Comparative Analysis of the Framing of #EndBadGovernance Protest on Politically and Non-politically Exposed Nigerian News Media Websites

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Abstract:

**The study is a comparative analysis of three Nigerian news media websites' framing of 2024 #EndBadGovernance protests. It is underpinned by Framing, Gatekeeping and Agenda Setting theoretical frameworks. Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) guidelines was adapted to get a sample of 520 out of 610 #Endbadgovernance related headlines. Quantitative content analysis was used within the context of composite framing, namely Generic, Time, Spaces and Valence frames. Finding shows that The Nation down played the protest by giving it 5 times lesser coverage than the average for all the three websites studied. Punch downplayed it more. Respectively, under the Generic and Time news framing categories, the *Episodic* and the *Present* frames were found to be dominant the three websites narratives. However, in the *Space* framing category, ' Nation' frame mattered more on The Nation and Punch websites, while the ' *State' frame* was dominant in Sahara Reporters' . Conclusions reached are that Sahara Reporters is prone to significantly engage the *Reaction Frame* and *Attribution of Responsibility Frame which* were greatly diminished in both The Nation and Punch websites. The study recommends that Punch should give adequate nation-wide coverage to social movements to stem over reliance of the public on politically exposed news media for information. It also recommends that NUJ and other relevant bodies should hold politically exposed media accountable for ' unjournalistic' practices during protest. To guide and safeguard the public, politically exposed media should be compelled to display "political exposure disclosure" banner when reporting issues that affect the interests of the principal as a matter of social responsibility and ethics. To avoid, betrayal of public trust, non-politically exposed news media must not shy away from holding actors in social movements accountable through Attribution *of Responsibility.*

Keywords: #EndBadGovernance Protests, Agenda Setting, Composite-framing, Framing, Gate keeping, Media ownership, News Websites, Nigeria, Political exposure, Social Movements.**

1. INTRODUCTION

Governance, the system of controlling, directing and managing the affairs of an organization, institution or a state, is a critical factor, in the realization of the global aspiration of achieving a livable environment where social justice, equity, inclusion, and accountability ensures that members of society realize their potentials and contribute meaningfully to the general good of the present and future generation. Its centrality in shaping the institutions, systems, values and culture that determine the overall performance of the society makes it an unending concern for those who understand the need of good governance. Good governance strengthens institutions and values, while poor governance fuels public dissatisfaction, often erupting into protests demanding reforms. Across the globe, such actions have shaped history The phenomenal 2011 Arab Spring Protests was sparked by Bouaziz's tragic suicide - a jobless graduate who set himself on fire when police refused to allow him sell fruits from his cart; Nigeria' s 2020 EndSARS protest was set off by ceaseless police brutality on the citizens and United kingdom' s 2024 Anti-immigration protests arose from perceived government inability to moderate both legal and illegal immigration.

The underpinnings of Nigeria' s 2024 #Endbadgovernance protest is no different: triggered by policy changes such as the removal of fuel subsidy and the floating of the Naira without adequate cushioning measures. The floating of the Naira and it' s devalue multiple times within a year had driven the foreign exchange market into frenzy, impacting negatively on every aspect of the economy. These actions

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worsened economic hardship, with over 63% of Nigerians in multidimensional poverty and 88.4 million in extreme poverty. Public outcry, ignored by the government, culminated in the " 10 Days of Rage" nationwide protest. (Adegboruwa, 2024, Effiong, 2024, Peterside,2024).

The media, as the fourth estate, plays a critical role in shaping public perception of such movements through framing, gatekeeping, and agenda-setting. Political affiliations and ownership influence editorial choices, potentially shaping narratives to align with vested interests. (Tiawo, 2007, Obi & Okon, 2023). Caught in between the tensions of serving the public by engaging in ethically sound practices, upholding democratic principles, preserving the peace and meeting the expectations of their proprietors, the media is wont to select and highlight certain aspects of an issue and; deselect or diminish other aspects. The role of the media in the final outcome of protests through social movement framing is therefore of great interest.

This study examines the framing of the #EndBadGovernance protest by two politically exposed media outlets—The Nation and Sahara Reporters—and one independent outlet, Punch—using the Composite Framing Model to examine the differences and similarities in their framing of a significant national social movement.

2. Statement of the Problem

Social Movement framing studies are usually conducted using the Diagnostic, Prognostic and Motivational (D-P-M) analysis model (Egbunike, 2015); As useful as they have been found to be, D-P-M approach is primarily focused on investigating how the media articulated the problems that gave rise to a social movement, the motivations behind it and the solutions proffered. This study examined the media to not just to see what is traditionally looked out for in classical D-P-M framing studies but to examine the framing of social movement through the composite framing model which according Obi, Okon and Mbazie (2021) are rooted in journalistic traditions and present holistic view of news framing(p.e673). While they applied the model to framing analysis of a body of diverse stories, topics and events covered by a single news

medium, the model is yet to be tested on a body of news stories about a single significant event by multiple news media within the same period. That gap will be filled by this study as it is focused on a nationally significant event. More so, the model will be applied in a comparative analysis of reports by three news media websites, two of which, namely, *The Nation and Sahara Reporters* are politically exposed through their ownership and one, *Punch,* is not. In this study, a media organization is politically-exposed when either its ownership or management team member(s) is actively involved in high stakes politics. This is more so important given that Nigeria's media landscape, from historical antecedents, arguably can be divided into two - politically-exposed and independent media.

Using the composite framing model, it is important, therefore, to examine the narratives of the #Endbadgovernance protest by two politically exposed news media and an independent media to identify differences and similarities in their framing of the social movement of concern. Those being the quest of this study, the statement of the problem is framed as: what are the dichotomies and similarities in the composite framing of #EndBadGovernance Protests narratives by politically and none politically exposed Nigerian news media websites in a period of social movement?

Aim and Objectives of the Study

The overarching goal of the study is to unveil the dichotomies and similarities in the composite framing of #EndBadGovernance Protest narratives by politically and none politically exposed Nigerian news media websites during the #Endbadgovernance social movement**.** The study is therefore guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the differences and similarities in the Generic framing of #Endbadgovernance Protest narratives in selected Nigeria news media websites,

2. What are the differences and similarities in the Space framing of #Endbadgovernance Protest narratives in selected Nigeria news media websites,

3. What are the differences and similarities in the Time framing of #Endbadgovernance Protest narratives in selected Nigeria news media websites,

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4. What are the differences and similarities in the Valence of the framing of #Endbadgovernance Protest narratives in selected Nigeria news media websites.

3. Conceptual Review

Composite Framing Model: Integrating Generic, Space, Time, and Valence Frames

Framing, the art of emphasizing, de-emphasizing, distorting, deconstructing or reconstructing chosen aspects of an occurrence through consciously determined and preferred narrative techniques, is of great concern to journalism theory and practice. The *Composite Framing model* (Obi, Okon & Mbazie, 2021) represents a holistic approach to investigating news framing by isolating the frames in news reports to see the multiple dimensions of each one of them. It overcomes the limitations imposed by the use of issue-specific framing analysis model which could lead to single-story narrative as against a multidimensional perspective which composite framing engenders. In this study, four components of the composite framing employed are generic, space, time, and valence frames.

Significance of Composite Framing in Journalism

The combination of generic, space, time, and valence frames within Composite Framing enables the satisfaction of the publics' need for holistic, bias-free and oversimplified news narratives leading to strong support for an enlightened public who can engage with the issues in the news.

Protests and the influence of politically exposed media ownership on journalistic practice of framing.

Protests generally are public expression of frustrations caused by socio-political or socio-economic conditions that impinge on their liberty and limit their capacities to thrive as they wish best in society. Often, after a while of demanding for social change through other means without success, the public empty out into the streets with placards announcing their demands. It could be peaceful protests like a peaceful march to register public grievances at the appropriate quarters. Or it can be an eruption of bottled up anger that degenerate into wanton destruction. Nigeria has seen all shades. From 1929' s Aba Women' s Riot, Olufumilayo Ransome-Kuti' s 1000-Women Egbaland palace occupation protest of 1949, to the tragic ' Ali Must Go' students protest in the 70s and SAP protests in the 80s. Whichever your pick, at the root, essentially was the demand by the public for the reversal of policies that threatened their welfare or wellbeing. Fast forward to the close of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st, Nigeria has witnessed significant protests. 2012 ' Occupy Nigeria protest' , #BringBackourgirls' protest, 2020 ' EndSARS' protest, 2014 and most recently, Endbadgovernance protest of 2024.

The goal of protest usually is to demand for social change- institutional and structural reforms as well as policy change. It' s a mounting of pressure on policy makers and political leader through peaceful marches or disruptive and drastic collective action to be accountable, address socio-economic woes, insecurity and perceived injustices. 2012 Occupy Nigeria Protest was successful in stopping the government from going ahead with its plan to remove subsidy on Petrol. And so was the 2020' s #EndSAR' s protest against police brutality and demand for disbandment of the notorious Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) police unity. #Bring Back Our Girls gained global attention and impacted negatively on President Goodluck Jonathan' s attempt to secure a second term in office.

The recent #Endbadgovernance protests, which many perceive as a continuation of #EndSARS protest by awakened youths who through the use of social media are able to mobilize for social action, erupted as a result of protracted hardship cause by government' s failure to address general insecurities, spiral inflation, political leaders cornering of public resources to themselves, and moderate the negative impact of ill-timed and poorly executed economic policies. For 2024' s ' Ten Days of Rage' in August, as the protest is also known, the last straw was the removal of fuel subsidy by President Ahmed Tinubu and unification of the Foreign Exchange Market without well thought out programmes that will cushion the negative impacts of both polices on the populace. Warnings about the impending protest were sustained by the protest organizers in the media where the

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government also made its case for its direction. Hence the media, before the protest began, was the platform for debate- where arguments for and against the policies, as well as for or against the proposed protest were tendered before the public.

Nigeria' s news media can, in one broad sense, be divided into two, namely politically and non-politically exposed news media. The politically exposed news media can further be divided into two: those whose politically exposed principals are currently in-power and those whose politically exposed principals are not. The non-politically exposed are independent or non-aligned media that maintain independent journalist editorial team. Each of these two broad categories have fundamental journalist obligation imposed upon them by social responsibility ethos of the media to inform and educate the public about the protest in a way that the public's' interest in protected. But given that the media, compelled by certain critical factors, is able to shape public perceptions through framing, agenda setting and gate keeping practices, dichotomies in the presentation of nationally disruptive moment is expected. Within composite framing, gate keeping and agenda setting frameworks, where are those dichotomies located in their narratives about the #Endbadgovernance protest?

The Nation, a politically exposed media, owned by President A. Tinubu was supportive of Occupy Nigeria Protest against fuel subsidy removal and other protests before its owner became the president of the Nigeria. During those protests in which he actively participated during President Goodluck Jonathan' s Administration, Nation news media, which he owns, played a key role in keeping the protest before the public and shaping the narratives of the protests as democratic right of the public. During the #EndSAR protests under President Buhari' s administration, with Tinubu as the leader of APC, the Nation downplayed government' s brutal use of lethal force to contain the protest at Lecky Toll gate. Sahara reporters on the other hand, owned by activist, Sowore, who ran for Nigeria Presidency twice, has always been in the vanguard of holding the establishment to account. And given that it has become a politically exposed media, analysis of its narratives in a protest against the current administration' s

policies, actions and direction is of interest as it could reveal the influence of media ownership political exposure on journalistic practice of the media.

MEDIA OWNERSHIP AND POLITICAL EXPOSURE: THE NATION, PUNCH AND SAHARA REPORTERS

Media ownership interest is a critical factor that impacts editorial direction of news media organizations particularly in crisis situations such as protests. When news media ownership has a vested political interest, the media, directly or indirectly may be tempted to advance or align with that interest (Okoji, Olanihun, Okoji, Morenikeji, and Ganiyu (2024). As surmised by Adejuwon, (2018), media owners do determine the agenda of their media and recommended that they should refrain from weaponizing the media for political gains. Such gains would include unjust criticism of a good government by an opposition politician owned media or de-legitimization of a noble social movement by media owned by those in power. The Nation news media organization and Sahara reporters are two Nigerian news media organization whose owners are major players in Nigerian politics. While the Nation is owned by Ahmed Tinubu, Nigeria' s current president, Sahara Reporters is owned by Sowore, serial Nigerian presidential candidate. Unlike them, the Punch has no visible politically exposed ownership. It is expected that there will be major differences in their coverage the endbadgoveranance protests.

Theoretical Review

Three communication theories are essential to this study, namely, Framing, Gatekeeping and Agenda Setting theories. And they are briefly reviewed hereunder.

Framing is the process of narrative-boxing by the media and their construction of prism(s) through which they permit the audience to see what is they have boxed. In other words, it describes that ability, as well as the process, whereby the media is able to highlight, confine, slant, emasculate, and screen certain aspects of an event in story telling in the media. Framing produces frames. And frames are consequential in communication because they impact the perception, attitude and behaviours of audience members (Chong and Drukman, 2007). Frames are " interpretative" (Adisa et al 2018) devices and as such, are " not neutral or mere narration of bare facts"

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(Obi, Okon & Mbazie, 2021, p e670). Frames are not aimed to tell us what to think about (which is an agenda setting function), but they determine the angle from which we perceive what is on the agenda. Broadly, frames can be grouped into two categories, namely issue-specific frames and generic frames (Vreese, 2005). While the former deals with customized frames built to extract themes in the analysis of specific issues in the media, the later refer to sets of frames that emanate from universal journalistic principles. According to Composite Framing model put forward by Obi, Okon and Mbazie, (2021), composite framing analysis can be described as holistic " combination of a select set of framing schemes that have generic" journalistic conventions bearing and give rise to a " multi-dimensional framing scheme" (pp. e671-e672). The model was built by the harmonization of distinct features found in Vreese' s (2005) generic news frame and typology with those found in Pew Research Center' s (1988) the fusion of that with a set of generic frames from Chyi and McComb' s 2004 longitudinal and vertical news framing model and Vreese and Boomgaarden' s (2003) Valence generic framing scheme. The model thus described is used in this study to analyze the frames found on the websites of the afore mentioned news media websites' reportage of #Endbadgovernance protests.

Gatekeeping theory is a fundamental theory that explains how events get to become news. The power to decide what becomes news and who makes news resides with the gatekeepers. In the media ecosystem, the gatekeepers are, directly, the field journalists and the media editors; and indirectly, the media owners- (through subtle or forceful means) from behind the curtain. Constrained by multiple sets of factors, both internal and external, organizational and socio-cultural, the gatekeepers must decide what is most relevant for their audience. So by means of selection, prioritization and construction, they sieve though massive amount of information and determine the manageable byte that gets to be published or broadcasted for public consumption. Reflecting on Shoemaker' s (1991) model of Gatekeeping, Roberts (2005) observed that gatekeeping is impacted by, " the internal processes and external forces that play a role on

individual gatekeepers" and it in turn causes " effects from the individual to the organizational, to the institution, to society. " (p.11). Thus, by constructing and dictating narratives, the gakekeeper affects the society in ways that can promote or diminish public engagement with issues as well as how they engage with them. Within the context of this paper therefore, the narratives allowed by the journalistic practice of gatekeeping would have consequences on public perception as well as be an indicator of the journalistic practices that guided the reportage of #Endbadgovernance protests.

Gate keeping naturally leads to Agenda setting. Agenda setting is the journalistic practice of prioritizing certain news stories, event coverage or news frames over others in a bid to focus public discourse around the presented agenda. The argument that inherent in Agenda Setting is framing and that a news frame can become an Agenda set for the public (Obi and Okon, 2023) is worth reiterating in this context given that in a social movement, politically exposed media may be under pressure the harp on or hype up a particular frame while ignoring others. Agenda setting could help us understand the focus and or interest of a given media in a period of social movement. Hence it is relevant in this study.

4. Empirical Review

In the work, ' Framing Theory and Composite Framing Analysis Model: Towards a Holistic View of Frames in the News' , Obi, Okon and Mbazie (2021) reviewing framing theory argued that ' the inherent weaknesses of employment of issue specific frames or singled-out generic framing indicator(s) in news framing analysis' *yielded* ' grounds for news framing analysis using a composite framing model approach to provide multi-dimensional view of the frames in a news' (p. e667). Developed in a PhD dissertation, the model was used in content analysis of news flow and framing of African Sub-Regions on CNNAfrica Mobile Posts. It was used to investigate 432 stories across heterogeneous events generated from a 216 days sample size out of 515 days posts (eighteen months). Generically, it found human Imapact/Interest and Conflict to be, respectively, the first and second dominant framing devices in news report. It found recency to be the most important news time framing and within an

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international media news report, the ' *nation frame'* is predominant in terms of space framing while out of every 10 stories nearly 7 had negative valence frame.

The model however has not been applied to diverse stories about a single event from multiple media platforms. That is what this study seeks to accomplish using quantitative content analysis as well. The period here, however is only three months as against 18 months in the earlier study.

5. Methodology

The design for this research is a quantitative content analysis method. News articles during the period leading up to, during, and after the #Endbadgoverance protests from two politically exposed and one non-politically exposed news media websites, namely, The Nation, whose owner is Nigeria' s current president and Sahara Reporters, whose owner was a presidential candidate in the 2023 election. In a critical analysis of the 2023 presidential election media reportage, Okoji,Olanihun, Okoji, Morenikeji, and Ganiyu (2024), suggested that the reason the Nation newspaper allocated more space to the coverage of the 2023 presidential election relative to three other national newspapers studied could be because its owner was presidential candidate in the election.

The non-politically exposed news media was Punch. Articles on #Endbadgovernance were searched for and retrieved from their websites they were analysed to compare their framing of the protests.

Population for the study

The population for the study was 610 made up of 142 published headlines from The Nation website, 95 from the Punch and 373 from Sahara Reporters on #Endbadgovernance stories between July and September 2024. The population was a census of headlines on the subject within the period under study.

Sample Size

The sample for the study is 520 articles which were determined using the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) guidelines (Moher, Altman, Liberati, & Tetzlaff, 2011) as cited in Rodrigo-Gines, Carrillo-de-Albornoz & Plaza (2024). .

Sampling Procedure

A census, which is type of purposive sampling technique, was used to collect data from the 610 articles out of which 520 articles included in the study were selected using the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) guidelines.

Description of Measuring Instruments

A four column, 31 rows coding sheet was used. The coding guide described the four content categories, namely Generic Frame, Space Frame, Time Frame and Valence Frame. The coding sheet result captured the frequency of the occurrence of each indicator of the variables of interest.

Description of content categories

Description of Composite Framing categories: Three sets of framing categories synthesized by Obi, Okon & Mbazie (2022) from review of Vreese's, (2005), Excellence in Journalism Project, (2008), Chyi and McComb, (2004) and Vreese, (2004) framing studies. The Framing categories include the following, Generic, Space, Time and Valence frames. For this study two new indicators of space are added. These and their indicators are explained below.

Generic framing: this refers to broad categorization of news in journalistic practice into general themes that are emphasized. Indicators of this category are Horse– race which depicts competition, Episodic/ Straight News account that centers on ' who, what, when, where, why and how' in the news. Others are *Thematic* which places a news account within a broader context than the immediate issue the news is about. *Human Interest/impact* emphasizes what touches on human emotion and empathy while *Powerlessness* depicts a party in the news as a helpless victim of the powerful**.** *Economics and Economic Consequences* stresses the economic impact of a news subject, policy, or action of government on ordinary citizens**.** *Moral values/Morality speaks* **to** ethical conducts and values underpinning an action reported in the news. *Conflict* **emphasizes** a struggle over vested interests while *Attribution of responsibility* highlights who should be held accountable for what should happen, what happened or what failed to happen. *Conjecture/ Outlook* attempts to preempt outcomes of " decisions or proposed

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actions and policies" while priming the public for engagement as may be desirable. *Consensus emphasizes* agreements while *Trend* focuses on what is trending. *Reality Check* interrogates claims and fact checks them. *Wrong doing exposed* frame focuses on exposure or uncovering of wrong doing or injustices while *Policy Explored* explains the intent, application and implication policy on so society. *Personality Profile* gives the audience insight into the persons portrayed in the news while Reaction *presents* the news story as arising out direct **"**response or reaction to, or " from one of the major players"

Space Framing: This anchors the story by situating it within a geophysical or ' geo-social' space. By placing the story within a social, cultural or geographical arena, it shapes how the public judge the relevance of the story to themselves or how they interpret it. The Space frame scheme expanded by Obi, Okon and Mbazie (2021) was developed and tested by Chyi and McComb, (2004). Among they are: *Global (International):* This frame portrays the reported event or issue as having a global impact or significance. *Social* frame depicts reported event or issue as affecting humanity beyond its point of occurrence. *Region* frame depicts the reported event or issue as affecting a certain region/continent. *Sub-region* frame depicts the reported event or issue as affecting one or more sub-region regions within a continent. *Nation (country):* frame emphasizes the consequence of the reported event on a given nation. *Sub-Nation* frame confines the impact of an occurrence as affecting a particular sub-region of the country e.g. Northern Nigeria, Eastern Nigeria etc. *State* frame projects a state within a nation in the narrative in a significant manner. Thus, the mention of the name of the state gives more weight to the story. It needs to be noted that the inclusion of the last two indicators of Space framing, notably, ' sub-nation' and ' state' expands the space scheme further in this study. *Community* frame emphasizes the consequence of the reported event/Issue on the immediate community where the event/Issue is currently unfolding while the *Individual* frame depicts the individual(s) characterized in the reports as central to the story.

Time Framing: This framing captures the chronological aspects of an issue thereby providing insights into the sequence, duration, or historical context of events. They include: *The Past* time frame which lays emphasis on historical background of the event or issue presented. *The Present* time frame emphasizes the present in it narration. *The Future* time frame puts emphasis on the future in its narration. Time framing enables journalists to report issues as part of a larger timeline, either through demonstrating how they are borne out of a persistent pattern, a long-standing grievance, or a new development. So in covering #Endbadgovernance Protests, the time frame could reference previous protests in a bid to legitimize or delegitimize the protest in the eyes of the public.

Valence Framing: this addresses the tone or evaluative direction of a story, determining whether it conveys a positive, neutral, or negative perspective. This frame influences audience perception by subtly suggesting how they should feel about the issue. For example, in stories on #Endbadgovernance protests, a valence frame might present the government' s actions positively by emphasizing reform efforts or cast them negatively by focusing on the lack of progress, impacting public opinion subtly through tone. The Composite Framing model carefully integrates valence with other frames to create balanced narratives, avoiding polarizing portrayals.

Units of Analysis

The units of analysis will be news stories comprising of the following genres: hard news, feature stories, editorial, and opinion.

Validity of the instruments

When a research instrument correctly identifies and arrests the variables it was designed to capture is said to be valid. A team of researchers examined the instrument to ensure that the variables to be measured are correct and their descriptions and that of their respective indicators align with the principles of exclusivity and specificity.

Reliability of the instrument

The reliability of the instrument was established through pilot tests. Between four coders, Holsti' s inter-coder reliability

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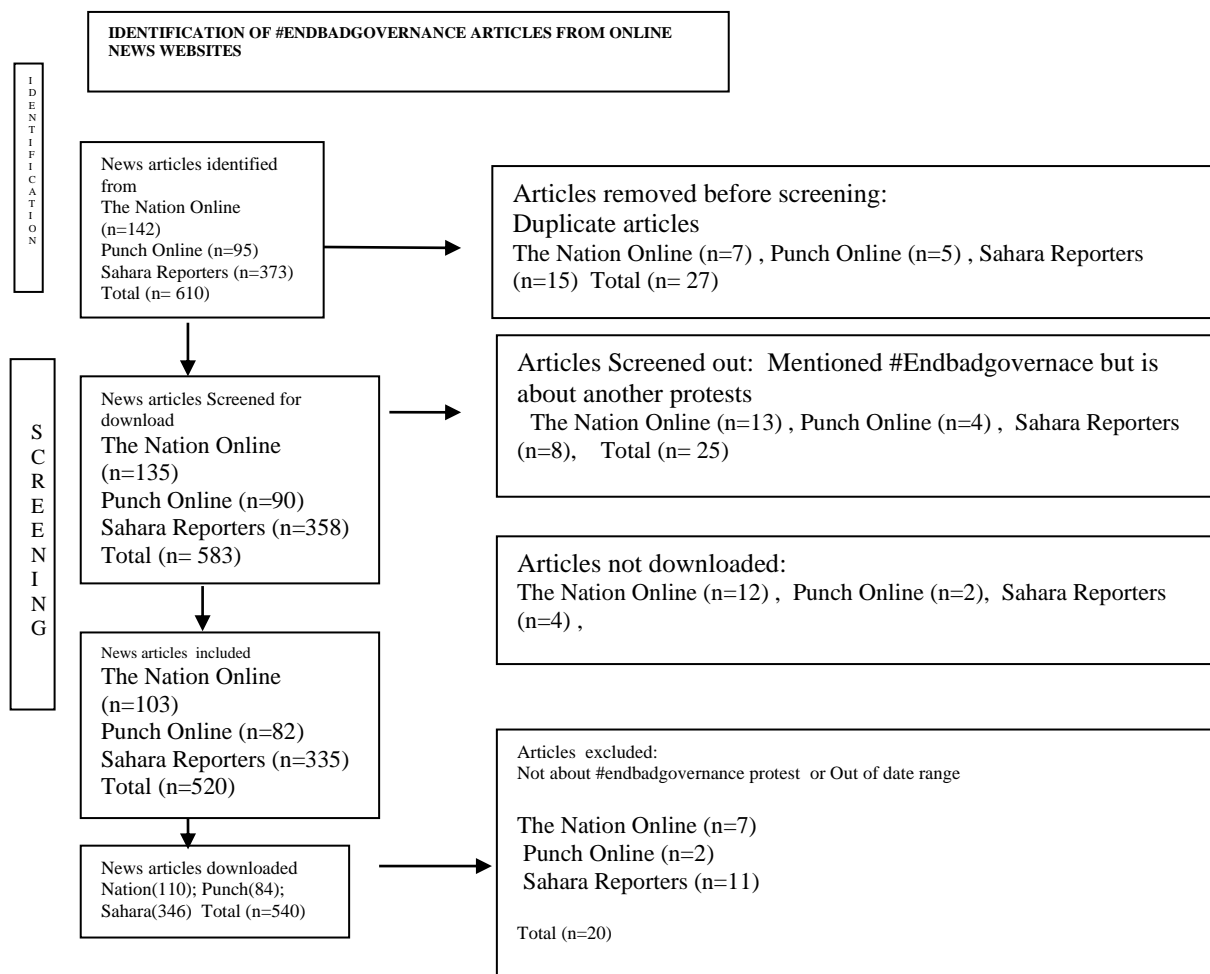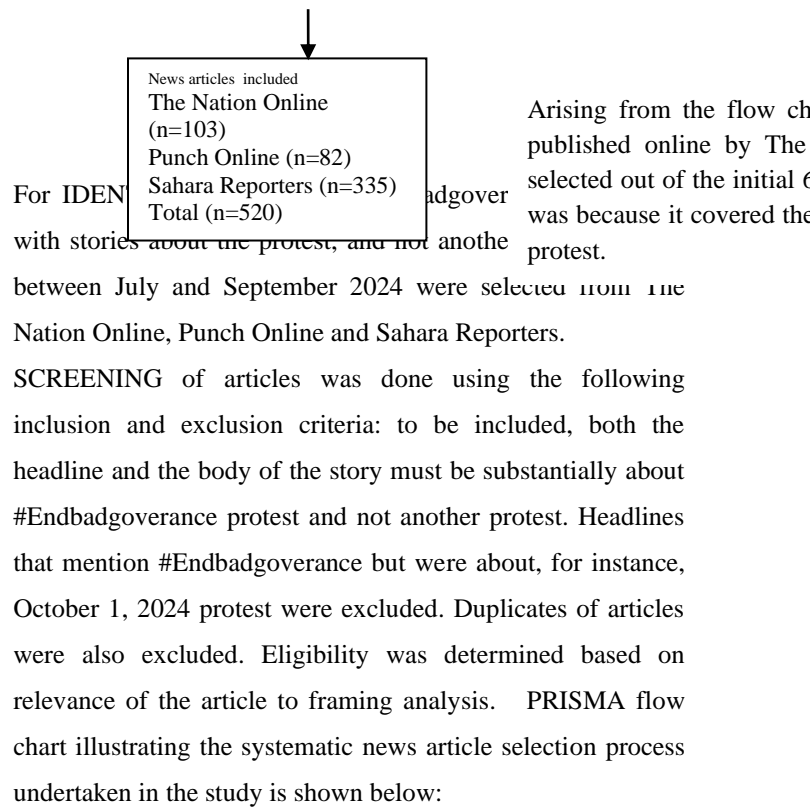
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formula calculations yielded an acceptable inter-coder reliability of 7.3. Calculation was based on 585 overall coding decisions agreements from 160 independent coding decisions made from 40 headlines by each one. The formula is as shown below

$$\mathrm{Re}\,liability = \frac{4M}{N_1 + N_2 + N_3 + N_4}$$

Where 4 = four coders, M = number of coding decision agreements, N_1 = sum of first coders coding decisions and N_2 is sum of second coder's coding decisions.

Method of Data Collection

The Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) guidelines (Moher, Altman, Liberati, and Tetzlaff, 2011) as cited in Rodrigo-Gines, Carrillo-de-Albornoz & Plaza (2024) is a rigorous methodology for searching, selecting and screening articles for systematic review. Given its efficacy, the method was adapted and used in this study.

For IDEN[...] [...]dgover with stories about the protest, and not anothe between July and September 2024 were selected from The Nation Online, Punch Online and Sahara Reporters.

SCREENING of articles was done using the following inclusion and exclusion criteria: to be included, both the headline and the body of the story must be substantially about #Endbadgoverance protest and not another protest. Headlines that mention #Endbadgoverance but were about, for instance, October 1, 2024 protest were excluded. Duplicates of articles were also excluded. Eligibility was determined based on relevance of the article to framing analysis. PRISMA flow chart illustrating the systematic news article selection process undertaken in the study is shown below:

Arising from the flow ch[...] published online by The [...] selected out of the initial 6[...] was because it covered the[...] protest.

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Data Presentation and Analysis

This section presents the result of the investigation in tables. Descriptive statistical analysis is executed using frequencies, Mean and median as shown on the tables that follow Below

TABLE 1 The Frequency and Average rate of coverage of #Endbadgovernance by the selected Online News media platforms

Online News Media	Frequency	Percentage
The Nation	103	19.8%
Punch	82	15.8%
Sahara Reporters	335	64.4%
Total	520	100

Source: Content Analysis, 2024

Table shows the frequency of the coverage of the #Endbadgovernance protests in Nigeria. Of the 520 articles we observe that Sahara Reporters provide 6.4 out of every 10 compared to 1.9 by The Nation or 1.5 by Punch respectively out of every 10. Relatively therefore, Sahara Reporters gave greater attention to the protest than the rest. The Nation provided 5 times less coverage of the protests than the average for all the three media. Compared to Sahara Reporters, it provided three times less coverage.

TABLE 2: Differences and similarities in the Time Framing of 2024 #Endbadgovernance Protests by Three Online News Media

TIME FRAMING	THE NATION		PUNCH		SAHARA REPORTERS		ALL PAPERS	
	fx	%	fx	%	Fx	%	Fx	%
1.Past	2	1.9	5	**6.1**	4	1.2	11	2.1
2.Present	99	**96.1**	76	**92.7**	328	**97.9**	503	**96.7**
3.Future	2	1.9	1	1.2	3	0.9	6	1.2
4.Other	0	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	103.0	151.1	82	100.0	335	100.0	520.0	100.0
Median	**2.0**		**3.0**		**3.5**		**8.5**	
Average	25.8		20.5		83.8		130.0	

Source: Content Analysis, 2024

Table 2 indicates that the ' Present' time framing is significantly an outlier. In The Nation and Punch online, the frame was used respectively 2.7 and 2.9 times above average while in Sahara Reporters it was used 3.9 times above the average. In each of the three media, the outlier status of the " Present" time frame is further emphasized by the gap between it and the median of the three time frames on the table. It is observed that the Punch gave more " Past" context in the coverage of #endbadgovernance Protests (6.1%) against 1.9% by The Nation and 1.2 by

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TABLE 4: Differences and similarities in the Space Framing of 2024 #

Table 3: Differences and similarities in the Generic   Framing of 2024 #Endbadgovernance Protests by Three Online News Media Websites

GENERIC FRAMING	THE NATION fx	%	PUNCH fx	fx	SAHARA REPORTERS fx	%	ALL MEDIA fx	%
Horse-race	3	3	1	1	1	0	5	1
Episodic	46	**45**	24	**29**	60	18	130	25
Thematic	16	16	3	3	19	6	38	7
Human impact/Interest	6	6	8	10	44	13	58	11
Powerlessness	3	3	5	6	26	8	34	7
Economic/economic consequences	4	4	1	1	9	3	14	3
Moral values	3	3	4	5	14	4	21	4
Conflict	10	**10**	16	**19**	35	**10**	61	**12**
Attributing Responsibility	2	**2**	2	**2**	32	**10**	36	7
Conjecture/outlook	6	**6**	4	**4**	5	**1**	15	3
Consensus	0	0	0	0	6	2	6	1
Trend	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	0
Reality check	0	**0**	3	**4**	9	**3**	12	2
Wrong doing Exposed	1	1	4	4	19	6	24	5
Policy Explained	0	0	1	4	3	1	4	1
Personality profile	2	2	2	2	1	0	5	1
Reaction	1	**1**	2	**2**	52	**16**	55	**11**
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**103**	100	82	100	**335**	100	**520**	100
Median	**12**		**6**		**5**		**3**	
AVERAGE	5.7		5		18.6		29	

Source: Content Analysis, 2024

The result of Generic Frame analysis shown in Table 4 above reveals that for the three media, Episodic account dominated: The Nation (45%), Punch (29%), and Sahara Reporters (18%). They however differ in their second and their third most used Generic frames which were: Thematic (16%) and Conflict (10%) for The Nation; Reaction (16%) and human Impact/Interest(10%) for Punch, while for Sahara Reporters they were Reaction (16%), Human Impact/Interest(13%). Reality Check which diminished for Punch (4%) and Sahara Reporters (3%), was completely absent in The Nation. Still from table 3, interestingly, we observe that, Reaction Frame, which ranked second for Sahara Reporters (16%) was greatly diminished in the Nation (1%) and 2% in Punch. Similarly, the Attribution of Responsibility Frame which was diminished in The Nation and Punch (both 2%) garnered 10%) in Sahara Reporters, which also used more Powerlessness frame (8%) than both The Nation (3%) and Punch (6%).

Sub-Nation	5	4.9	2	2.4	14	4	21	11
Sate	27	26.2	7	8.5	103	31	137	65
Community	5	4.9	5	6.1	2	1	12	12
Individual	10	9.7	14	17.1	69	21	93	47
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**103**	100	**82**	100	**335**	**100**	**520**	**100**
Median	**5.5**		**3.5**		**8.5**		**16.5**	
Average	10.3		**8.2**		33.5		52	

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to level of expectation in coverage of social movement. It can also be argued that opposition media owner's political interest in an incentive for robust coverage of social movement while the reverse is the case for media whose owner is in the corridors of power.

The combination of the dominance of episodic account in generic framing and the " Present" in Time framing points to the inherent nature of news story telling as occurrence in the recent time and justifies ' *recency*' as a news value. Interestingly, the prominence of Reaction Frame in Sahara

Source: Content Analysis, 2024

In spatial Framing, Table 4 shows that while ' Nation' frame was dominant for The Nation (29.1%) and Punch(36/6%), the ' State' frame was dominant in Sahara Reporters which paid equal attention to Societal , Nation and Individual space frames(21%). Societal Frame was the second most used space by Punch (26.8%). Compared to Sahara Reporters (21%) and Punch (17.1%) the individual Space frame was relatively played down by The Nation (9.7%). It is worth noting that the Regional and Sub-Regional space frames were either completely ignored (Sahara Reporters) or were minimally used- The Nation (2.9%), Punch (1.2%). The global space was similarly diminished in both Punch (1.2%) and Sahara Reporters(1%) unlike in the Nation where it was used in 5.8% of the reports.

TABLE 5 Differences and similarities in the Valence Framing of 2024 #Endbadgovernance Protests by Three Online News Media

VALENCE OF NEWS	THE NATION		PUNCH		SAHARA REPORTERS		ALL PAPERS	
	fx	%	fx	%	fx	%	Fx	%
Positive	34	33	4	5	80	24	118	23
Neutral	13	**13**	57	**70**	68	20	138	27
Negative	56	54	21	26	187	56	264	51
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	103	100	82	100	335	100	520	100
Median	24		13		74		128	
Average	26		21		84		130	

Source: Content Analysis, 2024

The valence of the stories showed remarkable difference between Punch on one hand and, The Nation and Sahara Reporters on the other. The valence of stories in Punch was 70% neutral while neutrality was 20% and 13% in Sahara Reporters and The Nation respectively. The latter two, at 56% and 54% respectively, were nearly at par in the use of ' Negative' valence frame in their stories. While Punch greatly refrained from the use of ' Positive' valence (5%), The Nation was ahead in its use(33%) followed by Sahara Reporter(24%).

Discussion of Findings

Examination of the frequency of the coverage of the #Endbadgovernance protests in Nigeria shows that politically exposed news website whose ownership is not government (Sahara Reporters) reported the protest more than politically exposed news website whose ownership is in power (The Nation). Sahara Reporters significantly played a role in keeping the protest in the public space. This could have been as a result of the political opposition stance of it owner. Conversely, The Nation, obviously to safe guard the political fortune of its owner down played the protest by not, relatively, giving it sufficient cover It is rather surprising that the independent media (Punch) gave even a lesser degree of coverage suggesting that independent media are not living up

The argument that politically exposed media is influenced by ownership political interest. Again, Sahara reporter's elevation of Powerlessness frame would indicate victimization of the people by the politically strong.

Comparatively, the differences and similarities in the Space framing, Sahara Reporters elevated the impact of #Endbadgovernance protest on the states by the elevation of the " state frame" which supports its elevation of the " powerlessness frame" -indicating that the sense of helplessness felt by citizens is wide spread. The Punch as an independent media organization failed to given a nationwide

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coverage of the protest just like The Nation which focused on the impact of the protest on the nation rather than its citizens.
Absence of Regional and Sub-Regional space frames suggest that social movements are often seen by the media within the context of the boundaries of geographical spaces within which they unfold.

The outlier status of the " Present" time frame is further emphasized by the gap between it and the median of the three time frames on the table. The implication is that, irrespective of political exposure status of media organizations, they report social movement without recourse to the past or projection into its implications for the future

In the course of investigating the differences and similarities in the Valence of the framing of #Endbadgovernance Protest narratives in the selected Nigeria news media websites we observe that while the tone of non-politically exposed media is remarkably neutral, that of politically exposed media are is.
Neutrality indicates basic reportage what happened during the protest without directly or indirectly condemning or commending the actions/utterances of the government or, of the protesters. Both politically exposed media' s negative tone
indicated direct or veiled condemnation of either of the parties in the protest equation. It indicates that political struggles between politicians extend to their weaponization of the media for attainment of political ends. This has implication for democracy, public enlightenment and trust. Since the public relies on the media and trust it for account of events upon which they make vital decisions with regards to political participation, media political exposure is detrimental to sustainability

Conclusions
Examination of the frequency of the coverage of the #Endbadgovernance protests in Nigeria media leads to the conclusion that politically exposed news media whose ownership is currently in government could suppress news about a social movement and that independent media may not be relied upon to give adequate news coverage about the protests. This conclusion is germane when the space framing is put into consideration where it is also noticed that independent media did not give sufficient nation-wide coverage of the protest. Failure of independent media to give adequate coverage would lead to public over reliance on politically exposed news media. The results of this study leads to the conclusion that non politically exposed media may could fail to give nationwide coverage of a significant national social movement but that the politically exposed news media could be relied upon to give a wide coverage, there by playing a critical agenda setting role that keeps the public thinking and talking of the protest.
The result of Generic Frame analysis would lead us to conclude that Episodic frame is the dominant news frame. This supports the finding of by Obi, Okon and Mbazie (2021). It also supports the dominance of the " Present" Time frame finding in this study thereby providing justification for

definition of news as the recount of a recent occurrence and inclusion of *recency* as a news value.
It is concluded that politically exposed news media whose ownership is not currently in power (Sahara) is prone to significantly engage the *Reaction Frame* and while media whose ownership is currently in power greatly diminishes its use. Also, results lead to the conclusion that politically exposed media whose own is in power would diminish *Attribution of Responsibility Frame* while media owned by a person in political opposition such Sahara Reporters would prone to engage *Attribution of Responsibility Frame.* The reason why a non-politically news media would diminish A*ttribution of Responsibility* require further investigation.

In comparing the differences and similarities in the Space framing of #Endbadgovernance Protest narratives in selected Nigeria news media websites we conclude that while Sahara Reporters gave a greater nationwide coverage of the #Endbadgovernance protest and elevated the impact of the protest on the states, The Nation and Punch elevated the impact of the protests on the Nation. We also conclude that the Regional and Sub-Regional space frames were either completely ignored (Sahara Reporters) or were minimally used indicating that the implications of the protest for the rest African nation were not put in focus.

From comparison of the differences and similarities in the Time framing of #Endbadgovernance Protest narratives in selected Nigeria news media websites, we conclude that the ' Present' time framing is significantly an outlier and that the outlier status of the " Present" time frame is further emphasized by the gap between it and the median of the three-time frames on the table. We therefore conclude that the Protest was reported more without recourse to the past or projection into its implications for the future by the above-mentioned media.

After comparing the differences and similarities in the Valence of the framing of #Endbadgovernance Protest narratives in selected Nigeria news media websites, we came to the conclusion that the valence of the stories showed remarkable difference between Punch on one hand and, The Nation and Sahara Reporters on the other. Politically-exposed media weaponize the media during a social movement in pursuit of political profit. Their tone is positive in narratives that portray their position and negative in those that speak of their political opponents' interest.

Recommendations
In the light of the above findings and conclusions, the following recommendations are hereby made:
1. Independent media should give adequate nation-wide coverage to social movements to stem over reliance of the public on anti-establishment media for information which may be laced with veiled political interests.
2. We recommend that NUJ and other relevant bodies should hold pro-establishment media

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accountable for diminishing *Attribution of Responsibility Frame* in the coverage of protests and that independent media should not align with pro-establishment media in diminishing *Attribution of Responsibility Frame* for that will amount to betrayal of public trust

3. We recommend that the media should give prominence to " Past" time frame in coverage of social action to enable the public and government understand and address root/remote causes of social frustrations in order to prevent frequent reoccurrence of protests which are disruptive and economically devastating.

4. We recommend that independent media should continue to uphold its neutrality in coverage of social movements as that will enable it to provide unbiased news coverage and allow the public to make up its mind on what the critical issues are.

5. We recommend that in politically consequential reports like a significant social movement, politically exposed media should be compelled to display, " political exposure disclosure" to guide and guard the public as a matter of social responsibility and ethics.

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