

# **Newspaper Coverage of Corruption and Insecurity during Buhari's Administration: A Comparative Analysis of *The Nation* and *The Punch* Editorials**



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## **Abstract**

This study comparatively analysed *The Nation's* and *The Punch's* coverage of corruption and insecurity during President Buhari's Administration between May 29, 2015 and December 31, 2022. To accomplish that objective, the study adopted the content analysis technique of investigation. The population of the study consisted of the daily editions of *The Nation* and *The Punch* newspapers from May 29, 2015, to December 31, 2022, totalling 5548 editions (2774 editions of *The Nation* and 2774 editions of *The Punch*). The period studied represented the time from which President Buhari assumed office as president to a time near the end of his regime as specified for this research. The sample for the study consisted of only editorials of the daily editions of the two papers under Buhari's administration within the time frame. The size of the sample arrived at 157 editorials (76 editorials from *The Nation* and 81 editorials from *The Punch*), using the purposive sampling technique. The instruments used were a coding sheet for data gathering and a coding guide for guiding coders. The three supervisors subjected the instrument to face and content validation while for the reliability of the instruments, Holsti's Intercoder Reliability Test was employed from which an acceptable reliability co-efficient of 0.85 was obtained. The quantitative data were analyzed using percentages while the qualitative data were presented textually. Findings showed among other things, that while *The Nation's* editorials failed to trace a direct connection between corruption and insecurity, *The Punch's* editorials established a nexus between corruption and insecurity in President Buhari's administration. The work concluded that *The Punch* is comparatively more socially responsible than *The Nation* with regards to the two papers'

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treatments of President Buhari's handling of corruption and insecurity in their editorials. It was, therefore, recommended among other things, that newspapers should always ensure that they render an accurate interpretation of the relationship between variables in society. Society looks up to the press to help make sense of the world. The press should live up to this journalistic mission and not fall short of its social responsibility.

**Keywords:** *Newspaper coverage, Corruption and insecurity, Buhari administration, The Punch, The Nation, Comparative analysis*

### **Introduction**

Since Nigeria's independence from the British in 1960, the country has developed fairly rapidly but not at the pace expected of it, given the fact that its endowments, both human and natural, give it a comparative advantage to compete with developed nations. Over the years, the country has continued to grapple with maximizing its enormous potential for the greater good of its citizens. This has been largely elusive. It has been elusive because the commonwealth of the people appears to be the prerogative of a privileged few. These few privileged public officers are those to whom the citizens have entrusted our treasury. The treasury is depleting by the day, and this is further plunging the state towards the edge of economic, social and political precipice.

Arguably, two factors could account for why Nigeria is still struggling to succeed in national development. The first is the endemic corruption that has largely assumed the status of a Frankenstein monster and further settled as a pattern. As a Frankenstein monster, corruption has been nurtured to a monstrous status that has eaten into our very essence as a people. The impact of corruption is palpable in every aspect of our nation's life. The impact of corruption if not checked could be far worse as it could cost up to 37% of the Gross Domestic Product. This cost was equated to about \$1,000 per person as of 2014 and could hit \$2,000 per person by 2030 (Akpata, n.d.).

As a pattern, corruption appears to have settled as a norm and is deeply ingrained in our national psyche. Corruption continues to fester as it rides on the strength of a norm. Social norms dictate the extent to which individuals engage and expect others to engage in corruption. Therefore, norms clearly constitute the social environment of corruption (Ocheje, 2018). Arguably, the fact that corruption has settled as a culture is indicative of the wide acceptability it enjoys in our society. Like other cultural practices, corruption is reinforced by systems and persons.

In recent times, the worst hit is the national security architecture. Nigeria is in a war situation as insecurity is further posing a serious threat to our continuous existence as a people. It has metamorphosed from pockets of sectional unrest to a national challenge. The North is grappling with one of the highest insecurity situations with the rise of Boko Haram, Islamic State's West Africa Province (ISWAP), banditry, kidnapping, and cattle rustling among others. In the erstwhile peaceful East, the Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) through their lieutenants in the Eastern Security Network (ESN) has not only heightened the insecurity situation with incessant attacks on police stations in the affected states but seem to have the governments of affected states contending with them for authority and legitimacy. The West is grappling with cases of kidnapping, armed robbery, and herder-farmer attacks. The region has witnessed a series of bank robberies in the past years. The South-South is also witnessing an increase in economic insecurity with cases of oil bunkering and cultism still thriving.

The nexus between corruption and insecurity stems from the fact that those involved in criminal acts operate under the alibi of a failed socio-economic situation that is characterized by economic deprivation, unemployment, illiteracy, a high number of out-of-school children, declining Human Development Index, diversion of funds for security hardware and software, population growth among others. Corruption accounts for the high rate of hunger and unemployment in the land. Otherwise, how does one explain the fact that the number of industries is not enough to cater for the teeming unemployed workforce of the nation? Existing industries are operating far below par and even struggling to stay afloat. The point is that corruption triggers social inequality and injustice. When funds and other resources meant to provide social infrastructure are diverted to private pockets, the ordinary people are the most because they are deprived of even basic amenities and they lose their self-worth.

Consequently, the watchdog and surveillance functions of the media saddle them with the cardinal responsibility to bring to bear topical and public interest stories like corruption and insecurity. Apart from political stories that frequently adorn media spaces, reports of corruption and more recently insecurity seem to have secured regular seats as well. The sensitivity of these two issues makes it a beautiful bride as it were for journalists. More so, it is the level of prominence and proximity to corruption and insecurity that make them a necessary subject matter and speaking point in the media and public discourses. Prominence in this context borders on the imposing nature of corruption and insecurity that they have now become one deserving of mention. Their proximity value is in terms of the palpability of their impact on the collective psyche of society. Not only do they meet the conditions for news selection, but they also mirror the Nigerian state and further indicate media efforts in addressing these social maladies.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Corruption and insecurity are the two major challenges confronting the Nigerian nation. More worrisome is the attendant effect these are having on citizens and indeed every facet of our national life. Now, Nigeria is going through one of its most critical moments. Endemic corruption as evident in kleptomaniac propensities has left a nation with such massive economic potentials gasping for breath and relying on stupendous borrowings to service the same corrupt system. While it has been part of our national life over the years, it has assumed the posture of culture –more of a way of life. This is at the base of the festering posture of the corruption malady in Nigeria. More troubling is that the journalism profession seems to have been caught in the intricacies of corruption and insecurity. The media have been part of the corruption syndicate (Oshunkeye, cited in Kamaldeen, Arikewuyo, Kayode, Abdulbaqi & Aliagan, 2020). Many journalists taste the forbidden fruit called 'brown envelop' and what we now have as news (either on corruption or insecurity) could just be compromised contents. The seeming unholy romance with the forces of corruption has hemmed in the media from effectively carrying out their functions as society's watchdog. The danger of this is that it has not only blurred media visibility in identifying and tackling acts of corruption but has also made blunt its teeth to 'bite' corrupt public officeholders and other perpetrators. This, therefore, raises concern as to how media reports on corruption and insecurity are represented and the implication of this to addressing factors responsible for them. Arguably, media content now provides some leads to journalists' affinity to political, ethnic, or religious inclinations. The attendant implication of this is that media reports

could be seen to give colouration to corruption and insecurity which may not allow for fairness in representation. In this regard, it brings to the fore the extent to which representations of corruption and insecurity in President Buhari's administration have been influenced by political, ethnic, or religious biases. This further probes the sanctity of the public interest doctrine that largely guides journalism practice. When subjected to unbiased public scrutiny, could these newspaper reports pass the test of overriding public interest? Consequently, the media have reported some notable cases of corruption during President Buhari's administration. Foremost among them are those of Kemi Adeosun, (former Minister of Finance who resigned because she did not do the compulsory national service), Ibrahim Magu (suspended over allegations of corruption), former Accountant General Ahmed Idris (over a case of fraud to the tune of N109 billion). It is contentious how newspaper reports have transcended the frenzy of merely reporting these cases to a sustained trial to a logical conclusion and the right punishment meted to the perpetrators. The same could be said of high-profile security cases. In the fight against corruption and insecurity, the question of the media's consistency and follow-up to the closure of these cases comes to mind. The seeming inability of the media reports to constantly juxtapose the government's statement against prevailing realities is an issue of concern for this study. Media tracking of public statements does not only check the government but also forms public opinion. Furthermore, there are debates as to whether in the Nigerian context, there exists a nexus between corruption and insecurity. To this end, have newspaper editorials effectively established a correlation between corruption and insecurity in President Buhari's administration?

### **Objectives of the Study**

The following were the objectives of this study:

1. Compare the frequency of *The Nation's* and *The Punch's* treatments of corruption and insecurity in their editorials.
2. Investigate the frames of *The Nation's* and *The Punch's* editorials in the light of their intent to take a position on tackling corruption and insecurity in President Buhari's administration.
3. Find out whether *The Nation's* and *The Punch's* editorials establish a nexus between corruption and insecurity in President Buhari's administration

### **Theoretical Framework and Literature Review**

One theory underpins this work: Framing Theory. Framing theory posits that the angle or slant with which a matter is presented by, say, a newspaper to its readers will colour the view that the readers will have of that matter. Framing theory was propounded by Erving Goffman in 1974. Goffman avers that because of the way the media presents a thing, it can preempt the way the readers interpret the things presented to them (Goffman, 1974). Volkmer (2009) expatiates this:

Framing theory emerged in the mass media age of the 1970s. In the United States, this was a time when media research began to address quite specific forms of media influence on audiences. Among other issues, media research began to address the powerful role of national mass media in shaping political issues within the national public. As audiences were exposed to

continuous information streams, it became obvious that media... powerfully create world perceptions and political discourse (p. 408).

Walter Lippman states that newspapers do frame “stereotypes that serve as pictures in our heads” (Volkmer, 2009, p. 408). Entman (1993) submits that framing “is really the imprint of power – it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text” (p. 55). Volkmer(2009) states that “the frame of a story about the environment”, for example, “can be quite different in conservative or liberal media outlets” (p. 408).

Many scholars consider framing theory as an expansion of agenda-setting theory (Frenkel-Faran & Lehman-Wilzig, 2007; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Volkmer, 2009; Ndinojuo, Ihejirika & Okon, 2018). Ndinojuo et al. (2018) state that framing theory is “the second dimension of the agenda-setting theory” (p. 10); meaning that agenda-setting theory is the first dimension that puts the matter on the agenda for the readers to think about it, and framing theory is the second dimension which presents a slant or angle that seeks to “lead [audiences] to accept one meaning over another because of how the issue is projected” (Ndinojuo, Ihejirika & Okon, 2018, p. 10).

Whilst agenda-setting theory emphasizes the issues (Weiss, 2009), framing theory presents a slant or an angle to the issues. Agenda-setting influences what an audience thinks about (Cohen, 1963) while framing influences how an audience thinks about what they think about. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) posit that “agenda setting refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis placed on certain issues and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences” (p. 11). McCombs and Shaw (1972) who propounded agenda-setting theory in the first place, thought so too. Framing theory stretches beyond emphasis and zeroes in on slant. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) state that framing “is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences” (p. 11).

This study relied on framing theory to explain how newspapers in Nigeria give colouration to the reportage on corruption and insecurity in Buhari's administration. Framing theory is an appropriate theory for explaining such colorations if any, hence the adoption of the theory in this study.

The link between corruption and insecurity can be found in the effect of every deviant behaviour among any group of people. Whatever that is anti-social will certainly negate societal progress. Aidelomon (2016) vividly paints this picture when he notes that the spectre of underdevelopment has loomed large over most of sub-Saharan Africa and especially Nigeria since time immemorial. The cancerous consequences of underdevelopment assume deeply rooted sociological features that are manifested in a seemingly closed cycle of cause-and-effect relations. Of such features, corruption and insecurity are perhaps the two most salient and, therefore, arguably primary causes of underdevelopment in the country.

Adisa, Ahmad, Ahmed, Shuhairimi, Udende, Nor'izah, Abubakar, Maskor and Ahmad (2018) carried out a study entitled *Comparative Analysis of Public Officers' Corruption Framing in Newspapers*. The study was conducted to compare the prevalence of frames on corruption of public officers in the reportage of three Nigerian newspapers – *Daily Trust*, *The Guardian* and *The Punch*. The study under review used quantitative content analysis methodology, gathering data from editions of the three newspapers over six months (from January to June 2016). The stated rationale of the study under review

for selecting this period was that this was the period not long after President Buhari was elected and sworn in and particularly the period when he had just formally announced his administration's commencement of implementation of his executive policy against corruption. Also, consequent upon this announcement, this period was "the heightened time where media were given an enormous edge to report governmental cases of corruption in Nigeria, thereby provoking active discussion of corruption by public officials and civil servants" (pp. 74-75).

The study under review used the systematic sampling technique to select 152 articles from the population of the editions of the three newspapers for the selected period. The sampling technique used a random procedure for drawing the selection. Using the principle of the nth subject, "the 4th, 10th, 16th, 22nd and 28th editions of each newspaper formed the sample of the study for each month during the six-month study period" (p. 75). The coding categories of the study under review were economic consequence, responsibility attribute, treatment recommendations, and also, differences in the frame elements by the selected newspapers.

The findings of the study under review showed that:

- 1) 63.8% of the articles on corruption framed the economic consequence of corruption as financial losses.
- 2) 79.6% of the articles from the three newspapers attributed responsibility for eradicating corruption on the Nigerian government, on "those that hold the power-that-be" and on "those who pilot the affairs of governance." (p. 82)
- 3) Responsible governance was the dominant treatment of corruption in the frames of all the newspapers.
- 4) On the whole, there was a significant difference in the framing of corruption in the three newspapers.

The findings of the study under review are relevant to the present study, no doubt. However, it is still not known from the study under review the nexus between corruption and insecurity, if any. The present study will ascertain this.

### **Methodology**

As its research design, the study adopted content analysis. The reason for adopting content analysis for the study was that the research questions of the study could better be answered by this method than by any other.

The population of the study consisted of the daily editions of *The Nation* and *The Punch* newspapers from May 29, 2015, to December 31, 2022, totalling 5548 editions (2774 editions of *The Nation* and 2774 editions of *The Punch*). This time frame of May 29, 2015, to December 31, 2022, represented the time from which President Buhari assumed office as president to the nearest recent date delimited for purposes of this research.

The sample for the study consisted of only editorials of the daily editions of the two papers under Buhari's administration within the time frame. The size of the sample arrived at was 157 editorials (76 editorials from *The Nation* and 81 editorials from *The Punch*).

The sampling technique for selecting this sample was purposive sampling. The criteria for selection were that the editorials were centred on corruption and insecurity

and that they were based on events that occurred under the watch of the Buhari administration.

The instruments used for gathering data from the sample were a coding guide used for guiding coders and a coding sheet used for the actual data-gathering activity. There were three coding categories:

1. Frequency of treatment
2. Frames
3. Nexus between corruption and insecurity

Two validity measures were employed:

- 1) Face validity: i.e. judging whether the coding category on its face value was a valid measure of what it set out to measure;
- 2) Content validity: judging whether the definition of what was to be measured was contained in the coding category (Neuman, 2014).

The three experts supervising the research carried out the validity checks on the instrument using these two validity measures, and modifications were made to the categories where necessary.

For the reliability of the instruments, Holsti's Intercoder Reliability Test was employed, using the Holsti Intercoder Reliability Formula which is given as:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$$

where:

M= the number of coding decisions on which the two coders agree.

N1 and N2 = the number of coding decisions by the first and second coders respectively

Thirteen (13) coding decisions were taken by each of the coders, of which the two coders agreed on 11 of the decisions. The reliability of the instrument was therefore tested thus:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2(11)}{13+13}$$

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{22}{26}$$

$$\text{Reliability} = 0.85$$

The reliability result from the Holsti Test was 0.85, which confirmed that the study's instrument was reliable.

The quantitative data were presented in tables while the qualitative data were presented textually. Analysis of the quantitative data is by simple percentage while analysis of the qualitative data is by discourse analysis (DA).

### **Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion of Findings**

The data from the study are presented and analyzed in this section.

A distribution of the sample editorials according to the year of their publication is presented in Table 1 that follows.

**Table 1: Distribution of the Sample Editorials according to the Year of their Publication**

Newspaper	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total
<i>The Nation</i>	5	7	8	10	11	11	11	13	76
<i>The Punch</i>	4	5	9	9	10	12	15	17	81
<b>Total</b>	9	12	17	19	21	23	26	30	<b>157</b>

From the data presented above, more editorials on corruption and insecurity under Buhari's administration by the two papers were published between 2019 and 2022, the last 4 years of the tenure of the Buhari administration, than in the first four years.

**The Comparative Frequency of *the Nation's* and *The Punch's* Treatments of Corruption and Insecurity during President Buhari's Administration**

The data on the comparative frequency of the two papers' treatments of corruption and insecurity are presented in Table 2 below:

**Table 2: Comparative frequency of treatment of corruption and insecurity by the two papers**

Year	Theme	Newspaper		Total	
		<i>The Nation</i> (f)	<i>The Punch</i> (f)		
2015	Corruption	2	2	4	
	Insecurity	Terrorism	2	1	3
		Banditry	-	-	-
2016	Corruption	Farmer-Herder Conflict	1	1	2
		Corruption	3	2	5
	Insecurity	Terrorism	2	1	3
Banditry		-	-	-	
2016	Corruption	Farmer-Herder Conflict	1	1	2
		Corruption	3	2	5
	Insecurity	Terrorism	3	2	5
Banditry		-	-	-	
2017	Corruption	Farmer-Herder Conflict	1	1	2
		Corruption	3	3	6
	Insecurity	Terrorism	2	3	5
Banditry		1	2	3	
2018	Corruption	Farmer-Herder Conflict	2	1	3
		Corruption	2	3	5
	Insecurity	Terrorism	4	3	7
Banditry		1	1	2	
2019	Corruption	Farmer-Herder Conflict	3	2	5
		Corruption	3	4	7
	Insecurity	Terrorism	5	4	9
Banditry		1	1	2	



		Farmer-Herder Conflict	2	1	2
	Corruption		3	3	6
2020	Insecurity	Terrorism	3	4	7
		Banditry	2	2	4
		Farmer-Herder Conflict	3	3	6
	Corruption		3	5	8
2021	Insecurity	Terrorism	4	6	10
		Banditry	2	2	4
		Farmer-Herder Conflict	2	2	4
	Corruption		5	6	11
2022	Insecurity	Terrorism	5	7	12
		Banditry	1	2	3
		Farmer-Herder Conflict	2	2	4
<b>Total</b>			<b>76</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>157</b>

**Research Question 1: What is the comparative frequency of *The Nation's* and *The Punch's* treatments of corruption and insecurity in their editorials?**

The data from the population of editorials of the two newspapers studied showed that 157 of them (76 editorials from *The Nation* and 81 editorials from *The Punch*) were editorials themed on corruption and insecurity under the Buhari administration. Further analysis of the data showed that the distribution of the frequency of the editorials was weighted more toward the last four years of the Buhari administration (64% between 2019 and 2022) than to the first four years (2015-2019). A possible explanation of this weightedness towards the second term of the administration is that the widespread disappointment and frustrations in the Nigerian public over the repeated failure of the administration to curb corruption and insecurity in its first term gave rise to more editorials on the two themes in the administration's second term. This explanation is informed by findings from the study by Ekanem and Sobowale (2017) entitled, *Anti-corruption Promises and Print Media: The Case of Nigeria*, which established that Goodluck Jonathan's anti-corruption promises heightened print media interest in corruption matters, and consequently increased print media coverage of the subject matter under his administration.

Buhari, whose pre-election campaign centred majorly on curbing corruption and insecurity, assumed the presidency of Nigeria in 2015 inspiring much hope and expectation in the minds of Nigerians that, if nothing else, he would be able to rein in corruption and insecurity. His first term in office, between 2015 and 2019, was dismally nonperforming in the estimation of most Nigerians. His failure to deliver on his promise to curb corruption and insecurity in his first term is a plausible explanation for the increased frequency of editorials on corruption and insecurity by the two papers during his second term.

Also, the data showed another trend worth discussing. At the beginning of Buhari's administration, the frequency of *The Nation's* editorials on corruption and insecurity surpassed the frequency of *The Punch's*. However, from the commencement of Buhari's second term in office and leading up towards the end of his administration, the data showed the frequency of *The Punch's* editorials on corruption and insecurity incrementally surpassing the frequency of *The Nation's* editorials on the two subject matters. This trend is explainable partly by the fact of *The Punch's* editorial policy leaning towards activism and partly by the fact of *The Nation's* ownership being understandably

sympathetic to the Buhari administration. At the outset of the first term of the Buhari administration, *The Punch's* editorials on corruption and insecurity were mostly endorsements of Buhari. In those initial days of Buhari's first term, *The Nation's* editorials on Buhari's promise of curbing corruption and insecurity were frequent and mostly made the point that the nation made the right choice by voting for Buhari to be president at that time.

However, after Buhari's administration failed to deliver on its promise to rein in corruption and insecurity in its first term, *The Punch's* activist leaning spurred it to respond to the administration's failure with a series of editorials censuring the administration for the "cluelessness" of the president.

**Research Question 2: How do *The Nation's* and *The Punch's* frames reflect their position on tackling corruption and insecurity in President Buhari's administration?**

From the data on the editorials of the two papers, it was found that both *The Nation's* and *The Punch's* frames reflected somewhat similar positions on tackling corruption. For example, both newspapers advocate information sharing by the government and access to information for all citizens as a critical step towards tackling corruption. Institutional reforms including firm policies for accountability and transparency are similarly advocated by both papers. More systematic approaches and better intelligence by anti-corruption institutions are also advocated in common by the two papers.

For tackling insecurity, the position of both papers was hardly inspiring. The steps advocated by both newspapers were found to be commonplace on the whole. This study assesses that on the count of their positions on tackling insecurity, both *The Nation* and *The Punch* fall short of the responsibility that the Social Responsibility Theory puts on the press. The press ought to be a hub of elevated thinking for society, a think-tank for the nation, and a beacon of enlightenment whenever society finds itself bereft of solutions. In this instance of generating solution ideas for reining in insecurity, both *The Nation* and *The Punch* fall short of the responsibility that the Social Responsibility Theory puts on the press.

**Research Question 3: How do *The Nation's* and *The Punch's* editorials establish a nexus between corruption and insecurity in President Buhari's administration?**

From the editorials of the two papers examined, *The Nation* admitted to a nexus between poverty and insecurity but hardly expresses a nexus between corruption and insecurity. The paper establishes a connection between poverty and insecurity but makes no direct mention of corruption in relation to insecurity.

The paper states that "for a more realistic appreciation of why the insecurity disorder in Nigeria is aggravating increasingly, particularly under the watch of the Muhammadu Buhari regime which has duelling insecurity as one of its three-fold objectives (the other two being economic transformation and anti-corruption), it makes sense to avoid the specious reasons and superficial justifications that the floundering Buhari administration and its uncritical supporters spin tirelessly. To better appreciate why insecurity continues to cheapen lives and make peaceful workaday living extra stressful in Nigeria, we must examine, one, Nigeria's federal system; two, the nexus between poverty and insecurity; three, the quality of democracy in practice; and four, the question of (in)justice."

*The Nation* directly connects poverty to insecurity but not corruption. Other factors – Nigeria’s federal system, the quality of democracy in practice, and the question of (in)justice – are connected directly to insecurity in the editorial but not corruption.

However, in *The Punch’s* treatments, corruption is directly connected to insecurity. While poverty is stated as one of “the factors responsible for the downward slide in the security of the country”, corruption is stated as the “key trigger and driver of insecurity”. The title of one of *The Punch’s* editorials – *The Nexus between Corruption and Insecurity* – establishes the paper’s position of a direct nexus between corruption and insecurity. An excerpt from the said editorial explains this position: "There are several established factors responsible for an exponential increase in the crimes and criminality ongoing in the country. Among them are high rates of unemployment and poverty. There are also our porous borders which make it easy for smuggling of small arms and light weapons. Equally is the expansionist agenda of the national and international terror groups such as Boko Haram, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, al Qaeda, al Shabab and many others. Lack of birth control leading to overpopulation has also been identified as a push factor as this is said to have accounted for the increase in out-of-school children who grow to become societal terrors. However, a key trigger and driver of insecurity is corruption." While it was found that *The Nation* hardly traces a nexus between corruption and insecurity, *The Punch* establishes a strong connection between the two.

### **Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations**

The study was conducted to provide a comparative analysis of the treatment of corruption and insecurity under the Buhari administration by two editorially divergent newspapers.

The study reached the following findings:

1. On the whole, *The Punch* treated corruption and insecurity in its editorials more frequently than *The Nation* in the course of the Buhari administration.
2. Both *The Nation* and *The Punch* frame positions for tackling insecurity which are rather uninspired, uninspiring and commonplace.
3. While *The Nation’s* editorials failed to trace a direct connection between corruption and insecurity, *The Punch’s* editorials established a nexus between corruption and insecurity in President Buhari’s administration.

From the findings of the study, it can be concluded that *The Punch* was comparatively more socially responsible than *The Nation* with regard to the two paper's treatment of President Buhari's handling of corruption and insecurity in their editorials. *The Punch* treated corruption and insecurity in its editorials more frequently than *The Nation* in the course of the Buhari administration. The positions of both *The Nation* and *The Punch* on how to tackle corruption are uninspired and commonplace. While *The Nation* fails to trace a connection between corruption and insecurity, *The Punch* establishes a clear nexus between corruption and insecurity

The following recommendations were made towards having more socially responsible gatekeeping by *The Nation* and *The Punch*, and by other newspapers:

1. Newspapers should treat corruption and insecurity more frequently in their editorials and not just in their news.

2. Newspapers should always think through the positions they take in advancing reforms towards curbing corruption, insecurity or indeed any menace in society, to ensure that the positions they advance to society are not only inspired but also inspiring.
3. Newspapers should always ensure that they render an accurate interpretation of the relationships between variables in society. Society looks up to the press to help society make sense of the world. The press should live up to this journalistic mission and not fall short of its social responsibility.

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