



## FRAMING ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES IN NIGERIA BY SELECTED NEWSPAPERS

<sup>1</sup>ALADE, Moyosore Omowonuola  
<sup>2</sup>OKOJI, Morenikeji Chukwufumnaya  
<sup>3</sup>ABDULGANIYU, Bisiriyu  
<sup>4</sup>OKOJI, Chukwudinma Taiwo

<sup>1,2</sup> Communication and Media Studies, Redeemers' University, Ede.  
<sup>3,4</sup> Mass Communication, Federal Polytechnic Offa

**Corresponding Author:** OKOJI, Morenikeji Chukwufumnaya; okojikejiagbo@gmail.com.

### Abstract

Newspapers have long been a cornerstone of mass communication, shaping public understanding of political, social, and developmental issues. In Nigeria, they play a crucial role in informing citizens about education, governance, security, and health, yet questions remain about how consistently and effectively they cover development topics. This study examines Framing Analysis of Developmental Issues in Nigeria two leading newspapers, The Punch and The Nation, within the period of October to December 2025. Using a quantitative content analysis, the study examines the quantity of developmental communication stories and types of frames used. Findings show that The Punch published more stories (62% of stories) than The Nation (38% of stories) with reporting peaking in October 2025 and varying during the following months. The frames that were most dominant were responsibility and economic consequence, which emphasized government accountability and financial implications, while human-interest and morality frames were less utilized, indicating a lack of focus on experiences of citizens and ethical dimensions. The study concludes that Nigerian newspapers have a lot of influence on how the public perceives development but with selective and episodic coverage. To strengthen the influence of media on national development, newspapers are being urged to take more inclusive and people centered approaches in reporting which will further amplify citizen voices and promote wider public engagement.

**Keywords:** Newspapers, Development Communication, Framing, Nigeria, Media

### Introduction

Newspapers have existed as a formal institution since the seventeenth century and continue to play a significant role in mass communication worldwide (Okorie & Oyedepo, 2016). Newspapers are not only the source of information but also a means of influencing the understanding and discourse of the public in relation to political, social, economic, and developmental matters. In many developing contexts, including Nigeria, newspapers lie at the core of informing citizens of domestic and national concerns, as well as stimulating public dialogue and supporting democratic processes. Through reportage and editorial decisions, newspapers shape such problems as education, security, governance, and health as interpreted by the people (Terfa, Kwen, Isuwa, & Abdou, 2025).

In the recent scholarship, emphasis has been placed not only on the existence of the development-related content in Nigerian newspapers but also on the frame in which the content was couched. Media framing has been described as "the selection of particular aspects of a given reality and making them salient within the context of messages so as to promote particular definitions of a given problem, particular causal

interpretations of that problem, particular moral evaluations of that problem, and recommended solutions to that problem" (Entman, 1993, as cited in Terfa et al., 2025). The study of the frames in newspapers is vital as it helps to understand how the media shapes the public's perception and the society's response to developmental challenges. Contemporary studies have examined different media framing contexts in Nigeria such as public policy issues (e.g. narratives on the removal of fuel subsidies in 2023) and national security issues (Elegbe and Adeyemo, 2024; Sani, 2024).

Despite this growing number of work, insufficient attention is being paid to the framing of developmental issues (which refers to media coverage that provides information, education and interaction with the public on the roads to national development) through the Nigerian newspaper. This lacuna is especially important in light of the fact that newspapers form a building block of news and analysis for millions of Nigerians in print and digital version. Understanding framing patterns in connection with development shows not only the frequency of coverage, but also the interpretive frameworks that newspapers use in presenting these issues to the public.

Accordingly, the focus of this study is on the presentation of issues on development in Nigeria as reported by selected newspapers, *The Punch* and *The Nation*. Framing For the study guided by Framing Theory investigates how often communication stories are covered and what frames are used most often in the stories about developmental communication. Through this analysis, the study aims to add to the wider body of literature about media and development communication in Nigeria and offer insights that can help to inform both media practice and public policy argument.

### **Statement of the Problem**

While newspapers have long been recognized as important players in the information and formation of national discourse in the public sphere, there has been a growing concern that the Nigerian media scenery often focuses more on political and entertaining/sensational contents than on meaningful developmental news (Okorie & Oyedepo, 2016). Despite the role of the media in national development and public enlightenment which has been acknowledged, many Nigerians still relate to the lack of balanced and sustained coverage of development-oriented issues such as education, healthcare, infrastructure and poverty alleviation.

Existing research has started to address the issue of media coverage of development-related issues in Nigeria. Content analyses have focused on the coverage of the news of particular sectors including education, politics and security (Sanusi, Olanahun, & Omipidan, 2024) and others have worked on the framing of public policy issues such as 2023 fuel subsidy removal and climate change editorials (Elegbe & Adeyemo, 2024; Ikpegbu & Ajaegbu, 2025). However, such studies tend to emphasise the content rather than the framing of the coverage, especially in relation to public understanding of the long-term development imperatives.

The absence of empirical analysis of framing of development issues in Nigerian newspapers is a major gap in media studies. While there is useful work in the publication of media content and agenda setting functions, little work exists which systematically analyses the interpretive frameworks through which newspapers present development topics to their audiences. Without this understanding, it is hard to evaluate the effectiveness of the media in terms of informing public discourse, and building perceptions which can affect policy and societal action.

Therefore, this study, "Framing Analysis of Developmental Issues in Nigeria by Selected Newspapers," aims to address this empirical gap by providing a comprehensive analysis of the frames used by Nigerian newspapers to present developmental issues. By investigating the frames used, this study will

contribute to our understanding of how the media influences public opinion and policy debates on developmental issues in Nigeria.

### **Objectives of the study**

1. To determine the frequency of newspaper reportage on developmental communication stories in selected newspapers.
2. Examine the frames type employed by the selected newspapers in the reportage of developmental issues in Nigeria.

### **Literature Review**

#### **Development and Development Communication**

Development is a multidimensional concept that goes beyond the economic growth to include social inclusion, political participation, ecological sustainability, improvements in quality of life etc. Contemporary scholars conceptualises development as a people - centric and participatory endeavour which seeks to empower individuals and communities to ameliorate their socio - economic conditions (Servaes, 2020; Shah, 2022). In the case of developing nations like Nigeria, development is often measured in terms of improvement in education, healthcare delivery, security, governance, infrastructure and reduction of poverty.

Anaeto and Anaeto (2010) in Odebiyi and Olawuyi (2023), argues that development initiatives should actively involve populations at the grassroots to ensure the sustenance and relevance in the development. Similarly, Soola (2003), as cited in Bello and Aminu (2021), argues that development should be "of the people, by the people, and for the people" which means that there should be inclusiveness and social equity. These views are in line with current development discourse that emphasizes participatory governance and community engagement (Servaes & Malikhao, 2021).

Development communication, therefore, is born as a strategic process in which the communicational instruments, and especially the mass media, are used to support social change and national growth. Development communication aims at not only information but education, mobilisation and empowerment of citizens to be actively involved in development programmes (Manyozo, 2020). In Nigeria, the media have a vital role to play in bridging the information gap between policy makers and citizens, especially among the rural and underserved communities (Hamza, 2023). Scholars, however, have criticised many government-led development initiatives as being short-term and reactive instead of sustainable. Amodu et al. (2016) argues that policy solutions frequently act to solve short-term problems, but in the process create long-term challenges. This strengthens the role of the media in maintaining the discourse of development, to monitor the implementation of policies and to hold leaders accountable. As Tsegyu and Ogoshi (2015) observe, the mass media are indispensable instruments in the achievement of the national development goals.

#### **Nigerian Newspapers and Developmental News**

Newspapers are still one of the most influential platforms of traditional mass media in Nigeria, despite the spread of digital and social media. Their perceived credibility, permanence and analytical depth makes them especially relevant for development communication (Aiyesimoju & Awoniyi, 2022). Nigerian newspapers are regularly publishing news on developmental issues such as education reform, security challenges, infrastructure deficits, governance, corruption, access to healthcare and environment sustainability (Sanusi et al, 2022).

A number of studies have focused on the role of Nigerian newspapers in calling the attention of the problems of development. Sanusi et al. (2022) has concluded that newspapers had a significant influence on the public's awareness of national issues by deciding which topic was or was not to be given prominence. Similarly, Odebiyi and Olawuyi (2023) noted that the media coverage on development gives identity and public comprehension of national priorities. Investigative journalism by newspapers has also been credited to have exposed corruption and mismanagement thereby promoting transparency and accountability (Apata & Ogunwuyi, 2019).

Beyond agenda setting, newspapers in their various forms are often advocates for social change through the way in which they frame issues to promote public debate and policy response (Oyedokun, 2022). However, Nigerian newspapers are faced with various constraints such as financial pressures, political interference, inadequate resources to engage in investigative journalism and threats to the safety of journalists (Oyedokun, 2022; Reporters Without Borders, 2024). These challenges can affect editorial decisions and patterns of framing, often resulting in prioritisation of commercially viable stories or politically salient stories over sustained developmental reporting.

Despite these limitations, technological developments, e.g. online editions, multimedia storytelling, and data journalism, have increased the ability of Nigerian newspapers to report development issues in a more comprehensive way. Partnerships with civil society organisations and international development agencies have further increased visibility of the development related content (Bello & Aminu, 2021).

### **Media and the Development of the Nation**

National development is the key to the stability and development of any society. Lawal and Abe (2017) refer to development as being fundamental in the ability of a country to bring quality standards of living for its people. More recent views of national development is the effective management of human and natural resources for the betterment of the collective welfare and economic resilience (Shah, 2022).

A major framework that directs the current development efforts is the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that were adopted by the United Nations, in the year 2015. The SDGs offer a holistic blueprint for working towards poverty, inequality, climate change, education, health and governance by 2030 (United Nations, 2015). Media institutions are recognised as critical stakeholders in achieving these goals owing to their agenda-setting function, sensitive and mobilisation functions (Holt & Barkemeyer, 2022).

Participatory development communication emphasizes the need of the community involvement in identifying the development problems and solutions. Bessette (2004) cited in Anaeto and Anaeto (2019) defines participatory communication as a process to empower communities in dialogic and shared decision-making. Nigerian newspapers, therefore, are expected not only to provide information, but also to form citizen voices and contribute to our development discourse accordingly.

However, studies indicate that the occurrence of SDGs and development issues in the media in Nigeria is inconsistent and uneven (Hamza, 2023). While some goals - such as governance and security - get a lot of attention, others, such as environmental sustainability and social inclusion, tend to be underreported. This imbalance highlights the importance of not only studying the frequency of coverage, but the frames of development problems as well.

### **Framing Theory and Media Frames**

Framing theory provides a useful theoretical framework to explain how development narratives are constructed and presented in the newspapers. The theory, which stems from Goffman (1974) frame analysis, describes the act of individuals interpreting information based on cognitive structures formed by media

presentations. Entman (1993) conceptualises framing as the process of selecting certain aspects of reality and enhancing their salience in order to promote certain interpretations and evaluations.

Framing operates on two levels: both on the production and reception level: journalists use frames to order the content of the news, but audiences use frames to make sense of complex issues (Pan & Kosicki, 2019). Matthes (2009) distinguishes between general conceptual definitions of framing and operational definitions for empirical analysis.

Media frames are usually divided into generic and issue-specific frames (De Vreese, 2015). Generic frames such as conflict, human interest, responsibility, morality, and economic consequence frames are relevant in a wide variety of issues and cultural contexts (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2020). These frames are particularly relevant in the analysis of development reporting because they influence the ways in which problems are framed as structural problems, human experiences, economic challenges or moral obligations.

In the Nigerian context, framing analysis has been applied to such issues as insurgency, political crises, and economic reforms (Felix & Olanahun, 2022; Kayode & Adeniran, 2022). After all, empirical research that systematically uses framing analysis to discuss developmental communication is rare. This lacuna indicates the relevance of the current study in the development of our understanding of the role of newspapers in framing development issues in Nigeria and the concomitant implications of the framing on public discourse and policy engagement.

## **Methodology**

### **Research Design**

This study adopts a quantitative content analysis research design to examine the framing of developmental issues in selected Nigerian newspapers. Content analysis is appropriate for systematically, objectively, and replicably analysing media texts to identify patterns, themes, and frames in news coverage (Krippendorff, 2019; Mihailescu, 2019). The design enables the measurement of both the frequency of developmental communication stories and the types of frames employed in newspaper reportage.

### **Population of the Study**

According to Shukla (2020), a population refers to a large and targeted group of subjects that a researcher draws a sample from to generalize findings. This study's population consists of all articles on developmental communication published in *The Nation* and *The Punch* newspapers from October 2025 to December 2025, with a specific focus on education, politics, and security issues.

The population encompasses:

All articles related to developmental communication in *The Nation* and *The Punch* newspapers during the specified period.

The entire coverage of education, politics, and security issues in both newspapers.

The study's timeframe, October 2025 to December 2025, is significant as it allows for the examination of current trends and issues in newspaper reportage on developmental communication stories. This period provides a substantial amount of data for analysis, enabling the identification of frequency and frames employed in coverage of developmental communication in Nigerian newspapers during the stated period.

**Sample Size**

A sample, according to Shukla (2020) is the part of a research population that represents it completely. He further argues that a sample is a small amount of a research population that gives information about the entire population of the research. Consequently, Out of all the national dailies in Nigeria published between October 1, 2025, to December 31, 2025, The Nation and The Punch newspapers were purposively selected for this study. Thus, a sample size of 184 issues (92 days x 2 editions/day) was carefully drawn and content analysed.

**Data Analysis**

**Objective 1: Frequency of Newspaper Reportage on Developmental Communication Stories**

**Table 4.1: Frequency of Developmental Communication Stories by Newspaper and Month**

Month	The Punch	% of Total	The Nation	% of Total	Total per Month	% of Total
<b>October 2025</b>	52	34.7%	20	13.3%	72	48.0%
<b>November 2025</b>	17	11.3%	15	10.0%	32	21.3%
<b>December 2025</b>	24	16.0%	22	14.7%	46	30.7%
<b>Total</b>	93	62.0%	57	38.0%	150	100.0%

*Source: Researcher’s Field Work, 2026*

Table 4.1 reveals that over the three months, The Punch had more developmental communication stories of 93 stories (62%), while The Nation had 57 stories (38%). October 2025 had the highest coverage with 72 stories, or 48% of the total, which was mostly for its coverage of education reforms, announcements of policies and security developments. November was the lowest with 32 stories, or 21.3%, suggesting a temporary decrease in editorial attention to issues related to development. Coverage increased once again in December with 46 stories (30.7%), with year-end reporting on developmental project and updates. The data reveal that despite the media's focused attention on developmental issues, The Punch showed a greater consistency in its attention than The Guardian, which may indicate a greater editorial prioritisation of development-oriented journalism. The distribution across months further shows that the media coverage in regards to developmental issues is episodic, and is often subject to the political and policy cycles than to constant engagement.t.

**Objective 2: Types of Frames Employed in the Reportage of Developmental Issues**

**Table 4.2: Types of Frames Used in Developmental Communication Stories**

Frame Type	The Punch	% Total	The Nation	% Total	Total	% Total
<b>Responsibility Frame</b>	30	20%	18	12.%	48	32.%
<b>Economic Consequence Frame</b>	25	16.7%	14	9.3%	39	26.%
<b>Human Interest Frame</b>	20	13.3%	7	4.7%	27	18.%
<b>Conflict Frame</b>	10	6.7%	11	7.3%	21	14.%
<b>Morality Frame</b>	8	5.3%	7	4.7%	15	10.%
<b>Total</b>	93	62%	57	38%	150	100%

*Source: Researcher’s Field Work, 2026*

Table 4.2 indicates that the responsibility frame was the most frequently employed, appearing in 48 stories and accounting for 32% of the total corpus. This suggests that newspaper coverage of developmental issues largely emphasizes governmental accountability and institutional responsibility in addressing development

challenges. The economic consequence frame followed with 26%, reflecting a substantial focus on the financial implications and policy outcomes of development programmes. By contrast, the human-interest frame constituted 18% of the stories, indicating a comparatively moderate emphasis on citizens' experiences and the social effects of development initiatives. The conflict frame appeared in 14% of the coverage, typically highlighting political disagreements or tensions surrounding policy implementation, while the morality frame was the least utilized (10%), suggesting limited attention to the ethical dimensions of development discourse.

A comparative examination of the newspapers further reveals subtle editorial differences. The Punch predominantly employed responsibility, economic consequence, and human-interest frames, thereby foregrounding issues of accountability alongside some degree of citizen oriented reporting. In contrast, The Nation demonstrated a slightly greater reliance on conflict and morality frames, indicating editorial tendencies toward highlighting policy disputes and normative considerations.

### **Discussion of Findings**

The results reveal that reporting on developmental communication stories in question, which addressed the topics of education, healthcare, and infrastructure, were reported consistently but not predominantly, with The Punch being more committed to the coverage than The Nation, especially in October 2025, which was probably caused by high-profile events. As an example, the Punch authored a November 2025 article on the subject of Nigeria School Attacks: Protecting Education (IDPE 2025 did not disclose the exact topic of the reporting) and The Nation authored a November 2025 article about the topic of Tinubu Agricultural Revolution Gains Momentum with \$510m Agro-Industrial Zones without specifying the precise subject of the article. This trend can be explained by the fact that Sanusi et al. (2022) identified several frequency differences between developmental issue coverage (political stories prevail), and Yushau (2011), who did not find sufficient coverage of developmental issues in Nigeria newspapers. Nevertheless, the increase in frequency of The Punch contrasts with Jimi and Raheemat (2012), which could be indicative that online media can provide better reporting than print media. According to Framing Theory (Entman, 1993) defining problems and influencing how people are seen is often characterized by high frequency, yet in this case, the moderate results of high frequency is partial framing developmental problems as issues of concern. The Development Media Theory (Schramm, 1964) also focuses on how media can rank development issues, but the less coverage in The Nation indicates that the media are not in full support of the national development goals. This means that the moderate coverage frequency, especially in The Nation, restrains the policy of setting the agenda and promotional development of the media, with political and security matters as the main concern, which aligns with Sanusi et al. (2022).

The findings on framing patterns indicate that the responsibility frame was the most dominant (32%), followed by the economic consequence frame (26%). This distribution suggests that Nigerian newspapers tend to interpret developmental issues primarily through the lenses of government accountability and the economic implications of public policies. Such framing patterns are consistent with the argument that the media play an important role in assigning responsibility for social problems and shaping public expectations of governance. According to Iyengar (1991), responsibility framing encourages audiences to attribute social issues either to government institutions or to specific actors within the policy process. In the Nigerian context, this emphasis may reflect the media's traditional watchdog role in holding public officials accountable for development outcomes.

However, the relatively lower presence of human-interest frames(18%) and morality frames (10%) indicates that developmental reporting still pays limited attention to the lived experiences of citizens and ethical dimensions of development challenges. This finding aligns with earlier studies which argue that Nigerian media institutions often prioritize elite driven narratives and official sources over people centred storytelling (Hamza, 2023; Anaeto & Anaeto, 2019). Scholars within Development Communication have

long emphasized that development journalism should foreground the voices, experiences, and participation of ordinary citizens in order to stimulate public engagement and grassroots solutions.

Nevertheless, some scholars challenge the assumption that Nigerian newspapers consistently shape development discourse in meaningful ways. Critics argue that commercial pressures, political influence, and routine reliance on official information sources often lead to episodic rather than thematic reporting of development **issues**, thereby limiting deeper public understanding (Oso, 2012; Uche, 2015). As noted by Denis McQuail, framing practices are often shaped by newsroom routines, institutional constraints, and prevailing news values.

Overall, while the dominance of responsibility and economic consequence frames suggests that newspapers attempt to highlight accountability and policy implications, the limited use of human-interest and morality frames indicates a missed opportunity to fully humanize development challenges. Expanding the use of people centred frames could therefore enhance citizen engagement and provide a more holistic perspective on development issues in Nigeria.

## **Conclusion**

This research focused on Framing Analysis of Developmental Issues in The Punch and The Nation newspapers from October to December 2025. The results show that coverage of developmental issues is moderate but inconsistent, with The Punch consistently carrying more stories than The Nation. Responsibility and economic consequence frames exceeded other frames, indicating a strong focus on government accountability and the financial aspects of policies. In contrast, human interest and morality frames received underutilization that represented limited attention to the experience of citizens and ethical considerations. These findings thus highlight the powerful role of the newspapers in shaping public understanding of development, while, at the same time, the need for more inclusive and people-centred reporting to help promote citizen engagement and comprehensive public discourse.

## **Recommendations**

Based on the findings, the following recommendations are made:

1. Newspaper outlets should complement the use of human interest and moralistic framing devices to highlight the lived experiences of citizens, as well as the ethical dimensions that are embedded in development related concerns.
2. Media organisations should try to ensure constant and systematic coverage of development issues, not resorting to episodic coverage that depends on particular political or policy cycles.
3. Journalists and editors are encouraged to adopt participatory frameworks to develop communication on development, yet ones that empower communities at the grassroots level to articulate their perspectives and engage in public deliberation around development initiatives.
4. Regulatory agencies that monitor media and professional associations are responsible for providing training and capacity-building programmes to contribute to the development of the skills of journalists in the process of responsibly and effectively framing the development narrative.
5. Policymakers and development agencies should have commissioning relationships with newspapers to ensure they can improve on accurate, people-centric reporting for the purpose of ensuring that information developed reaches a wider audience and creates civic engagement

## References

- Adelabu, O. T., Sanusi, B.O., Talabi, F. O., Alade, M.O., Olatokunbo, A.O., Oloyede, B. (2022). Employing Communication Strategies as Tools for Eradicating Open Defecation in Rural Areas in Southwest Nigeria. *Journal of African Films & Diaspora Studies* 5(3), 39-58.
- Aiyesimoju, A., & Awoniyi, T. (2022). Newspapers and development communication in Nigeria: Issues of credibility, permanence and analytical depth. Lagos: Media Press.
- Amodu, T., Ekanem, S., Yartey, E., Afolabi, O., & Oresanya, K. (2016). Policy solutions and unintended consequences: A review of developmental initiatives in Nigeria. *Journal of Development Policy Studies*, 5(2), 45-61.
- Anaeto, S., & Anaeto, M. (2010). *Communication for development: Principles and practices*. Lagos: Stirling-Horden Publishers.
- Anaeto, S., & Anaeto, M. (2019). Participatory development communication: Empowering the population - via the media. In S. Anaeto & M. Anaeto, *Development communication perspectives*. (pp. 50-60). Lagos: University Press.
- Apata, T., & Ogunwuyi, T. (2019). Investigative journalism and the process of national development in Nigeria. *Nigerian Journal of Media Studies* (2008) 11(1), 23-36.
- Bello, M., & Aminu, R. (2021). Media agenda setting for development in Nigeria: A case study of local newspapers. *Journal of African Media Studies*, vol.13(3), pp.112-130.
- De Vreese, C. (2015). *Media framing: Concepts, methods and applications*. New York: Routledge.
- Elegbe, M., & Adeyemo, K. (2024). Framing the removal of fuel subsidies in the Nigerian newspapers: Implications for public perception *African Communication Research*, 16(1): 77-94.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Towards clearing the air of a broken paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.
- Felix, I., & Olanihun, P. (2022). Media coverage of political events and development in the nation: A Nigerian perspective *International Journal of Studies in Communication* 14(2), 66-80.
- Hamza, A. (2023). *Media And Sustainable Development Goals In Nigeria*. Kaduna: Academic Press.
- Hamza, M. (2023). Media framing and development reporting in Nigerian newspapers. *Journal of Media and Communication Studies*, 15(2), 45–56.
- Holt, D., & Barkemeyer, R. (2022). The role of media for sustainable development: Global perspectives. *Sustainability Journal*, 14(5), 1–15.
- Ikpegbu, T., & Ajaegbu, C. (2025). Editorial framing of climate change in the Nigerian newspapers. *Journal of Environmental Communication*, 19(2):33-48.
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kayode, O., & Adeniran, J. (2022). Media coverage and public perception of development issues: the case of Nigeria. *Nigerian Journal of Communication*, 10(4), 120-135.
- Krippendorff, K. (2019). *Content analysis: An introduction to the methodology* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lawal, B., & Abe, J. (2017). National development and the media: Imperatives of societal development *African Journal of Social Studies*, 8(3):239-248.
- McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's mass communication theory* (6th ed.). London: Sage.
- Matthes, J. (2009). What's in a frame? A content analysis of the media framing studies in the 1990s and 2000s. *Communication Yearbook*, 33, 1–45.
- Manyozo, L. (2020). *Development communication in Africa: Theories and practices*. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Mihailescu, L. (2019). Quantitative Analysis of Communication Research: Content Analysis. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, v.22, no.3, pp.237-251.
- Odebisi, D., & Olawuyi, S. (2023). Newspapers and identity formation in Nigeria: Experiences and perspectives of development coverage. *Journal of Media and Development*. 12(2), 55-71.
- Okorie, U., & Oyedepo, T. (2016). Newspapers and the development of the Nigerian society: An overview of history. *Nigerian Journal of Mass Communication* 10(1), 1-15.

- Oso, L. (2012). Press and politics in Nigeria: On whose side? *Journal of African Media Studies*, 4(1), 7–22.
- Oyedokun, S. (2022). Media advocacy and social change in Nigeria: Newspapers as catalysts for the development. *African Media Review*, 14(1), 44–60.
- Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. (2019). Framing analysis: Theory and practice in communication studies. *Communication Research*, 46(3), 317–333.
- Reporters Without Borders. (2024). World press freedom index 2024. Paris: RSF.
- Sanusi, A., Olanihun, P. & Omipidan, O. (2024). Developmental communication by Nigerian newspapers: Frequency and framing analysis. *Nigerian Journal of Communication Research*, 15(1), 88-103.
- Sani, B. (2024). Media framing of national security issues in Nigerian Newspapers. *Journal of Security and Communication Studies*, 8(2), pp. 23-38.
- Semetko, H., & Valkenburg, P. (2020). Framing European politics: An overview of concepts and approaches. *Political Communication*, 37(1), 1–22.
- Servaes, J. (2020). *Communication for development: An introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Servaes, J., & Malikhao, P. (2021). Participatory development communication: Methods and dilemmas. *Media Asia*, 48(1), 15–25.
- Shah, A. (2022). National development and citizen participation: Views for sustainable growth. *Journal of Development Studies*, 19(2): 1-18.
- Shukla, M. (2020). Research methodology: Concepts, population and sampling. *International Journal of Social Research* 7 (1): 12-25.
- Soola, E. (2003). *Development communication in Africa - theory and practice*. Ibadan: Kraft Books.
- Tsegyu, B., & Ogoshi, P. (2015). Media and national development: The Nigerian case. *Nigerian Media Journal*, 11(2), 45–59.
- Terfa, B., Kwen, L., Isuwa, T., & Abdou, S. (2025). Framing development issues in the Nigerian newspapers: A contemporary analysis. *African Communication Review*, 17(1), 101-120.
- Uche, L. (2015). *Media, development and democracy in Nigeria*. Lagos: African Council for Communication Education.
- United Nations. (2015). *Transforming our world: 2030 agenda for sustainable development*. New York, NY: United Nations.