The Guardian and *the Punch* Newspapers' Framing of Budgetary Provision for the Security Sector in a Rentier State

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Abstract
This study adopts a content analytical approach to examine *the Guardian* and *the Punch* newspapers' framing of budgetary provision for the security sector in a Rentier State. This research work aims to empirically ascertain newspaper framing of budgetary provision for the security sector in a Rentier State. The findings of this study revealed the following: That budgetary allocation to the security sector was not given prominence in the select newspapers. The select newspapers reported on security and budget which emphasized the shortage of funding to the security sector from the national budget while reports were not narrowed down to the provision of the budget for the security sector.

Keywords: *Newspapers, Framing of Budgetary Provision, Security Sector, Rentier State*

Introduction
All over the world, meaningful development cannot take place in an atmosphere of chaos and anarchy. Thus a secured environment is a sine qua non for peace and sustainable development. This is the reason behind every government striving to create a peaceful atmosphere.

Nigeria's historical experience is replete with various degrees of internal and external threats and unrests ranging from constitutional crises; the civil war; census crises; election crises; inter-state boundary clashes; coups and counter-coups, etc.

Countries often put in a lot of thought when preparing a budget for a fiscal year and it goes through various steps before a nation's budget is finalized. As highlighted by economists, a government's budget is an annual financial statement that summarizes the projected government expenditure and expected government receipts or revenues for the forthcoming fiscal year. A budget could be balanced, surplus, or deficit. Nigeria has been ascribed to having deficit budgets within the past 20 years largely because of its over-dependence on oil and the fact that the country has been described as a rentier state in

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crisis. In 2017, Algeria also experienced a deficit budget due to a decline in profit from revenue. Any government that depends on rent will always be in a deficit. (Addeh, 2019).

In 2017, seven thousand, two hundred and ninety-eight trillion naira (N7.298tn) was budgeted and eighty-seven billion naira (87bn) was allocated to the security sector while in the year 2018, nine hundred and twelve trillion naira (N9.12tn) was budgeted and five hundred and seventy-six billion naira (N576 bn) was allocated. In 2019, eight thousand and eighty-three trillion naira (N8.83tn) was budgeted and one thousand and three trillion naira (N1.03trn) was allocated to the security sector and in the year 2020, ten thousand, seven hundred and twenty-nine trillion naira (N10.729tn) was budgeted and one hundred billion naira (N100bn) was allocated to the security sector. These figures, shows that the Nigerian government budgets between 8% and 15%. Some have argued that this percentage is small and maybe one of the attributes of a rentier state. (Nigeria Budget).

Rentier state theory (RST) is a political economy theory that analyses state-society relationships in states that generate a large percentage of their revenue from rents, or externally-derived, unproductively-earned payments (Gray, 2011 as cited by Dudovskiy, 2014). Rents usually got from royalties. It could also be from payments for oil and gas exports, but other income such as fees and aid typically are considered rents as well. The main concept of rentier states is that they derive more of their revenue from other states which most time is as a result of renting out their resources to these externals (Dudovskiy, 2014).

This concept has evolved several times and is used to describe some countries known as The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) with states like Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) which are endowed with resources. This list includes some other Africa countries like Nigeria, Algeria, Gabon, Angola, and Uganda. The rentier theory emerged when scholars were trying to explain countries that depended on rent that experienced the oil boom in the mid-1970s. Nigeria as well as other rentier countries with rentier economies receives rent for its large deposit of oil and resources. When there is a shift in oil price, the amount for the revenue will also be affected which most often than not leads to a deficit in the budget of a country. A sharp decline of crude oil amounts from 2014 to early 2016 led Nigeria into a recession that added to the country's already long list of problems. Also, the violent Boko Haram terrorism, low life expectancy, inadequacies in public health systems, income inequalities, high illiteracy rates, and endemic corruption are the problems encountered by many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore, experts insist that it is important for Nigeria to come up with plans for diversification of its economy to reduce the over-dependence on rent from outside clients.

In all these, media framing plays an instrumental part in any decision made by the government because it helps to determine the opinion of the public concerning a particular issue in society. The media is responsible for the national development of a nation. Development changes or advances a nation intended at refining the political, economic, and social aspects of the human race. Several types of research have proven that there is a positive relationship between the media and national development. The media which is usually referred to as the fourth estate of the Realm is responsible for the checks and balances of the three arms of Government and has the power to influence the people and also the Government. The media is the eye through which the people see the

government and it has become especially important for the media to be directly involved in the area of economic development where budgetary allocation to the security sector exists. In the budget, the media could be seen as a tool for advocacy. The media is an instrument to increase public awareness as well as change public opinion about an issue concerning budget allocation (International Budget Partnership, 2019). The media also function as the watchdog of any society. In their 'watchdog' role, the channels of the news media can be utilized to boost government transparency, accountability, and public inspection of decision-makers in power, by displaying policy failures, maladministration by public officials, corruption in the judiciary, and scandals in the corporate sector.

Some observers believe that the media have played a major role in enlightening the people about budget talks, procedures, and release dates and given detailed analysis, breakdown, and interpretation of the budget to clarify any misinformation and misunderstanding by the common man (Benjamin, 2018).

Newspapers and the media, in general, help people to understand governments' operations, political decisions and hold the government responsible and accountable for its decisions.

Statement to the Problem

A lot of works have been done on security issues; however, some of these numerous works have captured the essence of security and budget allocation together. The fact that there is no significant improvement in the security sector of Nigeria clearly attributed to the increase in the crime rate. This index indicates the poverty rate in Nigeria and the negligence of the Nigerian government to protect and safeguard the lives of the people. With budget allocation that does not meet several requirements in the security sector, and how newspapers report these issues that exist in a country that majority of its revenue percentage is gotten from internal natural resources is now under scrutiny.

Benjamin (2018) captured newspaper framing of budgetary provisions for the health sector. Addeh (2019) also captured newspaper framing of budgetary provisions for the education sector. Literature review so far shows that a few studies have been conducted on the media, budgetary allocation, and the security sector. Hence, this study is carried out to find out the veracity of newspaper framing of the budgetary provision for the security sector in a rentier state.

Research Questions

The following research questions guide the study:
1. What level of prominence do *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers give to budgetary allocation for the security sector in Nigeria?
2. What is the dominant frame used by *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers to report the budgetary allocation for the security sector in Nigeria?
3. What volume of coverage do *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers give to budgetary allocation for the security sector in Nigeria?
4. What is the dominant newspaper genre used by *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers in reporting budgetary allocation for the security sector in Nigeria?

Research Hypothesis

H₁: There is a significant difference between *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers framing of budgetary provision for the security sector in Nigeria.

H$_0$: There is no significant difference between *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers framing of budgetary provision for the security sector in Nigeria.
Literature Review

The Concept of Rentier State
The concept of rent has been defined by various scholars in economics and political science. Some of the principal founders were Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, and David Ricardo of the classical school in the 18th century. Rent was seen as the income derived from the ownership of land and other natural resources in fixed supply. This definition was used as part of the justification of the distribution of income within the society which was divided into landlords, labourers, and businessmen (or the "moneyed classes"). James Anderson opined that rent ascends due to the variance in the fertility of lands. According to him, to strengthen farming creation when broad development is finished then lesser land is additionally brought under development. Therefore, more produce gotten from moderately higher land is called rent. But, David Ricardo, a British political economist of the eighteenth century defined the term as "that portion of the produce of the earth which is paid to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil". For him, the idea of rent plays a central role in his statement of diminishing returns. (Addeh 2019).

Early economists saw rent from the perspective of the cultivation of land by farmers who pay the owners of the land a certain amount. But, Adam Smith took another standpoint. According to Smith (1776) as cited by Das (2018):

> The rent of the land...is naturally a monopoly price. It is not at all proportioned to what the landlord may have laid out upon the improvement of the land, or to what he can afford to take, but to what the farmer can afford to give. (p.3)

Based on Smith's assertion on rent, the rentier concept was yet again defined around the second decade of the twentieth century in the Marxist rent theory. The Marxist theory emphasized the monopoly power exercised by landlords, without which rents cannot exist.

Hussein Mahdavy is accepted as the first scholar to lay out the fundamentals of rentiers as a term and concept. According to Mahdavi, a rentier state receives significant rents from "foreign individuals, concerns, or governments". He categorized rentier states as countries that obtain significant amounts of external rent consistently. Before this it was categorized by early economists as rent, later referred to it as rentier capitalism (Rentnerstaat) or usurer state by Marxists. Beblawi refined Mahdavy's definition and contended that a rentier state is one where the rents are paid by external actors, accumulated straightforwardly to the state (Sarajuddin, 2014).

Beblawi (1990) illustrated three essential qualities of a rentier state to include: (a) rent circumstances must be in the prevail (b) the rent must come outside the country different from the home country (c) the public authority must be the chief recipient of the external rent in the economy meaning that the rents are given to the government directly. The implications imply that rentiers often convert rentier states into mono-product economies where (i) the little industrious activities are largely confined at the level of primary production necessary for oil exploration (ii) the Public sector is predominate

over the private sector (iii) there is in the private sector the dominance of informal sector over the formal sector (Agbo & Ikoli, 2018).

The concept of rentier state theory emerged when scholars were trying to explain countries that depended on rent and experienced the oil boom in the mid-1970s and 1980s. The theory was used to describe some of the most fundamental questions about the political economy of oil-exporting states and to explain the "democracy deficit" in the region, the development hurdles faced by many oil states, and the nature of both elite politics and wider state-society interactions. This concept over time has advanced and is used to define several countries known as The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) with states like Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) which are endowed with resources including some other Africa countries like Nigeria, Algeria, Gabon, Angola and Uganda (Gray, 2011).

Nigeria is a typical example of a rentier state. Nigeria is a nation that is independent with vast human resources and mineral deposits, the extraction, refining or, lease to foreign countries or multinational companies to process, while the corporations in turn credit the revenue system of Nigeria. Ruthledge (2014) explains that in modern-day rent, the oil-producing countries are the landowners while the OICs (International Oil Companies) are the tenants who pay rent when due (Benjamin, 2017).

Nigeria is regarded as a rentier state largely because it relies on oil as the main source of revenue for the country and formulation of policies that are prejudiced and determined by the underlying forces in the oil sector in disregard to the development of other prolific sectors.

According to Burnell (2011), rentier states are also characterized by conflict between groups to capture a state's rents. Such conflicts may take the form of civil wars, military coups, and/or the manipulation of economic, social, and political systems by elites. Girod (2001) argued that countries with plentiful natural resources are marked by low growth, limited democracy, more war, and failed post-conflict resolutions if they had weak institutions at the time resources were discovered (Cameron, 2017).

Nigeria was earlier described in this study as a country with an abundance of natural resources with oil being one of them and receives rent for it. A lot of scholars have argued that since the emergence of oil in the country there have been claims that abundance in natural resources, particularly oil, encourages hostilities and acrimony through several causal mechanisms and slows down growth. Kew and Lewis (2013), punctured Nigeria as rich resources endowed state that is struggling to distribute or allocate rent to more than 250 competing ethnic groups (Ifaka as cited by Benjamin, 2017).

Why is Nigeria regarded as a Rentier State?
Based on the characteristics of a rentier state suggested by Beblawi as cited by Addeh, Nigeria is regarded as a rentier state for the following reasons:
1. **Possession of Natural resources**: Nigeria has a lot of natural resources or assets.
2. **Rent situations are predominant**: Rent circumstances are transcendent: The rentier circumstance in Nigeria is prevalent, normal, and affects the economy of the nation contrasted with different methods for producing income.
3. **Reliance on external rent**: Nigeria is dependent on the lease of its resources from multinationals and consequently does not require a heavy-duty domestic productive sector.

4. Only a small proportion of the working populace is truly involved in the production of the rent. This is large because Nigeria is not involved in the process of production and thus engaging the populace is low.
5. The state's government is the main beneficiary of the external rent: the Nigerian government generates revenue from rents which is got from multinationals.

Oladiran & Bideme (2019) stated that despite the resources which are owned by Nigeria, oil has tremendously contributed to the high rate of poverty in that region, largely due to the ecologically ill-disposed exploitation of oil and the politics associated with the exploitation and governance of the oil resource in Nigeria. As of 2018, the oil sector employed about 9.61% of the population while the agriculture sector employed 21.65% which is the highest percentage compared to other sectors.

In the past decade, scholars have indicated that any rentier economy will continue to produce a deficit budget. This is as a result of what they earn. What is budgeted for the fiscal year of a nation is dependent on what the nation earns or generates.

Nigeria's allocation of resources over the years has shown that the nation is not ready for national development. This is because Nigeria is not "development-oriented". Although, the nation is the most populated black nation blessed with diverse natural resources it has constantly been addressed as a third-world nation.

Media Coverage of Security Sector: The way forward for Nigeria
In developed countries, the attention and support people give to issues is in direct proportion to the amount of media coverage.

The American government has invaded and fought several wars with different countries, for example, the media was embedded in the operation Iraqi freedom war. This enabled a constant flow of breaking news reports to both American and international audiences through television cable channels and their internet websites. The integration of the media in the prosecution of the Iraqi war greatly influenced the opinion of the Americans. It is on record that the media coverage swayed options in favour of the American Government. The dynamics of media impact on national security are different and vary from country to country.

The Nigeria media derives its functional legitimacy from Chapter 2, Sections 22 of the 1999 Constitutions, which expects the media to keep a check on the routine activities of the authorities, hold the government accountable for good governance, and assist the citizens to evaluate the efficiency of the government.

In carrying out the onerous reportage task, the journalists face an inner dilemma that is evident as a conflict between professional responsibilities to report the truth no matter how it reflects on one's country. The main issue regarding national security –media relation is the problem between secrecy and free society.

This is not peculiar to Nigeria, for example in 2008, the government of the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameroon was reported to have classified Journalists as a threat to national security, treating and placing them routinely as terrorists and criminal hackers in its threat indices.

However, in Nigeria, the relationship between the media and security agencies is of mutual suspicion. In fact, the main issue regarding the national security- media relation is the problem between secrecy and free society.

The media have had several issues with the Military, Nigeria Police Force (NPF), and the State Security Service (SSS) over what these security agencies term "official secret" or " national security breach" Journalists have been invited for questioning just because certain key persons or government policies have been criticized by the media. Security operatives believe and think that once the President or the IGP, DG SSS, or Army Chiefs are criticized by the media, it amounts to a breach of security.

Today journalist is not just an observer but also active player in the national security enterprise. Like any other enterprise, the media is aware of its responsibility to society in an era in which the tradeoff between liberty and security is one of the crucial issues. In society, individuals and groups seek security against the state just as they ask the state to protect them against harm from another state. Human rights and state security are thus related. The most profound choice in terms of national security is the interchange with liberty.

After all, Benjamin Franklin once said "those who would sacrifice liberty for security deserve neither". We have to make some difficult choices between the liberty of society and security. However, we must be aware of the meaning of both words. The link between the media and security is so tight and so risky to say which is most important to society.

Nigeria media practitioners and the Federal government needs to develop a common understanding of our essential standards and national security. For better evaluation and inference of the media role in national security, we must weigh the concept of governance and threat reduction as part of the overall security architecture and help the media to examine the detection or gathering of intelligence, prevention or preventive action of national security issues while covering the government-related stories. In the interest of the nation, security operatives must understand that media equally has a constitutional role to play in nation-building. They, therefore, should not see the media as the enemy of the country, rather capacity building in the area of security reportage should be encouraged.

There must be an interaction between the security agencies and the media practitioners in the interest of national security. The media should also rise to the expectation of the public and use its powers thoughtfully.

Therefore, there should be a pattern shift on the part of the government, security agencies, and its operatives. A starting point for analyzing the national security-media linkage needs a multivariable factorial strategy. This is because, in today's world, technological advances in communication have made the world a global village. Media sensation has changed. The international media such as CNN and BBC with their modern communication technology have no boundary. They present raw events almost in real-time without considering any national security issue. It is my opinion that national-level making decisions and security have been altered by the 24/7 news coverage of the international media. Take, for example, the Chibok issue. People need and want to be informed about issues as it unfolds.

The government and its security agencies must understand the media and the singular power possesses. In this way, the government can make informed decisions by treating the media as a critical element in the national security construction. The government must take the bad with the good and understand that this relationship and its effect on national security decision-making. The relationship between the media and security is a complex one, as such, it requires a great degree of care and cultural change

through the acceptance of the media as a stakeholder in the business of national security. (Crime Fighters, 2017).

Theoretical Framework

Agenda Setting Theory
Agenda setting theory has two assumptions, the first is that the media filters and shapes what we see rather than just reflecting stories to the audience. While, the second assumption is that the more attention the media gives to an issue, the more likely the public will consider that issue to be important.

Agenda setting in this study focuses on how the newspapers place particular emphasis on budgetary provision for the security sector in Nigeria that become the main conversation among the readers, in turn, the public. The more the media create awareness and place emphasis on the budgetary allocation of the security sector, the more the people are drawn to take grasp of it (Alvernia University, 2018). Therefore, Okwechime (2016) as cited by Bamidele (2019) argues that the media establishes salient issues in the mind of the public. He further stated that the agenda-setting function of the media occurs because the media selectively report news, events, and other activities.

Framing Theory
Media framing could be seen from two concepts which are psychological concepts and sociological concepts. The psychological concept looks at the reaction or effect a message or concept has on an individual while the sociological concept looks at people's approach to reality taking into account the contributions of others.

Frames draw attention to some aspects of reality at the expense of others, so to define them, we must take into account what is described and what is left out. Framing is, thus, at the back of the mind of the journalist who is involved in news writing, that is also present in gathering news, as well as reaching the reader through an interpreting process that is required to understand the news report and the reality to which it discusses (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015).

In this study, framing theory looks at how newspaper reports budgetary apportionment to the security sector and its stirring effects on the readers. It considers how the portrayal of the security budget by newspapers informs how the public sees the issue which shapes the reaction of the public and perspective of the government. Here, framing theory proposes that how something is presented to the spectators influences the choices they make about how to process that information.

Research Design
A research method is a systematic plan for conducting research. Moffitt (2018) believes that quantitative methods aim to classify features, count them, and create statistical models to test hypotheses and explain observations while qualitative methods aim for a complete, detailed description of observations, including the context of events and circumstances. However, the method adopted in this study is a quantitative method.

Monette, Sullivan and Dejong (1998, p.201), describe content analysis as a "method of transforming the symbolic content of a document, such as words or other images, from a qualitative unsystematic form to a quantitative, systematic form." To validate their opinions, Walizer and Wiener (1978), cited in Ogbuoshi (2006, p.45), opined that, "content analysis is any systematic procedure designed to examine the content of

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recorded information. This recorded information includes newspapers, magazines, journals, books, and other printed material.

The Population of the Study

This research is primarily concerned with newspaper framing of budgetary provision for the security sector in Nigeria that ranges from the year 2017 to 2020 with two national dailies as the case study. Therefore, these two (2) newspaper publications are the population of study of this work.

The Research population is the universe of the study. It is normally a large collection of individuals or objects that is the main focus of a scientific query. All persons or items within a particular population usually have a common, unique characteristic or trait. It is for the benefit of the population that researches are done. Due to the large sizes of populations, researchers cannot test every single individual, item, or object in the population because it is too costly and timewasting. Two national newspapers (dallies) in Nigeria were purposively selected, they were *The Guardian and The Punch* newspapers.

The two (2) national dailies are the population of study of this work. The study focuses on studying the newspapers' editions of when the budget of each year was proposed by the executive to the legislature and when the budget or Appropriation Bill was signed to become an Act and two (2) months after the appropriation Bill has become an Act. The reason is that, at this period, debates, arguments, and discussions reach the maximum height of scrutiny amongst other issues.

This, therefore, means that the months' understudy will vary from year to year. The period under study is 2017 to 2020, it amounts to 4 years.

A fiscal year is used for government accounting and budget purposes, which vary between countries. Section 11 of the 2016 Appropriation Act reads that: "In line with the provisions of Section 318 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended, this Act will run for 12 months starting from the date it has assented into law". Therefore, Nigeria's Financial Year Act states that the period of the Nigerian financial year is the period starting from the first day of January and terminates on December 31 every year.

For better understanding, the researchers will outline the budget proposal/presentation date for each year, when it was officially signed to be activated and implemented, and two months from when it was signed. To do these, the first year to be considered is the year 2017.

For the fiscal year of 2017, the budget presentation was signed into law on May 11, 2017. Although the law was not final because of the disagreement between the legislative and executive arms of government. Nevertheless, both arms of government came to a compromise and were finally signed by the vice-president of the federal republic of Nigeria, Professor Osibanjo on 11 June 2017. Ranging from 14th December to 11th June the total number of editions published in both *The Guardian and Punch* newspapers was 358 editions, from proposal date to implementation date. From June 12 to August 12 amounted to 61 editions making it a total of 122 editions for both newspapers. The total number of editions for 2017 is 480.

While the year 2018 budget the president formally presented the budget to the National Assembly on November 8, 2017, and it was approved about seven months after June 20, 2018. From November 8, 2017, through to June 20, 2018, the researchers calculated 448 editions for both *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers. From June 21 to

August 21 what happens to be exactly two months after the budget was approved, the published newspapers in that period was 61 editions for each newspaper giving a total of 122 editions for both newspapers. When calculated with the initial 224 editions, the total gotten is 570 editions within the 2018 fiscal year of study.

The year 2019 budget was proposed at a joint session of the National Assembly by the President on December 19, 2018. President Muhammadu Buhari signed the 2019 budget of the Federal Government of Nigeria into law on May 27, 2019. Dating from December 19 to May 27. The editions that constitute the population of study are 312 editions. From May 28 to July 28 there are 61 editions of each newspaper available to the researchers making a total of 122 editions for both newspapers. The total of editions understudy for this period is 434 editions for the fiscal year of 2019.

The budget proposal for the fiscal year of 2020 was presented to the joint session of the National Assembly on 22 of December 2019 and was approved about three months after it was presented to the National assembly. It was approved on 23rd March 2020. The number of editions from December to March multiplied by 2 because of the presence of *The Guardian and Punch* newspapers resulted in 184. From March 24 down to May 24, two months after the budget was approved, the published newspapers in that period was 61 editions for each newspaper giving a total of 122 editions for both newspapers. When calculated with the initial 184 editions, the total gotten is 306 editions within the 2020 fiscal year of study.

The table below shows the summary of how the population of the study arrived:

Year	Number of Newspapers' editions from time of budget presentation to passage by National Assembly	Number of editions two months after the budget was signed by the President	Total
2017	358	122	304
2018	448	122	480
2019	312	122	570
2020	184	122	402

304+480+570+402= 1756
Therefore, the target population is 1756.

Sample Size
Once the population is defined, a sample is selected. In research terms, a sample refers to a group of people, objects, or items that are taken from a larger population for measurement. The sample should be representative of the population to ensure that we can generalize the findings from the research sample to the population as a whole. The major reason for defining a sample in a study is to allow the researchers to select from the population instead of researching the entire population because of time and resource constraints. Therefore, the sample of a study can have a profound impact on the outcome of a study.
Gill and Johnson (2002) describe sampling as the identification of a research population "which will provide all information necessary for answering the original research question". Similarly, Wimmer and Dominick (2011) define a sample as a subset of a population that is representative of the entire population.

Using Krejcie and Morgan's online sample size calculator, with a confidence level of 95% the sample size is 317. The researchers decided to oversample by 1 to have 318 as the sample size, the reason for oversampling is that 317 is not divisible by 2. 318 divided by 2, the researchers arrived at 159. Thereby, the sample size for each newspaper is 159.

Sampling Technique

The sampling technique adopted in this study is systematic random sampling. The benefit of this sampling technique is that it guarantees that the sample chosen is representative of the entire population. Fraenkel, Wallen, and Hyun (2012) state that in random sampling, "every member of the population presumably has an equal chance of being selected" (Chiradee, 2013).

The sample size is divided by the total of all the months under study. The total months under study are 33. The sample size is 159 divided by the total number of months which is 33, the sum arrived at is approximately 5.

This means that the systematic random sampling will pick an edition after the interval of 5. This method applies to both *The Guardian and The Punch* newspaper*s*.

Measuring Instrument

The measuring instrument to be used in this study for data collection is a code sheet with its code guide. The researchers embarked on coding the selected manifest contents of newspapers to arrive at an acceptable and reliable analysis.

Unit of Analysis

This study pays attention to **News, features/opinions articles, and illustrations.** The entire contents of these units including headlines were used concerning the total newspaper content.

Content Categories

At the heart of any content, analysis is the category system used to classify media content. The precise makeup of this system varies with the topic under study (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011 p. 165). The content category that was used in this study are:

- **Prominence**: Using the placement of stories relating to budget and the security sector using front page, inside page, back page, and centerspread.
- **Frame:** The following frames were considered; Inadequacy frame, diversification frame, adequate frame, dependency on oil frame, and recession frame.
- **Volume**: This looks at the space allocated to issues concerning the budget and security. Using Full page, half page, quarter page, and less than a quarter page.
- **Genre:** The dominant genre used are News, feature, Opinion article, and illustration

Inter-Coder Reliability

Reliability is important in content analysis. A study is reliable when a repeated measurement of the same material results in similar findings and conclusions. Therefore, inter-coder reliability refers to the level of agreement among independent coders who code the same content using the same coding instrument. Three coders are needed because of tally as an odd number is needed in events of disagreements among coders or if there is a rogue coder.

Scott's (1988), as cited by Benjamin, (2017, p.60) PI index formula adapted to scale the percentage of agreement between the 3 coders in this research work. This formula was developed to correct the number of categories used and also for the probable frequency of use;

Pi   =   % of observed agreement - % of expected agreement
                1   -   % of expected agreement

Pi =   95% - 98% =   94%
        1-98%

Data Presentation
For this study, data collected using the code sheet are presented and interpreted in such a way that makes it easy for everyone to see at a glance which data are showing or representing what. Here, tables, bar charts and percentages are employed to present and analyze information collected from the two newspapers (*The Guardian and The Punch* Newspapers) used in this study. These data are presented according to the research questions and hypotheses that were raised in the study.

Table 4.1.1 Unit of Analysis

Newspapers	News story	Features	Opinion articles	illustrations	Total	%.
The Guardian	33	6	11	3	58	45.5%
The Punch	41	12	8	1	62	55.5%
Total	74	18	19	4	115	100%

The information in the table above shows the total number of news stories, feature stories, opinion articles, and illustrations published on the budgetary allocation to the security sector between 2017 and 2020. This data in the table above shows that a total of 115 issues were published on budgetary provision for the security sector by the two select newspapers within the period under review. *The Guardian* newspaper published a total of 58 issues on the budgetary provision for the security sector while *Punch* Newspaper published 62 issues

Of the 58 issues published by *The Guardian* newspaper, 33 were news stories, 6 were feature stories; 11 were opinion articles and 3 were illustrations. For *Punch* newspaper, a total of 62 issues were published. From this figure, 41 were news stories, 12 were feature stories; 8 were opinion articles, and 1 illustration.

In all, there were a total of 74 news stories, 18; feature stories; 19 opinion articles; and 4 illustrations.

Research question 1: What level of prominence do *The Guardian and Punch* newspapers give to the budgetary allocation for the security sector in Nigeria?
 To answer this research question, data generated on the published news stories and feature articles were used.

Placement	*The Guardian* news	*Punch* news	*The Guardian* features	*Punch* feature	The Guardian opinion article	Punch opinion article	Total	%
Front page	5 x 4 =20	3 x 4= 12	0	0	0	0	8	= 32
Back page	6 x 3 = 18	7 x 3 = 21	0	2 x 3 = 6	0	1 x 3=3	16	= 48
Inside page	22 x 1 = 22	30 x 1= 30	6 x 1= 6	8 x 1 = 8	11 x 1=11	8 x1= 8	85	= 85
Center spread	0	1 x 2= 2	0	1 x 2 = 2	0	0	2	= 4
Total	33=60	41=65	6=6	11=16	11=11	9=11	111	=169

The data in the table above show that a total of 111 issues of news feature and opinion articles were published on budgetary provision for the security sector by the two selected newspapers within the period under review. *The Guardian* newspaper published a total of 50 issues on the budgetary provision for the security sector. While *Punch* newspaper published 61 issues.

Of the 50 issues published by *The Guardian* newspaper, 5 were on the front page; 6 were on the back page; 39 were on inside pages; none was on the centerspread. *Punch* newspaper published a total of 61 issues in all. From this figure, 3 issues were front-page stories; 11 were on the back page; 46 were inside-page stories; 1 was on the center spread.

The scoring in the table above was scored because the degree prominence is usually measured based on the placement of the content in a newspaper. This is because the story placed on the front page cannot be equal to that placed on the inside page. Hence, front-page stories were scored 4 points, back-page stories were scored 3 points, and centerspread stories were scored 2 points. All other stories on the inside page were scored 1 point.

Other newspaper genres such as illustrations, were not used in determining the prominence given to budgetary provision for the security sector by *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers because news stories features and opinion articles represent 99% of the entire genre.

Implication: A total of 111 stories were published in *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers. These stories scored a total of 169 points. Of the 169 points scored by all the published news stories, features, and opinion articles, those placed on the front page scored 32 points. Thus, scoring only 18.9% of the total work. It is safe to conclude that budgetary allocation to the security sector was not given prominence in the select newspapers.

Research question 2: What is the dominant frame used by *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers to report budgetary allocation to the security sector?

Newspapers	Inadequacy frame	Adequacy frame	Diversification frame	Dependency on oil frame	Recession frame	Other frame	Total	%
The Guardian News	12	1	4	3	6	7	33	29.7 %
Punch news	16	2	6	4	3	10	41	36.9 %

The Guardian features	2	0	0	0	0	4	6	5.4%
Punch features	5	0	2	1	1	2	11	9.9%
The Guardian Opinion article	4	0	0	0	0	7	11	9.9%
Punch Opinion article	2	0	0	1	2	4	9	8.2%
Total	41=36.9%	3= 2.8%	12=10.8%	9=8.1%	12=10.8 %	34=30. 6	111	100%

Data in the table above showed the dominant frames used by the selected newspapers in their coverage of the budgetary allocation for the security sector. Coding revealed that there were six dominant frames used by the select newspapers - **inadequacy frame, adequacy frame, diversification frame, dependency on oil frame, recession frame, and another frame.** The inadequacy frame scored 36.9%; adequacy frame scored 2.8%; diversification frame scored 12% dependency on oil frame scored 8.1%, recession frame scored 10.8% while other frame scored 34%

Implication: The analysis showed that the **inadequacy** frame was used more by the select newspapers. The implication is that the select newspapers employed more of an inadequacy frame to the budgetary allocation to the security sector. This means that most of the reports did not emphasize the shortage of funding to the security sector from the national budget.

Research question 3: To what volume do *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers report budgetary allocation to the security sector?

Table 4.2.3 Volume of news stories and feature articles

Newspapers	Full page	Half page	Quarter page	Less than quarter page	Total	%
The Guardian News	1	12	7	13	33	29.7%
Punch news	3	9	10	19	41	36.9%
The Guardian features	1	1	0	4	6	5.4%
Punch features	2	3	4	2	11	9.9%
The Guardian Opinion article	1	2	6	2	11	9.9%
Punch Opinion article	0	6	3	1	9	8.2%
Total	8= 7.3%	33= 29.7%	30= 27%	40=36%	111	100%

Data in the table above showed the volumes used by the selected newspapers in their coverage of the budgetary allocation for the security sector. Coding revealed that there were four volumes used by the select newspapers- full page, half page, quarter page, and less than quarter page. The full-page scored 7.3%; half-page scored 29.7%; quarter page scored 27% while less than quarter page scored 38%

Implication: Since 8 stories out of the 111 were published in full-page that accounts for 7.3% of the volume of coverage, it means it was not adequately covered but not covered to a large extent.

Research question 4: 4. What is the dominant newspaper genre used in reporting budgetary provision for the security sector in Nigeria?

Newspaper	News	Feature	Opinion Article	Illustration	Total	%
The Guardian	33	6	11	1	51	45.5 %
Punch	41	11	9	0	61	54.5 %
Total	74 =66.1%	17=15.2%	20 =17.9%	1 (1%)	112	100 %

Data in the table above showed the genre used by the select newspapers in their coverage of the budgetary allocation for the security sector. Coding revealed that there were four genres used by the select newspapers-news, features articles, opinions articles, and illustrations. The news scored 66.1%; features articles scored 15.2%; opinions articles scored 17.9%; while illustrations scored 1%

Implication: since 74 stories out of the 112 were published in the news genre that accounts for 66.1% of the two selected newspaper coverage, it means that **news** is the dominant newspaper genre used in reporting budgetary provision for the security sector.

Test of Hypothesis

H₁: there is a significant difference between *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers framing of budgetary provision for the security sector in Nigeria.

H₀: there is no significant difference between *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers framing of budgetary provision for the security sector in Nigeria.

Newspaper * News frame used by Newspapers Crosstabulation

			News frame used by Newspapers						Total
			Inadequacy frame	Adequacy frame	Diversification frame	Dependency on oil frame	Recession frame	Other frame	
Newspaper	The Guardian	t	12	1	4	3	6	7	33
		% of Total	16.2%	1.4%	5.4%	4.1%	8.1%	9.5%	44.6%
	Punch	Count	16	2	6	4	3	10	41
		% of Total	21.6%	2.7%	8.1%	5.4%	4.1%	13.5%	55.4%
Total		Count	28	3	10	7	9	17	74
		% of Total	37.8%	4.1%	13.5%	9.5%	12.2%	23.0%	100.0%

The essence of the test in the table above is to establish whether there exists a significant relationship between *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers framing of budgetary provision for the security sector in Nigeria. From the test, it is clear that the frame used more in reporting stories on security budget in Nigeria is the inadequacy frame. From the test, it is clear that the newspapers used different frames with the inadequacy frame scoring 37.8% and the other frame scoring 23%. The test also revealed that the diversification frame had 13.5%, the recession frame had 12.2% and the adequacy frame had 1%.

This is clear evidence of the fact that the Nigerian government over the years has not been able to adequately allocate a significant percentage of the national budget to the security sector in Nigeria.

Discussion of Findings
In this section, the analyzed results were presented in line with the research questions.

Research question 1: What level of prominence do *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers give to budgetary allocation to the security sector in Nigeria?
The Information presented under this research showed that a total of 111 issues of news, feature and opinion articles were published on budgetary provision for the security sector by the two select newspapers within the period under review. *The Guardian* Newspaper published a total of 50 issues on the budgetary provision for the security sector. *Punch* Newspaper published 61 issues.

Of the 50 issues published by *The Guardian* newspaper, 5 were on the front page; 6 were on the back page; 39 were on inside pages; none was on center spread. *Punch* newspaper published a total of 61 issues in all. From this figure, 3 issues were front-page stories; 11 were on the back page; 46 were inside-page stories; 1 was on the center spread.

Illustrations were not used in determining the prominence given to budgetary provision for the security sector by *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers because news stories, features, and articles represent 99% of the entire genre.

The implication of this finding is that a total of 111stories were published in both newspapers. Of the 169 points scored by all the published news stories and feature articles, those placed on the front page scored 32 points thus, scoring only 18.9% of the total work. The fact that most of the stories about security appeared on the inside pages rather than the front or back pages indicate that the newspapers did not give significant prominence to the budgetary provision to the security sector. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that budgetary allocation to the security sector was not given prominence in the selected papers.

The finding of this study is in line with that of Jammy S. G. (2018), who found out that newspapers did not give prominence to the selected security issues. Because security stories were not reported on the front and back pages of newspapers. Frontpage prominence is the first page any reader sees in the newspaper. Frontpage of newspapers is likened to prime time on television or radio where disturbing issues are best addressed. However, spaces allotted to security news were small.

Front pages are very strategic in attracting the attention of readers. People easily get to buy newspapers and read them due to the stories they see on the front page. Also, newspaper readers do believe that any story that is given a front-page treatment is important and critical to the workings and happenings in the polity. This is based on the understanding that "newspapers are a major force in forming public opinions on matters affecting national and international efforts towards economic progress and global understanding" (Olusoji, 2012, p. 6 as cited by Chukwu, 2020).

Guanah in 2018 also found that security content was given adequate coverage but not prominence in his study. He claimed that if security news is given the prominence it will draw the attention of security stakeholders to the problems in the security sector, which may, in turn, lead to actions that will help to improve the standard of security in Nigeria.

Research question 2: What is the dominant frame used by *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers to report budgetary allocation to the security sector?

The Information presented under this research showed that the dominant frames used by the selected newspapers in their coverage of the budgetary allocation for the security sector. Coding revealed that there were six dominant frames used by the selected newspapers- **Inadequacy Frame, Adequacy Frame, Diversification Frame, Dependency on Oil Frame, Recession Frame, and Other Frame**. The inadequacy frame scored 36.9%; adequacy frame scored 2.8%; diversification frame scored 12% dependency on oil frame scored 8.1%, recession frame scored 10.8% while other frame scored 34%.

This finding implies that the analysis showed that the inadequacy frame was used more followed by other frames by the select papers. The implication is that the select newspapers employed more of an inadequacy frame and another frame to the budgetary allocation to the security sector. This means that most of the reports looked at the shortage of funding to the security sector in the national budget while others were not narrowed down to the provision of budget for the security sector.

This finding is in line with Nwuneli and Idowu (2004) who established the fact that critical issue like security funding is not properly focused on. Similarly, Adeyomo (2015) found that core security themes that could drive the Nigerian security system to a greater height are not given proper attention by the media especially the funding of the security sector. He added that newspapers treat quite a number of security themes but most themes treated are the peripheral while critical security themes as pointed above were not only treated with levity but a mere lip service (Adeyomo 2015).

Research question 3: What volume of coverage do *The Guardian* and *Punch* newspapers give to budgetary allocation to the security sector?

The Information presented under this research showed that the volumes used by the selected newspapers in their coverage of the budgetary allocation for the security sector. Coding revealed that there were four volumes used by the select newspapers- full page, half page, quarter page, and less than quarter page. The full-page scored 7.3%; half-page scored 29.7%; quarter page scored 27% while less than quarter page scored 38%

The implication is that Since 8 stories out of the 111 were published on full-page which accounts for 7.3% of the volume of coverage, it means it was not adequately covered but not covered to a large extent.

This finding stresses the finding in research question one that the level of prominence attached to the provision of budgetary allocation to the security sector by the select newspapers is low. This is based on the short spaces which the security stories occupied in the select newspapers. It also gives weight to the finding in research question four that news is the dominant frame used for stories attached to the provision of budgetary allocation to the security sector. News reports are always straight to the point without opinions, interpretations, analyses, or explanations which might make it lengthy. Thus, the shortened nature of the stories.

Research question 4: What is the dominant newspaper genre used by *The Guardian* and *Punch* in reporting budgetary provisions for the security sector in Nigeria?

The Information presented under this research showed that the genre used by the select newspapers in their coverage of the budgetary allocation for the security sector. Coding revealed that there were 4 genres used by the selected newspapers.

Coding revealed that there were four genres used by the select newspapers-news, feature articles, opinion articles, and illustrations. The news scored 66.1%; features articles scored 15.2%; opinions articles scored 17.9%; while illustrations scored 1%

The implication is that since 74 stories out of the 112 were published in the news genre that accounts for 66.1% of the two selected newspaper coverage, it means that **news** is the dominant newspaper genre used in reporting budgetary provision for the security sector.

The finding made under this research question is supported by a similar finding by Chukwu (2020), who collaborate that reports on the sector may not yield fruits in making people understand the varied angles of the information conveyed and in influencing government, organisations, and/or bodies in implementing policies and pursuing actions targeted at making the security sector better. Similarly, Irungu (2018) advised that newspapers should cover and dig deeper into issues of security and establish guidelines, desks, or special columns to give readers more say as it pertains to the coverage of security This is because news stories inform people and do not go further to analyse a story like a feature and opinion articles and editorial.

Summary of Findings
The aim of this research work is to empirically ascertain newspaper framing of budgetary provision for the security sector in a rentier state, two newspapers (*The Guardian* and *Punch*). To do this, the researchers made use of content analysis. Code sheet was used as measuring instruments. In doing this, the research questions raised at the beginning of this research were analyzed, the content revealed the following:
1. That budgetary allocation to the security sector was not given prominence in the select newspapers.
2. The select newspapers reported on security and budget which emphasized the shortage of funding to the security sector from the national budget while reports were not narrowed down to the provision of the budget for the security sector.
3. That budgetary provision for the security sector was not adequately covered to a large extent.
4. That news is the dominant newspaper genre used in reporting budgetary provisions for the security sector.

Recommendations
Following the analysis made, the literature reviewed, and the results got, some recommendations were made.
1. The media should not only inform the public on security and the budget allocated to it but should take a step further to analyze the impact of the shortage of budgetary allocation to a third world country like Nigeria, balanced and in-depth coverage should be given. This will make the government and the people understand the implication of lack of funding to the security sector.
2. The media should understand that security issues are process-oriented concerns and not event-oriented concerns. Therefore, security budget allocation should not only be discussed when the budget appropriation bill is about to be implemented rather it should be published consistently and continuously to set an agenda.
3. For any country to attain development it must invest in the security sector. Therefore, the media should continuously reiterate the significance of adequate funding of the security sector to the government. This is because development is a

gradual process and the media should be able to aid the process of development by persistently reporting the deficiencies in the budget allocated to the security sector.

4. Aside from the specific days dedicated to security, newspapers should add other days of the weeks where stories that concern security and budget are reported and examined.

5. Nigeria newspaper can give prominence to stories concerning budgetary allocation to the security sector by placing such stories on the front or back pages of the newspapers. This will enable very busy readers and free readers or passersby cannot catch a glimpse of front-page headlines and see any security and budget stories.

6. Security should be seen as a necessity and not a luxury, everyone has a right to good and quality security. The media should be able to advocate for the masses.

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