



**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

**COLLAGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**CENTER FOR AFRICAN AND ORIENTAL STUDIES**

**TITLE**

**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED NEWSPAPER STORIES  
ON THE 2015 NIGERIAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN**

**REZENE HAGOS**

**GSR/0237/07**

**JANUARY, 2017**

**ADDIS ABABA**

**A Critical Discourse Analysis of selected Newspaper Stories on the 2015  
Nigerian Presidential Campaign**

Rezene Hagos

A Thesis submitted to the Center of African and Oriental Studies

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of  
Arts in African Studies (State and Citizenship)

Addis Ababa University

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

March 2017

**Addis Ababa University**  
**School of Graduate Studies**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Rezene Hagos, entitled: *A Critical Discourse Analysis of selected Newspaper Stories on the 2015 Nigerian Presidential Campaign* and submitted to submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in African Studies (State and Citizenship) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

_____	_____	_____
Examiner	Signature	Date

_____	_____	_____
Examiner	Signature	Date

_____	_____	_____
Advisor	Signature	Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Chair of Department or Graduate Program Coordinator

## Abstract

A Critical Discourse Analysis of selected Newspaper Stories on the 2015 Nigerian Presidential Campaign

Rezene Hagos

Addis Ababa University, 2017

This study attempts to analyze the discourses embedded in the news reports that a prominent Nigerian newspaper called *The Nation* published about the 2015 Nigerian presidential election. The news reports that have been analyzed are those published in the month before the presidential election's date of May 28, 2015. The analysis is done by applying Critical Discourse Analysis to the newspaper reports. The analytical part begins with the exploration of the informative content of the news reports. The reports cover stories on the presidential election, the political campaign, the political parties and their respective candidates. All the news reports published by the online edition of the daily newspaper in the period under investigation were retrieved first, in order to create the repository of the reports relevant for this research. According to the findings of this study, *The Nation* played a very important role during the presidential campaign by consistently disseminating information aimed at shaping public opinion in support of presidential candidate Muhammadu Buhari.

## **Acknowledgement**

My heart felt appreciation goes to Jesus Christ for the gift of life and for being my Personal Savior. I would like to thank Dr. Mohammed Hassen as my advisor and my dear friend Dr. Solomon Hassen for his irreplaceable feedback on this study. Finally, I would like to thank my dear mother Tiblese G/hiwot. She was always reminding me to stay focused in order to finish this work.

## Table of Contents:

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations: .....	1
Chapter 1: Introduction .....	3
1.1. Background of the Study.....	3
1.2. Statement of the Problem.....	4
1.3. Objectives of the Study .....	6
1.4. Research Design and Methodology .....	7
1.4.1. Data Sourcing and Collection .....	7
1.4.2. Criteria for Selecting the Newspaper .....	7
1.4.3. Criteria for Selecting the News Reports.....	9
1.4.4. Specific Approach Designed for this Study .....	9
1.5. Scope of the Study .....	12
1.6. Limitations of the Study.....	13
1.7. Significance of the Study .....	13
1.8. Organization of the Thesis .....	13
Chapter 2: Conceptual and Theoretical Framework.....	15
2.1. Definition of Concepts .....	15
2.2. A Short Summary of Established CDA Approaches .....	15
2.3. The Role of Media in Society .....	18
2.4. The Role of Elections in Democratic Politics .....	18
2.5. Critical Discourse Analysis.....	19
Chapter 3: Literature Review & a Brief Profile on Nigeria .....	21
3.1. Studies of News: .....	21
3.2. Overview of some Empirical Studies.....	21
3.3. Empirical Discourse Studies on Nigeria .....	23
3.4. Agenda Setting Role of the Media in 2015 Presidential Election.....	24
3.5. A Brief Profile of Nigeria .....	25
3.6. Economy .....	26
3.7. Overview of Ethnic and Religious Components.....	27
3.8. Socio-political Practices.....	28
3.9. Causes under which the Civilian Regime collapsed .....	28

3.10. Assessment of the Role of the Military in Nigerian Politics.....	29
3.11. Nigerian Presidential Elections since the Return to Civil Law in 1999.....	31
3.12. Situation of Nigeria during the 2015 Presidential Campaign .....	33
Chapter 4: Critical Discourse Analysis of News Reports .....	33
4.1. Micro-Level Analysis: .....	34
4.2. Macro-Level Analysis:.....	49
4.2.1. Inter-textual Identification of Themes .....	49
4.2.2. Formulation of Discourses based on Theme’s Constituents .....	50
Chapter 5: Findings, Conclusion and Recommendation .....	57
5.1. Findings.....	57
5.2. Conclusion .....	63
5.3. Recommendations:.....	65
Bibliography:.....	66
Appendix: Headline, internet link, reporter and date .....	72

## **List of Acronyms and Abbreviations:**

AAPN	Associations of Advertising Practitioner of Nigeria
ADVAN	Advertisers' Association of Nigeria
AFP	Agence France Presse
AG	Action Group
APC	All Progressive People's Party
CBCN	Catholic Bishops' Conference of Nigeria
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDC	Civil Defense Corps
CGG	Christians for Good Governance
CSSM	Concerned South-South Movement
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HTML	Hyper Text Markup Language
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
LRAG	Latter Rain Assembly General
MIPAN	Media Independent Practitioners Association of Nigeria
NAFRN	National Assembly of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
NIGEC	Nigerian Election Corpus
NLC	Nigeria Labor Congress
NNPC	Nigerian National Oil Corporation
NPC	Northern Peoples Congress

NPF	Nigerian Police Force
NSA	National Security Agency
NUF	Ndigbo Unity Forum
NUD	Nigerians United for Democracy
NYSC	National Youth Service Corps
OPC	Oodua People's Congress
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PA	Press Association
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PDPPCO	Peoples Democratic Party Presidential Campaign Organization
PVSs	Permanent Voter Cards
SEPA	Southeast Peoples Agenda
SNPM	Southern Nigerian Peoples Mandate
SWBL	Southwest Business League
WAI	War Against Indiscipline

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1. Background of the Study

The democratization process in the African context has frequently been characterized by a relentless stubbornness to relinquish power even under the most pressing of circumstances. In the Nigerian presidential election of March 28, 2015, Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressive Party (APC) emerged as winner with 15,424,921 votes against Goodluck Jonathan's 12,853,162 votes<sup>1</sup> and was sworn in on 29 May 2015<sup>2</sup>. This event should not be taken lightly and it would not be an exaggeration to affirm that it signified the landmark of Nigerian's democratic achievement. It was the first time in the history of Nigeria for an incumbent president of a sitting ruling party to relinquish power democratically to a presidential candidate of an opposition party. This happened through the democratic process of what international observers confirmed to be a free and fair election. Contrary to this highly significant episode, the other four previous quadrennial elections that took place since the return to civil law in 1999 were all marred by rigging and fraud.

Since the late 17<sup>th</sup> century the media fundamental role in democratic governance has been recognized and as such the media remain a principal instrument of modern day democratic theory and exercise. The mass media are often considered to be the fourth body of democracy along with the legislative, executive and judiciary bodies of government.<sup>3</sup>

The researcher believes that by critically analyzing newspaper reports it is possible to point out the constituents of the subtle sub-arguments concealed in the discourses. Such constituents have been skillfully used by those who shape the content of the news to their own political advantage. It is interesting to research on how political attitudes have been shaped by the Nigerian newspaper under investigation.

The aim of this study is not to investigate the objectivity of the claims put forward by the newspaper. Rather, it aims at investigating the discourses and the strategies by which such claims were presented as objective information to the uncritical reader. In other words, this study is

---

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32139858>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32927311>

<sup>3</sup> Coroner S. Sheila, "The Role of the Media in Deepening Democracy" Executive Summary for the United Nations", page 1.

concerned with how the newspaper tried to influence the electorate's political opinion and attitudes. The newspaper influenced public opinion and attitudes by supplying the information it decided to supply and by shaping the content of this information in the manner it deemed most suitable for its political purpose.

This study also aims at identifying the discourses that were disseminated by the newspaper prior to the election.

## 1.2. Statement of the Problem

The first Corpus-Based<sup>4</sup> Critical Discourse Analysis of Election News in Nigerian Newspapers was done by Tahir Oladele Adelakun in 2013 (Adelakun, 2013). His approach differs from this study in terms of the methodology employed, the aim of the study and the factors taken under consideration. It is a diachronic study<sup>5</sup> on *stance* and uses corpus linguistics as methodology. Corpus linguistics is a purely quantitative method aided by computer software (in this specific case *Wordsmith*) which puts words in distinctive patterns of co-occurrences known as “collocations” to reveal some aspects of the social contexts in which the words co-occur. This quantitative approach has allowed Adelakun “to identify elements of stance in the news reports about the 2011 general elections in Nigeria” (Adelakun, 2013: 14). This quantitative method, however fails to generate the actual discourses and their constituents, therefore cannot be considered to be a comprehensive way of conducting critical discourse studies. Fairclough himself regarding a corpus based approach to CDA maintains that this approach is limited and “needs to be complemented by additional qualitative research” (Fairclough, 2003: 7).

A recent study of Nigerian newspapers has analyzed the agenda setting role of the Nigerian media during the 2015 presidential election based on Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw Agenda Setting Theoretical Framework (Olowojolu, 2016). Based on the findings of the study, it is quite clear that his/her study must have dealt with the analysis of discourse in

---

<sup>4</sup> Corpus Linguistics is a branch of Linguistics that studies large texts called *corpora*. This branch of linguistics makes frequent use of computer software in order to generate patterns of word collocations such as concordances. For additional information please refer to: Sinclair, J. 'The automatic analysis of corpora', in Svartvik, J. (ed.) *Directions in Corpus Linguistics (Proceedings of Nobel Symposium 82)*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 1992.

<sup>5</sup> Diachronic studies are studies that span over a period of time in the past delimited by two specific points of time. This approach is frequently also called *Historical Linguistics* because of its focus on the scientific study of language change over time.

one way or another. However it is not clear if he used any methodology for this study because it is not indicated. This study seems to have been conducted based on observation.

Bridging the theoretical aspects of both researches, the Agenda Setting Role study carried out by Olowojolu can be considered to be advancement in terms of qualitative research compared to Adalakun's. This is because Olowojolu's does not only identify elements of stance, but also that the media were instrumental in setting the Agenda of the political party that controlled the newspapers. In addition to this Olowojolu also presents the agenda that according to his study the media were setting. However this study lacks in systematic approach.

Another recent study framed in the Theory of Media Ownership developed by Altschull in 1984 investigates Altschull's argument (Altschull, 1984: 254) that "the content of the press is directly correlated with the interests of those who finance the press". It confirmed the theory that during the 2015 Nigerian presidential campaign, the content of four newspapers under investigation (including *The Nation*) was directly correlated with the interests of those who financed the newspapers (Nwammuo et al., 2015). The study though spanning over a longer period of time from December 2014 to April 2015, using content analysis as a research method, shows that *The Nation* during the 2015 presidential election covered more issues relating to politics rather than other story genre 822 (54%) out of 1526 total. 169 (21%) covered the PDP, 260 stories (32%) covered the APC. 138 stories (17%) covered both and 255 stories (30%) covered other political issues. The study also shows that *The Nation* slanted positively 452 (55%) of its stories, slanted negatively 250 (30%) of its stories and maintained a neutral stand in regard to only 120 (15%) of the remaining stories. However, in the researcher's opinion, the content analysis of this research should be accompanied by qualitative analysis to reveal in what consisted some of the discourses disseminated by *The Nation* during the period of time under investigation.

This study, in addition to relying on the theoretical notions and findings of the above mentioned studies, also shows what the discourses were and how they were constituted. Therefore, this study should be conceptualized as having a relationship with the previous studies mentioned so far because instead of nullifying or correcting them, it actually

engages with them to reveal a wider scenario. Perhaps a good way to put all these studies in relation (based on the above order of appearance) would be to say that study one is limited to stance. Study two enriches study one by complementing it with the agendas that were set by the media. Study three shows that the media was influenced by the ownership structures. This study in turn elucidates the above mentioned studies by revealing some of the discourses and their constituents.

### 1.3. Objectives of the Study

The objective of this study is to analyze the political discourses embedded in news reports to determine how the newspaper tried to influence the public opinion of the electorate. *The Nation* is a newspaper politically controlled by the APC (Nwammuo et al., 2015: 83). It is not therefore very difficult to expect it to have played a primary role in spreading the propaganda of the APC. Such a role, if played at all, would have to deal with how to influence the electorate towards a positive opinion regarding the APC's presidential campaign. Therefore, by critically analyzing the published news reports, this study seeks to investigate the potential role that the newspaper's reporting may have had in influencing the electorate during the political campaign of Buhari and the APC in preparation for the 2015 presidential election.

The specific objectives that will be addressed in this study are:

- Was the newspaper trying to influence the public opinion of the electorate during the 2015 presidential campaign? If yes, how did it try to do so?
- What were the pre-election issues and ongoing discourses regarding democratic consolidation in Nigeria and how were these reported to the electorate?
- Was the newspaper trying to promote democratic practices or was it trying to destabilize the polity?
- What were the ongoing discourses regarding Muhammadu Buhari and the APC?
- What were the ongoing discourse regarding Goodluck Jonathan and the PDP?

## 1.4. Research Design and Methodology

The study undertaken is a creative research done in an analytical, exploratory and descriptive way. It is highly qualitative because no part of it has been quantified. Qualitative research is mainly concerned with the ability to encapsulate the nature of individual thoughts, actions and expressions in everyday life in order to give them meaning (Wodak & Busch: 105). A highly qualitative approach purposefully designed for this research will be used to identify the discourses and the underlying discursive strategies in order to determine if the reports were written in such a way as to influence the electorate's opinion. This chapter also explains the rationale behind the criteria for selecting the newspaper and the news reports.

### 1.4.1. Data Sourcing and Collection

All the data for this research consists exclusively of news reports published by *The Nation*. This means that the data is a primary source. Using the search engine of the online edition, 166 reports that had been published from February 27 to March 27, 2015 were retrieved. After scanning the 166 reports, 102 were discarded because considered to be less relevant to the themes under investigation. The remaining 64 were thoroughly read and examined to extract the most relevant for this study. The screening led to 19 articles whose content is considered to be highly relevant for this study because it discusses stories on the election campaign, the PDP or the APC and their presidential candidates. The news reports have been collected by accessing the newspaper's online edition. All the reports posted on the website from February 27 to March 27, 2015 were saved in HTML format. Once saved in HTML formats, the news reports were reopened with Google browser for analysis.

### 1.4.2. Criteria for Selecting the Newspaper

Nigerian webmaster lists 37 Nigerian national newspapers. The Nation was established in 2006 by Ahmed Bola Tinubu, a politician and the former Governor of Lagos State. It is politically controlled and a daily. Ahmed Bola Tinubu belongs to the APC – All Peoples' Congress.<sup>6</sup>

According to the website of the newspaper, The Nation is:

---

<sup>6</sup> Article retrieved from the International Journal of African and Asian Studies: Nigerian Press Coverage of the 2015 Elections: What has Ownership Got to do with it?, page 83.

- The second most read newspaper in Nigeria according to a 2009 survey by ADVAN, AAPN, MIPAN (Major players in the advertising industry in Nigeria).
- The most national newspaper with very strong presence in all the geo-political zones, thus making THE NATION Nigeria's truly national newspaper.
- The highest circulating newspaper in Port Harcourt, Calabar, Uyo, Yenogoa, Ado Ekiti,/Akure, Abeokuta, Jos/Bauchi, Makurdi and Ilorin.
- The second in Ibadan, Benin, Warri, Kaduna.
- The third most circulating newspaper in Abuja, the nation's political capital; Kano, the commercial capital of Northern Nigeria, Enugu, Aba, Maiduguri and Lokoja.
- The fourth leading newspaper in Lagos, the nation's commercial centre.
- The first on the newsstands nationwide.
- Circulates same edition nationwide.
- NATIONSPORT, an 8-page daily pullout; an attractive innovation in sport journalism.
- NEWSEXTRA, our unique way of colorfully touching the grassroots by digging out human interest stories.
- An authoritative newspaper in the forefront of breaking major news and reporting well-researched exclusive stories.
- Parades a galaxy of brilliant and perceptive columnists daily: the best collection in the industry.
- Compact layout and colorful pages.
- Unique style of reporting and writing: elevated language, concise – yet detailed analysis, and clarity of thought.
- Strong subscription base in Lagos guarantees the paper on the tables of vital discerning readers.

Though it is not quantifiably possible to determine the number of readers the newspaper enjoys in Nigeria; one should bear in mind that, based on the census indicated in point one above, *The Nation* is one of the mostly widely circulated and read newspaper in Nigeria.

#### **1.4.3. Criteria for Selecting the News Reports**

For this study, only news reports that have topics of relevance have been considered. The topics of relevance are those that deal with issues pertaining to the election, the campaign, the APC, the PDP, Muhammadu Buhari or Goodluck Jonathan. The Nation primary focuses as stated on the website are: Business and Economy, Public Politics, The Democratic Process and Institutions of Democracy, Sports, Arts & Culture, Fashion & Lifestyle, World Affairs; Education, Health, Law, and commentaries. The online edition has 10 subheadings one of which is exclusively dedicated to politics and discusses issues pertain to local politics such as local elections and the different party stands.

#### **1.4.4. Specific Approach Designed for this Study**

During the inception stage of this study, the researcher contemplated conducting comparative diachronic studies on two newspapers reporting on the 2015 and the 2011 presidential campaigns. The objective of such a study would have been to investigate the main themes covered by both newspapers through the dissemination of discourses. At that time the researcher thought of investigating also if the newspapers under consideration had somehow changed the mode of conducting themselves in terms of freedom of expression perhaps due to censorship imposed by the ruling government and other political restrictions. For such a research, the *Discourse Historical* approach associated with Ruth Wodak would have seemed the right path to follow. However, due to lack of data/news covering the 2011 presidential election, this research topic had to be abandoned.

Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Model was also considered for this research. Especially in relation to the idea of investigating the role that a newspaper could play in constructing and shaping an ideology aimed at reproducing unequal power relations. However, this approach was discarded as well because the discourses in the reports do not seem to constitute any ideology in the real sense of the word as in the case of "racism", "feminism", "anti-Semitism", "anti-communism" etcetera that the socio-cognitive approach is keen to investigate. This approach does not seem to

be the most suitable *also* because its analytical tool uses schematic structures which, being small sub-structures, are more appropriate to analyze headlines but unpractical to analyze entire texts.

Fairclough's first level of textual analysis would give this research too much of a linguistic character as this aspect of analysis is concerned with syntax and lexical analysis. It would as well have to be limited to the headlines or at most to the headlines and the lead paragraphs disregarding the content of the report. Of the second and third level of analysis which is socio-cultural and discursive practices in Fairclough's approach, only socio-cultural practices have somehow been incorporated in the study but not as part of the approach to conduct CDA. Such socio-cultural practices in this study are rendered "socio-political practices" because the researcher has decided to pay more attention to the political rather than the cultural aspect. These practices are given as background studies in order to understand the socio-political circumstances that have characterized Nigeria since the return to civil law that occurred in 1999. The researcher has decided not to consider any discursive practices which mainly deal with how news is presented and made accessible. Such practices have been disregarded because in the researcher's opinion, incorporating them would have given this study the semblance of a journalistic research that is beyond the scope of this study.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher uses a Critical Discourse Analysis Framework designed ad hoc. It is however necessary to anticipate that Critical Discourse Analysis is not really a method as such in that it does not consist in a clear cut step by step procedural methodology. CDA is rather a critical theoretical perspective of doing research that spans cross disciplinarily among different methods and approaches. None of the three approaches indicated above ascribes to the notion of a methodology in the *normative* sense of the word and this is why the researcher prefers to refer to them as "approaches" rather than methods.

The research approach designed for this study consists of analyzing the news reports that have been published during the time span indicated above and making inferences based on their informative and linguistic content. The study investigates *how* news reports with political news value are communicated to the wider public. To achieve this purpose each and every report with news value spanning in the period of time under investigation has been analyzed.

The approach consists of two levels of analysis: a *micro level* one and a *macro level* one. The micro analysis is concerned with analyzing the language and the discursive strategies that characterize each individual report. This micro-level analysis consists of: Pragmatic analysis of report's headlines in terms of presupposition & Analysis of each individual reports to identify the content information and the strategies by which this information is presented as credible.

The second level of analysis can be conceptualized to be a macro-level analysis because it spans over different stories across reports. It is concerned with the identification of themes and the subsequent formulation of discourses. This level of analysis consists of: Inter-textual identification of themes & Formulation of discourses based on theme's constituents. In order to *synthesize* discourses from mere information, the analysis should start from the micro-level and proceed to the macro-level. The first level analysis has allowed extracting the information embedded in the reports, while the second level has led to the thematic categorization of this information into discourses. The last chapter of this research focuses exclusively on the discourses generated in the macro analysis to reveal what was the newspaper's position during the presidential campaign and what was the role it played while informing the electorate.

#### ***1.4.4.1. Pragmatic Analysis of Headlines in Terms of Presupposition***

Pragmatics is a sub linguistics and semiotics field that deals with the way in which context contributes to meaning. Pragmatics encompasses different theories among which speech acts, implicature in conversation, the interaction of talk and other approaches to language behavior in linguistics, philosophy, sociology, and anthropology (Mey, 1993).

Pragmatics studies how the interpretation of meaning depends not only on structural and linguistic knowledge of the speaker and listener, but also on the context in which the utterance occurs, the pre-existing knowledge about those utterances if any, the inferred intention of the speaker, and other socio cultural factors (Ibidem).

#### ***1.4.4.2. Analysis of Individual Reports to identify the Information and the Strategies by which the Information is presented as Credible***

The critical analysis of the reports investigates the story in order to identify the opinion reflected by the newspaper/the reporter/ the newspaper's editor. It is also aimed at determining if the report is only *informative* or also *exploratory*. But most importantly it reflects how the

information is portrayed to the electorate in order to shape public opinion that is, what are the discursive strategies by which the information is shaped as credible?

#### **1.4.4.3. *Inter-textual Identification of Themes.***

After having critically analyzed all the *individual* news reports based on the micro-level analysis indicated above, in order to extract the discourses embedded in them, the researcher has related and sub-categorize the “chunks” of information that have themes in common to arrive at the discourses that were diffused by the newspaper from February 27 to March 22 in 2015. It is by inter-textually relating these constituents that the researcher can actually base his findings regarding what was the role of the newspaper during the presidential campaign in anticipation of the 2015 presidential election.

#### **1.4.4.4. *Formulation of Discourses based on Themes’ Constituents***

A synthesis of each of this thematically subcategorized information will generate the discourses. The researcher has coined this second sub level of macro-analysis *formulation of discourses based on themes’ constituents*. It is at this level that the data ceases to be mere information and becomes discourses.

### **1.5. Scope of the Study**

The scope of the study is between February 27 to March 28, 2015 and 19 stories have been obtained. The analysis and conclusions of this study pertain to a number of selected news reports that cover the period of time delimited above. If the analysis could have been extended to cover the postelection-inauguration period and the post inauguration period, a broader spectrum of analysis might have been attained.

However, due to time limitations the research had to be delimited to the pre-election period and the selection of news reports that in his opinion are highly pertinent to the research themes. Such are the themes on political campaign issues, the incumbents, the presidential candidate and his political party. Needless to say, the selection of news reports based on the above explained criteria of relevance led to the omission of some articles which though deemed less relevant probably contained some information that might have been used.

## 1.6. Limitations of the Study

The researcher is not a “Nigerianist” or an expert in Nigerian studies. Though during the master’s courses in African studies he had the opportunity to read and write about Nigeria while writing several term papers on its political aspects, his knowledge of the political dynamics associated with the 2015 presidential election and campaign is limited. He is well aware that he might have failed to become acquainted with some discourses pertaining to such dynamics. In particular, the researcher believes that if he could have conducted a research not only aimed at analyzing the “persuasiveness” of the newspaper but also at cross-checking the facts, a deeper level of analysis might have been reached.

CDA of news reports is sometimes criticized because the social scientists who criticize it maintain that the readership actually does not read critically but only superficially the headline of the news for a gist (Pasha 2011, 132).

## 1.7. Significance of the Study

If social scientists truly believe that the “democratic shift” that happened in Nigeria in the last election of 2015 is of exemplary importance not only for Nigeria but also for the rest of Africa in general, then each and every discernible aspect of this phenomenon is worth investigation. It would be particularly relevant to investigate if political discourse has been exercised tactfully and subtly in anticipation of the election time to persuade Nigerian public opinion. Have the news reports published by *The Nation* been written to slandered and castigate opposition leaders during the electoral campaign or just to inform the electorate about the ongoing events? This study is also significant to understand if through discourse it is possible to create a system of checks and balances in order to restrict the undemocratic malpractices of leaders in power.

## 1.8. Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is organized in the following way; chapter one consists of the introductory part. Chapter two introduces the concepts and theories behind the research necessary to understand it. Chapter three offers a review of early studies of news and empirical studies of news conducted over the last decade on Nigeria and outside of Nigeria. Chapter four provides a brief profile of Nigeria and of Nigeria’s socio-political practices. Chapter five critically analyses the news

reports. Chapter six encapsulates the findings and the conclusion of the whole research leaving also a brief recommendation.

## Chapter 2: Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

### 2.1. Definition of Concepts

For the purpose of this study, the adopted working definition of news is that pertaining to its narrowest meaning. In this study news refers to “*stories about political, social and cultural events that have occurred in the past*”. In this study this type of news will be referred to as stories, news reports or simply reports.

In pragmatics, a *presupposition* is an implicit assumption about the world or background belief relating to an utterance whose truth is taken for granted in discourse. Examples include the famously quoted presupposition in the sentence:

“*Have you stopped beating your wife?*”

This question presupposes that at some time in the past, the person who is asked the question used to beat his wife.

### 2.2. A Short Summary of Established CDA Approaches

Though its use in social scientific research has been highly appreciated in the last couple of decades, CDA is not really a research method in the conventional sense because it does not consist in a set of procedural sequences (a technique). Critical Discourse Analysis is rather an approach used in social scientific research that attempts to identify practical solutions to different social problems (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

Among the most used approaches to conduct CDA one finds the Socio-Cognitive Approach associated with Van Dijk, Ruth Wodak’s Discourse-Historic Approach Norman Fairclough’s Approach which is a combination of textual analysis along with the consideration of socio-cultural and economic practices.

In Fairclough’s view CDA is a theoretical perspective on language that relates “trans-disciplinarily” with other social theories and methods (Fairclough, 2000). In page 99 of “Discourse and Society” Van Dijk refers to it as “a perspective in doing scholarship” while Ruth Wodak calls it a “research paradigm”. The principal approaches to conduct CDA are briefly overviewed below.

- ***The Socio-Cognitive Approach***

Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Model to CDA is based on the interconnection among discourse, cognition and society (Van Dijk, 2001). This model is very useful in the analysis of newspapers to detect stereotypes and biases on ethnicity. With his theoretical model for analyzing ideological discourse Van Dijk argues that it is possible to explain how ideologies monitor practices of social actors in society (Van Dijk, 1998: 23). Van Dijk's model investigates the ways in which discourses are manipulated to construct ideologies. This model is based on the analysis of the discursive structures utilized in a text. The method consists in three levels of analysis which are *structure*, *production* and, *reception and comprehension*. These levels of analysis inter-relate with one another for analyzing the text. The inter-relationships according to Van Dijk occur in Macro structure versus Micro Structure levels. The Micro-level comprises language, discourse, verbal interaction etcetera, while the Macro-level deals with power relations, such as inequality and dominance referred to as topic structure of news stories and their schemata. Van Dijk's schemata are a pattern that consists in a headline, a story and consequences.

- ***The Discourse Historical Approach***

The discourse historical approach was actually developed to trace in detail the constitution of an anti-Semitic stereotyped image that in the German language became known as "Feindbild"<sup>7</sup> denoting a stereo typed "enemy image". This stereotyped image emerged in public discourses in the Austrian Presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim in 1986. Ruth Wodak and her team of researchers analyzed the linguistic manifestations of prejudice in discourse embedded in the linguistic and social context such as newspaper reports of news bulletins in Austria (Wodak & Meyer, 2002: 70). The approach consisted in confronting stories published in newspaper reports with facts and context phenomena to investigate if the reports were biased. The news stories were compared with historical facts and in this way Ruth Wodak and her team were able to detect and depict the disfiguring of facts and realities. The findings showed that the distortion of facts and events was complete and systematic (Ibidem). This method is particularly suitable to conduct historic diachronic studies to trace the course of development of a discourse over a long period of time spanning in the past.

---

<sup>7</sup> German language *feind* = "enemy" *bild* = "image"

- *Norman Fairclough's Tripartite Approach*

John Richardson is of the opinion that Fairclough's approach seems to be the most practically used way to conduct CDA for such themes like political campaigns. Fairclough's approach as suggested in his book *Analysing Media Discourse* (Fairclough, 1995) proposes three levels of analysis to conduct CDA. These are *Textual Analysis*, the consideration of *Discursive Practices* and the analysis of *Socio-Cultural Practices* (cited in Richardson, 2007).

Textual analysis is a linguistic analysis of the text under consideration. Textual analysis has two levels of analysis which are the "micro-analysis" and the "macro-analysis". The micro-level deals with the structuring of propositions while the macro-level deals with the combination and sequencing of propositions (Fairclough cited in Richardson, 2007).

His socio-cultural practices refer to economic practices, such as the mode and relations of production, the political practices such as the influences of political institutions; and ideological practices such as the role of journalism in supporting and spreading social values and political propagandas as socio-cultural practices (Ibidem).

Discursive practices refer to how news is presented and made accessible in the way it is. Such practices are concerned with the proper conceptualization of the audience. (Gandy, 2000 cited in Richardson 2007, 77) shows that audiences can be theorized in many different ways. Richardson, however limits himself to describing the audience as "consumers" and as "commodities" (Richardson 2007).

*Professional practices* such as *ethics* and *objectivity* are part of discursive practices. Discursive practices also includes *organizational practices* such as *news values* (the imagined preferences of the targeted audience) for *news agendas* to measure the "newsworthiness" of an event and *being cautious about not missing the values of the expected audience*. Finally (Richardson 2007, 106-107) stresses the importance of analyzing how different newspapers with different audiences, identities, political commitments and hence editorial policies mediate the fully formed reports they receive from Press Agencies such the Press Association (PA), Reuters, Agence France Presse (AFP).

*Linguistic style* is another aspect of discursive practices and refers to the variation in lexical and syntactic structure used in the text. (van Dijk, 1988: 27; cited in Richardson 2007: 95) maintains that stylistic variation is not arbitrary but should be regarded as a part of the role that context plays in the formation of text and talk.

*Inter-textuality*. The concept of inter-textuality refers to the notion that texts cannot be understood in isolation because they are related to other texts.

*“Fairclough's model of CDA 'is based on, and promotes, the principle that texts can never be understood or analyzed in isolation - they can only be understood in relation to webs of other texts and in relation to the social context'.”*

(Richardson 2007, 100) maintains that all news is composed of news related to previous stories.

### **2.3. The Role of Media in Society**

The word ‘media’ derives from the Latin word ‘medium’ which signifies *mode of carrier* implying the means by which something is to be carried, conveyed or transferred. The word was originally used to describe newspapers and books but with the advancement in technology it has been widely applied to the internet, the TV and the radio (Van Dijk, 1988). Media plays a crucial role in shaping and influencing public opinion (Ibidem). The role of media in a society is that of a watchdog that informs the public about malpractices in a society by creating public awareness. Media is also seen as the fourth pillar of democracy in society along with the judiciary, the executive and the legislative bodies because it serves as a platform for protecting the fundamental human rights of citizens against malpractices.<sup>8</sup>

### **2.4. The Role of Elections in Democratic Politics**

Elections are of crucial importance in a democratic country if democracy is to be understood in the phrase of Abraham Lincoln as “a government of the people, for the people, and by the people”<sup>9</sup>. They play a key role in democracy because it is by conducting them freely and fairly that the electorate can select and elect the members of this democratic government.

---

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.globoethicsnetwork.org/profiles/blogs/role-of-media-in-our-society>

<sup>9</sup> Words from the Gettysburg Address of Abraham Lincoln often quoted as a definition of democracy

## 2.5. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a critical perspective that allows researchers to carry out social research to investigate how language is systematically used to construct ideologies or shape attitudes that serve the interest of the political elites in power. Critical Discourse Analysts are concerned with how language is used by the elites in power to promote or maintain ideas that will serve their own political interest. The core assumption behind CDA is that society is characterized by imbalanced hegemonic power structures. These hegemonic power structures are systematically constructed through the skillful exercise of language by people in power along a vertical hierarchy. Such a skillful and systematic use of language allows the hegemony to intellectually manipulate the people at the bottom of the hierarchy to make them accept the status quo without actually understanding that they are being exploited, used, victimized or abused socially.

This aspect of Critical Discourse Analysis is associated with the theory of *social constructivism*.<sup>10</sup> In this perspective language ceases to be just a mere instrument for the expression of social reality and experience but starts to embrace a whole new different dimension that deals with the “construction” of social reality. Here language becomes the medium by which we actually construct social reality in society. In other words, it is through the conceptualization and coinage of words and expressions that we are intuitively and empirically drawn to formulate, that aspects of reality acquire their existence. It is from these premises of *social constructivism* that we understand language to be an instrument by which we can create our own social realities with political and ideological affinities to consolidate our own interests at the expense of that of others. A Critical Discourse Analyst therefore is a social scientist who, with a scrupulous eye, endeavors to investigate subtle linguistic inferences, assumptions and presuppositions hidden in discourse. The analyst aims at not only identifying such hidden inferences, assumptions and presuppositions, but also at unmasking how they are subjectively conjectured to appear credible and genuine to ordinary listeners or readers.

---

<sup>10</sup> McKinley, J. (2015). "Critical Argument and Writer Identity: Social Constructivism as a Theoretical Framework for EFL Academic Writing". *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*. 12 (3): 184–207. Retrieved 4 March 2016.

In this study, the researcher has decided to devise his own approach to investigate news reports published by an influential news enterprise in order to find out if the reports are characterized by the subtle forms of persuasions of which critical discourse wants to be very critical of.

## Chapter 3: Literature Review & a Brief Profile on Nigeria

### 3.1. Studies of News:

Studies on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) have been widely employed in different circumstances. Studies of news usually revolve around the case approach. The authors undertake to investigate an issue or an event on well-known cases of reporting which they think may have socio-political importance such as a presidential campaign or political scandals etcetera. (Wicker, 1978 cited in van Dijk, 1988) maintains that this approach is popular in the United States. Rosenblum makes a very strong statement regarding the relationship between democracy and journalism stating that:

*A democracy cannot function without an informed electorate, and this applies no less to foreign affairs than to domestic matters. Foreign policy cannot be left unchecked to a Washington elite, to specialists or to interested lobby groups. World crises, if foreseen in time, sometimes can be avoided. But without reliable reporting from abroad, citizens are vulnerable and weak. If many Americans do not realize this, only reporters and editors—Knickerbocker's madmen—can drive it home to them. (p. 223).*

Van Dijk also maintains that many news studies are concerned with the bias of news and distortion of events (Dijk, 1988).

### 3.2. Overview of some Empirical Studies

Nada Ghannam in 2011 submitted a research report to the University of Witwatersrand's Faculty of Humanity in partial requirement for the degree of Master of Arts in Translation (Ghannam, 2011). The research focused on the ideology and language in six Lebanese newspapers and tried to establish if, and to what extent, the ideology behind the text limits the freedom of expression of the newspaper in question. The approach revolved around analyzing different versions of the same stories as reported in the political newspapers in order to investigate the different attitudes reflected according to political ideology of the newspaper. The approach consisted in evaluating the grammatical transitivity of the sentences, the active and passive voices used in the articles, the modality of verbs and modal adjectives. The method used in this research is actually

Fairclough method of conducting textual analysis but omits Fairclough's socio-cultural practices and discursive practices. The study concluded that the newspaper under investigation embraced different ideologies.

Studies that focus on critical discourse analysis of news headlines have also been carried out. One of these is *Critical Discourse Analysis of News Headline: A Case of Youth Crime in Thailand* by Pornjan Duanprakhon in 2012 which is a Master's thesis (Duanprakhon, 2012). The purpose of her research was to identify the discursive features of the language used in the news headline in order to expose the ideological orientation of the newspapers. With this study she also sought to expose the social identities of the teenagers that are constructed by the newspapers' discourses. For her study, she used 97 front page headlines which were collected from three Thai newspapers over one month period. She used Fairclough's tripartite approach of textual analysis, socio-cultural and discursive practices as well as Van Dijk's approach to critical discourse analysis. Her findings showed that the teenage offenders were always negatively evaluated by the newspapers. Pornjan also identified four "ideologies" that were reflected in the headlines of the four newspapers which are "*the perception of young offenders as trouble makers, the evaluation of young offenders behavior as brutal and inhumane, the representation of young offenders as criminals, and the representation of young offenders as hot-tempered and wild*".

(Donkin, 2012) analyzed 11 State newspapers to investigate the portrayals of the National School Chaplaincy Program.<sup>11</sup> She adopted Fairclough's three-dimensional model and the selected articles were analyzed in terms of assumptions to determine the ways through which language was used to construct ideologies and discourses about the Chaplaincy Program. She found out that the articles in 2006 and 2007 depicted "a more positive representation of the Chaplaincy Program and, in 2011 the Program was portrayed more negatively due to considerable support for the High Court Challenge". Hence, she showed that "online newspaper portrayals of the Chaplaincy Program are predominantly biased based upon the assumptions made by journalists and the people they choose to represent in their news articles".

---

<sup>11</sup> The National School Chaplaincy Programme (NSCP), between 2011 and 2014 known as the National School Chaplaincy and Student Welfare Program, is an Australian federal government program which funds chaplains in Australian primary and secondary schools. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_School\\_Chaplaincy\\_Programme](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_School_Chaplaincy_Programme)

(Teo, 2012) analyzed two Australian newspapers to investigate verbal manifestations of “racism”: The Sydney Morning Herald and The Daily Telegraph. Teo utilized a critical discourse analysis framework and concluded that the two newspapers utilize stereotypes in reference to the “ethnic community” but not in reference to the “white community”. Hence, the results of the study showed that the two newspapers "reflect and reinforce the marginalization of recent Vietnamese migrants into Australia"

(Mahfouz, 2013) investigated the police news stories reported in two Egyptian newspapers, Al-Gomhuria and Al-Dostour before the January 25 uprising. Using CDA, Mahfouz explored the ideological orientations of the two newspapers. The study showed that the two newspapers used language in such a way as to be in harmony “with the beliefs held by the two newspapers’ target audiences”.

### **3.3. Empirical Discourse Studies on Nigeria**

In the Nigerian context, CDA was employed by Tahir Oladele Adedokun in his Master of Philosophy dissertation (Adedokun, 2013) to analyze election news using Corpus Linguistics as a methodology. For this study, Adedokun created a corpus of two Nigerian newspapers that comprises articles concerning the 2011 presidential campaign in Nigeria (Adedokun, 2013). His data collection led to the creation of a corpus of about 600,000 words which he termed the *Nigerian Election Corpus (NIGEC)*. Adedokun analyzed his corpus in a quantitative manner from the perspective of corpus linguistics, which usually requires software to generate key word frequencies in the corpus in order to show the “aboutness” of the corpus and the context in which the most frequent words are used.

(Daniel, 2009) in another work in CDA of newspapers in the Nigerian context which assesses the social rank on women in Nigerian newspapers. She found out that women are not empowered because they seem to succumb to stereotypical negative way in which they are portrayed by the matrilineal society.

(Ogunge & Alo 2011) uses CDA to study aspects of lexis in news reports in Nigerian newspapers. The researchers concluded that the Nigerian Press needs to use language in a dispassionate way. (Taiwo 2007, 218) studies the ideology that lays in the construction of newspaper headlines from a CDA perspective. The findings showed that the headlines portrayed

the attitude of those who will benefit from the headlines in contrast to those who will be negatively served.

A CDA of gubernatorial candidates' campaign speeches in South Western Nigeria was also carried out by IKE-NWAFOR, NKECHI GLORIA in 2015 (Nkechi, 2015). In her Ph.D. dissertation NKECHI selected some campaign speeches and analyzed them with CDA to investigate the reproduction and sustenance of unequal power relations in campaign texts and how political ideologies were projected in gubernatorial campaign speeches. She selected gubernatorial campaign speeches in four South Western zones. A total of eight speeches, two from each zone were sampled and analyzed. The study drew from Fairclough's 2001 approach, Members' Resources (MR), Van Dijk's 2004 socio-cognitive approach, and principles from Halliday's system of Mood and Modality. Her work concluded that the South-Western aspirants in the gubernatorial elections utilized language as a strategy for supremacy and domination by exploiting lexical items and strong imperatives which allow them to impose their views on others (IKE-NWAFOR, 2015).

### **3.4. Agenda Setting Role of the Media in 2015 Presidential Election**

According to (Olowololu, 2016), one Agenda set by the media in 2015 was the painting of Jonathan and Jonathan's administration as "anti-people" and as an "anti-people government". The media did this by reporting on Jonathan's nation-wide broadcast announcement regarding the 'removal of fuel subsidy' that occurred on January 1, 2012. The news triggered the reactions of civil society groups across Nigeria and Nigeria Labor Congress (NLC) to stage the "Occupy Nigeria" protest that began the next day on January 2, 2012. The protest gained momentum not only in the major cities of Nigeria but also in the major cities of Australia, Toronto, South Africa, London, Sweden and Ghana, and became major news on print and digital media (Olowojolu, 2016: 7).

The media having acted in as a watchdog in assessing the counterterrorism activities of the Jonathan administration strongly criticized the government's incapacity to suppress the Boko Haram Islamic Insurgency and the abduction of the 276 Chibok School girls that took place on April 14, 2014.

The media also acted as a watchdog assessing the anti-corruption Campaign of former leader Obasanjo and that of Jonathan. As more and more allegations emerged regarding Jonathan's lax position on corruption, his government started to be perceived as not giving top priority to anti-corruption program embraced by Obasanjo. This contributed to the low ratings given to Jonathan by the media (ibidem). The media also drew a lot of attention on the inter-party crisis that stroke the image of such a big party that had dominated the Nigerian polity since 1999. The media also portrayed Jonathan as an ethno-centric politician who had resorted to religion and ethnicity in order to win the support of some specific groups (ibid, 8)

The press also informed the public about the repressive measures adopted by the Jonathan administration to prevent the circulation of some newspapers in Nigeria and also about the transitions of some pro-government television stations aimed at attacking the character of Buhari and his party. Due to the repressive measures aimed against the circulation of the newspapers, Jonathan and his government were portrayed as enemies of press and democracy (ibidem).

(Olowojolu, 2016) maintains that "The role of the media cannot be over emphasized in the annals of Nigeria's History." He also states that "Nigerian political elites usually employ the media in canvassing for votes..... and that with the widening influence of globalization, credibility of Nigeria's electoral system is hinged on the media" (ibidem). The study shows that the newspaper has had a fundamental role in setting the agendas for the "democratization" process in Nigeria.

### **3.5. A Brief Profile of Nigeria**

This section contains a brief profile of Nigeria and the discussion of 'socio-political' practices. The profile depicts Nigeria's historical background, provides a survey on Nigeria's economy and describes Nigeria's ethno-linguistic and religious diversity. The discussion of socio-political practices is meant to describe to some extent the political experience Nigeria went through since the return to civil law in 1999. Under socio-political practices the researcher has tried to highlight the phenomena which characterized the presidential elections that took place since the return to civil rule in 1999 to 2015.

Nigeria is a federal republic located in West Africa. Nigeria is by far the most populous of Africa's countries, with more than one-seventh of the continent's people. The people belong to

more than 250 distinct ethno-linguistic groups. These groups give the country a rich culture, but they also pose major challenges to nation and state building. Ethnic based strife has plagued Nigeria since it gained independence in 1960 from the British (Stock, 2008).

The area which corresponds to the state of Nigeria today was home to diverse ethnically based kingdoms, sultanates, chiefdoms and tribal communities before it became a British colony in 1914. In spite of European contact that began in the north in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, these kingdoms and communities maintained their autonomy until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The colonial era begun in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when Britain consolidated its colonial rule over the area around the Niger River that became known as *Niger are* and then *Nigeria*. In 1914 the British merged their northern and southern protectorates into a single state called the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. Nigeria became independent of British rule in 1960. After independence Nigeria experienced frequent coups and long periods of autocratic military rule between 1966 and 1999, when a democratic civilian government was established (Ibidem).

### **3.6. Economy**

Nigeria economy depends almost entirely on the production of petroleum, which lies in large reserves below the Niger Delta. Nigeria was the 12<sup>th</sup> largest producer of petroleum in the world and the 8<sup>th</sup> largest exporter, and has the 10<sup>th</sup> largest proven reserves. The country joined OPEC in 1971. Petroleum plays a large role in the Nigerian economy, accounting for 40% of GDP and 80% of Government earnings. However, agitation for better resource control in the Niger Delta, its main oil producer region, has led to disruptions in the oil production and prevents the country from exporting at 100% capacity (Williams, 2008).

Oil wealth has financed major investments in the country's infrastructure but Nigeria remains among the world's poorest countries in terms of per capita income. Oil revenues led the government to neglect agriculture, and Nigeria must now import agricultural products to feed its population. In the 1960s and 1970s the petroleum industry developed, promoting greatly increased export earnings and allowed massive investments in industry, agriculture, infrastructure, and social services. Many of these large investments, often joint ventures with private corporations, failed (Stock, 2008).

In “The State of Africa” (Meredith, 2005), portrays the main grievances of the Delta activists during the regime of Abacha to be that oil revenues produced by the Delta were used largely to benefit ethnic – majority areas of the country while their own regions suffered from neglect. The Delta Region remained one of the poorest and least developed. There was little provision of electricity and tap water, and schools and hospitals were inadequately funded. Moreover, the Delta had to contend with the impact of environmental degradation: oil spills from pipelines polluted the land and waterways; gas flaring polluted the air; fishing and farming were contaminated, destroying the livelihood of farmers and fishermen.

During the 1970s and 1980s various Delta communities launched sporadic protests at multinational oil companies. In the early 1990s, however, more organized resistance emerged, directed not just at the multi-national oil companies but at the government itself and this caused a wave of popular uprisings and civil wars that threatened the national unity and security of Nigeria (Ibidem)

### **3.7. Overview of Ethnic and Religious Components**

In 1954, before independence, a Federation was proclaimed and the country started to be known as the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The country was divided into 3 administrative regions: Northern, Western and Eastern Regions (George et al., 2012). The formation of political parties such as the Northern People’s Congress (NPC) for Hausa/Fulani and Action Group (AG) for the Yoruba laid the foundation for tribal politics in Nigeria before the attainment of independence. The attainment of political independence from Britain on this platform led to inter-ethnic rivalry over the allocation of resources, political appointments and administrative posts, and the allocation of developmental projects. By the time the military came in January 1966 “to correct the wrongs of the politicians” it succeeded in deepening the division which had already existed in the Army. The patterns of killings in the January 1966 coup led to various interpretations which suggested that it was aimed at eliminating people from a particular ethnic group and this led to another coup in July 1966 that led to the death of the first military Head of State, Major General Aguiyi Ironsi. According to (Agbo, 2001), it was opined that Major Nzeogwu toppled the Balawa regime to replace him with his tribesman, Major General Ironsi. Subsequent coup led by the Hausa/Fulani led to the replacement of Ironsi by General Gowon, a Hausa man.

According to (Arikpo, 1957) Nigeria is an “artificial creation”: the handiwork of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century imperialism. This is because the inhabitants of the southern parts of the country predominantly Christians, well-educated and westernized in their thinking; this because they had contact with the European traders for a couple of hundred years before the people from the North. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the Northern parts are Moslems and very conservative because they were influenced by the jihad (Holy War) of Uthman Dan Fodio<sup>12</sup> (Yesufu, 1982).

(George et al, 2012) maintains that Nigeria is also an artificial State because it was created according to colonial exigencies rather than ethnic coherence. There are about 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria and about 4000 dialects are spoken in Nigeria. There are three main nationalities: the mostly Christian Yoruba’s in the South West, the predominantly Christian Ibos in the South East and the Muslim Hausa Fulani’s in the North. These three main nationalities alone constitute 65% of the Nigerian population while the remaining 35% are the minorities (Butts & Metz, 1996). These different ethnicities of peoples were brought together by the Amalgamation of Nigeria Act of 1914 (Nicolas, 1969). These ethno-linguistic groups do not have anything in common, southerners were and are still modernists while the Northerners were and still are conservatives and extremists.

### 3.8. Socio-political Practices

By socio-political practices what is intended here is the overall experience Nigeria went through in terms of democratic elections since the abandonment of martial law and the return to civil law in 1999.

### 3.9. Causes under which the Civilian Regime collapsed

Onwuka Oyibo Goddey in his assessment of “Military in Politics in Nigeria” (Goddey, 2011) states that corrupt practices by politicians and government officials to whom the resources of the nation were entrusted for proper management led to military intervention. Being a Nigerian, he

---

<sup>12</sup> **Shaihu Usman dan Fodio**, born **Usuman bii Foduye**, (also referred to as **Shaikh Usman Ibn Fodio**, **Shehu Uthman Dan Foduye**, **Shehu Usman dan Fodio** or **Shaikh Uthman Ibn Fodio**) (1754, Gobir – 1817, Sokoto) was a religious teacher, writer and Islamic promoter, and the founder of the Sokoto Caliphate. Dan Fodio was one of a class of urbanized ethnic Fulani living in the Hausa States in what is today northern Nigeria. He was a leader who followed the Sunni Maliki school of Jurisprudence and the Qadiri branch of Sufism.  
<http://themuslim500.com/profile/saadu-abubakar-iii-sultan-sokoto>

also argues that in Nigeria society, political power is seen as an access to key levels of the economy and that the leaders use their positions to manipulate jobs and award contracts to their family members, friends and in-laws. And that contract awarding officials use their positions to demand certain percentage of the contract fees and bribes. According to him, what is worse still is that those who have embezzled government funds display their newly acquired wealth without caution. They build industries and invest in businesses in foreign countries with Nigerian tax payers' money while they leave the society underdeveloped. Necessary amenities like electricity remain epileptic, good roads, hospitals and good sources of water supply are not provided. This often led to protests and insecurity by the down trodden masses and eventually ushered a concatenation of military coups.

### **3.10. Assessment of the Role of the Military in Nigerian Politics**

(Goddey, 2011) also maintains that in over twenty-eight years of military rule in Nigeria, the military contribute to the nation's development in many ways when they ruled because in the area of state creation, the military was the only government that created state in Nigeria till date. Before 1966, there were four regions in Nigeria. This was brought to an end in 1967 when General Gowon created twelve states out of the four regions. Since then the military has created more states and local governments thereby increasing the centers of economic and political growth and development in the country. The military continued to increase the number of states to 19 in 1976, 21 in 1987, 30 in 1991 and 36 in 1996 .this has to some extent reduced the cries of political domination and marginalization in the country. Though Nigeria at present has 36 states there are still agitations for the creation of more states. The creation of states has in way brought about greater unity because no one state in Nigeria today is strong enough to threaten secession.

The military embarked on the policy of reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation after the war. This was aimed at healing the wounds inflicted during the war. The military also drafted constitution for the nation. Though military regimes rule by decrees and edits, they wrote new constitutions before handing over power to civilians in 1979 and 1999. Furthermore, the military is instrumental in the establishment of oil refineries in Nigeria. The regime of General Yakubu Gowon established the Nigerian National oil corporation (NNPOC) in 1971 and this was changed to Nigerian National petroleum corporation (NNPC) in 1973. The military is also credited for the establishment of oil refineries at Warri and Kaduna. Other achievements of military include the

establishment of the National Youth service Corps (NYSC) in 1973, the change of currency from the British pounds shillings and pence in 1973 to Naira and Kobo as the official currency in Nigeria. In 1984 the military Launched war Against Indiscipline (WAI). The military also established some of secondary and tertiary institutions in Nigeria (Ibidem).

In spite of these seemingly impressive achievements of the military, Nigerian experience of military rule has shown that the military has been incapable of resolving the crisis under which civilian regimes crumbled, rather they have compounded the problems they claimed they come in to resolve. As (First, 1970) notes, once in power the military leadership tends to soak up social conflicts like a sponge. It is instructive to note that since the military rule by decrees, it is repressive, the rights of the people are trampled upon, innocent citizens are brutalized and dehumanized, freedom of speech is impaired and the press censored. In 1993 after the annulment of the June 12 presidential election there where protests especially in the southern states and the nation was in total crisis. Pressure groups, social critics, newspaper houses mounted pressure on the federal military government. Each day witnessed an upsurge of civil crisis and demonstrations and to many Nigerians war seemed inevitable. There was breakdown of law and order. The rate of insecurity was so high that people started returning to their states of origin.

This record has indeed made the Nigerian military a major source of political instability in Nigeria. In the area of fighting corruption which was often one of the reasons for military intervention, the military has not succeeded. The military is as corrupt if not more corrupt than their civilian predecessors they overthrew. (Goddey, 2011) also states that General Obasanjo was accused of embezzling N 2.8 billion Naira during his tenor as military head of state Buhari was the minister of petroleum Resources and he also claims that the allegation was refuted with great difficulties and that it has not been proved beyond reasonable doubt that he was innocent. General Babangida was alleged to have carted away the oil money accrued to the nation during the Gulf war, while late General Abacha deposited billions of Naira in foreign banks before his untimely death. These are just few cases of corrupt practices among military leaders that have not been successfully denied. Successive military regimes in this country abused power. When General Gowon was in office as Head of State, he focused his attention on tackling the abuse of power by public officers.

### 3.11. Nigerian Presidential Elections since the Return to Civil Law in 1999

Since 1999 Nigeria has had a multi-party system characterized by the competition of power among two or three strong parties. However the People's Democratic Party (PDP) had retained the presidency since the return to civil law with the elections of 1999 until in 2015 when the incumbent president was ousted by presidential candidate General Muhammadu Buhari.<sup>13</sup>

Nigerian elections occur at the federal level to elect the president and the National Assembly. The President acts as the head of state while the National Assembly as the legislative organ. The National Assembly is bicameral having a Senate with 109 members elected for terms of four years, and a House of Representatives which has 360 members elected in single-seat constituencies for a four year term. Nigeria is a federal democratic government composed of 36 states, each state divided into 3 senatorial districts represented by one senator. In addition to these 108 senators that act as governors representing their respective senates, Nigeria has one additional senator that represents the Federal Capital Territory.

- **The 2003 Presidential Election**

(Momoh, 2006 cited in Akubo and Yakubu) maintains that “the 2003 general elections were characterized by fraud, miscounting, rigging and malfeasance..... and that the election was not issue-oriented; the political parties lacked well thought-out programs and manifestos.”

- **The 2007 Presidential Election**

The 2007 Nigerian general elections comprise governorship, state assembly, presidential and national assembly elections which were all held on the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> of April 2007. State Assembly elections were held on the 14<sup>th</sup> of April, while national assembly and the presidential elections took place later on 21 April. The party that emerged victorious was the People's Democratic Party (PDP).

According to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) out of the 32 states PDP won 26 of them. However International observers such as the Chief European Observer did not approve how the elections had been conducted considering it below international standard and not credible. “For many Nigerians, the 2007 election - the second since the return to civilian rule

---

<sup>13</sup> <http://africanelections.tripod.com/ng.html>

in 1999 - was the worst ever conducted in the country.”<sup>14</sup> “The election was won amid allegations of widespread vote-rigging”<sup>15</sup>

- **The 2011 Presidential Election**

The parliamentary election was originally scheduled for the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 2011<sup>16</sup> but was later postponed for the 4<sup>th</sup> of April and was finally held on 9 April 2011.<sup>17</sup>

Following the death of President Umaru Yar’Adua who was a Muslim, controversy arose as if the next president should be a Muslim or a Christian since it was a tradition to rotate the presidency between the religions. The United States State Department described the election as successful.<sup>18</sup>

Dr. Goodluck Jonathan from the PDP who had previously served as vice president to Umaru Yar’Adua became president. Hence the PDP remained in power for another additional term of presidency until the next elections to be held in 2015.

- **The 2015 Presidential Election**

The 2015 elections can be considered the landmark of Nigerian democracy because what happened in this election was unprecedented in the history of Nigeria as it was the first time for an incumbent president of a ruling party to be ousted by a presidential candidate of the opposition party. The presidential election was originally scheduled for the 14<sup>th</sup> of February but was later postponed to the 28<sup>th</sup> of March.

In spite of the 16 years of uninterrupted rule by the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) since the return to civil law that occurred in 1999, according to the reports analyzed in this research, during the time antecedent to the presidential poll, Nigerians averted that the time was ripe for change and that the seeds of democracy had been sown by the main opposition parties campaigning in the presidential election, the All Progressive Congress, and by its presidential candidate General Muhammadu Buhari.

---

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13070735>

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-11399154>

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.allwestafrica.com/240920106989.html>

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-11825092>.

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.state.gov/p/af/rls/spbr/2011/161931.htm>

### 3.12. Situation of Nigeria during the 2015 Presidential Campaign

During the months ahead of the 2015 presidential campaign Nigeria faced severe internal crisis because its peace, security and stability was threatened by a radical and conservative jihadist group called Boko Haram. “Boko” stands for *book* in Hausa which is the dominant language spoken in the North. “Haram” is Islamic/Arabic word for *forbidden*. A loose translation would be “books are forbidden,” and in this cause, western civilization’s books (Ebiem, 2014). Boko Haram is fundamentalist jihadist group, which believes that western education are corrupting the Muslims of Nigeria and they are on the mission to purify the religion and create an Islamic country in Northern Nigeria. They want to build a society-a separate political state in Northern Nigeria that is ruled by sharia and free from all corrupting agents such as Christians and all institutions that represent Christianity (Ibidem).

Boko Haram promotes a version of Islam which makes it “haram”, or forbidden, for Muslims to take part in any political or social activity associated with western society. this includes voting in elections, wearing shirts and trousers or receiving a secular education. Boko Haram regards the Nigerian State as being run by infidels, even when the country had a Muslim president-and it has extended its military campaign by targeting neighboring States.<sup>19</sup>

## Chapter 4: Critical Discourse Analysis of News Reports

Olowojolu tells us:

---

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13809501>

*“the media in Nigeria gave daily reports about the activities of both the PDP and the APC prior to the polls..... With the help of the media, Nigerians at home and abroad belonging to different social classes showed keen interests in the outcome of the 2015 polls.”* (Olowojolu, 2016).

The critical discourse analysis approach designed for this study is divided in two levels. A *micro level analysis* and a *macro level analysis*. The micro analysis is concerned with analyzing the language and the discursive strategies that characterize each individual report. The second level of analysis can be conceptualized to be a macro-level analysis because it spans over different stories across reports. It is concerned with the identification of themes and the subsequent formulation of discourses.

#### **4.1. Micro-Level Analysis:**

This micro-level analysis consists in the pragmatic analysis of report’s heading in terms of presupposition and, the analysis of each individual report to identify the content information and the strategies by which this information is presented as credible. Bellow follows the Micro-analysis of each news report. A brief summary is given at the end of the section.

##### **1. Why power must shift - The Nation - February 27, 2015**

**Headline:** The heading presupposes that power *must* shift from the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) to the All Progressive Congress (APC).

The article reports on the proceedings of a speech titled *“The Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria: Nigeria’s Transition”* given by Muhammadu Buhari in London on February 26, 2015. This article portrays presidential candidate Muhammadu Buhari as esteemed by a group of political scientists who stand for democracy and whose historical and cultural development is widely acknowledged as one of the best examples of democracy worldwide. The idea that the article wants to convey is that these observers see in Muhammadu Buhari a presidential candidate whose attributes define a potential leader prone to guide Nigeria through a vital wave of democratic consolidation.

**Discursive strategy:** In order to portray Muhammadu Buhari as a candidate who is *esteemed* by the political elites of the Chatham House the article, which was actually written by the editor of

the newspaper himself, recurs to 2 strategies: First, it portrays Muhammadu Buhari as an academician. This is done by reporting that Buhari participated to the event with the objective of lecturing the members of the Chatham House. This allusion to Muhammadu Buhari as an academician is also understood from the *naming* of the event itself which is reported as: “.....where he delivered ‘a lecture’ titled.....” A scrutiny of the entire speech and particularly of how it was announced online and to the audience at the Chatham House<sup>20 21</sup> reveals that Muhammadu Buhari was not invited to deliver a lecture. He was invited to the Chatham hall “to discuss” his view regarding the prospects for democratization in Nigeria (Ibidem). Second, the people at the Chatham house are portrayed as having “cheered his frankness and sincerity” giving him a “standing ovation” and “nodded affirmatively” to what he said regarding what he considers to be the unconstitutional rescheduling of the elections.

In the article the editor also describes Muhammadu Buhari using the following attributes and expressions: “He spoke as a gallant officer, nationalist, patriot and man of valor, honor and integrity. His responses to questions were lucid, logical, and none-elusive” The word “elusive” is actually used here erroneously instead of the word “evasive” but none the less it is used to convey the idea that Muhammadu Buhari gave straight forward answers to the questions posed to him during the discussion at the Chatham House. The event was live streamed and the whole speech and question and answer session was made available on the website of the Chatham House (Ibidem).

Analyzing the transcript, it emerges that Muhammadu Buhari was rather evasive on a question posed to him by Sir. Richard Gozney, the Chairperson. The question posed by Sir. Richard Gozney was; “Did you have a view on Sharia law?”(Ibidem) This was the first question coupled with a second one posed to Muhammadu Buhari. Muhammadu Buhari answered only the first question and tried to terminate the question and answer session without even trying to make an attempt to answer the second question (Ibidem). In order to extract an answer from Muhammadu Buhari, Sir. Gozney had to ask the question a second time which caused Muhammadu Buhari to directly reply by saying; “You see, I don’t like this one so much on Sharia, that’s why I omitted it.”(Ibidem) What Muhammadu Buhari actually said subsequently is out of the scope of this study

---

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.chathamhouse.org/event/prospects-democratic-consolidation-africa-nigerias-transition>

<sup>21</sup> [https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field\\_document/20150226BuhariSpeechQA.pdf](https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/20150226BuhariSpeechQA.pdf)

as we are not interested here in what the Muhammadu Buhari said but in how the report tried to portray him. What one can easily notice here is that in spite of the fact that Muhammadu Buhari was rather evasive on a question, the report tries to portray him as a speaker who answered the questions none-elusively (none-evasively).

Considering how the ex-war veteran terminated his speech putting emphasis on the point he wanted to stress by using the expression: “permit me to close this discussion on a personal note” it is understood that with this possibility to speak at the Chatham House Muhammadu Buhari aimed *also* at redeeming himself of his past as a dictator. In this speech Muhammadu Buhari found the possibility to tell the elites in front of him that he acknowledges having made some mistakes while the nation was under his military rule and that he is accountable for it but he also used this as an opportunity to tell these elites that the past should not affect the course of the future. And that as a converted democrat he fully believes that democracy is the only way to save the fate of his nation. In doing this, he is trying to win the collective opinion of the people at the hall. However, the researcher is interested in the ideological impact of Muhammadu Buhari’s speech only so far as this can be brought in relation to the potential ideological impact of the article. Therefore, the article has to be considered ideologically from the vantage point of the newspaper which shows that the central theme that terminated Muhammadu Buhari’s speech in the Chatham house was given less prevalence in the article.

Analyzing the headline from the reader’s perspective who reads for the gist, the article is not very much thematically coherent with the title “Why power must shift “, because it fails to explore or explain actually why power must shift.

## **2. Group warns against Interim Gov. - The Nation Nigeria - March 4, 2015**

The article alerts the public about allegations regarding the insinuations to set up an interim government (a provisional government) by Goodluck Jonathan and the People’s Democratic Party (PDP).

**Discursive strategy:** The article first introduces a group of Nigerians called the Nigerians United for Democracy (NUD) as a pre-democracy group whose core interest is portrayed to be the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. Second, the article reflects the alleged opinion of this pre-democracy group that creating an interim government would spell doom for the country and

that the outcome of this would result in the likely mobilization of Nigerians against the Interim National Government. Still reflecting the opinion of the group, the article foresees that if such a mobilization of Nigerian Protesters occurs, it is very likely to lead to a further shift in the election dates with catastrophic consequence for the country in terms of democratic progress. The article does not indicate the sources of such allegations and therefore, it is difficult for the readers to understand if there is any truth in them. President Goodluck Jonathan, however, denied such insinuations entirely publicly on February 22, 2015 during the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Nigeria (CBCN) held at Our Lady Queen of Nigeria Pro-Cathedral, Garki, Abuja<sup>22</sup>. The article fails to report that only ten days earlier Dr. Goodluck Jonathan denied the insinuations.

### 3. 'No to further polls shift' - The Nation Nigeria, March 4, 2015

**Headline:** The headline presupposes that the presidential elections which had already been shifted<sup>23</sup> should not be shifted again in spite of pressure or tendencies to shift the polls again. The article warns the public that the Jonathan Administration and the People's Democratic Party (PDP) have the intention to postpone the elections. In so doing, the newspaper actually acts as a watch dog to prevent a potential rescheduling of the elections from March 28.

**Discursive strategy:** To achieve the purpose, the article first introduces a group of youths belonging to the All Progressive Congress (APC) called "I am Ready". The youth are portrayed as a group of young people who have begun a campaign against further postponement of presidential elections.

Secondly, it then warns the public that considering the trends, a postponement of the elections is very likely. However, the article does not inform the readers regarding the background of such allegations to allow the readers to draw such conclusions. The article vaguely alludes to the removal of the Independent National Electoral Commission Chairman, Prof. Attahiru Jega and the formation of an interim national government.

### 4. 'Elections must hold' - The Nation Nigeria, March 5, 2015

---

<sup>22</sup> <http://allafrica.com/stories/201502231308.html>

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-nigeria-election-idUSKBN0LB0TL20150208>

The article informs the public that the elections scheduled for March 28 should not be postponed in spite of the pressure put on the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) by the government and the ruling party.

**Discursive strategy:** To achieve the above mentioned purpose, the article purports to reflect the opinion of Dipo Okeyomi, a politician who is the chieftain of the All Progressive Congress party in Lagos State. The reflected opinions of Dipo Okeyomi are:

- The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has lost its independence due to the negative influence exercised on it by the government and the ruling party, the PDP.
- As a result of this (losing its independence), INEC is losing its image as a credible agency in conducting free and fair elections.
- The elections were postponed from the original date of 14 February to March 28 because the National Security Agency (NSA) conspired with the government. According to him, the conspiracy saw the postponement of the elections on the false pretext that the Nation was exposed to the Boko Haram threat; hence the elections were postponed based on the false excuses that it wasn't safe to conduct the elections at that time<sup>24</sup>.
- The opinion of Dipo Okeyomi is that the government and the security agency conspired to postpone the elections because the president knew that he would lose.
- Finally Okeyomi makes two appeals; one to INEC's chairman Prof. Attahiru Jega to consider the implication that rescheduling the elections would have on his public service career and the other to the Nigerians people in general to urge Nigerians to vote for Buhari.

While reflecting the opinion of the chieftain of the All Progressive Congress party in Lagos state the newspaper informs the readers that the previous elections were rescheduled based on false excuses and that INEC is under current pressure by the ruling party to commit the same mistake.

##### **5. APC gives Nigerians a good option – Ashamu - The Nation Nigeria, March 8, 2015**

---

<sup>24</sup> <http://allafrica.com/stories/201502110991.html>

This article reflects the positive opinion that a Nigerian entrepreneur, Tony Ashamu, Chief Executive Officer of Olive Group, has regarding the political involvement of APC in the Nigerian's polity.

**Discursive strategy:** The article is based on excerpts that reproduce an interview with Mr. Ashamu. In the interview Ashamu discusses the political situation that has been prevalent in Nigeria since 1999. According to this entrepreneur, in Nigeria there had not been any democracy for 16 years since the PDP took power in 1999 because the PDP had always ruled de facto unchallenged. Ashamu is reported as proceeding with his argument saying that since the restoration of civilian rule in 1999, Nigeria's polity has always been characterized only "nominally" by a multiparty system while in practice it has always remained a one party system solely under the PDP. As reported, this Nigerian businessman maintained that the emergence of the APC to challenge the ruling party that has been in power for 16 years is a "beautiful thing" because it can lead to a two-party system at different levels of administration that creates a system of checks and balances.

#### **6. 'Nigeria has bright future' - The Nation Nigeria 2, March 11, 2015**

**Headline:** The headline conveys a message of hope through an assertive statement. This article emphasizes the rationale of some APC chieftains behind what they allegedly perceive to be a "Common Sense Revolution" expressed during a party's campaign stop in Legos. In order to emphasize the rationale the article manifests common grievances against the government and accuses it of having failed to meet the people's expectations and of being incompetent.

**Discursive strategy:** The article first appeals to sentiments by depicting a typical Nigerian patriot who would experience a sense of indignation towards the Nigerian socio-economic mess brought about by the government. In the words of Asiwaju Bola Tinubu who was governor of Lagos State between 1999 and 2007, this socio-economic mess is portrayed as being objectively discernible and the shift in power to occur on March 28 as imminent. Still impersonating this ex-governor, the opposition party, the PDP is also portrayed as a political party that resorts to calumny in his political campaign. Allegedly, in the ex-governor's opinion, the PDP during its' political campaign calumniates the opposition by resorting to ethnicity and religion to polarize the nation.

### **7. I want to serve, not dictate - Buhari - The Nation Nigeria - March 11, 2015**

The article informs its readers that Buhari's intentions are to serve the Nigerian people and not to dictate (hence, the reporter's opinion to establishment a governing party to replace the existing "ruling party" that has ruled the country for 16 years). The article also reassures the Nigerian public that Buhari is not an ultra-religious fanatic bent towards Islamizing the Nigerian nation.

**Discursive strategy:** In order to achieve the purpose, the article first presents the conjectures that Buhari is an "ultra-religious Muslim fanatic" as being groundless and invented by the opposition party, the PDP, only to calumniate. As alleged, false alarms have been raised among Christians that if Buhari becomes president he will elevate the Islamic religion to the level of a state religion introducing the *Sharia law* and elevating it above the civil law.

In order to demolish this argument, the article first presents such fearful concerns as groundless vicious lies told by the propagandists "to incite wickedness and fears among the public". Second, in this article, Buhari's appeal to transcend religious barriers in order to focus on unity is reported presenting Buhari to the general public as a leader who equates the Sharia law only with customary laws pertaining to customs of marriage, divorce and inheritance which cannot be forced upon the none-Muslims because they do not subscribe to the Islamic faith.

### **8. Nations don't change war time leaders, says Wogu - The Nation Nigeria. March 12, 2015**

The article informs the public that the Nigerian army is fighting back Boko Haram and that the insurgents have claimed a part of the territory for themselves. And that they have to be fought back with more determination.

The article's title is misleading as it leads to wrongly presume that there is a tendency to depose a war time leader who served the Nation in times of war but currently is being denied the rightful place in a post-wartime government.

### **9. No to military involvement in 2015 elections - The Nation Nigeria. March 12, 2015**

The article informs the public that in spite of the Court of Appeal judgment against the deployment of troops for the elections, President Goodluck Jonathan might order the deployment of soldiers for the March 28 and April 11 elections. The Sokoto High Court decision that the military should play no direct role during the elections was validated by the Court of Appeal Judgment. Hence, the article clearly reflects the opinion that the intervention of the military in the elections can only be detrimental to the conduct of free and fair elections.

**Discursive strategy:** In order to convince the readers that the military should stay out of the elections, the article attempts to lead its readers to take a lesson from the intervention of the military in the Ekiti governorship election of June 2014 and conclude that if the military intervene in the 2015 elections, based on previous experiences, it is very likely that they will be used by the government to tamper the election process. To achieve this objective, the article reports the allegations leaked by an army captain regarding the intervention of the army in the Ekiti governorship election held in June 21, 2014, the intervention of the military was allegedly used to tamper the process of the election.

Considering that the military are one organ of the government and that the ruling party is actually the PDP, the article, by trying to influence the opinion of the general public to leave the military out of the election process, actually safeguards the interests of the APC which is the strongest opposition party to the PDP and which would most likely have something to lose if the military intervened.

The article also informs the public about the fear of the APC, which is that the military may be used to intimidate and arrest leading politicians opposed to the ruling Peoples' Democratic Party. Another fear is that the ruling party may take advantage of the increasing insecurity in the country to use such an excuse for the full involvement of the military during the election time.

The article reflects the opinion of the legislative body that to have the military available for immediate deployment during the elections is legal and constitutional but such a deployment must be approved or regulated by the National Assembly of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (NAFRN). The role of actually regulating the election process is legally a duty of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) or the Civil Defense Corps (CDC). And the reflected prevailing opinion is that if the police are armed properly they can adequately provide security during the elections.

The articles also reflect the opinion of some observers (who they are, is not mentioned) who are reported having accused the President of deploying the military illegally to monitor the conduct of elections in the last couple of years without approaching the legislative authorities.

#### **10. ‘PDP can’t stop Buhari’s victory’ - The Nation Nigeria/ March 16, 2015**

The article reflects the opinion of Lagos State All Progressive Congress (APC) Publicity Secretary Joe Igbokwe regarding his expectation outcome of the general elections, of Gen. Muhammadu Buhari’s chance, and the purported endorsement of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) by Igbos in Lagos.

**Discursive strategy:** The article reflects the opinion of the Publicity Secretary of the APC that the elections scheduled on February 14, 2015, had been postponed by the PDP by applying pressure on INEC because the PDP, seeing that its downfall was imminent decided to gain 6 more weeks to reorganize itself.

#### **11. ‘Buhari ‘ll not support same sex marriage’ - The Nation Nigeria/ March 17, 2015**

The article reassures the electorate that Buhari’s view regarding same sex marriage is in conformity with the prohibitive cultural values of Nigerians regarding same sex issues.

**Discursive strategy:** In order to clear the General of any false insinuations, the article precisely traces the source of such insinuations to the Director, Media and Publicity of PDP Presidential Campaign Organization, Chief Femi Fanikayode.

The article seeks to reassure the public that the insinuations made by the Peoples Democratic Party Presidential Campaign Organization (PDPPCO) that the All Progressive Party presidential candidate, General Muhammadu Buhari, will collaborate with western nations to support same sex marriage if elected as President are completely false and spread only to attack the image of Buhari.

#### **12. ‘Don’t vote by sentiment’ - The Nation Nigeria/ March 17, 2015**

The article informs its readers of the call by the Southern Nigeria Peoples Mandate on Southern Nigerians not to be deceived by sentiments to vote for the PDP. The article presupposes that the electorate might cast their vote for Goodluck Jonathan in the March polls just out of sentiments. It therefore tries to make its readers consider the performance of the President during its first term to show that he has failed to be the kind of president that Nigeria needs. Hence, the article makes an over appeal to the electorate not to vote for his second reelection as resident.

**Discursive strategy:** The article first informs the public of the call made by the President of Southern Nigerian Peoples Mandate (SNPM), Mr. Augustine Chibudun that the southerners in general should not vote for a reelection of Jonathan. The SNPM is a socio-political organization, made up of Concerned South South Movement (CSSM), Southwest Business League (SWBL), Southeast Peoples Agenda (SEPA) and Ndigbo Unity Forum (NUF) and is therefore seen as an organ that represents the interests of southern Nigerian in general.

The article then justifies the claims made by Mr. Augustine Chibudun by introducing the premises based on which he justifies his argument that southerners should “reject” Jonathan government on March 28. The premises are, overall failure of the government in the past five years, mismanagement of over 30 trillion Narnia<sup>43</sup>, the worse political crimes whereby billions of narnia have been looted in the name of subsidy as the government is full of fraud.

Apparently, from Augustine Chibudun point of view; the Nigerian oil import should not be subsidized as it could be replaced with oil refineries in the country. According to his sources, around 900 billion narnia was budgeted by the government for subsidies. Therefore he extends a call to all people to reject the current government.

Just like in previous articles, this article too reflects the opinion that many APC politicians have regarding the way the PDP portrays the APC. Chibudun here calls on the PDP and precisely the PDP presidential spokesman, Fani Kayode to stop what Chibudun terms “character assassination” and all the falsehood peddled against APC and its candidates. Fani Kayode is also portrayed as having slandered Buhari out of *malignity*.

Hidden in the title of the article is a presupposition that casting the vote for Jonathan mostly likely springs from sentimentalism. However, the article does not explain why Mr. Augustine

Chibudun, the editor of the newspaper or anybody else thinks why southerners might be prone to cast their vote for Mr. Jonathan out of sentimentalism.

### **13. Buhari will do Nigeria good —Pastor Bakare - The Nation Nigeria/ March 19, 2015**

In this article Buhari is portrayed as a man who, to some extent enjoys the support of some factions of the Nigerian Christian community.

**Discursive strategy:** The article reflects the positive opinion of the Latter Rain Assembly General (LRAG) overseer pastor Tunde Bakare regarding Buhari. Buhari is allegedly described by the pastor as *a man of integrity who would make the country proud if elected president*.

### **14. Clerics declare seven days prayer for Buhari\_Osibajo - The Nation Nigeria/ March 19, 2015**

The article portrays Buhari as a man who, to some extent enjoys the support of some factions of the Nigerian Christian community.

**Discursive strategy:** In order to portray the General as a man who enjoys the solidarity of some Christians, the article reports the clarion call made by a group of clerics under the aegis of ‘Christians for Good Governance’ (CGG) as having urged to hold a seven days prayer for the success of the presidential candidate of the APC, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari and his running mate, Professor Yemi Osinbajo, at the poll on March 28.

Allegedly the clarion call is extended to all “men and women of God who truly believe that the time for change has come”.

Bishop Kayode Williams in the article is reported as making a broader clarion call to all pastors in 186,000 churches in the Southwest zone to adhere to pray for Buhari.

### **15. Lagos women root for Buhari presidency - The Nation Nigeria/ March 19, 2015**

Buhari in this report is portrayed as a leader who enjoys the support of women across ethnic groups resident in Lagos.

**Discursive strategy:** These women in Lagos are reported to have mobilized support for the presidential candidacy of Gen. Muhammadu Buhari on March 28. The women are reported

making a pledge at a town hall meeting which was organized by Pro-climate federation for Buhari/Osibajo Presidency 2015 in Surulere. They are reported promising to embark on door to door campaigns to ensure the victory of the APC at the elections.

#### **16. PDP can't win by brigandage, says APC - The Nation Nigeria/ March 19, 2015**

The article reports on vandalistic and brutal activities that have been ascribed to the PDP and portrays the PDP as a political party that resorts to brutality and vandalism to hinder the political campaign of its rivals, in particular those belonging to the APC.

**Discursive strategy:** In order to convey this message to the readers, the article ascribes to the PDP the role of having incited the violent manifestation of March 16, 2015. The violent manifestation called for the removal of Attahiru Jega, Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC. The title of the article presupposes that the PDP employs brigandage. Allegedly the outcome of the manifestation led to the destruction of property owned by the APC such a billboard, banners, posters and other campaign materials.

The article acts as a mirror reflecting the opinion of the APC Publicity Secretary, Joe Igbokwe who alleged that Otunba Gani Adams, the leader of Oodua People's Congress (OPC), is in league with the PDP and President Goodluck Jonathan who have instigated militants and outlaws to cause violence and mayhem during the demonstration <sup>25</sup>

The general argument put forward by Otunba Gani Adams was that the Oodua Peoples' Congress (OPC) took to the streets of Lagos to manifest their resentment of Attahiru Jega over the alleged poor distribution of Permanent Voter Card (PVCs) in the south<sup>26</sup>. Registration of underage in the north and creation of additional 30,000 polling units in the north.

The argument of the APC is that the protest against Attahiru Jega was actually used as a pretext to attack him since as president of INEC he was inclined to conduct free and fair elections. In APC's opinion, the manifestation was staged in order to create a state of chaos that might lead to a second postponement of the elections. "On Sunday March 15, the APC actually claimed it has

---

<sup>25</sup> <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/178602-opc-factions-clash-after-anti-jega-protest.html>

<sup>26</sup> <http://allafrica.com/stories/201503022219.html>

uncovered a plot by the ruling Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) to use ethnic militias to protest for the removal of Jega. Allegedly the protest against Jega was sponsored by Goodluck Jonathan himself through Gani Adams who used a faction of Oodua Peoples' Congress called the "Coalition for Concerned Nigerians"<sup>27</sup> Needless to say; Gani Adams denied all the allegations.

### **17. PDP can't win by sharing dollars, says APC - The Nation Nigeria/ March 20, 2015**

The headline presupposes that the PDP makes use of bribery during its political campaigns. The article brings to the readers' attention that the proposed troop's deployment for the election by the federal government is unconstitutional and that this raises concern as the security troops may be used to manipulate the elections.

**Discursive strategy:** In order to alarm its readers regarding the incumbent menace of troops that might be stationed at the elections booths, the article first reminds its readers that the last case of such an intervention actually led to the scandalous rigging of the Ekiti State governorship election. The Chairman of the APC Conference of State publicity Secretaries alleged that "The army was used in an extensive manner to rig the Ekiti State governorship election, the fact of which is emerging from the scandalous Ekiti rigging tape leak". In Igbokwe's opinion, the president and the PDP have started a campaign of calumny against Jega.

Igbokwe added: "Jega is being persecuted by the PDP and its acolytes for insisting that a credible election should be held. There is a devilish machination by a desperate failed party to remain in power. The protests and criticisms of Jega are unfounded tactics the PDP wants to use to frustrate Jega and the PDP and manipulate the election in its favor or scuttle it because it is obvious that they cannot win in a free and fair elections."

The Publicity Secretary added: "The President himself has lost confidence in the naira. He is now talking in dollars, euro and pound sterling. He is ready to buy anybody at whatever price to ensure that he remains in power. How many Nigerians will Jonathan reach with dollars? The dollar sharing is an admission of failure and this regime must be sent out by all means, unless it can reach the 170 million poverty-ridden Nigerians with these dollars."

---

<sup>27</sup> <http://saharareporters.com/2015/03/16/opc-militia-leader-gani-adams-leads-anti-jega-protest-lagos-says-jonathan-recently>

However the article does not try to verify these allegations. It just presents them as if they were irrefutable and statement of facts.

### **18. From dusk to dawn - The Nation Nigeria/ March 22, 2015**

The article makes a general clarion call to all Nigerians to vote wisely. In the writer's opinion to vote wisely is to vote for Buhari.

**Discursive strategy:** In order to justify that Nigerians should cast their votes for the General; the writer draws a comparison between Jonathan and Buhari. In the writer's opinion, Jonathan should not be reelected because his previous tenure demonstrated that he was incompetent. Buhari in the other hand is portrayed as an austere man, who had been a state governor, petroleum affairs minister and military Head of State in 1984/85. And during the time he held these positions he is reported by the writer of the article as a man in whom no corruption was found.

### **19. Traditional rulers and the Jonathan campaign - The Nation Nigeria/March 22, 2015**

The articles reports on allegations that Jonathan has bribed traditional rulers of eleven teams into lobbying support for him among very prominent traditional rulers.

**Discursive strategy:** In order to achieve this purpose, the article alleges that President Goodluck Jonathan's administration has worked very hard during the electoral campaign to mobilize traditional rulers in order to gain votes for Jonathan. The article also alleges that Mr. Jonathan in order to secure support from traditional rulers will at times even participate in practices that are in contradiction to his Christian identity such as consenting to the invocation of the gods of Yoruba land by Yoruba Obas (local chiefs) to grant the president his wish. In so doing the article wants to portray a president who is unscrupulous as he would do anything to gather supporters around him.

Though it is not the article itself that makes the allegations regarding the use of bribery by the Jonathan reelection campaign, it comments on such allegations stating that such allegations have not been "convincingly denied".

-----

Considering the structure of most of the reports, they are in standard schematic structure as exemplified in (Bell, 1991) because they consist of the conventional sequence of *lead*, *episode* and *event*, with the event being subdivided into *setting*, *actors*, *action* and background.

The articles do not exhibit much in terms of demagoguery and rhetoric speech because the voices of those who discourse in the headlines and in the stories are not the voices of the politicians themselves but of the newspaper's editor or the newspaper in general. At this point of the research it suffices to say that almost all the reports are rather expressionistic than explorative in character. They do not supply the readers with all the necessary background information and details in order for him/her to empirically ascertain the objectivity of the claims put forward<sup>28</sup>. This means that they are aimed at conveying the info to the readers without actually giving the readers the opportunity to understand or verify the accuracy of the events and facts reported. In some cases the headlines do not even coincide with the content of the news because the headline anticipates a theme that is not discussed in the report. This is perhaps devised by the newspaper considering the notion that most readers read only the headline for the "gist".

The Analysis conducted on all of the 19 news reports reveals that most of the headlines entailed a presupposition. These presuppositions are presented to the uncritical reader as statements of fact in order to influence the political attitude of the readers positively towards Muhammadu Buhari and the APC, and negatively towards Goodluck Jonathan and the PDP. The headlines, in addition to embracing a presupposition, also contain imperative statements meant at admonishing the government to prevent any unconstitutional practices aimed at thwarting the process of democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

In almost all of the stories the same discursive strategy is to be found which consists in reporting the political opinion that a politically active group of people (the Chatham House, NUD, I am Ready etc...) or a prominent figure in Nigerian society (the Entrepreneur, the Christian Overseer, leader etcetera) has regarding political issues. This is a very astute strategy because by so doing the newspaper avoids discoursing directly with the readership leading them to presume that if the opinions reflected are those of prominent figures, such opinions indeed reflect the state of affairs in Nigeria.

---

<sup>28</sup> thought this is not the aim of this study, a good news reports should also aim at this

The following section deals with the Macro-level analysis.

## 4.2. Macro-Level Analysis:

This analysis consists in an *inter-textual identification of themes and formulation of discourses based on theme's constituents*. The first part consists in identifying the various “chunks” of information in the news reports to identify common themes. The second part consists in synthesizing the information that constitutes the themes into the actual discourses.

### 4.2.1. Inter-textual Identification of Themes

The *inter-textual identification of themes* consists in integrating together related information in order to identify common themes. The intertextual identification of themes across the 19 news stories has led to the identification of the seven themes listed below.

1. Theme on voting, power shift and the election process;
2. Theme regarding the risk of setting up unconstitutionally an interim government and its likely impact on the elections;
3. Themes concerning Muhammadu Buhari and the All Progressive Party (APC):
  - Buhari in the Chatham House discussing the prospects for Democratic consolidation in Nigeria;*
  - personal attributes, qualities, profile and charier;*
  - view on Sharia Law, Civil Law and religion;*
  - perception by some women and their role in his campaign;*
  - perception by some Christian communities and their support in his campaign;*
  - view on same sex marriage;*
4. Themes regarding Goodluck Jonathan and the People's Democratic Party (PDP):
  - portrayal of Goodluck Jonathan;*
  - grievances against the PDP;*
  - allegations of slandering during political campaigns;*
  - allegations regarding the resort to ethnicity and religion to polarize the nation;*
  - insinuations regarding intimidation and arrest of leading politicians opposed to the PDP;*
  - insinuations regarding vandalistic and brutal activities towards political opponents;*
  - the party's view regarding the rationale for the protest against INEC's chairman;*

*-allegations of bribery during political campaigns;*

*-insinuations regarding previous rigging of elections (the case of the 2012 Ekiti State governorship elections);*

5. Theme on The military (their intervention in the elections and illegal deployment without the consent of the National Assembly);
6. Theme regarding INEC and INEC's chairman (accusations by the PDP);
7. Theme regarding Oodua People's Congress (OPC) insinuations against INEC regarding:
  - poor distribution of PVC;*
  - underage poll registration;*
  - creation of additional polling units;*
8. Theme regarding Boko Haram (its threat to national peace and Jonathan's incapacity to quell the insurgency);

#### **4.2.2. Formulation of Discourses based on Theme's Constituents**

A synthesis of each of this thematically subcategorized information will generate the discourses. The researcher has coined this second sub level of macro-analysis *formulation of discourses based on themes' constituents*. It is at this level that the data ceases to be mere information and becomes discourses. The following section shows seven discourses based on the constituents extracted from different news stories that constitute them. The constituents are indicated referring to the articles (stories/news reports/ news), the paragraph, and in few cases the specific points from where they were taken. In this context, "Art." refers to article, "Par." refers to paragraph and Point, in the specific case that a paragraph should contain points, refers to the specific point in the previously indicate paragraph.

1. **Discourse regarding voting, power shift and the election process**  
Nigerians are solicited to cast their vote for Buhari and not the PDP Art. 4 – Point 5. Nigeria has been a multiparty system since 1999 only "nominally" because it has actually been ruled solely by the PDP all these years Art. 5: Par. 2. It is now time for power to shift from the PDP to the APC. Having another strong party to challenge the ruling party can only have beneficial effects as it leads to a two party system at different levels of administration that creates a system of checks and balances. Art. 5: Par. 2.

2. **Discourse regarding the risk of setting up an interim government and its likely impact on the elections**

As alleged, the elections were postponed from the original date of February 14 to March 28 because the National Security Agency (NSA) conspired with the government maintaining that in the mid of February it was not safe to conduct the elections Art. 4 – Point 3. NSA and the president conspired because the president knew that he was going to lose Art. 4 – Point 4. The elections had been postponed by the PDP because the PDP seeing that its downfall was imminent decided to gain 6 more weeks to reorganize itself Art. 10 – Par. 2. Considering the implications that rescheduling the elections would have on the public service career of Attahiru Jega, the Chairman should not allow the elections to be rescheduled Art. 4 – Point 5. Goodluck Jonathan and the Peoples Democratic Party are planning to set up an interim government Art. 2 – Par. 1/Art. 3 – Par 2. In the opinion of a group of Nigerians called the Nigerians United for Democracy (NUD), a pre-democracy group whose core interest is the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria, if such an interim government is set up, it will spell doom for the country causing the mobilization of Nigerian Protesters which will lead to a *further* shift in the election date that should not take place again Art. 2 – Par. 2.

3. **Discourse regarding Muhammadu Buhari and the All Progressive Party**

*-Buhari in the Chatham House discussing the prospects for Democratic consolidation in Nigeria-* Buhari is reported giving a lecture regarding the “Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria” Art. 1 – Par. 2. The People at the Chatham House are reported cheered his frankness and sincerity giving him a standing ovation and nodding affirmatively to what he said during the lecture on the Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria Art. 1 – Par. 2.

*-Personal attributes, qualities, profile and charier*

Buhari compared to his counterpart is portrayed as a ruler prone to serve and not to dictate Art. 7 – Par. 1 Reported speaking as a gallant officer, nationalist, patriot and man of valor, honor and integrity. Reported giving lucid, logical and none-elusive responses to questions Art. 1 – Par. 4.

*-View on Sharia Law, Civil Law and religion*

Buhari is reported considering the Sharia Law not to be above the Civil Law equating it only with customary laws pertaining to customs of marriage, divorce and inheritance which cannot be forced upon the non-Muslims because the non-Muslims do not subscribe to the Islamic faith. Buhari represented as being not an ultra-fanatic Muslim bent on Islamizing the nation and such allegations as having spread by the PDP just to slander him Art. 7 – Par. 2-3.

*-Perception by some women and their role in his campaign*

Women in Lagos are reported having mobilized support for presidential candidate Gen. Muhammadu Buhari. Allegedly the women have made a pledge at a town hall meeting organized by Pro-climate federation promising to embark on door to door campaigns to ensure the victory of the APC at the elections.

*-Perception by some Christian communities and their support in his campaign*

Buhari is viewed in good light by a group of clerics called the Christians for Good Governance who allegedly have urged to hold a seven days prayer for the success of Buhari at the poll on March 28. Bishop Kayode Williams in the article is reported having made a broader clarion call to all pastors in 186,000 churches in the south western zone to adhere to pray for Buhari. Art. 14. – Par. 1.

*-View on same sex marriage*

Buhari's view regarding same sex marriage is reflected to be in conformity with the prohibitive cultural values of Nigerians regarding same sex marriage Art. 11 – Par. 1. He is reported as not wanting to collaborate with western nations to support same sex marriage if elected president. As reported in the corresponding article, such insinuations had been fabricated by the Director, Media and Publicity of PDP Presidential Campaign Organization, Chief Femi Fanikayode only to attack the image of Buhari Art. 11 – Par. 3.

#### 4. **Discourse regarding Goodluck Jonathan and the People's Democratic Party (PDP)**

##### *-Portrayal of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan*

Goodluck Jonathan is portrayed as unscrupulous in his quest for power to the extent that he would even adhere to religious practices that are in contradiction with his Christian belief system such as consenting to the invocation of the gods of the Yoruba land by Yoruba Obas to grant the president his wish Art 19. – Par. 2 The president is also reported as having failed to be the kind of president that Nigeria needs Art. 12 – Par. 1. The president of Southern Nigerian Peoples Mandate (SNPM), Augustine Chibudun allegedly made a clarion call to all southerners not to vote for a reelection of Jonathan. Art. 12 – Par. 2.

##### *-Grievances against the PDP*

Since it took power in 1999 the PDP is has done nothing but causing the socio economic mess the nation is going through Art. 6 – Par. 2. Solicitations made to reject the PDP based on the overall failure over the last five years, mismanagement of over Narnia 30 trillion, the worse political crimes whereby billions of Narnia have been looted in the name of subsidy as the government is full of fraud Art. 12 – Par. 3.

##### *-Allegations concerning slandering during political campaigns*

The PDP frequently resorts to calumny (character assassination) during its political campaigns. Art. 6 – Par. 2. The PDP has spread lies regarding Buhari saying that he is an ultra-religious fanatic bent towards Islamizing the nation only to calumniate (slander) him in order to “incite wickedness and fears among the public”. Art. 7 – Par. 2 & 3.

The Director, Media and Publicity of PDP Presidential Campaign Organization, Chief Femi Fanikayode has insinuated that if Buhari is elected president, he will collaborate with western nations to allow same sex marriage in Nigeria. The article reports that such insinuations are groundless and only meant to attack the image of Buhari Art. 11 – Par. 3. Calls have been made by Chibudun on the PDP and precisely the PDP presidential spokesman, Fani Kayode to stop what Chibudun terms character assassination and all the

“falsehood peddled against APC and its candidates”. According to Chibudun Fani Kayode has slandered Buhari out of malignity.

*-Allegations regarding the resort to ethnicity and religion to polarize the nation*

The PDP frequently resorts to ethnicity and religion in order to polarize the nation and divide people along ethnic and religious lines Art. 6 – Par. 2.

*-Insinuations regarding intimidation and arrest of leading politicians opposed to the PDP*

The military might be deployed during the elections and used by the government to intimidate and arrest leading politicians opposed to the ruling PDP. The ruling party may take advantage of the increasing insecurity in the country to cause the full involvement of the military during the election time. Art. 9 – Par. 4. In the last couple of years, the military have been deployed unconstitutionally by the president without the approval of the legislative authorities. The role of actually regulating the election process is legally a duty of the Nigerian Police Force or the Civil Defense Corps and the additional involvement of the Military should only be regulated by the National Assembly. Art. 9 – Par. 5.

*-Insinuations regarding repressive vandalistic and brutal activities towards political opponents*

The PDP has incited the violent manifestations of March 16, 2015 which called for the removal of Attahiru Jega, the chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The outcome of these manifestations was the destruction of property owned by the APC such as billboards, banners, posters and other campaign materials Art. 16. – Par. 2.

Otunba Gani Adams, the leader of Oodua People’s Congress (OPC), is in league with the PDP and President Goodluck Jonathan who have instigated militants and outlaws to cause violence and mayhem during the demonstrations Art. 16. – Par. 2.

*-The party’s view regarding the rationale for the protest against INEC’s chairman*

The PDP is putting a lot of pressure on INEC and Attahiru Jega to interrupt the election process and postpone the elections. Art. 3 – Par. 4

INEC has lost its independence and credibility due to the negative influence exercised on it by the government and the ruling party. Art. 4 – Par. 1 In spite of such pressure put on INEC by the PDP, the elections should hold. Art. 4 – Par. 1.

“Jega is being persecuted by the PDP and its acolytes for insisting that a credible election should be held. There is a devilish machination by a desperate failed party to remain in power. The protests and criticisms of Jega are unfounded tactics the PDP wants to use to frustrate Jega and the PDP and manipulate the election in its favor or scuttle it because it is obvious that they cannot win in a free and fair election.” Art. 17 – Par. 3

*-Allegations of bribery during political campaigns*

Incumbent president Goodluck Jonathan is using dollars instead of narnia to bribe people. Jonathan has bribed rulers of eleven teams into lobbying support for him among very prominent traditional rulers. Art. 19 – Par. 1

*-Insinuations regarding previous rigging of elections*

The involvement of the military in the 2014 Ekiti governorship election was used to tamper the process of the election as emerged from the testimony of an army captain Art. 9 – Par. 2. A tape leak revealed the rigging Art. 17 – Par. 2.

**5. Discourse regarding the military (their intervention in the elections and illegal deployment without the consent of the National Assembly)**

According to the article, the Court of Appeal validated the Sokoto High Court decision that the military should pay no direct role during the elections Art. 9 – Par. 1. The intervention of the military in the Ekiti governorship election of June 21, 2014 tampered the elections. Art. 9 – Par. 2. Likewise, the intervention of the military in the 2015 presidential election will result in tampering Art. 9 – Par. 2.

The legislative body is of the opinion that to have the military available for immediate deployment during the elections is legal and constitutional but such a deployment must be regulated by the National Assembly. The role of regulating the election process is legally a duty of the National Police Force or the Civil Defense Corps and the prevailing opinion is that, if the police are armed properly, they can adequately provide security during the elections. Art. 9 – Par. 5.

**6. INEC and INEC’s chairman (accusations by the PDP)**

The PDP is reported putting a lot of pressure on INEC and Attahiru Jega to interrupt the election process and postpone the elections Art. 3 – Par. 4 INEC is also reported losing its independence and credibility due to the negative influence exercised on it by the government and the ruling party. Art. 4 – Par. 1 In spite of such pressure put on INEC by the PDP, the elections should hold. Art. 4 – Par. 1. “Jega is being persecuted by the PDP and its acolytes for insisting that a credible election should be held. There is a devilish machination by a desperate failed party to remain in power. The protests and criticisms of Jega are unfounded tactics the PDP wants to use to frustrate Jega and the PDP and manipulate the election in its favor or scuttle it because it is obvious that they cannot win in a free and fair election.” Art. 17 – Par. 3

**7. Oodua People’s Congress (OPC)**

OPC’s leader, Otunba Gani Adams reported being in league with the PDP and President Goodluck Jonathan and have instigated militants and outlaws to cause violence and mayhem during the demonstration of March 16 that turned violent. According to Otunba Gani Adams, the OPC took to the streets of Lagos to manifest their resentment of Attahiru Jega over the alleged poor distribution of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) in the south, registration of underage in the north and creation of additional 30,000 polling units in the north.

---

The macro-analysis conducted above led to the sub-categorization of the information contained in the 19 reports. This information was sub-categorized under seven themes. The sub-categorization of thematic information led to the identification of discourses based on their

constituents. The next chapter will consolidate the findings to demonstrate what the intent of the newspaper's coverage was during the 2015 presidential campaign.

## **Chapter 5: Findings, Conclusion and Recommendation**

### **5.1. Findings**

This section shows that during the 2015 Nigerian presidential campaign's momentum, the politically controlled newspaper called *The Nation*, assumed the role of a watchdog by regularly reporting *selected* news and *presented* the content in such a way as to influence public opinion. The newspaper tried to guide the collective thoughts of the readership by selecting the stories and the contents regarding the principal events going on during such an exciting time. The

newspaper acted as an intended medium of persuasion to lead its readership to endorse Muhammadu Buhari as president. The newspaper, however, was also very critical in formulating the discourses aimed at safeguarding the conduct of a free and fair election. It can be understood as having played a key role as a channel for the dissemination of carefully selected political discourses. From the readership perspective, one could infer that such discourses were aimed at not only informing but in most cases also at alerting the electorate regarding the *alleged* subversive tactics orchestrated by the incumbents to hinder the course of a proper democratic election. From the perspective of the administration that was in power at that time, one can infer that the discourses were aimed at preventing the incumbents from sabotaging the election and acting unconstitutionally against the Nigerian constitution. Through the discourses, the newspaper was continually admonishing the PDP and Goodluck Jonathan in anticipation of the feared enactment of unconstitutional and undemocratic practices. It is in respect to this function described above that in the researcher's opinion the newspaper's discourses should be conceptualized having contributed to the formation of a system of checks and balances.

The following section addresses the questions that were raised during the formulation of the research:

- **Did the newspaper have any role in terms of influencing the public opinion of the electorate?**

Analyzing the newspaper's discourses, it emerged that in spite of consistently acting as a watchdog during the entire pre-election campaign time, the newspaper de facto also acted as the medium by which its readership understood events with political consequences. It repeatedly kept reporting on the main political issues ahead of the election and played a fundamental role in setting the agenda it wanted the Nigerian electorate to focus on by *filtering* the news towards which the newspapers wanted to draw the attention of the electorate during the electoral campaign. It *shaped* the content of news during the electoral campaign in such a way as to pose the spotlight on the PDP's malpractices. It avoided, raising positive issues regarding the PDP and discussed mainly the weaknesses or failures of the APC. It kept on praising the APC and its presidential candidate. This was done systematically by slanting negatively all the stories on the PDP and Goodluck Jonathan and slanting positively all the stories on the APC and Muhammadu Buhari. The newspaper formulated the headlines of the news stories in such a way that the

presuppositions hidden in the headlines were conveyed as statements of facts to the uncritical reader who does not read the whole story.

➤ **What were the pre-election discourses regarding democratic consolidation in Nigeria and how were these reported to the electorate?**

Analyzing the findings pertaining to discourse two regarding the electoral campaign, we find that most of the issues concerned the anticipated fears that Goodluck Jonathan and the PDP were attempting to set up an interim government or to postpone the election date again. Through the discourse, the electorate was warned that if such a provisional government were to be set up, the result would be a concatenation of nationwide manifestations against it likely to cause an additional postponement of the election date.

Another discourse revolves around the role of the military. Through the discourse, the consideration to deploy the military during the presidential election was depicted as unconstitutional because it was unsanctioned by the National Assembly. The same discourse regarding the deployment of the military also alerted the electorate that the military are under the control of the government. Therefore, to deploy them by the government during the political campaign under the pretext of national security reasons, is a cunning tactic of the government aimed probably at imprisoning key APC politicians in order to restrict their free movement during the campaign. The same discourse also relates a previous scandal which saw the rigging of a gubernatorial election through the deployment of the military by the polls. Through this discourse, the newspaper warns the electorate that if deployed, the military are very likely to be used by the incumbent government to rig the election again, just the way they did during the scandalous previous event. Through this discourse one can see the role of the newspaper as a watch dog in alerting the public of what it perceives to be a plot by the government to enact unconstitutional and undemocratic practices.

The discourse on INEC portrays the commission as being under a lot of pressure. Allegedly, the pressure is applied on it by the PDP in order to postpone the elections on false excuses regarding public security concerns. The chairman, Attahiru Jega, is reported as being under direct attacks because of his unwillingness to compromise himself by surrendering to the will of the PDP. Through the discourse the protests against the Chairman and the Commission are presented as

groundless and orchestrated by PDP's sponsored thugs and rowdies to coerce the chairman to destabilize the election process. This discourse therefore is aimed at clearing INEC and INEC's chairperson of some insinuations by stating that they have done their job professionally and uncompromisingly in spite of the tremendous pressure exercised on them by the PDP. Through this discourse one can detect the role the newspaper assumed in redeeming the image of the Electoral Commission and of its chairman.

➤ **Is the newspaper an agent for democratic consolidation or a tool used for the destabilization of the polity?**

Having analyzed all the discourses and their constituents through the second level of the micro-analysis, the researcher can affirm that nowhere solicitations to boycott the elections, to strike or to repudiate INEC's data are to be found. Rather, by continually signaling to the public the government's alleged intentions to postpone or compromise the presidential election, the newspaper was also behaving as a watchdog, because it has kept the electorate informed and therefore, ready to object such decisions. In terms of this informative function, the newspaper should actually be considered fulfilling its watchdog role by fostering a system of *checks and balances* aimed at safeguarding the process of democratic consolidation in Nigeria. Therefore, based on the researcher's observation, the newspaper called *The Nation* can be considered to be a tool for democratic consolidation.

➤ **What were the ongoing discourses regarding Buhari and the APC?**

Coming to how Muhammadu Buhari is portrayed, it is evident that Buhari is presented in a good light. This is detectible in terms of the attributes ascribed to him by the editor of the newspaper which are all very positive adjectives and expressions. Discourse three makes an attempt at *clearing* him of some insinuations regarding his *alleged* liberal view on same sex marriage and intention to elevate the Sharia Law above the Civil Law, if he is elected president of Nigeria. The discourse *rejects* such allegations *stating* that there is no shred of evidence to substantiate them. Such insinuations are dismissed as calumnies disseminated by PDP politicians with the sole intention of assassinating Muhammadu Buhari's character. The discourse not only *dismisses* such insinuations as groundless lies but also makes *counter statements* against them *reaffirming* to the public that Buhari is neither an ultra-fanatic Islamist bent on Islamizing the nation nor does

he entertain liberal views concerning same sex issues. That is, Buhari regards the civil law above the Sharia law and his views relating to same sex marriage are in conformity with Nigeria's traditional customary values. In substance, the discourse attempts to clear Muhammadu Buhari of the above insinuations and reaffirm the electorate of the opposite.

In discourse three we also find that Muhammadu Buhari is represented as enjoying the support of women and Christians from different sections and communities across Nigeria and, some observers in the international community as well. In the discourse we also find that women and Christians have actively mobilized to cause support for Buhari and the APC in their respective spheres of influence. The observers in the international community are reported having unanimously a positive opinion regarding him and giving consent to what he affirms to be his view regarding the prospects of democratic consolidation in Nigeria and his other views on related issues. This discourse is an attempt by the newspaper to show that Muhammadu Buhari enjoys favorable public opinion locally and internationally. In the headlines Buhari is depicted as a man prone to serve rather than dictate and as, "A man who will do Nigeria good". In the reports Buhari is depicted having impeccably fulfilled his past appointments.

➤ **What were the ongoing discourse regarding Goodluck Jonathan and the PDP?**

Considering discourse four regarding Goodluck Jonathan and the PDP, we find that all the articles analyzed cast the ex-president and his party in a bad light. The discourse portrays Jonathan as unscrupulous and incompetent. His party is represented as having plunged Nigeria into a socio-economic chaos. His administration as being a total failure, characterized by the worst political crimes and cases of fraud over the embezzlement of millions of Narnia in the name of subsidies.

His party is reported to frequently resort to calumny (character assassination) during its political campaigns just to cause fears among the electorate in order not to vote for Muhammadu Buhari and the APC. In the discourse it also emerges that the PDP frequently resorts also to ethnicity and religion in order to polarize the nation and divide it along ethnic and religious lines.

In the same discourse, the PDP is suspected of using the military to intimidate and arrest leading politicians opposed to the PDP. Other allegations presented in the discourse deal with the manifestations against INEC's chairman, Attahiru Jega. According to the allegations he is under

attack because of his decision not to compromise the election process in spite of pressure from the PDP. Other allegations in the same vein of discourse, maintain that the PDP was behind the violent vandalistic manifestations of Oodua People's Congress (OPC) that caused the destruction of APC's campaign materials. Other allegations deal with bribery. Goodluck Jonathan is represented as a highly corrupt person who frequently resorts to bribing in order to buy political support.

The discourse on the PDP hints at allegations that have leaked regarding the role of the PDP in rigging the Ekiti state governorship election with the intervention of the military. It also emerged that the previous presidential elections were postponed because the PDP conspired with the National Security Agency to release a "false report" stating that at the time of the previous presidential election it was not safe to conduct it due to the Boko Haram threat. In so doing the newspaper acts again as a watchdog by informing the public in regard to any pretext that might be given this time to shift the polls again. Jonathan in the headlines is vilified, criticized and portrayed as unscrupulous, having an unquenchable thirst for power to the extent that he would even put aside his ethical and Christian principles if the circumstances allow him to gain political support.

The study has shown that *The Nation* slanted very much during the time of the campaign the majority of the stories that it published because all of the stories on the PDP and Goodluck Jonathan that have been analyzed have *negative linguistic connotations* while all the other stories on the APC and Muhammadu Buhari bear only the positive aspects. It should not be difficult to infer that if most of the stories on Muhammadu Buhari and a few details on the APC were slanted positively, then the newspaper was doing the bidding of its founder, Ahmed Bola Tinubu, a prominent member of the APC who played a vital role in the presidential campaign of Muhammadu Buhari.

## **5.2. Conclusion**

The study shows specifically that the newspaper, through the formulation of constructed discourses tried to shape people's thoughts, beliefs and perceptions in order to influence the electorate's understanding regarding the presidential campaign and election. Through the dissemination of the various discourses, the Newspaper aimed not only at influencing the electorate but also at safeguarding the hoped for and anticipated victory of Muhammadu Buhari. The newspaper discoursed favourably on Muhammadu Buhari regarding everything about him from his past career to his personal attributes in order to persuade the electorate to endorse him as the new president. The newspaper tried to clear the presidential candidate of any allegations

and insinuations by systematically denying everything as acts of malevolence and by producing counterstatements to the allegations.

The paper also tried to influence the opinion of the electorate by discoursing on the incumbent administration depicting it as being characterized by the worst corruption scandal to have ever been recorded in the history of Nigeria. The newspaper makes a deliberate and sustained attempt to assassinate Goodluck Jonathan's character to destroy his reputation and credibility.

To summarize, the analytical study carried out in this research has shown that such a phenomenon that characterized the landmark of "democratization" for Nigerian was constantly monitored by the newspaper under investigation. Through the dissemination of political discourses, the newspaper aimed at raising public opinion awareness regarding the potential democratic malpractices and abuses allegedly planned by the government. The newspaper continually kept alerting the public of any signals that in its view pointed towards the intention by the incumbents to sabotage the democratization process.

Since the newspaper kept constant watch of the PDP and the president in an attempt to anticipate and interpret any signals towards thwarting the election process, it can be inferred that the newspaper was acting not only as a watchdog to inform its readers but also as an admonisher to the incumbents. In terms of this function, the newspaper can be conceptualized as having played a restrictive role on the incumbents by limiting their power to act undemocratically against the constitution and the people of Nigeria. The newspaper did this by systematically reporting on each alleged intention to subvert the process of democratization.

This study is relevant to overall knowledge because it has shown one approach by which CDA can be employed *to trace the overall attitude of an organization* (in this case the newspaper) that mediates discourses to determine its political orientation. Accordingly, the newspaper can be conceptualized to be a very determined politician arguing on important political matters in order to spread its own propaganda to influence the electorate.

The most important aspect that has surfaced in this study regarding the 2015 Nigerian presidential campaign is that the incumbent presidency and the PDP were trying to hinder the electoral process in the way discussed in the findings section of this research.

### **5.3. Recommendations:**

The analyses and conclusions of this study are limited to two factors. First, this study only investigates one newspaper called *The Nation* which is politically controlled by the All Progressive Congress, the political party that endorsed the presidential candidacy of Muhammadu Buhari. It would be however very helpful to discover also the other side of the story by investigating the newspaper controlled by the PDP called *The Sun* which endorsed the candidacy of Goodluck Jonathan. It would be particularly useful to make comparative studies regarding how these two newspapers reported on similar stories. This comparative study can also be enriched by adding other two newspapers such as *The Vanguard* and *The Guardian* which are also dailies and independent of political control because owned by businessmen. Second, the

scope of the research is quite limited in that it focuses only on a few selected reports that have been published in the month prior to the presidential election date. Therefore, the researcher recommends widening the scope to include at least the period of time between the dates when Muhammadu Buhari was elected president on March 28, 2015 to the date when he was sworn in on May 29, 2015. Investigating this additional period of time might reveal other interesting functions the newspaper may have tried to carry out such as applying pressure on Goodluck Jonathan to relinquish power democratically in acknowledgment of his defeat etcetera.

The study does not reflect the accuracy of the facts reported in the news reports. Therefore, In order to fill this lacuna the researcher recommends cross-checking the accuracy of all the facts by confronting the stories published in the newspaper reports with historical facts and context phenomena. It is expected that a deeper level of analysis might be attained if this is done properly.

### **Bibliography:**

Adelakun, T. (2013). "A Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis of Election News in Nigerian Newspapers". A Dissertation submitted to the University of Birmingham.

Agbo, I.O. (2001) *Constitutional Developments in Nigeria*, Enugu: Zik-Chuks Communications.

Altschull, J. H. (1984). *Agents of power: the role of the access media in human affairs*. New York: Longman.

Arikpo, O. (1957). 'Who are the Nigerians? A Reprint of 1957 Lugard Lectures' Nigerian Federal Information Services"

Chibuikwe, J.N. and Fafiolu, G. (2015). Promoting Good Governance in Nigeria through Pre-Election Discourse: The Challenges for the Media. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol. 5, No.2.

Chouliaraki, L, and Norman Fairclough. *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP. 1999. Print.

Daniel, I. O. (2009). Portrayal of Nigerian Women's Assertiveness In Nigerian Newspapers Saarbrücken: VDM Publishing House Ltd. pp220

Donkin, A. (2012). "Australian national school chaplaincy program: A critical discourse analysis of online newspaper portrayals". Unpublished BA thesis, Edith Cowan University, Perth, Australia.

Ebiem, O. (2014). Nigeria, Biafra & Boko Haram: Ending the Genocide through Multi-State Solution.

Fairclough, N. (1989), *Language and Power*. London: Longman

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (1995a). *Media Discourse*. London: Arnold.

Fairclough, N. (1995b). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2000). *New Labour New Language?* London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N, (2001). approach, Members' Resources (MR), (Van Dijk, 2004)'s socio-cognitive

Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge.

Galadima, D. and Enighe, J. (2001). The press in Nigerian politics: an historical analysis of issues and pattern of news coverage. In I. E. Nwosu (Ed). *The Nigerian Journal of Communication*, pp. 62 – 74, Enugu: ACCE (Nigeria).

George, O. Shadare, S. Owoyemi, O. (2012). “Military Interventions in the Nigerian Politics: ‘A Timed Bomb’ Waiting to Explode? The Avowal of a New Management Elits” University of Lagos, Nigeria.

Goddey, O.O. (2011). “MILITARY IN POLITICS IN NIGERIA: AN ASSESMENT”, Department of History College of Education, Agbor, Delta State.

IKE-NWAFOR, (2015). CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED POLITICAL CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATES IN SOUTH-WESTERN NIGERIA 2007-2014

Lippman, W. (1922). “Public Opinion” Renaissance Classics. Printed in the United States of America.

Meredith, M. (2006). *The State of Africa: A History of fifty years on Independence*

Mey, Jacob L. (1993). *Pragmatics: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell (2nd ed. 2001)

Nwammuo, Edegoh and Iwok. (2015). “Nigerian Press Coverage of the 2015 Elections: What has Ownership Got to Do with it?” *International Journal of African and Asian Studies* ISSN 2409-6938 An International Peer-reviewed Journal Vol. 14, 2015

Obuoforibo, G. (2011). ‘Nigeria AND ECOWAS IN THE LIGHT OF CURRENT HAPPENINGS,’ Department of Political and Administrative Studies University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria.

Ogungbe, E.O. and Alo, M.A (2011). “Emotive Lexicalisation in the News Stories of Nigerian Newspapers”.

Olowojolu, O. (2016). "Role of Media in the 2015 Presidential Election in Nigeria". International Journal of Politics and Good Governance Volume VII, No. 7.1 Quarter I 2016 ISSN: 0976-1195

Olusola, O. (2010). Media ownership and the coverage of child rights in Nigeria newspapers:, *The Nigerian Journal of Communication*, 8 (1): 242-261 Uyo: ACCE (Nigeria).

Omu, F.I.A (1978). *Press and politics in Nigeria: 1980-1987*. London: Longman Publishers.

Östman / J. Blommaert Handbook of Pragmatics. Manual, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: 204-210.

Partington, A. (2003). *The Linguistics of Political Argumentation: The Spin-doctor and the Wolf-pack at the White House*. London: Routledge.

Pasha, T. (2011). Islamists in the headlines: Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian Newspapers. Dissertation submitted to the faculty of the university of Utah.

Richardson, Jonh. E.(2007). *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Anlysis*. Palgrave Macmillian

Shoemaker, P.J. and Mayfield, E.K. (1987). *Media ownership and objectivity* London: Routledge Publishers.

Shoemaker, P. J. and Reese, S.D. (1991). *Mediating the message*. London: Longman Publishers.

Stock, R. "Nigeria." Redmond, WA: 1993-2008 Microsoft Corporation.

Taiwo, R. (2007). Language, Ideology and Power Relations in Nigerian Newspaper Headlines. *Nebula 4.1*, March

Teo, P. (2000). Racism in the news: a critical discourse analysis of news reporting in two Australian newspapers. *Discourse Society*, 11(7), 7-49.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0957926500011001002>

Mahfouz, A. R. (2013). A critical discourse analysis of the police news story framing in two Egyptian newspapers before January 25 revolution. *European Scientific Journal*, 9(8), 309-332.

Udoakah, N. (1998). *The use of cartoons in political communication in selected Nigeria newspapers*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Uyo, Uyo-Nigeria.

Umechukwu, P.O. J. (2001). *Mass media and Nigeria society –development issues and problem*. Enugu: Thompson Printing and Publishing Co.

Umueri, A. (2006). A content analysis of four Nigerian dailies on the proscription of publications in the Guardian, Concord and Punch stable. *Journal of Communication Studies*, 1 (4): 96-108.

van Dijk. T. (1987). *Communicating Racism: Ethnic Prejudice in Thought and Talk*. London: Sage.

van Dijk, T. A. (1988). *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge

van Dijk, T. A. (1993). *Elite Discourse and Racism*. Newbury Park, CA.: Sage.

van Dijk, T. A. (1996). Discourse, opinions and ideologies, in C. Schaffner and H. Kelly-Holmes (eds) *Discourse and Ideologies*, pp. 7-37. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

van Dijk, T. A. (1997a). *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction. Vol. 1: Discourse as Structure and Process*. London: Sage.

van Dijk, T. A. (1997b). *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction. Vol. 2: Discourse as Social Interaction*. London: Sage.

van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. London:

van Dijk, T. (2001). 'Critical discourse analysis', in D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen and H. E. Hamilton, (eds) *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Blackwell, 352-71.

Williams, L. (2008). Nigeria: p. 26. ISBN 1-84162-239-7

Wodak, R. (1995). Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis aus: J. Verschueren / J-O Östman / J. Blommaert Handbook of Pragmatics. Manual, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: 204-210.

Wodak, Ruth & Brigitta Busch. "Approaches to Media Texts", *Handbook of Media Studies*. Ed. John Downing et al (Eds.), London: Sage, 2004.108-123.Print.

Wodak & Meyer. (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis: Introducing Qualitative Methods*. Sage publications

*Written Text Analysis*. London: Routledge. 191–218.

Yesufu, T.M. (1982). 'The Dynamics of industrial Relations (The Nigerian Experience (United Press Ltd Ibadan, Nigeria).

<http://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/english/chair>

[http://www.wiloludjournal.com/ojs/index.php/cjsd/article/viewFile/355/pdf\\_72](http://www.wiloludjournal.com/ojs/index.php/cjsd/article/viewFile/355/pdf_72)

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13949550>

[http://www2.media.uoa.gr/lectures/linguistic\\_archives/mda0405/notes/Bell\\_Media\\_and\\_Language.pdf](http://www2.media.uoa.gr/lectures/linguistic_archives/mda0405/notes/Bell_Media_and_Language.pdf)

onlinenewspapers.comNigeriaNewspapers <http://www.onlinenewspapers.com/nigeria.htm>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The-Sun-\(Nigeria\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The-Sun-(Nigeria)).

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The-Guardian-\(Nigeria\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The-Guardian-(Nigeria)).

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The-Nation-\(Nigeria\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The-Nation-(Nigeria)).

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vanguard-\(Nigeria\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vanguard-(Nigeria))

BBC News Africa (2011) Nigeria Profile downloaded on 09-09-2016 from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13949550>

BBC World News Africa retrieved as follows: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13949547> Nigeria profile, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27396702> Why Nigeria has not defeated Boko Haram

Bell, A. (1991). The Language of News Media downloaded on 03-09-2016 from [http://www2.media.uoa.gr/lectures/linguistic\\_archives/mda0405/notes/Bell\\_Media\\_and\\_Language.pdf](http://www2.media.uoa.gr/lectures/linguistic_archives/mda0405/notes/Bell_Media_and_Language.pdf)

IRIN (2003) Nigeria downloaded on 20-01-2016 from <http://www.irinnews.org/indepthmain.aspx?InDepthId=30&ReportId=70462>

Ghannam, N. (2012). Newspaper ideology: A critical discourse analysis of an event published in six Lebanese newspapers. Unpublished Master thesis, University of the Witwatersrand and South Africa. Retrieved from [http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/11267/NADA%20FINAL%20checked%20by%20J%20Inggs.pdf?sequence=1\(Duanprakhon,2012\)\(Donkin,2012\)](http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/11267/NADA%20FINAL%20checked%20by%20J%20Inggs.pdf?sequence=1(Duanprakhon,2012)(Donkin,2012))

Nigeria Master Web (2012) <http://nigeriamasterweb.com/paperframes.html>

Newspapers <http://www.onlinenewspapers.com/nigeria.htm>

## **Appendix: Headline, internet link, reporter and date**

### **1. Headline:** *Why power must shift*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/why-power-must-shift-by-buhari/>

Posted By: EMMANUEL OLADESU on: February 27, 2015

**2. Headline:** *Group warns against Interim Govt.*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/group-warns-against-interim-govt/>

Posted By: The Agency's Reporter on: March 04, 2015

**3. Headline:** *No to further polls shift*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/no-to-further-polls-shift/>

Posted By: JOSEPH JIBUEZE on: March 04, 2015

**4. Headline:** *Elections must hold*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/elections-must-hold/>

Posted By: The Agency's Reporter on: March 05, 2015

**5. Headline:** *APC gives Nigerians a good option-Ashamu*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/apc-gives-nigerians-a-good-option-ashamu/>

Posted By: Sam Egburunuon: March 08, 2015

**6. Headline:** *Nigeria has bright future*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/nigeria-has-bright-future-2/>

Posted By: The Agency's Reporter on: March 11, 2015

**7. Headline:** *I want to serve, not dictate – Buhari*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/i-want-to-serve-not-dictate-buhari/>

Posted By: Tony Akowe and Abdulgafar Alabelewe, Kadunaon: March 11, 2015

**8. Headline:** *Nations don't change war time leaders, says Wogu*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/nations-dont-change-war-time-leaders-says-wogu/>

Posted By: Our Reporter on: March 12, 2015

**9. Headline:** *No to military involvement in 2015 elections*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/no-to-military-involvement-in-2015-elections/>

Posted By: RAYMOND MORDI on: March 12, 2015

**10. Headline:** *PDP can't stop Buhari's victory*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/pdp-cant-stop-buharis-victory/>

Posted By: The Agency's Reporter on: March 16, 2015

**11. Headline:** *Buhari'll not support same sex marriage*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/buhari-ll-not-support-same-sex-marriage/>

Posted By: Bukola Amusanon: March 17, 2015

**12. Headline:** *Don't vote by sentiment*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/dont-vote-by-sentiment/>

Posted By: Nicholas Kaluon: March 17, 2015

**13. Headline:** *Buhari will do Nigeria good*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/buhari-will-do-nigeria-good-pastor-bakare/>

Posted By: Innocent Duruon: March 19, 2015

**14. Headline:** *Clerics declare seven days prayer for Buhari\_Osibajo*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/clerics-declare-seven-days-prayer-for-buhariosibajo/>

Posted By: Leke Salaudeenon: March 19, 2015

**15. Headline:** *Lagos women root for Buhari presidency*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/lagos-women-root-for-buhari-presidency/>

Posted By: Leke Salaudeenon: March 19, 2015

**16. Headline:** *PDP can't win by brigandage, says APC*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/pdp-cant-win-by-brigandage-says-apc/>

Posted By: Emmanuel Oladesuon: March 19, 2015

**17. Headline:** *PDP can't win by sharing dollars*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/pdp-cant-win-by-sharing-dollars-says-apc/>

Posted By: Emmanuel Oladesuon: March 20, 2015

**18. Headline:** *From dusk to dawn*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/from-dusk-to-dawn/>

Posted By: Bolade Omonijoon: March 22, 2015

**19. Headline:** *Traditional rulers and the Jonathan campaign*

**Link:** <http://thenationonlineng.net/traditional-rulers-and-the-jonathan-campaign/>

Posted By: Ayodele Peterson: March 22, 2015

**Declaration**

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any university and that all the sources used have been duly acknowledged.

**Declared by:**

Name.....

Signature.....

Date.....