson to the Federal Government, Dele Alake, in his announcement said, the funds will be domiciled in the Ministry of Education and will only be accessed by indigent students of tertiary institutions. The student loan bill sponsored by the Speaker of the 9th House of Representatives, Femi Gbajabamila, which provides for interest-free loans to indigent Nigerian students, passed the third reading at the House. The law is to provide easy access to higher education for indigent Nigerians through interest-free loans from the Nigerian Education Loan Fund. There are indications, however, that the newly signed act might not get the support of key stakeholders in the education sector, including the Academic Staff Union of Universities

(ASUU). In its submission, ASUU called on President Bola Tinubu to change the loan to a grant for indigent students, insisting that the loan is “impracticable and unsustainable”. The union said the conditions for the loan are not practicable, adding that more than 90 percent of students won’t meet the stringent requirements to access and repay the loan. Speaking further, the national president of ASUU, Prof. Emmanuel Osodeke, said: “It would have been better if it will be given to those students who are very poor; it should be called a grant, not a loan.” According to him, with more than one million students in Nigerian public universities, the loan cannot adequately cater for their tuition. Osodeke said: “The idea of student loans came in 1972, and it was in a bank that was established. People who took loans never paid; you can go and investigate. In 1993 and 1994, the military enacted Decree 50 and also set up a Students’ Loan Board. The National Assembly domesticated it in 2004, and within a year, it went off. The money disappeared. We want to see how this one will be different.”

Signed 2023 Electricity Bill into Law

The 2023 Electricity Act which is expected to de-monopolise electricity generation, transmission and distribution at the national level was also signed into law by the president within the period under review. In signing the electricity bill into law, Tinubu has now empowered state governments, companies and individuals to generate, distribute and transmit electricity.

40% Increase in Electricity Tariff

While Nigerians are still trying to cope with the effect of subsidy removal on petrol, they may need to brace up for tougher times as electricity tariff is set to increase by over 40 percent by July 1, 2024 a development which may eventually end all forms of energy subsidy in the country. With a monthly subsidy of about N50 billion still in the electricity sector owing to revenue shortfall, the tariff hike may be another acid test for President Tinubu’s administration’s market reform. The administration has already removed subsidies on Premium Motor Spirit (PMS) and floated the naira, decisions that have complicated the price-setting of the Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC)

2022 Multi-Year Tariff Order (MYTO). With all these changes and new policies, it is therefore important at this juncture to feel the pulse of the common citizens who bear the brunt of these policies the most.

Assented to Bill on New Retirement Age for Judicial Officers

Similarly, President Tinubu in exercising the powers vested in him under the 1999 Constitution as amended, assented to a fresh amendment of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. He signed into law the “Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (Fifth Alteration) (No.37), 2023” presented by the outgoing 9th National Assembly. With the signing of the Constitutional Amendment Bill, retirement age and pension rights of judicial officers have been effectively brought into uniformity and other related matters. According to the president’s spokesman, Abiodun Oladunjoye, while signing the amendment Bill into law, Tinubu pledged his administration’s dedication to strengthening the judiciary, ensuring the rule of law, and empowering judicial officers to execute their responsibilities effectively.

Retirement and Replacement of Service Chiefs

On June 19, 2023, President Tinubu approved the immediate retirement of all Service Chiefs and the Inspector-General of Police, advisers, and Controller-General of Customs from service as well as their replacements with immediate effect. Their replacements have been announced. In a statement signed by the Director of Information, Office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Willie Bassey, it informed that Nuhu Ribadu who only last week was appointed as the Security Adviser to the President has now been appointed as the National Security Adviser. Also, former Theatre Commander, Operation Hadin Kai, Major General Christopher Musa, would replace General Lucky Irabor as the Chief of Defence Staff.

Similarly, Major General T.A Lagbaja replaced Lieutenant General Farouk Yahaya as the Chief of Army Staff, while Rear Admiral E.A Ogalla has been appointed to take over from Vice Admiral Awwal Gambo as the Chief of Naval Staff and Air Marshal Oludayo Amao

would be replaced by Air Vice Marshal H.B Abubakar as the Chief of Air Staff. Others appointed are DIG Kayode Egbetokun as the Acting Inspector-General of Police and Major General EPA Undiandeye as the Chief of Defence Intelligence. The President also approved the appointment of Col. Adebisi Onasanya as the Brigade of Guards Commander; Lt. Col. Moshood Abiodun Yusuf, the 7 Guards Battalion, Asokoro, Abuja; Lt. Col. Auwalu Baba Inuwa, 177, Guards Battalion, Keffi, Nasarawa State; Lt. Col. Mohammed J. Abdulkarim 102 Guards Battalion, Suleja, Niger and Lt. Col. Olumide A. Akingbesote 176 Guards Battalion, Gwagwalada, Abuja.

Concept of Leadership

Leadership refers to the process of influencing and guiding others toward the achievement of a common goal or vision (Northouse, 2018). Simply put, leadership is the ability to inspire, motivate, and empower individuals or groups to work collaboratively and effectively. Nizarudin (2017), stated that leadership encompasses a wide range of skills, traits, and behaviors, including decision-making, communication, strategic thinking, empathy, and vision setting – which are quite key for every leader.

Types of Leadership Style

Charismatic Leadership Style

Charismatic leadership is an approach in which leaders inspire and motivate their followers through their personal charm and appeal, qualities, vision, and persuasive communication (Conger and Kanungo, 1998 cited in Bwalya, 2023). Charismatic leaders often have a compelling presence and possess exceptional charm and charisma, and the ability which influence, attract and mobilizes followers.

Situational Leadership Style

Situational leadership is a flexible leadership style that adapts to the specific needs and capabilities of individual followers or groups (Hersey, Blanchard, and Johnson, 2013). Situational leadership style emphasizes the leader's ability to assess the situation (i.e readiness or development level of their followers) and adjust the leadership approach accordingly.

Servant Leadership Style

Servant leadership is a leadership style that focuses on serving the needs of others and prioritizing the well-being and development of followers (Greenleaf, 2002 cited in Bwalya, 2023). With this approach, leaders aim to support and empower their followers, enabling them to reach their full potential, while achieving organizational goals.

Pacesetting Leadership Style

Pacesetting leadership is a leadership system in which leaders set high-performance standards for themselves and their followers (Goleman, Boyatzis, and McKee, 2013). Leaders lead by example, demonstrating excellence and expecting their followers to meet those same standards.

Democratic Leadership Style

Democratic leadership, also commonly known as participative leadership, is a kind of leadership approach where the leader involves team members in the decision-making process, encouraging open communication, and seeking consensus on important matters (Yukl, 2013). In this approach, the leader values the input and ideas of team members and followers, empowering them to participate actively in shaping organization's goals, strategies, and operations. Democratic leadership emphasizes collaboration and involvement from all team members.

Transformational Leadership Style

Transformational leadership is a leadership style in which the leader inspires and motivates his/her followers to achieve exceptional performance by creating a vision, setting high expectations, and challenging the followers to exceed their self-interests for the benefit of the organization or society at large (Collins, 2014). Transformational leaders focus on transforming individuals and organizations by encouraging creativity and promoting personal growth.

Empirical Review

Odo (2016) using library research methodology studied former President Buhari's one-year administration in Nigeria: Challenges and achievements. The researcher revealed that his challenges are the result of long years of exercise of British colonial activities in Nigeria which culminated in merging different and unmatchable ethnic groups under a federation followed by prevalent and continuous agitation for marginalization by different ethnic groups in the Nigeria state since Nigeria political independence in 1960. The paper's major recommendations were for Buhari to implement the recommendations of the Constitutional Conference of 2014 in full because it is an unanimous voice of Nigerians on how to live together in peace, preserve the unity of their nation and govern themselves and it will correct all the agitation for any marginalization. The second important recommendation is an appeal to all Nigerians to cooperate with Buhari based on his transparent and practical campaign against corruption as demonstrated by the publication of the recovered loots by past political leaders and the public. The reviewed work is different from the current work in terms of the subject matter, research methodology, and period of the study. The author used a qualitative research method while the current study used content analysis. The previous work was carried out in 2016 while the current work was carried out in 2024. The previous work studied Buhari's first year in office while the current work examined Tinubu's first year in office.

Santas and Ogoshi, (2016) in their study critically assessed the performance of Nigerian mass media in consolidating democracy in Nigeria. The study made use of secondary data. The authors argue that the mass media contributed immensely to have a paper on democracy in Nigeria. This the media did through their critical criticism of the military juntas, mobilization of the citizens to participate in entrenching democratic values, exposing cases of corruption, and making public officers to be accountable to the people. They also pointed out that despite Nigerian media's great performance in promoting democracy, they are faced with challenges that border on issues of ethnicity, Lack of adequate modern communication gadgets, from pressure groups and the government, ownership questions, corruption, poor welfare, and security issues among several others. The authors suggested that for Nigerian media to serve as an instrument for stabilizing

democracy, they need to ensure that they live up to the ideals of the profession and deal with all cases of unethical practices among its members. The government on the other hand should truly support the noble profession by creating the right atmosphere for media men to operate without friction.

The work by Santas and Ogoshi, (2016) is different from the current study in terms of the subject matter and methodological approach. The current study is on framing of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers and it used a content analysis research method, unlike the reviewed work that used mainly secondary data.

Ezegwu, Ezeji, Nwokeocha, and Chukwuemeka (2023) studied newspaper framing of National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) activities in Nigeria. The specific objectives of the study were: To find out how frequently *Daily Trust* and the *Vanguard* newspapers reported the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency's (NDLEA) activities in Nigeria and to ascertain the dominant frame used in the coverage of NDLEA activities in Nigeria by the selected newspapers. The scholars utilised the content analysis method. The period of study covered one year (1st December 2021 to 30th November 2022). The researchers discovered that *Vanguard* newspaper covered the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency's (NDLEA) activities in Nigeria more than the *Daily Trust* newspaper. Further findings indicated that the dominant frame used in reporting NDLEA activities in Nigeria was the arrest of drug courier frames. The study concludes that the *Vanguard* newspaper was more active and frequently covered NDLEA activities in Nigeria than the *Daily Trust* newspaper. The scholars recommended that the media should report more activities of the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) in Nigeria more often and an awareness and sensitisation frame should be used in reporting the issues by studied newspapers.

The reviewed work is different from the current study. The reviewed work was on newspaper framing of National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) activities in Nigeria. The current work is on framing President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration

in selected Nigerian newspapers. Although both works center on framing and they studied two newspapers each.

In a research work entitled “Evaluation of political news reportage in Nigeria’s *Vanguard* and The *Guardian*”, Brown and Udomisor (2015) investigate how political issues were treated in Nigeria’s newspapers, by assessing the proportion of political news to other subject matters, the readers’ interest given to political stories and the level of prominence attached to these stories by way of placement and prominence. The methods employed to obtain data for analysis in the study were documentary surveys and content analysis. Findings revealed that political issues were not given adequate attention in the two newspapers and were mostly tailored towards the government’s interests. The paper recommends that Nigerian newspapers should render vivid and unbiased reporting of political issues, as well as scale up political content in their publications as a way of consolidating political consciousness in Nigeria.

The reviewed work is different from the current work, the reviewed work used mixed research methods (documentary surveys and content analysis), and the topic and period of study are different from the current study. The reviewed work was conducted in 2015 and it was on evaluation of political news reportage in Nigeria’s *Vanguard* and The *Guardian*” newspapers. The current study hopes to fill the literature gap by looking at the framing of President Bola Tinubu’s one year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers.

Theoretical Framework

Framing Theory

The study was anchored on framing theory. The purpose of framing theory originated from the work of Gregory Bateson and was advanced by sociologist Erving Goffman in 1974 (Ardevol-Abreu, 2015). The theory explains the mental schema through which an individual’s experiences are organised. Framing theory is connected to the agenda-setting theory; however, attention is on presenting reality in such a way that the readers are led to interpret events the way the media or other opinion molders that use the media as a platform would want people to see it. The framing theory focuses on which topics or issues

are selected for coverage by the news media. It looks at the particular ways those issues are presented (Ezegwu, Ezeji, Nwokeocha, and Chukwuemeka, 2023).

Asemah, Nwammuo & Nkwam-Uwaoma (2017) state that the theory depicts how media purposefully makes use of, pictures, headlines, slants, and tones to influence public perception of the issue. This is because it highlights certain over others to achieve its aim with the message delivery, and governs what members of the society consider as important, or not important.

About journalism and communication studies, this theory alludes to the approaches that journalists adopt in reporting news, including disasters like building collapses. To frame implies tilting a story toward a particular direction. This theory suggests that the manner facts are made known (framed) determines the way people understand such a message. This theory is relevant to this study because it explains how media reportage of an event contributes to shaping the perception of the people. Therefore, the way the newspapers frame events of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers, the pictures they gather and present, and the logical account of the event that transpired have some influence on the readers of the newspapers.

Method

The study adopted content analysis. Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and qualitative description of the manifest content of Communication (Asemah, Gujbaw, Ekharefo, and Okpanachi, 2017). Therefore, the population of the study is 670. This is drawn from the total of days contained in the 11 months under study (June, July, August, September, October, November, December, January, February, March, and April 2024) multiplied by 2 newspapers; The Nation, and Vanguard: that is $30+31+31+30+31+30+31+31+29+31+30 = 335$. ($335 \times 2 = 670$). The sample size for the study is 248; it employed Krejcie and Morgan's (1970) sample size determination template. The researcher adopted a sampling technique. Using Holsti's formula (cited in Wimmer and Dominick, 2003), the study computed on an inter-coder reliability coefficient of 79.

The units of analysis were the newspaper articles in the forms of straight news, features, opinion articles, editorials, letters-to- editor and photographs. The content categories in this study include:

1. Formats of stories: In this study, the media genre used in the coverage of the issue was straight news, feature, opinion articles, editorial, and photographs

2. Direction of stories: In this study, the coverage of the issue was categorised into positive, negative and neutral directions.

3. Kinds of Frame: In this study, the coverage was also categorised into Attack frame, supportive frame, persuasive frame, and indifference frame.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Table 1: Formats of stories on President Bola Tinubu's one-year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers

Format of stories	<i>The Nation</i>	<i>Vanguard</i>	Total	Percentage
Straight news	62	56	118	36
Feature	30	28	58	17
Editorial	4	2	6	2
OpinionArticles	33	29	62	19
Photograph	46	41	87	26
Total	175	156	331	100

The data in table one above indicated that the framing of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers was dominated by straight news stories, with over 36%, and photographs with 26%.

Table 2: Direction of stories on the framing of President Bola Tinubu's one-year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers

Direction of Stories	The Nation	<i>Vanguard</i>	Total	Percentage
Positive	133	53	186	56
Negative	16	89	105	32
Neutral	26	14	40	12
Total	175	156	331	100

Table two showed that the majority (56%) of the stories on President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers were reported in a positive direction.

Table 3: Kind of frames selected Nigerian newspapers used in their coverage of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in Nigeria

Kinds of Frame	The Nation	<i>Vanguard</i>	Total	Percentage
Attack Frame	27	32	59	18
Supportive Frame	58	47	105	32
Persuasive Frame	72	55	127	38
Indifference Frame	18	22	40	12
Total	175	156	331	100

This table shows that the most dominantly used frame in the coverage of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in Nigeria is persuasive, and it accounts for 38% of the analysed reports, while the least frame is the indifference frame, which accounted for 12%.

Discussion

This study examined the framing of President Bola Tinubu's one-year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers. The study discovered that the framing of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers was dominated by straight news stories, with over 36%, and photographs with 26%. Feature stories had 17%, editorial had 2% while opinion articles had 19%. This implies that President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration was presented mainly in straight news format in the selected Nigerian newspapers.

It was also found that the majority of the stories on President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers were reported in a positive direction, accounting for 56%. On the individual reports, The Nation newspaper (which is promoted by President Tinubu) had 133 positive stories, Vanguard had 53 stories, The Nation had 16 negative stories, Vanguard had 89 negative stories. Also, The Nation had 26 neutral stories while Vanguard had 14 neutral stories.

Further findings showed that the selected newspapers used different frames in the coverage of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in Nigeria. The frames include; Attack frame, supportive frame, persuasive frame, and indifference frame. The study's findings supported Ajibulu's (2022) assertion that frames and tones are usually present in media news.

It was found that the most dominantly used frame in the coverage of President Bola Tinubu's one year leadership administration in Nigeria is the persuasive frame, and it accounts for 38% of the analysed reports, while the least frame is the indifference frame, which accounted for 12%. The persuasive frame are types of frame that encourages, persuade, and appeal to Nigerians to give the President more time to achieve his plans for

Nigeria. Examples of such frames were: “Nigerians should be patient with Tinubu” (*The Nation Newspaper*, March 15, 2024) , seven months not enough to fix Nigeria, Tinubu needs more time- FG (*Vanguard Newspaper*, February 1, 2024), Give Tinubu’s administration more time to fix Nigeria- Information Minister (*Vanguard Newspaper*, February 29, 2024), Give Tinubu more time to solve challenges-Gowon (*Vanguard Newspaper*, February 21, 2024). Hardship: Give Tinubu more time, Akpabio, Wike beg Nigerians (*Vanguard Newspaper* February 18, 2024). This findings support Asemah et al (2017) assertion about the validity of the framing theory, as the study confirmed the presence of frames in the analysed news.

Conclusion

The study concluded that the framing of President Bola Tinubu’s one-year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers was dominated by straight news stories and photographs. The study also concludes that the majority of the stories on President Bola Tinubu’s one-year leadership administration in selected Nigerian newspapers were reported in a positive direction. This study notes that the most dominantly used frame in the coverage of President Bola Tinubu’s one year leadership administration in Nigeria is persuasive, while the least frame was the indifference frame.

Recommendations

Based on the findings, it was recommended that:

1. Newspapers should strive to report political stories in a more detailed manner, using feature format. The feature format will enable Nigerians to know what the President has achieved so after and other activities in the presidency.
2. Even though it said that “he who pays the piper dictates the tune” the management of Nation newspaper should be objective in coverage of issues especially as it relates to the president. He is the the President of Nigeria, not the president of a particular region or tribe.
3. The selected newspaper and other media outlets should use more of the policy frames in their coverage of President Bola Tinubu’s one year leadership

administration in Nigeria to allow Nigerians to know more about his plans and policies.

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