IDEOLOGY AND DISCOURSE STRATEGIES IN SELECTED RADIO NEWS OF OSUN STATE BROADCASTING CORPORATION, NIGERIA

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CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

To the glory of Almighty God who has made all things possible for me, I dedicate this work to Dr. Kola Ajewole-Orimogunje; my darling husband, whose love, understanding, moral, financial and spiritual support have helped in no small measure to the success of this work. He was there for me when it seemed I had got to a dead end. His words of encouragement kept me on when the challenge was too much for me to cope with.

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"This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes" (Psalm 118, verse 23).

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ABSTRACT

Previous studies on news in electronic media in Nigeria have mostly concentrated on linguistic and stylistic features with little attention on discourse strategies and underlying ideological factors considered to be significant in the construction and full understanding of radio news. There is need for more attention to be paid to ideologies and discourse strategies in media discourse as they enhance the comprehension of radio news. This study, therefore, investigated the discourse strategies and political ideologies in selected radio news of Osun State Broadcasting Corporation, (OSBC), with a view to revealing the interaction between the strategies and ideologies. The OSBC was selected for its unique engagements with political ideologies.

The study was carried out within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which links the text with underlying power relations and ideologies, using Wodak's socio-historical and van Dijk's socio-cognitive models. These are complemented with Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) for its emphasis on the form/function relationship in language use. A total of 1000 written news reports from the OSBC were collected between April 2007 and November 2010, out of which 250 (25%) were purposively sampled, based on their political contents. The period was selected because of the political tension that characterized the election situation in the State during the regime of Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola. A content analysis of the news was carried out using the tools of SFG and CDA.

Three major political ideologies namely, historicist, humanitarian, and welfarist, were observed to influence the deployment of specific discourse strategies in the construction of political news in the OSBC radio during the regime of Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola. Government was projected as welfarist and humanitarian in its political agenda. Historicist ideology was characterised by the use of temporality and historical comparison of events. The linguistic tool of lexicalisation was used to foreground the humanitarian and welfarist ideologies of the government. The historicist ideology was characterised by the use of transitive clauses with a high degree of transitivity which comprised spatio-temporal adverbials and verbal choices for detailed material, mental and relational processes representing the actions and activities of prominent political actors in the news events. For humanitarian and welfarist ideologies, the strategies utilised were blame transfer, source avoidance, positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, foregrounding of figures and statistics, manipulation, and authoritarianism. Blame transfer exonerated the political actors from the ills of the society and shifted the blame on the opponents. Events that

6

portrayed the ruling political party positively and the opposition negatively were emphasised and given prominence while those that portrayed the ruling party negatively and the opponents positively were defocussed.

There is a close interaction between political ideology and the discourse strategies used to project it in OSBC radio news texts. This interaction throws useful insights into the ideational process that is crucial in the construction of radio news. Future studies should undertake an analysis of the link between ideology and television news.

Key words*:* Radio news, Osun State Broadcasting Corporation, Discourse strategies, Political ideology.

Word count*:* 478

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCOURSE STRATEGIES AND IDEOLOGY IN THE NEWS TEXTS

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

SELECT APPENDICES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the Study

The language of news as a particular style of discourse is a complex combination of national, social, economic, religious, cultural and linguistic traditions associated with audience's expectations. News guides, influences and reinforces the perception of people as regards what is true and untrue, right and wrong. It is an important device for conveying or exchanging information among the people.

Many messages can be communicated through the text and structure of a news broadcast. The manner in which a news item is disseminated by the media has considerable influence on the judgements given about it by the public. News facilitates public discussion since issues considered as major are discussed at length by the public. It also serves as facilitators for development as it aids the public orientation towards national integration, economic empowerment, educational awareness, political discourse, health promotion, socio-cultural issues, poverty alleviation and eradication of illiteracy.

According to van Dijk (1988a:4), the notion of media news in everyday usage implies the following:

(a)   New information about events, things or persons

(b)   A (television or radio) programme type in which news items are presented

(c)   A news item or news report, i.e., a text or discourse in radio or TV or in the newspaper in which new information is given about recent events.

News has become indispensable to human beings as it promotes social cohesion and helps to reinforce good conduct. News has the performative force to persuade or manipulate the public to take a particular line of action. In democratic countries, people depend on the news media for the fair and truthful reporting of current events. The freedom of the press encourages the exchange of ideas among citizens, which is essential for a democracy to work. In government-controlled societies, however, the news media serve as an instrument of the state (*The World Book Encyclopedia* Vol. 11 p150).

Language is used in the media to attract attention, express emotion, communicate information and to alter people's way of thinking. News has the performative force of persuading or manipulating the public to take a particular line of action. Ross (2004) observes that the media operate unquestionably as agents of public knowledge and definitional power and the media are increasingly the real public space in which politics occurs and through

which citizens comprehend the political process. Phillips (1976) states that the mass media have important implications for intelligence gathering, sending public information, shaping domestic and international public opinion and propaganda purposes, all of which can be used to help gain diplomatic advantage over opponents and allow government to find out more about strengths, weaknesses, and characteristics of their opponents.

Members of the public look to the media as sources of information; people learn about events and issues from the media. Media sources have the ability to influence public opinion in diverse ways. Broadcast news satisfies the individual's hunger for the most current information about occurrences within the immediate and remote environment.

1.2   Basic Assumptions of the Study

Radio news is important as it provides information about issues and events to the people. The radio station of the Osun State Broadcasting Corporation (OSBC) was established in 1991. One of the objectives of the station is to disseminate information and analyse issues and events of local, national and international importance. The OSBC radio news covers political events and different issues relating to Osun State, Nigeria and foreign countries. The basic assumptions of the study are summarised below:

i.   The OSBC radio news contains underlying political ideologies that require analytical interpretation.

ii.   The radio news reports are influenced by the policy of the government.

iii.   The OSBC radio news conveys ideological meanings and postures of the political ruling class.

iv.   The news reports exhibit linguistic features that project the issues above.

1.3   Short History of Osun State Broadcasting Corporation (OSBC)

The Osun State Broadcasting Corporation came into being with the creation of Osun State of Nigeria. The State was created on the 27th of August 1991 and as a result, indigenes of Osun State who were in the service of the Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State (BCOS), Radio and Television, moved to Osun State. The Radio and Television services were created through the initiatives of Major General Leo Segun Ajiborisa (Rtd) who was the first Military Administrator of Osun State. Mr. John Fademi was the first General Manager of the Corporation.

Through the efforts of experienced and professional broadcasters, the Radio Service (i.e. Radio Osun) commenced transmission on the 25th of November 1991, at Oke-Itase, Ile-Ife, while the administrative headquarters was situated at Osogbo, the state capital. The television service of the corporation started on 27th August 1992 with the refurbishing of the TV transmitter and assemblage of domestic TV equipment at Ibokun. From October 1992 to January 2000, the Radio and Television stations operated under different managements under a single Board of Directors.

On 20th July 1993 the Radio station moved its operations to a new studio at Ita-Akogun, Osogbo. The Radio and Television services were merged under one management and one Board of Directors on 5th of January 2000. The corporation's Head Office which now houses both the Radio and Television studios is situated at Oke-Baale, Osogbo from where both the radio (Living Spring FM 104.5) and television services broadcast to the people.

The corporation which is owned by the Osun State Government has a Board Chairman and five Board members. The Board formulates the policies of the station and provides the link between the government and the management. The corporation has a chief executive who is the General Manager that sees to the effective running of the radio and television stations. The General Manager is assisted by three directors, each heading a department. The Corporation has the Engineering Department, Programmes Service Department (Incorporating News, Current Affairs and programme Division), Finance, Establishment and Commercial Departments.

The broad objectives of radio and television broadcasting in OSBC are:

- to inform, educate and entertain the public;
- to produce and broadcast entertainment, education and public enlightenment programmes;
- to disseminate information and analyse issues of local, national and international importance;
- to generate revenue through the sale of air time and to promote other commercial activities;
- to install and maintain equipment for gathering, processing and transmission of information on Radio and Television; and
- to facilitate the achievement of these objectives through relevant support services.

The radio station of the OSBC – Living Spring FM 104.5, transmits different types of news at different intervals daily.

1.4   Statement of the Problem

A critical analysis of news bulletins is considered essential to uncover hidden meanings and ideological assumptions embedded in news texts. The way issues are relayed in the news can have important implications for public understanding and evaluation of such issues. News facilitates public awareness and major issues are discussed at length by the public. News-writers/journalists are often faced with the dilemma of having to satisfy the public as well as the government or the proprietor of the media house. This always leads to a clash of interests and thus calls for subtle use of language to persuade, inform and propagandise. Hence, the journalists' use of a variety of means, different techniques and strategies in fulfilling their obligations to the public and the government/the proprietor of the media house. Understanding media discourse thus calls for a way of uncovering the meanings inherent in news texts.

A text, a description of something that is happening in a larger social context replete with a complex set of power relations is interpreted and acted upon by the readers or listeners, depending on the rules, norms and mental models of socially accepted behaviour (McGregor 2003). The attitudes and expectations from the audience who listen to the news may vary and can lead to misinterpretations and misunderstandings depending on the audience's values, tastes, beliefs, religion and culture. There is need to pay more attention to the relationship between ideology and discourse strategies in media discourse as they enhance the comprehension of radio news.

1.5   Research Questions

This study seeks to proffer solutions to the following research questions which constitute the focus of the analysis.

1.   What ideological positions are inherent in OSBC radio news context?

2.   Does OSBC radio news contain prominent discourse strategies?

3.   In what ways are ideologies reflected in the news reports?

4.   How do ideologies influence the use of discourse strategies on OSBC radio news?

5.   How is language used to show the interaction between political ideologies and discourse strategies in the news reports?

1.6   Aim of the Study

This study aims at investigating the discourse strategies and political ideologies in selected radio news of Osun State Broadcasting Corporation with a view to revealing the interaction between the ideologies and strategies.

1.7   Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are:

(i)   to uncover the ideologies underlying OSBC radio news;

(ii)   to identify specific discourse strategies relating to news;

(iii)   to show how ideologies are reflected in the news reports;

(iv)   to examine how ideologies influence the use of discourse strategies on OSBC radio news; and

(v)   to examine how language is used to show the interaction between political ideology and discourse strategies in the news.

1.8   Methodology: An Overview

The data for this study were collected from radio news broadcasts of Osun State Broadcasting Corporation (OSBC) Osogbo. A total of 1000 written news reports from the OSBC were collected between April 2007 and November 2010, out of which 250 (25%) were purposively sampled, based on their political contents. A content analysis of the news was carried out within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) using Wodak's socio-historical and van Dijk's socio-cognitive models. These are complemented with Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). For a detailed discussion on Methodology, see Chapter Three.

1.9   Scope of the study

This study covers the period between April 2007 and November 2010. The period was characterised by political activities as a result of the elections in the state. News items on politics were purposively sampled for analysis. The news texts were written to be spoken on the radio at different intervals of the day.

1.10   Significance of the Study

Members of the public look to the media as sources of information. People learn about events and issues from the media. The media which include the radio have the ability to influence public opinion in diverse ways. Ideologies are crucial to good understanding of news and they influence the use of discourse strategies. An analysis of the interaction between discourse strategies and the underlying ideologies in Osun State Broadcasting Corporation (OSBC) radio news is considered necessary to reveal the hidden political ideologies in the construction of the news by journalists. The significance of this study is therefore seen in the interaction between political ideologies and discourse strategies for a better comprehension of OSBC radio news texts.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1   Introduction

This chapter provides a literature review of some key concepts that are related to this study. Such concepts include Discourse Analysis, Discourse Strategies, Ideology, Media Discourse, Mass Media and News. Also, we shall examine a variety of approaches that are relevant to our analysis. In addition we shall review what some scholars have written on news globally and in Nigeria. The few studies discussed serve as representatives of research works on news discourse globally and also in the Nigerian context.

2.2   Discourse and Discourse Analysis

Discourse, according to Fairclough (1992), is language use; whether speech or writing, seen as a type of social practice, while discourse analysis is analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice. Johnstone (2002:9) provides the following heuristics for doing a discourse analysis:

1.   Discourse is shaped by the world, and discourse shapes the world.

2.   Discourse is shaped by language, and discourse shapes language.

3.   Discourse is shaped by participants, and it shapes participants.

4.   Discourse is shaped by prior discourse, and discourse shapes the possibilities for future discourse.

5.   Discourse is shaped by its medium and discourse shapes the possibilities of its medium.

According to Johnstone, these heuristics provide the necessary insights to understand how to connect different forms of discourse with sound theoretical analyses. He states further that discourse is a powerful force that frames social interaction and at the same time, is framed by social interaction. Widdowson (2004:8) makes a distinction between text and discourse:

> …identifying something as a text is not the same as interpreting it. This is where discourse comes in, and why it needs to be distinguished from text… We achieve meaning by indexical realization, that is to say, by using language to engage our extralinguistic reality. Unless it is activated by this contextual connection, the text is inert. It is this activation, this acting of context on code, this indexical conversion of the symbol that I refer to as discourse. Discourse in this view is the pragmatic process of meaning negotiation. Text is its product.

Describing discourse as a social practice, according to Wodak (2002), implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned - it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. She states further that since discourse is so socially consequential it gives rise to important issues of power. Fairclough and Wodak (1997), state that discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between, (for instance), social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people. According to Wodak (2002:23), "discourse is the place where language and ideology meet, and discourse analysis is the analysis of ideological dimensions of language use, and of the materialisation in language of ideology."

Bruck (1989) uses the word 'discourse' to refer to the rules and regularities that govern the statements that make up the news text. It implies conceptually that these are definite structures to knowledge in use and that these structures are linked to the positions of knowledge to the ways of generating and applying this knowledge, and to the ways of its presentation and articulation. The larger structures of knowledge and fields can be referred to as discourse formations, the positions of knowledge as discursive placements, and the ways knowledge is produced and presented as discursive practices (p. 118). McGregor (2003) asserts that discourse refers to expressing oneself using words; discourses can be used for an assertion of power and knowledge, and they can be used for resistance and critique. He states further that discourses are used in everyday context for building power and knowledge and power relations and for hegemony.

Olateju (2004) submits that discourse analysis is language use relative to social, political and cultural formations. She states further that discourse analysis is not only language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order and shaping individual's interaction with the society. It is an indispensable concept for understanding society and human responses; it is also a key to understanding language itself. van Dijk (1988a) notes that discourse analysis is interested in the analysis of the various contexts of discourse i.e. in the cognitive processes of production and reception and in the sociocultural

dimension of language use and communication. Discourse analysis denotes a theoretical and methodological approach to language and language use and in that sense it is also defined by the object of analysis, namely discourses, texts, messages, talk, dialogue or conversation (van Dijk 1988a). van Dijk notes further that discourse analysis does more than just describe textual structures, that is, discourse is not just text but also a form of interaction.

He states that:

a full scale analysis of discourse involves integration of text and context in the sense that the use of a discourse in a social situation is at the same time a social act. Similarly, the interpretation and production of that text involves the mental processes of interpretation and formation, the retrieval and use of knowledge, and other strategies of the cognitive dimension of discourse… a complete empirical account of discourse also requires a description of cognitive processes of discourse production and understanding of social interactions in sociocultural situations. Engaging in discourse means engaging in interpretation processes and social interaction, and a description of the cognitive and social contexts therefore, is not a task that lies outside of discourse analysis (1988:29-30).

According to Fairclough (1995a), the analysis of any particular type of discourse, including media discourse, involves an alternation between twin, complementary focusses, both of which are essential. These are communicative events and the order of discourse. On the one hand, the analyst is concerned with the particular, the specific communicative events and on the other hand, with the general, the overall structure of the order of discourse and the way it is evolving in the context of social and cultural changes.

The following tables adapted from Cots (2006) constitute an attempt to schematically summarize the main differences between approaching discourse with or without critical attitude. Table 2.1 includes two possible ways of defining discourse depending on whether it is looked at critically or not.

What is discourse?	
Critical View	**Non-critical view**
Ideologically determined ways of talking or writing about persons, places, events or phenomena.	Stretch of language perceived to be meaningful, unified, and purposive.
A mode of social practice that is both structured by society and, at the same time, contributes to structuring that same society.	Different ways of talking/writing about (and structuring) areas of knowledge or social practice (e.g. medical discourse, ecological discourse).

Table 2.1: Critical and non-critical views of discourse
Source: Cots (2006:339)

Table 2.2 presents possible definitions of what is involved in the systematic study of discourse, again depending on the attitude of the researcher.

What is discourse analysis?	
Critical View	**Non-critical view**
Analysis of how texts work within specific socio-cultural practices.	Description of natural spoken or written discourse.
Explanation of how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideology and, at the same time, is used to construct social identifies, social relations, and systems of knowledge and belief.	Study of what gives a stretch of language unity and meaning.

Table 2.2: Source: Cots (2006:339).

Fairclough (1989), from an analytical point of view, proposes a model which considers discourse as the result of three different types of practice - social, discursive and textual. At the social practice level, the goal is to discover the extent to which discourse is shaped by and influences social structures and the nature of the social activity of which it forms part. At the level of the discursive practice, the specificity of the communicative situation is acknowledged taking into account both material and cognitive aspects related to the conditions of textual production and interpretation (for example, intertextuality, presuppositions etc). The final level which is the textual practice dimension focuses on formal and semantic features of text construction such as grammar or vocabulary, which contributes to conveying or interpreting a specific message.

Fairclough (1995b:97) adopts a three–dimensional conception of discourse and correspondingly a three–dimensional method of discourse analysis. Discourse, and any specific instance of discursive practice, is seen as simultaneously -

(i)   a language text, spoken or written.

(ii)   discourse practice (text production and text interpretation)

(iii)   sociocultural practice.

Text: The analysis of text includes linguistic analysis of vocabulary, semantics, grammar, the sound system, the writing system and cohesion – organization above the sentence level. In analysing a sentence in a written text, three aspects are involved. These are:

➢   Particular representations and contextualisation of social practice (ideational function) - perhaps carrying particular ideologies.

➢ Particular constructions of writer and reader identities (for example in terms of what is highlighted - whether status and role aspects of identity or individual and personality aspect of identity).

➢ A particular construction of the relationship between writer and reader (as for instance, formal or informal, close or distant) (Fairclough 1995b:58).

Discourse practice: This, according to Fairclough (1995b), has two facets – institutional process such as editorial procedures and discourse processes (the transformation which texts go through in production and consumption). Fairclough sees discourse practice as mediating between the textual, and the social and cultural, between text and sociocultural practice. He states further that discourse practice straddles the division between society and culture on the one hand, and discourse, language and text on the other hand (p.60). In Fairclough's approach, discourse processes can be explained through "intertextuality". According to him:

> Intertextual analysis focuses on the borderline between text and discourse practice in the analytical framework. Intertextual analysis is looking at text from the perspective of discourse practice, looking at the traces of the discourse practice in the text. Intertextual analysis aims to unravel the various genres and discourses - often, in creative discourse practice, a highly complexly mixture – which are articulated together in the text (Fairclough 1995b: 61).

Fairclough adds that linguistic analysis is descriptive in nature while intertextual analysis is more interpretive. Also, linguistic features of texts provide evidence which can be used in intertextual analysis, and intertextual analysis is a particular sort of interpretation of that evidence – an interpretation which locates the text in relation to social repertoires of discourse practices, i.e. orders of discourse.

Sociocultural practice: Analysis in this dimension, according to Fairclough (1995b), pertains to three aspects of the sociocultural context of a communicative event. These are economic, political (concerned with issues of power and ideology), and cultural (concerned with question of value and identity). The visual representation of the relationships between the three dimensions of communicative events is shown in the following diagram.
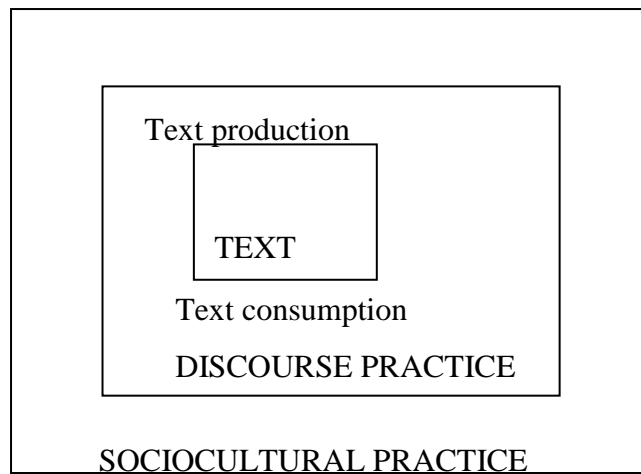
Fig 2.1: A framework for critical discourse analysis of a communicative event (Fairclough 1995a:59).

Fairclough (1995a) argues further that a piece of discourse is embedded within sociocultural practice at a number of levels; in the immediate situation, in the wider situation or organization, and at a societal level. The method of discourse analysis includes linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the text (productive and interpretative), and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes. He posits:

> A special feature of the approach is that the link between sociocultural practice and text is mediated by discourse practice; how a text is produced or interpreted, in the sense of what discursive practices and conventions are drawn from what order(s) of discourse and how they are articulated together, depends upon the nature of the sociocultural practice when the discourse is a part of (including the relationship to existing hegemonies); the nature of the discourse practice of text production shapes the text; and leaves 'traces' in surface features of the text; and the nature of the discourse practice of text interpretation determines how the surface features of a text will be interpreted (1995:97).

The following is a diagrammatic representation of the approach.
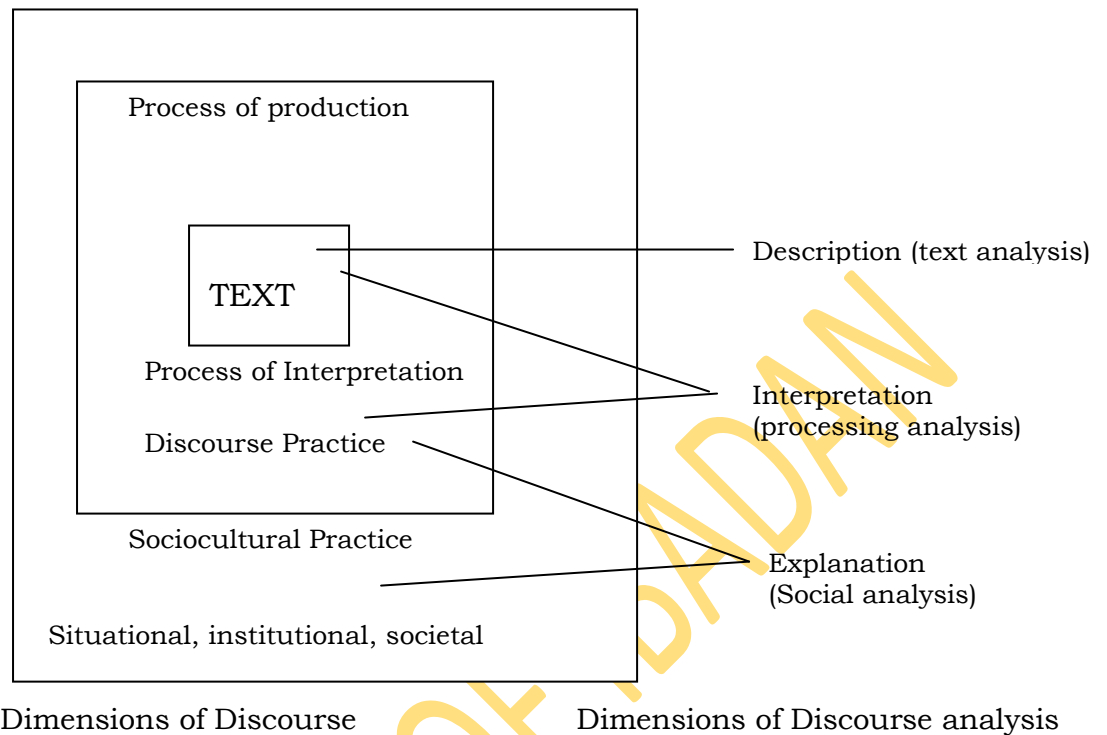
Fig 2.2: Dimensions of Discourse and Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995b:98)

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As noted by van Dijk (1991), one of the characteristics of discourse analysis is that it describes text and talk in terms of theories developed for the several levels or dimensions of discourse. He states further that whereas classical linguistics and semiotics made an overall distinction between the form (significants) and meaning (signifies) of signs, current discourse analysis recognizes that text and talk are vastly more complex and require separate though interrelated accounts of phonetic, graphical, phonological, morphological, rhetorical, pragmatic, conversational, interactional and other structures and strategies. Each of these levels has its characteristic structures which may be interpreted or function at other levels, both within and outside the traditional linguistic boundaries of the sentence as well as in the broader context of use and communication.

2.3   Discourse Strategies

Haig (2008) notes that text producers can be regarded as employing discoursal strategies on various levels in order to achieve ideological aims. He posits:

> On the macro level, these strategies relate to interactional features such as the generic structure of texts. On the meso level, strategies are concerned with discoursal features such as how arguments are presented, how different voices are combined and how various sections of the text are framed. At the micro level, the strategies include such things as pronoun usage, nominalization and passivisation, discourse markers and deixis.

Eccles and Nohria (1993) consider strategy to be a particular kind of rhetoric that provides a common language used by people at all levels of an organisation in order to determine, justify, and give meaning to the constant stream of actions that the organisation comprises. Other scholars (Giddens 1981, Knights and Morgan 1991, Barry and Elmes 1997), view strategy as discourse. They argued that 'strategy' is a construction that serves to make sense of the world, and which is reproduced by a variety of texts and practices. Hardy and Palmer (1999), explore the relationship between discourse and strategy by viewing discourse as a strategic resource. Norrick (2003) discusses the use of presupposition, speech acts, figurative language and entailment as prominent concepts in discourse. Media messages contain a lot of strategies which are geared towards influencing the way members of the audience understand issues and situations for the purpose of changing their actions and behaviour.

As observed by van Dijk (1995b), in order to understand the roles of the news media and their messages, one needs to pay detailed attention to the structures and strategies of such discourses and to the ways these relate to institutional arrangements on the one hand and to the audience, on the other hand.

2.3.1   Discourse strategies in the news

The discourse strategies which featured in the OSBC radio news texts include blame transfer, source avoidance, positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, authoritarianism, foregrounding of figures and statistics, manipulation etc. These are explained below.

2.3.1.1 Blame Transfer

The strategy of blame transfer according to van Dijk (1995b) is an ideological construct that has been created and propagated by politicians and the media to blame the ills of the society on others.

2.3.1.2 Source Avoidance

This strategy is employed by journalists to hide the truth or mask negative issues. It manifests through the use of passivisation and agent deletion (Bouzgarrou 2007).

2.3.1.3 Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation

According to van Dijk (2006), the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is typical in giving biased account in favour of the speakers or writer's interests, while blaming negative situations and events on the opposition or the others.

2.3.1.4 Authoritarianism

This is a strategy based on reliance on officials or elites as sources of information. According to Fowler (1991:21), this reliance on officials as sources of information "is tied to the media's dependence on the status quo to keep their ownership and continue their profitability". van Dijk (1988b) also noted that elite sources are not only considered as newsworthy but also as more reliable as observers and opinion formulators.

2.3.1.5 Foregrounding

Foregrounding involves giving prominence to something or emphasising something in order to draw attention to it. Words and sentence meaning in discourse may be foregrounded by their position in the semantic structure as it is expressed by sentences order in the discourse (van Dijk 2006:55).

2.3.1.6 Figures and Statistics

This is used to suggest precisions and to present the facts as against mere opinions or impressions (van Dijk 2000b:79).

2.3.1.7 Metaphorisation

This strategy is used to achieve figurative meaning and to forge differing realities in different circumstances (Lakoff, 1993). It is used to capture the vividness of phenomenal experience in order to affect the audience's cognition and allow them to visualize the cause and effect of given situations.

2.3.1.8 Manipulation

The strategy of manipulation is employed to exercise control over the audience in order to influence their knowledge, beliefs and actions. According to van Dijk (2006),

manipulating people involves manipulating their minds and beliefs such as knowledge, opinions and ideologies, which in turn control their actions.

2.4   Review of Some Research Works on News Globally

An attempt is made here to do a review of some related literatures of earlier studies carried out on news globally. Mcanany's (1983) study concentrated on television coverage of the five central American countries - Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua - from 1972 - 1981. The study was an analysis of television news content of all references to the Central American countries. It was a census of all references to the five countries as provided in the indexed news abstracts in Vanderbilt University's monthly publication, Television News Index and Abstracts (TNIA) from 1972 to 1981.

The procedure was to code all references in TNIA according to country; network; news format - studio report, domestic video report (usually from New York or Washington) and foreign video report (outside the US); year, month and date; content themes: (1) unrest and dissent; (2) war and terrorism and crime; (3) coups and assassinations; (4) disasters; (5) political-military activity; (6) economics; (7) environment; (8) technology and science; (9) human interest); and content categories of crisis and non-crisis (themes 1-4 were designated crisis themes and 5-9 were non-crisis themes). The author used this method for providing a ten-year snapshot of manifest content for purposes of asking questions about the nature of the interaction between the news media and the public it was supposed to be informing. The study showed that television news from the Central America for the ten- year period provided the American public with reinforcement of certain stereotypes by reporting mostly crisis news about disasters in the first six years, and war, terrorism and rebellions for the last four. The study revealed that: television coverage of Central America during this important period of change in the area was inadequate and distorted; the American public had been provided a crisis-oriented picture of the area that was inadequate for responding intelligently to government policies. This raised the serious question about the role that television news can or should play in the policy formation process.

The findings indicated that until 1978, only a very small amounts of time were given to Central America on network news. The study concluded that if this region was central to the national interests of the US as the official position claimed and if there were important changes occurring there that would affect these interests, then it should be part of television's responsibility, as the leading news source for informing the American public, to provide as

complete and accurate an understanding of these changes as possible. The reflection on the findings in this study was that further research needed to be undertaken so that the nature of the media and the audience reaction to the news could be better understood.

Jensen (1987) carried out a discourse analysis of news programmes in United States network television. One week of the nightly news programmes of two networks - ABC and CBS were selected for analysis. From these programmes, broadcast during the week of September 18-24, 1981, a total of 49 segments dealing with aspects of the United States economic systems were used. The programmes were taped and transcribed specifically for the analysis. Four elements in the structure of news discourse were singled out for analysis. The study was concerned not just with the traditional question of connotations but also with the extent to which interrelations were created by the lexical choices between an individual's roles to detect the conceptual categories that the text imposes on the world. Second, the study noted not only which actors were present but also which agents were missing from the news stories. Third, the structure and particularly the coherence of the text were established. Fourth, presuppositions gave away the basic assumptions of the news text.

It was discovered that in the sample as a whole, agents were typically in accounts of economic processes. It was also noted that the political stories reflected a number of presupposed social values. The study showed that, through a particular set of linguistic choices, major socioeconomic developments were ascribed to individuals while politics and economics appeared to function as logical entities in isolation from each other. The analysis of the news suggested that television, indeed advocated a particular vision of society. The elements of the news ideology, including the concept of social spheres, furnished us with a systematic explanatory theory; they emphasised the extent to which the news is a construction of social reality that presupposes certain economic privileges.

Another study carried out by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) investigated the prevalence of 5 news frames identified in earlier studies on framing and framing effects – attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences, and morality. News frames were conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information. The study revealed that there were two possible approaches to content analysing frames in the news -inductive and deductive. The inductive approach involved analysing a news story with an open view to attempt to reveal the array of possible frames, beginning with very loosely defined preconceptions of these frames. The deductive

approach involved predicting certain frames as content analytic variables to verify the extent to which these frames occur in the news.

The study proceeded from a quantitative content analysis of the frames used in the Dutch national news media from May 1 to June 20, 1997, the period leading up to and including the so-called "Eurotop" meetings of the heads of government of the European Union countries held in Amsterdam during June 16-17, 1997. The study revealed how the national news media covered this major event and the key European issues addressed by the heads of state. News relating to politics or political themes in Holland and Europe were analysed to see how prominent such news was relative to other news. 20 framing questions were used to empirically assess the 5 most common news frames in 4 national newspapers and 3 national television outlets with the highest ratings in Holland. The most common frames in order of predominance were attribution of responsibility, conflict, economic consequences, human interest and morality.

Results showed that in Holland, responsibility was often attributed to the government, which suggested the importance and political influence of political culture and context in the framing of problems and topics in the news. The responsibility frame was especially evident in the serious news outlets in the press and television, which suggested that the more serious outlets present more political and economic news than the less serious outlets. The findings suggested that, although television news in many countries may be episodic, the way in which responsibility was framed in the news was influenced by the political culture and social context in which the news was produced. Also, the more sober and serious newspaper and the 'harder' television news programmes were similar in their frequent use of the attribution of responsibility frame and conflict frame, whereas the more sensationalist newspapers and 'softer' news programmes showed a similar emphasis on the human interest frame. Also, there was a tendency for television news to use human-interest frame more frequently than print news media. Again, although both print and television news used the morality frame infrequently there was a slight tendency for television news, more than the print news, to make reference to morality, God or other religious tenets, or to other specific social prescriptions about how to behave. This study also investigated whether framing of news varied by topic by selecting two topics that were prominent in the news during the period of data collection: crime and European integration. The study revealed that the use of certain frames varied. Stories about Europe were framed in terms of the attribution of

responsibility, conflict, and economic consequences. Stories about crime were more often framed in terms of human interest.

Dixon and Linz (2000) attempted a content analysis study designed to ascertain whether television news programme present crime in such a way as to perpetuate "misrepresentations" or "distortions" of African American and Latino citizens' propensity toward criminality in society. The authors conducted a content analysis of a random sample of local television news programming in Los Angeles and Orange counties to access representations of Blacks, Latinos, and Whites as lawbreakers or law defenders. Three indexes of Black, Latino, and White lawbreaking and defending were applied to television news representations: (a) "intergroup" comparisons of lawbreakers by race and cultural group; (b) "interrole" comparisons of lawbreakers versus law defenders within cultural and racial group; and (c) "interreality" comparisons of law breakers presented on television news with crime reports obtained from the California Department of Justice, and comparisons of law defenders presented on television news with county employment records by racial and cultural group.

First, intergroup comparisons revealed that Blacks and Latinos were more likely than Whites to be portrayed as perpetrators of crime on television news. Second, interrole comparisons revealed that Blacks and Latinos were more likely to be portrayed as perpetrators than as police officers on television news. Whites, however, were less likely to be portrayed as perpetrators than as officers. Third, interreality comparisons revealed that Blacks were over represented, Latinos were underrepresented, and Whites were somewhat underrepresented as perpetrators on television news. However, Blacks were neither overrepresented nor underrepresented, Latinos were underrepresented, and Whites are overrepresented as police officer on television news. The study concluded that Blacks were clearly overrepresented as lawbreakers on news programmes.

Another study carried out by Kilanda (2003) was a content analysis of Radio South Africa News Reports from October to November 1985 intended to find out how the apartheid regime was portrayed and defended on Radio RSA's news reports and consequently to what extent its ideology was subtly and daily disseminated on the radio in the context of political isolation, economic sanctions and internal uprisings. Radio RSA's recorded news reports covering a period of six weeks starting from October to the first half of November 1985 were collected, and interviews with former Radio RSA journalists and reporters who were dealing with the day to day running of the radio in the 1980s were conducted. The aim of the

interviewers was to obtain descriptions of events or scenes that were normally unavailable for observation and to have an insight from those who had a first-hand experience of propaganda on Radio RSA. The study was a qualitative inquiry intended to give an understanding and interpretation of the 'world' behind the news as they were reported on Radio RSA. Major events that marked the international scene during October and the first half of November 1985 were analysed as they constituted; 'instruments' to measure the use and level of propaganda in Radio RSA's discourse. The study contended that the notion of objectivity in the sense of reporting on events could not be fully supported given the fact that media reporters are already situated and 'contextualised', and that ideology works subconsciously as a pervasive framework defining the reality to believe in and report on.

Spencer's (2004) article was a consideration of how television news had impacted on the politics and momentum of the Northern Ireland peace process. Drawing on the experiences and perspectives of key journalists who had reported the peace process, the study addressed the role played by news throughout the negotiations which led to the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 and looked at the range of influences which television continued to exert within the political contestations and disputations that had come to symbolize the search for peace. The study provided a comparison to political perceptions about how television news had impacted on peace by presenting the views and insights of key journalists who dealt with all parties and leading figures throughout its entirety. In reflecting on the scale of this interaction they brought to light questions about the relationship between peace, politics and news which tended to be overlooked by politicians concerned ostensibly with single party political objectives. This engagement which television journalists had with all the parties in the peace process also indicated that they were full and active participants in contestations and dialogues about peace. It was the scope of this involvement that made their views about the pressures created by television coverage, the communicative abilities of the respective parties and the news media as political informants and interpreters, especially relevant. The main aim was to identify and examine some of the consequences of the participatory role that television reporting performed in relation to peace.

The study revealed the reasons why we should look at the part played by television news in a conflict - resolution setting. First, television news performed an expansive role in peace politics by broadcasting to all audiences at once. This made it a valuable mechanism in the communication of change and highlights why, as a medium, it had useful implications for participants seeking to talk with opponents and their respective constituencies *by* indirect

means. Second, television news had the potential to facilitate diplomacy and force movement in ways that are unattainable behind closed doors away from public scrutiny, and where intransigence might be less easily challenged. Third, the emotional and dramatic emphasis of television had a tendency to simplify and exaggerate problems in ways that can both directly and indirectly affect the flow of communications. Fourth, the ability of television reporting to function instantaneously created expectations for actions which could pressure politicians to react and respond quickly, thereby speeding up the process of interaction and dialogue.

The study concluded that although the extent of the news media's influence on the peace process was debatable and subject to a range of variables, it remained undeniable that television news played a central role in channelling communications between the participants as well as broader constituencies, and that this role had positive and negative consequences which were reflective of occurrences and relations within the political environment. What also emerged from interview materials used in the study was the expectation that television news (along with other news media) would continue to play a key role in the peace process as long as the rollercoaster of breakdowns and breakthroughs continued to plague its development and until the process of democratic renewal that it was designed to bring about had been realized.

Haig's (2008) study was a critical discourse analysis of discourse strategies in reports on youth crime in UK Radio news. The study focussed on a particular notorious crime of the fatal shooting of an eleven year old boy by a teenager in 2007 and how the radio news programme in the UK reported the crime. The study described how the programme employed the use of discursive strategies (at macro, meso and micro levels of textual organization) to not simply report the facts but to construct the killing from a particular perspective as a news 'story'. The data for the study comprised recorded selection of UK radio stations for eight hours per day (from 6a.m to 2p.m) for a period of three weeks – 13 August to 2 September 2007. The recording was done only from the morning till the early afternoon so as to be able to focus on the breakfast time news programmes. The study paid attention to the use of repetition in the programme's generic organization both as a strategic device and as a means whereby the ideological work of the news was achieved. It was discovered that the same news item was repeated at different times throughout their running time with the option of slightly modifying the item each time. This technique, according to the study helped to fill up the allotted time of a programme and enabled programmes to cater for listeners who start and stop listening at various lengths of time. The technique also

allowed for the inclusion of news stories that break during the course of the programme and for updating listeners about ongoing stories in a way not possible for conventional printed newspapers.

Findings from the study showed that the language used by the presenters and other participants in the programme did not 'tell the truth' or 'present the bare facts' but, rather constructed the news using various strategies as a set of stories from very particular perspectives and in accordance with particular ideologies. The study concluded by arguing that the main ideological work of news media was not to inform and educate the public but to influence audiences in line with particular perspectives conducive to maintaining rather than changing the social order.

Another study carried out by Hardman (2008) investigated political ideologies and identity in British newspaper discourse. The study investigated four British newspapers, *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Mirror* in order to assess the different ways in which identities had been constructed over the past thirty-five years by the newspapers for the political leaders featured in the editorials. The study utilised a novel analytical framework that modified Critical Discourse Analysis by incorporating theories of performed identities with a "Discourse Historical" approach to critical analysis. The creation of identities, alongside the stance adopted towards individuals and political issues were found to both help create an ideological identity for the newspapers while simultaneously encouraging readers to conceptualise events in such a way that served the ideology in question.

Findings from the analysis showed that newspapers constructed positive or negative positions for the subjects of their editorials that were the direct result of the political ideology held by the specific newspapers, and in so doing the newspapers were constructing identity positions for themselves along party – political, rather than purely ideological lines. Also, the identity positions were constructed for politicians and newspapers primarily through the use of rhetorical questions, epistemic and deontic modal auxiliaries, choice of manifest intertextuality and categorical assertions. The study further revealed that the newspapers editorials existed as sites of synthetic interaction between the newspaper and a set of ideal readers. It concluded that within the editorials, the constructed identities of politicians therefore, served to assist in the construction of shared group identities.

The different research studies reviewed above have provided useful information on how critical discourse analysis can be applied in analysing news discourse. They also serve as a base for the present study.

2.5   Review of Some Research Works on News in Nigeria

In this section a review of some of the research works done on news in Nigeria is carried out. Fayoyin's (1990) study analysed the content and form of news disseminated by Pan African News Agency (PANA) from a multidimensional perspective and an interdisciplinary approach. The subject matter of discourse from the points of view of topic, theme, source, actor, direction, orientation and location were analysed. Also, the style and structure of news involving message projection, coherence structure, type of detail common in news items, narrative flow and suitability of a proposed conventional super-structure to news agency materials were examined. A two-week sampling period was used for data collection. One week was chronological from May 19-25, 1986; the other was constructed from January 30 - July 23 of the same year. News texts totalling 366, made up of 245 from the general news service, 52 from the economic bulletin, 24 from the science and technology bulletin and 45 from the features service including press review service, were analysed.

Findings in the study revealed that:
- relations between states, politics, military and defence matters were the most favoured topics in PANA news;
- political elites were the dominant actors in PANA news;
- metropolitan centres were the favourite sources of PANA news;
- themes related to Africa pervaded PANA cast;
- the direction of news was generally favourable and;
- the orientation of news was not significantly directed toward a developmental prism.

The study revealed inconsistency in news presentation as the structural analysis showed that participating agencies did not religiously adhere to the PANA style-book. It was also revealed in the study that some bulletins did not follow the conventional format of news formulation. It was discovered from the study that PANA diversely featured the categories contained in the conceptual scheme as proposed by van Dijk (1983). The issues identified for qualitative inquiry in the study were news geography, topic of news, theme in news, actors in news, direction of news, treatment of news, orientation of news, dominant attribution type, propositional pattern and source of news. The study showed that information imbalance is a natural phenomenon and that PANA disseminates authoritative and relatively balanced information. Issues that provide immediate gratification were more prominent than those of delayed reward. Thus issues in politics, military and contemporary activities in international politics were given ascendancy over those of culture, social service, religion, human interest,

science and technology. This showed the naturalness of the phenomenon called imbalance. Again it was discovered that the nature of society determined the pattern of coverage. The process of news deconstruction revealed the presence of linguistic and ideological transformation in news reporting and influence of organizational and professional processes in information encoding. The fragmentary analysis of coherence structure showed that interconnection among concepts and propositions was achieved through temporal connectives, cause, time and location. From the point of view of language, the following conclusions were made:

- Professional and socio-cultural processes influence the encoding process of the message.
- PANA's coverage of the invasion of three frontline states by South African Military forces was stereotypic.
- Lexical stereotypes reflected in PANA news conform to international political images. The lexical description of African actors and nations did not show unbridled nationalistic flavour.

A study carried out by Soyir-Yariga (1993) focussed on the Nigerian press, specifically, the newspapers to investigate their diffusion attitudes towards the Economic Community of West African States, (ECOWAS) as a development strategy for the West African region and also the influence the newspapers may have exerted on their citizens to adopt and actualize the content of ECOWAS Treaty. Five research questions were formulated centring on the newspapers' projected attitude towards the Ecowas Treaty and its protocols and their implications for Nigeria; the economic, political, legal and socio-cultural status of the member states and their implication for Nigeria's participation. Eleven newspapers were proportionately sampled for the study out of the twenty newspapers that were in circulation in Nigeria between 1981 and 1985. Content analysis procedure was adopted for the coverage; evaluation and measurement were based on direction, space and position. Content units were categorized under the Treaty, Economic, Political, Legal and Socio-cultural. These were further operationalised to make the news analysis thorough.

The study revealed that the Nigerian newspapers as represented by the eleven sampled newspapers showed that there were very few articles addressed to the Ecowas Treaty of regional economic development. It was statistically observed that the Nigerian newspapers contributed massive information materials on the activities of the member signatory countries of the Eco Treaty. The study concluded that the Nigerian media operators would need re-

education, re-orientation, conscientisation, sensitisation to achieve that level of commitment that was the driving force of their predecessors in the anti-colonial struggles.

Another study carried out by Olowe (1993) examined the interplay of language and ideology in Nigerian English-medium newspapers. The study investigated how various English structures and lexical items were used by these newspapers in projecting various socio-politically determined shades of opinions and beliefs within the society. The data for the study were selected editorial texts from four Nigerian newspapers, namely The *Daily Times; The Guardian,* the *Nigerian Tribune* and the *New Nigerian.* The study focussed on editorials of the selected newspapers as the areas where the various ideologies were most clearly established and where the stances the newspapers take towards issues and events were most readily discernible. The subjects of the selected editorial were on the nationally important issues of religion, labour relations and politics. Thus, the various ideologies that threw up the editorials were such that cut across diverse interests and institutions within the Nigerian polity. The study employed the methods of critical linguistics which involved identifying the significant structures and lexical items in the editorials and examining their use and functions against the background of relevant ideologies.

Findings from the analysis showed that the newspapers employed various linguistic devices all of which involved careful and methodical manipulation of structures and items within the English language in projecting their various ideological view points. It was discovered from the study that thematisation, passivisation and nominalisation were the most widely used of these linguistic devices. As obvious from the various analyses, thematisation proved a veritable vehicle for accentuating some view points and down playing others; passivisation was found to be a potent means of projecting ideological interpretation in the newspaper; nominalisation was also used for the same reason as passivisation to play down ideologically uncomfortable aspect of the reality that was being mediated. The analysis also revealed the pervasive use of lexical items as textual nodes for contriving ideological insinuations.

Oseni's (2000) study examined the correct articulation of phonemes and word stress placement in English as used by Nigerian journalists who broadcast in English in Osun State Broadcasting Corporation (OSBC). Five English phonemes - the voiced dental fricative sound /ð/, the voiced labio-dental fricative sound /v/, the voiced alveolar fricative sound /z/, the central half-open short vowel or schwa /∂/ and the central half-open long vowel /3:/ whose articulations are believed to be difficult for the majority of Nigerian speakers of

English, including journalists were examined. Also, ten polysyllabic words were selected and tested for stress placement in the broadcasts of the journalists.

Findings from the study revealed that the journalists pronounce different phonemes available in their Mother Tongue (MT) instead of the ones in their broadcasts. It was also revealed that they stress syllables that should normally remain unstressed and unstress the ones that should be stressed in the majority of the English words in their broadcasts. The study concluded that Nigerian journalists who broadcast in English are not good in articulating certain phonemes in English language correctly based on the poor performance of the subjects in the phonemes in which they were tested with an average overall 33% success and 67% failure. Also university graduate journalists performed better than non-graduate journalists in the articulation of phonemes they were tested in and female journalists performed better than their male counterparts having recorded 33.3% success against the males' 31.4%. The study recommended among others organization of workshops and seminars for journalists to update their knowledge in English phonology.

Adebanwi (2002) examined the contending narration on the Nigerian 'nation' as reflected in the Nigerian press within the context of other narratives in the polity. The research work studied how meaning was deployed or mobilised in the press either to establish, nourish or sustain relations of domination / power or to counteract, subvert and deflect power within and among ethnic nationalities in the context of the evolving idea of the Nigerian nation. The study used the depth - hermeneutical framework to investigate how the interpretation of ideology - recast as meaning in the service of power-in the press served to stimulate critical reflections on the relations of power and domination in the grand narrative. Four crises in the history of Nigeria were examined including the crisis on the date of independence and related issues, the post-independence crisis of statehood, the crisis following the annulment of June 12 presidential election, and the crisis following the restoration of democracy in May 1999.

Findings from the study showed how the media narratives provided the interpretative lens through which the ethnic-nationalities and meta-nation were viewed, defining identity and enacting discourses that supervened other arenas of power in society. In effect, the grand nation was narrated in the Nigerian press as an instrument in the relations of domination, the press being polarized along different axis of power. The study revealed the general modes through which meaning was used in the service or disservice of power in the narration of nations and grand nations. In conclusion, the study highlighted the limitation of the

mobilization of meaning in the service of power and the inherent contradictions in the politics of meaning.

Abati's (2006) article titled "The Press in Nigeria: The Challenges of Language and Communication" described the general decline in the use of English language in the Nigerian press as a phenomenon that could be defined in terms of scope and nature, in historical terms. The article revealed that the older newspapers of the colonial era and the early post colonial seasons were comparatively better than today's newspapers. Abati observed that the older generation of Nigerian journalists was made up of persons with no more than higher education while the contemporary journalist is better educated with a chain of degrees, where the average qualification is a Master's degree.

This decline as stated in the article had its roots in the education system and the collapse of standards in the teaching of the English language. The paper commented on the socio-logic of the word-choice and linguistic deployment in the Nigerian press stressing that the press in Nigeria assumed the character of a protest vehicle, with its direct involvement in the politics of the Nigerian state. According to the paper, the tone of the Nigerian press was sharp, and critical, and in contemporary circumstance, it was reflective of the general dissatisfaction in the land, the travails of the people, and the crisis of governance. The article confirmed the above assertion by giving a review of the word-choice on the front page of the contemporary newspapers of Wednesday, November 8, 2006 namely *The Nation, The Punch, The Guardian, The Vanguard, The Sun and This Day* where we had examples of key words such as "confusion, battle, fear, emergency, controversy, fail, part ways, attacks, dodge, justice, crises, deter, redeployed, allegations, money laundering, unending worries, scramble, court's verdict, ordeal, indictment, vandals, burnt, impeachment, vows, seizes, deadline, cheat, probe, bombs, usurpers anger, terror, attack, protests, deep seated" etc. On the particular day as revealed by the article, the newspapers did not report any momentous development in the life of the nation but normal routine stories which were reflective of the mood of the nation and representative of the predominant word choice in the press. The article noted further that on more dramatic days, the news pages of virtually all Nigerian papers were littered with necrophilous, if not apocalyptic, fear inducing, anxiety-promoting phrases which draw attention to the transitional nature of the Nigerian State and society.

The paper noted that the signifying tone of the language of the Nigerian press, both now and in the colonial era had invited criticisms from those who accuse the institution of sensationalism, of a lack of patriotism and specifically of encouraging discard and disunity.

Thus, the Nigerian press used language as a weapon and tool of aggression against the subversion of the common good by a minority elite in the corridors of power. The paper stated further that "the contemporary Nigerian journalist is usually an angry young man or lady, growing up in dispossessed society, whose language is that of protest, denoting anger and frustration". The paper recommended that the Nigerian press must seek to raise its quality and deepen the professionalism in its team for it to remain relevant and to continue to expand its boundaries of influence on the society.

A study carried out by Taiwo (2007) looked at how language was used in news headlines to reflect specific societal ideologies and power relations. The data comprised 300 headlines collected from six Nigerian Newspapers, four of which were daily news papers, namely: *The Sun*, *Nigerian Tribune*, *This Day* and *The Guardian* and two weekly Newspapers – *Tell* and *Newswatch* published between March and August 2004. A critical study of the headlines was done to identify their ideological leanings and how they reflected power play within the Nigerian society between those whose interest was being served and those whose interest was being undermined. The study examined the headlines and the social contexts from which they emerged and identified the various use editors of news paper make of the linguistic resources to portray the various existing societal ideological postures and power relations. The headlines were placed into two categories – categories according to the issues addressed and according to their surface structures.

Findings from the study revealed that a large percentage of the headlines- 31% were on political matters and 23% were headlines on crime and corruption. It was observed that the use of speech as headlines was very significant since news is woven around personalities whose speech can be used for sensational news. The study revealed ideological meanings behind the written words in the media as portrayed in some Nigerian newspaper headlines and how editors portray ideological postures on national issues through their choice of expressions.

Ayoola's (2008) study was a critical discourse analysis of the reporting of some Niger-Delta issues in selected Nigerian newspapers. The study examined the setting, topics and participants that were projected in the content and context of reports in the Niger-Delta and the salient linguistic features employed by the writers in their presentations and critically analyzed the pragmatic and discourse strategies employed by the participants in the news reports. Five to ten reports that centered on the Niger-Delta issues in three national newspapers – *The Punch*, *The Guardian* and *The Vanguard*; and three community news-

papers - *The Tide*, Niger-*Delta Standard* and *The Telegraph* from 1999 to 2007 were randomly selected for analysis. Field trips were also undertaken to selected towns and villages in the region for the purpose of familiarization with the setting and better understanding of the issues at stake.

Findings from the study showed that discourse participants from different sides of the Niger-Delta conflict often slanted their public pronouncements in a manner that promoted their positive sides on the one hand, and the unflattering sides of their opponents, on the other hand. Findings also revealed the context of domination and its resistance in the morphological and grammatical choices of the discourse participants. There was evidence of bias and partisanship in the news reports which showed that the journalists and the media houses they represented played active roles as participants in the conflict. Also, the Niger-Delta participants in order to gain political advantage over their opponents resulted to the use of certain pragmatic and discourse strategies. These strategies were the force of logic, the use of figures and percentages, the persuasion of science, interdiscursivity and intertextuality, obfuscation and flattery, rumour mongering, name calling and dysphemism. The study concluded that the paralinguistic analytical framework enhanced accurate description and interpretation of media political discourse and therefore could equip the reading public and discourse interpreters with the appropriate tools of identifying nuances of meaning that would otherwise have eluded them.

As pointed out earlier, the few studies which we have reviewed are intended to serve as representations of research works on news discourse and not as a complete catalogue of studies on the subject area. The reviewed works have been found useful and relevant to the present study.

2.6   Media Discourse

Media discourse refers to the use of language in media texts or news stories (Chiluwa 2007). Media discourse according to Scollon as cited by Chiluwa involves the news writer or journalist and the reader as the main actors in this practice. Talbot (2007) notes that the importance of the media in the modern world is incontrovertible and in modern democracies, the media serve a vital function as a public forum. According to Fairclough (1995a:65):

> The representation of discourse in news media can be seen as an ideological process of considerable social importance and the finer detail of discourse representation, which on the face of it is merely a matter of technical properties of the grammar and semantics of texts, may be tuned to social determinants and social effects. It is … important both for linguists to be

43

sensitive to how discourse is shaped by and helps to shape social structures and relations, and for sociologists to be sensitive to how social structures and relations are instantiated in the fine detail of daily social practices, including discourse.

Fairclough (1995a) sees the mass media as an interrelated set of orders of discourse in that the orders of discourse of television, radio, and the press are distinct in important ways which relate to differences of technology while also having significant similarities. The press uses a visual channel, its language is written and it draws upon technologies of photographic reproduction, graphic design, and printing. The radio uses an oral channel and spoken language and relies on technologies of sound recording and broadcasting, while television combines technologies of sound and image recording and broadcasting (p. 38). According to Fairclough, the differences in channel and technology have significant wider implications in terms of the meaning potential of the different media. He states further that the print is in an important sense less personal than radio and television. The radio begins to allow individuality and personality to be foregrounded through transmitting individual qualities of voice while the television takes the process further by making people visually available, not in the frozen modality of newspaper photographs, but in movement and action.

Tolson (2006) identifies three key concepts for media studies - Interactivity, Performativity and Liveliness. According to him, these concepts provide a fruitful starting point for the analysis of media talk. He states further:

> They begin to define the very peculiar nature of broadcast communication: principally, that it speaks to an absent audience as if it was co-present (at least in time) and in 'lively' ways as if it was spontaneous and interactive. But the fact that the audience is absent (though studio audiences have an interesting role to play) and unable to respond directly (though phone-ins and other interactive devices are increasingly common) transforms that communication from conversational interaction into performance (p. 13).

Ayodabo (2007) states that a text should convey meaning and the medium remains the processing mechanism. All elements within the processing unit should assist the message to achieve the main objective of media discourse which is efficient and effective information dissemination. Bruck (1989) asserts that the media speak in their own particular ways about the world and they do produce particularly structured accounts (i.e. their own discourses). According to him the media employ their own well described codes and conventions, their modes of speaking and editing, of contracting voices and stories. The discursive materials they work with, however, are not their own; rather the media build their accounts of what

happens in the world on the accounts of other people, e.g. eyewitnesses, police, experts lobbyists, politicians, business leaders, and a whole range of other social actors. He states further:

> …we speak of the media reprocessing the discourses spoken by their sources. The media reassemble the information, rearrange different parts and thus create their own particular way of telling the events in the world. Reprocessing is a well-structured, professional (i.e. done skilfully, according to specific codes) activity in which the media appropriate other discourses and reproduce the social and political order of the day (1989:116)

Bruck (1989:119-122) distinguishes five main discourses that serve as resources to the media in their production of the news discourse. These are highlighted below:

(i) The discourse of the leaders of state - centres on categories like 'national security', 'national greatness' and the 'goodness of its socio political order' and other categories like 'threat from outside' and 'need to prevail through heightened defense efforts'. This discourse, as opined by Molotch and Marilyn (1974:102) is 'highly privileged in the media due to the status of its authors as news promoters'. News bulletins take this discourse as their main staple; most of what is typified as hard news consists of and/or echoes this discourse. What is said is closely reported, if not cited verbatim and provides for "good visuals" according to the dominant news judgment (Bruck 1989:120).

(ii) The bureaucratic technical discourse - is closely related to the first one and it is the discourse of the diplomats and diplomatic experts. The two discourses build on each other, share particular formations and/or elements, and serve each other as reinforcements.

(iii) The scientific-technical discourse - resembles the second in some of its formations and frequently takes its agenda from the first. It is the discourse of the disarmament, military and other technical experts. It is replete with data and well equipped with technical vocabulary. Unlike the first two, this discourse depends not on bare claims or strict assertions or the fine-tuning of negotiated language but on some scientific - rational procedures of documentation and of constructing evidence. It is a post enlightenment discourse whose power allegedly rests with the truth of the content and not the status of the author. Analytical procedures thus dominate, along with constructions of rational grounds for stated arguments and proposed hypothesis. The media use this discourse to supplement the previous two (Bruck 1989:121).

(iv)   The discourse of victims of war - the central elements of the formations of this discourse are the short cries of death, the muffled expression of horror whose codes the media do not care to decipher, the weeping spells of children unarticulated in any sense beyond the bodily production of tears. The victims' discourse is unelaborated and unsophisticated; its imperfections make it closer to silence than talk. Television feeds more willingly on it, with dramatic visuals of blood or death, of destruction and horror. Television uses the images to sell their wares. However, the discourse of victims of war is restricted in the variety of its articulation and this limitation makes it material not well fit for the news media (Bruck 1989:121).

(v)   The discourse of survival - draws its formations from the expert's discourse as well as from the victim's discourse. It is torn between the two, and relative to the others exhibits less cohesion and is internally replete with discontinuities and ruptures. It seeks richness in articulation to better make its points. It works to leave space for the victims' discourse and gain the elaborateness of the experts in hope of thereby increasing its effectiveness (Bruck 1989:122). Bruck states further that the first three discourses can be regarded as generally forming the dominant discourses. The discourse of survival can be considered an alternative discourse, and the discourse of the victims the oppositional.

The news media (Bruck, 1989) deploy their discourses within a net of determinations produced by politics, science, education, religion, and other institutions of knowledge production. The media process the discourses of the other institutions in specific and demonstrable ways and use them as resources for their own discursive labour and in so doing the media differentiate and variably treat particular ways of representing issues. Fairclough (1995b:2) articulated a three-dimensional framework for studying discourse "where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis into one another": analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of socio-cultural practice.

Schudson (1978) opines that a distinction which has guided analysis of journalism is that between information and storytelling. Ekstrom (2000:466-467), adds a third concept- 'attraction'. He states that information, storytelling and attraction represent three analytical distinct modes of communication. The concepts, according to him, point to significant differences relating to three aspects of communicative events and processes: (1) the producer's intentions and the forms of production and communicative strategies which are

46

used to fulfil those intentions, (2) the basis for audience involvement, the dimension of audience appeal and gratification; (3) the roles which are offered actors in a communicative event/process and the relations which are established between these roles.

Ekstrom notes that the makers of a programme are out to achieve something; they want to address their intended audience in a certain way. He adds that behind each production there is a set of intentions on various levels ranging from how the programme ideally should be perceived to intentions regarding an individual figure's appearance; the intentions may be vague and more or less unarticulated, or may be highly precise and explicit. One overarching intention which can be achieved in different ways is to appeal to and involve an audience.

Adebanwi (2004) states that the Nigerian Press is the pivot on which the civil society rotates in Nigeria. He also observes that the Nigerian press has therefore played crucial roles in both the conflictual and co-operative relationships among social, economic and political forces. According to Masmoudi (1992), the media in democratic societies are the mirror which reflects the general orientation of political life and the microscope which allows citizens to pay attention to different national activities and, by expressing their opinion contribute to the progress of a nation. Tettey (2001) observes that the media have been active in expository activities within the state that would otherwise have been unknown to the citizenry. Through this kind of information, the populace is able to measure the pronouncement of politicians against their deeds, and hence make informed judgements about the political future of those individuals. Wasburn (1995:647) asserts:

> ...in modern democratic states, citizens largely depend, directly or indirectly on media of mass communication to provide most of the materials out of which they construct their understanding and subsequently form their evaluation of political structures, policies, actors and events.....The press stimulates the public potential interest and makes available specific information it needs to hold government accountable.

According to Ekstrom (2000:469), media outputs may be analysed in terms of the roles offered the participants in the communicative event. Fairclough (1995a) distinguishes between three categories of participants – (a) reporters (in a broad sense, including journalists and other media staff) (b) audiences and (c) 'third parties', i.e. those interviewed, cited and invited to be guests on a programme. Journalism presents its reports according to established codes and conventions.

According to *The World Book Encyclopedia* (Vol. 11) there are five chief fields of journalism: (1) newspapers, (2) news service (3) magazines (4) radio, and (5) television.

News services have journalists who report news from around the world. The growth of news media in size and importance has led to tremendous improvements in the methods of gathering and presenting the news. Esktrom (2000:473) posits that a story has at least five characteristics which may be present in the construction of journalistic text:

(1)   The elements in a story occur in a given order; the order itself influences the content and its meaning, the order indicates relationships and causality, (what leads to what). The order may, for example, create suspense prior to a dramatic crescendo and resolution or ending.

(2)   A story contains certain more or less distinct characters or roles. Characters are typically constructed within the framework of archetypical contrasts: good-evil, perpetrator-victim, hero-villain.

(3)   A story has one or more points, which give clear cues regarding how the story is to be interpreted, i.e. what it is about and the message it conveys.

(4)   A story has a resolution or ending which usually shows, or suggests, a solution to the problems or conflicts around which the story revolves.

(5)   Stories take place simultaneously on multiple levels; the concrete story in a text may be formulated within the framework of a more general narrative or myth about society and culture.

2.6.1 Approaches to Media Discourse

Fairclough (1995a:20-32) highlights some approaches to media discourse. These include:

-     Linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis
-     Critical linguistics and social semiotics
-     Social-cognitive analysis, and
-     Cultural-generic analysis

2.6.1.1 Linguistics and sociolinguistic analysis: According to Fairclough, ways in which language is used in the media may be of interest to linguists for their own sake, for instance of particular types of grammatical structure or particular intonation patterns.

2.6.1.2 Critical linguistics and social semiotics – Critical linguistics is based upon Halliday's (1978, 1985) systemic linguistic theory. It brings to media discourse analysis a systemicist's views of the text- the views of the text as multifunctional, always representing

48

the world (ideational function), seeing texts as built out of choices from within available system of options in vocabulary, grammar etc. Discourse is seen as a 'field of both ideological processes and linguistic processes, and...there is a determinate relationship between these two kinds of process'; specifically, the linguistic choices that are made in texts can carry ideological meaning (Trew, cited in Fairclough 1995a:25). Halliday stresses further that critical linguistics emphasizes the role of vocabulary choices in processes of categorization. A clause which codes an event (ideationally) in terms of a particular type of process will also assess (interpersonally) the truth or probability of the proposition so encoded, and the relationship between producer and addressee(s) (p.27).

2.6.1.3 Social-cognitive Model – van Dijk's analysis of news text shows relationships between texts, production processes and comprehension processes and between these and the wider social practices they are embedded within. van Dijk's analysis of practices of news production and news comprehension has a social – psychological emphasis on processes of social cognition – on how cognitive 'models' and 'schemata' shape production and comprehension (Fairclough 1995a:29). According to Fairclough, van Dijk's main motivation for linking media texts to context is to show in detail how social relationships and processes are accomplished at a micro-level through routine practices. Fairclough stresses that a distinction is made between the 'micro' and the 'macro' structures of news discourse in analyzing structures of news. The macrostructure of texts is its overall organization in terms of themes or topics and it is a hierarchical organization "in the sense that we can identify the theme of a whole text (and sum it up as a single proposition), which can typically be spelt out in terms of a few rather less general themes, which can each in turn be spelt out in terms of even more specific themes, and so on" (p29). The schematic structure of a particular type of text is specified in terms of the ordered parts it is built out of. van Dijk as quoted by Fairclough suggests that a news report typically has a headline, a lead, which covers the main event of the story, an element which gives verbal reactions to the story, and a comment element.

The micro structures of news discourse according to Fairclough are analyzed in terms of semantic relations between propositions – coherence relations of causality, consequence etc. Microanalysis also identifies syntactic and lexical characteristics of newspaper style, and rhetorical features of news report, such as features which give reports an aura of factuality (p30).

2.6.1.4 Cultural – generic analysis – According to Fairclough (1995a) an important feature of this approach is that it simultaneously attends to interaction and representation. It draws upon work by Goffman (1981) on how radio announcers address audiences and the orientation in conversational analysis towards the accomplishment of social relationship in talk, as well as a Hallidayan multifunctional view of text. Harbermas (1989) observes that the cultural – generic approach tried to relate changes in broadcast genres to the evolution of the public sphere of broadcasting. Scannel (1992) as cited by Fairclough characterised the communication ethos of broadcasting, emergent since the early days of radio in terms of emergence of patterns of programming and communication style which accommodates to the private, domestic conditions of media reception.

For an adequate critical analysis of media discourse, Fairclough provides a list of desiderata to clarify how his analytical framework relates to the literature. These are reproduced below.

1. One focus of analysis should be on how wider changes in society and culture are manifest in changing media discourse practices. The selection of data should correspondingly reflect areas of variability and instability as well as areas of stability

2. The analysis of media texts should include detailed attention to their language and texture. It should also include detailed analysis of visual images and sound effects.

3. Text analysis should be complemented by analysis of practice of text production and text consumption, including attention to transformations which texts regularly undergo across network of discourse practices.

4. Analysis of texts and practices should be mapped on to analysis of the institutional and wider social and cultural context of media practices including relations of power and ideologies.

5. Text analysis should include both linguistic analysis and intertextural analysis in terms of genres and discourse. It should be recognized that texts are commonly hybrid intertextually with mixtures of genres and discourses and that such hybridity is manifest in heterogeneous linguistic features.

6. Linguistic analysis of texts should be conceived multi functionally, and be oriented towards representation and the constitution of relations and identities as simultaneous processes in texts and the important relationships between them.

7.   Linguistic analysis of texts involves analysis at number of levels, including phonic, lexical, grammatical, and macrostructural/schematic.

8.   The relationship between texts and society/culture is to be seen dialectically. Texts are socioculturally shaped but they also constitute society and culture, in ways which may be transformative as well as reproductive. (Fairclough 1995a:33-34)

2.7   Mass Media

Media of communication are important devices for conveying or exchanging information between people. Driel and Richardson (1988) view the mass media as one of the major forces that mould and shape our social movements, which challenge the established order and prescribe different paths along which change should take place. A perception of the cultural consequences of various media products is based on a view of the mass media as primarily manipulative agents capable of having direct, unmediated effects on the audience's behaviour and world view (Fejes 1981). According to Elliot et al (1983), broadcast news has been hedged around with a powerful set of formal requirements because of the mass audience it attracts.

Ross (2004) observes that the media operate, unquestionably as agents of public knowledge and definitional power and the media are increasingly the real public space in which politics occurs and through which citizens comprehend the political process. Modena, Massara and Schall (2006:97) define the media as:

> A complex cultural system that has a symbolic dimension, with a constant play between signs and meanings. The idea of this dialogue includes the (re)construction, storage, production, and circulation of products replete with meanings both for the media that produce them and for those who consume them. The media as a cultural system also includes a contextual dimension, since media products are social phenomena situated in specific contexts.

The functions of the mass media as stated by Folarin (1998:5) include the following:

(1)   The surveillance or the information or news functions;

(2)   The correlation/interpretation or editorial/opinion functions;

(3)   The cultural transmission or education function;

(4)   The entertainment function;

(5)   National integration;

51

(6)   Socio-economic modernisation; and

(7)   Cultural creativity.

Critical analysts base their research on a series of assumptions about the capitalist organization of news media. The media are seen as commercial enterprises governed by logic of capital rentability and profit accumulation. Maximisation of audiences overrides   most other operating factors, most of the time. Even if a media enterprise is a public service rather than privately owned, the pressures of audience maximisation persist and become reconstructed in the imperatives to justify and legitimate programming, corporate plans, and resource allocation (Bruck 1989). According to Bruck, the news text is seen as produced by industrially organised media. The production labour is divided among specialised personnel; complex systems of machinery are also employed and the labour of news workers becomes productive only in interaction with them. According to him, this interlinked chain of people and machines carries out a connected series of working steps.

The cultural theorist claims that in examining the nature and conduct of the news media, one should look behind the news reports to deconstruct the terminology, selection of material, and socio-economic relations implicated (Kieran 1997). This according to van Dijk as cited by Kieran is the thought that underlies claims that the structures of news reports at many levels condition the readers to develop interpretative frameworks rather than alternative one. In the same vein, Tuchman (1978) states that news practice is an ideology in action because it constitutes an implicit, unacknowledged, continuous process through which huge quantities of information are manipulated into a journalistic framework that promotes the official conception of reality. According to Bruck (1989:116-117):

> The media do speak in their own particular ways about the world and they do produce particularly structured accounts (i.e. their own discourse).... The media have network of authorities, of people who are to be interviewed and accessed, people to whom they pay attention and listen, and the media have their specific ways of presenting events, making their stories work, seeking their audiences' assent, making their regimen intelligible and so forth.

In doing all this work (Bruck: 117), the media employ their own well-described codes and conventions, their modes of speaking and editing of contracting voices and stories. Copple cited in Weaver and McCombs (1980) argues that journalists should go "beyond the reporting of specific, discrete events by providing a context which gives them meaning". Bruck posits that the discursive material they work with, however are not their own; rather

the media build their account of what happens in the world on the accounts of other people like eyewitnesses, police, experts, lobbyists, politicians, business leaders and a whole range of other social actors. What the people mentioned above have to say in Bruck's view enters into the media account either as unacknowledged and attributed quotation. He argues further that what sources have to say and how they say it influences to varying degrees the angle of the news story, the points of emphasis, and the structure and the flow of the story. What this means is that the media reprocess the discourse spoken by their sources by reassembling and rearranging the different parts by creating their own particular way of telling the events in the world. In the words of Bruck (1989:117), "reprocessing is a well structured professional (i.e. done skillfully according to specific codes) activity in which media appropriate other discourses and reproduce the social and political order of the day". The media do their work in different ways at different times depending among other things upon topic, political circumstance and the alterative social and discursive pressures exerted at a given time. The media show discursive openings, inconsistencies and contradictions. They can provide the basis for developing a strategic politics by alternative ground and movement (Bruck 1989).

Kieran (1997) notes that news media reports may be biased or sometimes mistaken. However at first drafts in history media reports aim to recount events as they happen and diagnose their causes appropriately. Sometimes reporters are mistaken, or the reasons they give for adducing a certain cause may not be satisfactory. This, according to Kieran does not mean that journalists cannot properly report on events and their causes. Journalists will often disagree over which aspects of a story are salient. Thus we may end up with divergent pictures of the same news story from different media.

O'Heffernan as cited by Spencer (2004:605) argues that politics and the news media do not work in unified or complementary way, but through 'two very desegregated, aggressive ecosystems constantly bargaining over a series of "wants" while they manipulate both the structure and output of the other for their own advantage'. The interdependency between reporting and politics is also constructed on lines of independence; each party requires the other, but only if specifically different interests are met. It is also for this reason as stressed by Spencer, that the relationship between news and politics shifts in its intensity, depending on varying circumstances and points in time. In other words, although the media and politicians clearly need each other, they also work to separate aims and imperatives. They function interdependently and independently (Spencer 2004). Bruck (1989) observes that in the case of news reports, the hard news angle and the inverted-pyramid style of writing give a

distinct advantage to the agenda of governments and officials as actors. Sources are selected and legitimated according to political, organizational or professional hierarchies. He states further that the requirements of balanced, fairness, and objectivity are used to neutralise oppositional views. Most often, news report pick up the interpretative frames and phrase structures of administrative officials and political authorities. According to Bruck (1989), the constraints of news writing work in two ways. On the one hand, they force the discursive strategies of quantification, officialdom, visualness and drama to be applied to ideologically challenging activities; on the other hand, these activities cannot be handled sufficiently within the routine formal constraints, and other discursive strategies are needed to contain them.

2.8   News

News is an elusive concept to define as there is no definition that is universally acceptable. According to van Dijk (1984:5) news is "a distinct type of discourse; it is a peculiar genre of non-literary text". *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* defines news as 'information about something that has happened recently'. In the words of Stephens (1988:9) news is 'new information about a subject of some public interest that is shared with some portion of the public'. Fayoyin (1990:22) citing Traber (1985) offers some definitions of news thus:

- News is any fresh or unusual event.
- News is anything which interests a large part of the community and has never been brought to their notice.
- News is anything that interests the reader.
- News is something which someone wants to suppress. All the rest is advertising.
- News = P + E + R$_1$

  P = People

  E = Event

  R$_1$ = Reader's interest

  Folarin (1998:8) offers a broad definition of news as follows:

(1)   An account of any real happening that may have an interest for or effect on people - accidents, fires, crime, celebrations, etc with thoughtful explanations of those happenings.

(2)   Doings of prominent persons and of government - conduct of war, making of laws, philanthropic gestures - again with thoughtful explanations of those doings.

(3)   Account of unusual events which compel reporting- the sensational, the bizarre (the 'man bites dog' types of story).

(4)   Reports and interpretations of a people's way of life, in ideological terms (a socialist perspective).

(5)   Reports of development, achievements of nations against great odds and of protests against imperialistic manipulations (a third world perspective).

In the word of Sannie (2006:262), news is:

> the event of the day condensed into few words, sounds or pictures processed by the mechanics of communication to satisfy human curiosity of a world that is always eager to know what is new.

Some distinct features of news as identified by van Dijk (1985) and cited in Fayoyin (1990:21-22) include the following:

- News is intended to be speaker-neutral and institutional as an organization is responsible for news dissemination. The writer of news speaks as an institutional member not on behalf of himself.

- News is a public discourse. It is generally about events of interests to all and sundry.

- News uses a formal style.

The traditional model of journalism or the elements of newsworthiness is based on what we refer to as 'news values'. Some universal and conventionally accepted news values according to Ufuophu-Biri (2006:13-18) are Timeliness, Proximity, Personality/ Prominence, Consequences and Impact, Human Interest, Oddity/Novelty, Conflict/Disaster and Magnitude. Each of these is discussed below:

Timeliness: refers to currency of an event. News should be recent and fresh.

Proximity: means nearness of an event or occurrence to the audience. The nearness of an event gives it more relevance as people value news that concerns them in one way or the other.

Personality/Prominence: refers to the tendency of the media to focus on   celebrity status. News is mostly built around personalities.

Consequences and Impact: Events that have great consequences for the people make much news.

Human Interest: Occurrences that are of interest to people make good news.

Oddity/Novelty: The unusualness or shocking oddity of a story makes it newsworthy.

Conflict/Disaster: Stories about conflict and disaster such as war, flood, coup d'etat etc tend to attract great attention.

Magnitude: The magnitude of an event or occurrence determines its newsworthiness.

Folarin (1998) says journalism is the act of reporting events immediately they occur as distinct from reporting them after a definitive study; it is the process of gathering, organizing and dissemination of information principally through the mass media of newspaper, magazine, radio and television. He goes further to give a comprehensive definition of journalistic style as:

> the ways in which journalist (reporters, editors etc) use language, pictures, graphics and so on; in gathering, organizing and disseminating, or collecting, producing and presenting information (news, features etc); to heterogeneous and scattered audiences; principally through the media of newspaper, magazine, radio and television; with a view to informing, educating and changing scenes within and beyond their own societies (1998:2)

Fiske as quoted by Kieran (1997) asserts that journalism and news function as discourse, that is, as a set of conventions that strive to control and limit the meaning of the event it conveys. Kieran stresses that identifying the subject of a report depends upon invoking the presuppositions and institutional setting of the particular news journalist, organisation, and medium; thus the very nature of what one is reporting on is, in part, determined by the discourse within which we conceive it. As noted by Kieran (1997), there is a difference between the journalist who must write a story a certain way or be shot, and the reporter who merely requests an eyewitness' account. The former is a corruption of proper news investigation and reporting whereas the latter is the norm. Good journalists should always critically reflect upon and assess whether the beliefs and presumptions with which they are operating are warranted or should be modified.

Tuchman (1978), as cited by Fayoyin (1990) classifies news into five categories - hard, soft, spot, continuing and emerging. According to him, continuing news refers to events that occur over an extended period of time; spot news is an unexpected one time occurrence; hard news is an event "potentially available for analysis and interpretation", soft news covers interesting occurrences which deal with the life of human beings; emerging news relates to events whose facts are still emerging and being gathered.

News whether on television or in other media, is a result of choices. These choices represent judgments as to what seems to be important or newsworthy. And such judgments become part of the basic working routine of those institutions called the news media

(Mcanany 1983). As observed by Bruck (1989), news is also understood as the product of bureaucratically functioning media. Regular sources, routine institutional sites and beats, customary information subsidies, and the documentary practices of the offices of governmental agencies and departments make available and efficiently supply facts, documentation proof. Bruck observes further that news work routinises textual production in substance and form in terms of what is made to be known and how it is to be known. He posits:

> The bureaucratic organisation of news work ties journalistic practice and media operation to operational modes and agendas of the management apparatuses of the state and the economy. Having at first glance a seeming proclivity for the sensational, and therefore unbureaucratic, on closer examination the news media turn out to be an integral part of today's social administration of domination.... The news media are the reportorial subsystem of the dominant socioeconomic system and they fulfil an adaptive function. (1989:112-113)

News research as stressed by Bruck (1989:110) has undergone a considerable transformation in its questions and methodology in the light of three realizations which he highlights thus:

(a)   News workers do not just select context but also construct stories, generate meaning, and produce "the world" in their accounts.

(b)   The meaning of news texts is created in much more complex and intricate ways that can be accounted for by qualitative content analysis; and

(c)   Audiences are not just affected by strings of messages but actively read texts and continuously negotiate their meanings.

These three realizations according to Davis as cited by Bruck (1989), inform a new methodological approach that is at once more complex and sophisticated, and also grants these qualities to its objecting inquiry. Construction, text, and reading are key terms. Semiotic units are seen as (a) connected to the organizational processes that structure their production, (b) irreducibly structured by each other, with widen syntagmatic boundaries than previously granted, and (c) potentially more open and historically specific (Bruck 1989:110).

For Dahlgren (1981), news is a type of social knowledge. All forms of social knowledge, that is, knowledge shared among a collectivity, express a practical interest in the world; they constitute an active relationship to the social or physical environment. Kieran (1997) states that the purpose of news is to report stories as they happen, something which may be at odds with a given journalist's or editor's own prejudices. It is, accordingly, intrinsic

to the purpose of the news that it is, or should be ideologically independent. As Barnhurst and Mutz (1997) note, to qualify as news these days, an event must also fit into a larger body of interpretations and themes. Many things that happen to people, although novel, must now get ignored unless reporters can link them to something bigger. They state further that the basic recipe for news - the report of events new to the hearer - has acquired a third ingredient. For a story to qualify as news, journalists now supply a context of social problems, interpretations and themes. Kieran (1997) argues that the ideological presumption holds that the way news is reported and viewers' assessment of it are functions of the social and institutional interests of reporters and viewers. Hartley (1992), as quoted by Kieran (1997) explains that news is not a producer of ideological meanings in the sense that they are originated here and nowhere else. News reproduces dominant ideological discourses in its special areas of competence. Hence, according to Kieran, the ideological presumption that any news report, because of its ideological representation, cannot be taken at face value. Rather we must delve beneath the apparent meaning of any given report to uncover its true nature. He states further that conceiving news reports as ideological entails some commitment to explaining their acceptance and authority in terms of the socioeconomic interests of a given class or community.

As Barnhurst and Mutz (1997) rightly observe, interpreting the news involves recognizing the particular event as one of a series with both a cause and an effect. Quoting MacDougall (1977), they posit that a good journalist:

> will at least be aware of the fact that an item of news is not an isolated incident
> but one inevitably linked to a chain of important events .... The interpreter of
> the news must see reasons where ordinary individuals observe only overt
> happenings. And he must study them as scientist scrutinizes the specimen in
> his microscope scientifically.

According to Tuchman as cited by Bruck (1989), news workers do their work by typifying the occurrences in the world not only according to, for instance, the time pressures they have to work within but also in regard to systematic regularities of conceptualizing the world, staking their position vis-à-vis that world and addressing the reader/viewer/listener. How news workers establish relationships of temporal stability between discourses and social relations is part of the historical specificity of the media's treatment of happenings in the world. As opined by Bruck, we need to make the analytical separation between the discourses the media produce and the discourses they use as material to build on, process and deliver. We need to be interested in structures of transformation; we cannot ignore - as most

content analysis does - the discursive components from which reports are constructed. Barnhurst (2005:1) rightly observes that "news today is more densely populated, more action –packed, more up-to-date, more localized and more event-centered". He states further that the multiplying modes of communication, the growing number of news convergence and the expanding reach of news gathering suggest that the public today can get access to more events than ever before (p.13). According to Shoemaker (1996), some scholars consider news a natural response to biological needs, springing from the urge within the human organism to survive by keeping the world under surveillance. However Barnhurst (2005) argues that news is a product of social life which changes through practice; if not, its core definition would have remained unchanged. Thus, to him, news today has become primarily a location of interpretation, a place where journalists explain and offer opinion about event; news is a product of human meaning making, and journalists have taken the manufacture of social meaning as their primary task.

For Dahlgren (1981), news is a type of social knowledge. The purpose of news as stated by Kieran (1997) is to report stories as they happen, something which may be at odds with a given journalists or editor's own prejudices. Fairclough (1995a) notes that modern news weaves together a range of voices in a web that imposes a certain interpretation on them. van Dijk (1988a) observes that the modern news story is structured around its 'intro' and its text is formed out of processes of summarising. Ufuophu-Biri (2006) asserts that news has live and practical orientation in the sense that the audience either hears the reporter directly or sees and hears him directly and also sees the event being reported.

News journalism has a status of being a source of information which presents itself as an omniscient institution that offers factual reports of events on diverse subject areas. According to Ekstrom (2000), journalism in general has developed from a more passive, conveying of others' thoughts and words to a more active, independent kind of journalism which takes the liberty of editing its subject matter. Caldas-Coulthard (2003) states that news has social, political and educational roles and that by being exposed to news, people make connections and try to understand and explain how events reported in the media relate to the society as a whole.

Gouldner as quoted by Schudson (1978) notes that the news is a decontextualised communication. Matheson (2000) in his own views comments that for the above excerpt to make sense, the reader must accept the news text's right, authority and ability to state the facts of something that happened hundreds of kilometres away a few days previously.

According to Ekstrom (2000), journalism is communication in a market – a market of news, images and stories. Journalists and producers do what they can to involve the public partly in order to sell their programmes, and also because they have something to say that they want people to listen to. Elliot Murdock and Schlesinger (1983) argue that whereas the news and most of the regular current affairs output are so closely identified with the broadcasting organisations as to be seen as 'their' products, for which they bear collective responsibility, 'authored' documentaries are ascribed to an individual reporter or producer and presented as their particular views of the subject. Elliot et al also note that news is one of the more 'closed' forms of presentation and operates almost exclusively within the terms of the official discourse. Some types of programming (such as news bulletins and action-adventure series) are relatively 'closed' and operate mainly or wholly within the terms of reference set by the official discourse. They stress further that other forms (such as 'authorised' documentaries and singe plays) are relatively 'open' in the sense that they provide spaces in which the core assumptions of the official discourse can be interrogated and contested, and alternative and even oppositional themes presented and examined.

Fayoyin (1990) makes a distinction between the topic and theme in news. He states that topic is one thing while theme is another, though there exists a link between them. Theme is an offshoot of topic. While topic refers to the subject of discourse, theme refers to the message about the subject. For instance, if the topic of a news item is social, the theme may be crime. He stresses further that the actors or characters in news are glossed over and no explicit statement is made about them, adding that the identification of actors is a significant aspect of analysis of news which should not be treated with levity.

2.9   Language and Register of Broadcast News Reporting

The language of the mass media in particular according to Wodak (2002) is scrutinized as a site of power, of struggle and also as a site where language is often apparently transparent. According to her, media institutions often purport to be neutral, in that they provide space for public discourse, reflect states of affairs disinterestedly, and give perceptions and arguments of the newsmakers. Wodak (2002:11) states further:

> The constant unity of language and other social matters ensures that language is entwined in social power in a number of ways: language indexes power, expresses power, is involved where there is contention over power and where power is challenged. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power both in

the short and the long run. Language provides a finely articulated vehicle for differences in power with hierarchical social structures.

Hall (1977), as cited by Dellinger (1995a) observes that the language of news changes and fluctuates within a culture through the process of the 'implicit' and the 'explicit'. Explicit culture, such things as law, was what people talk about and can be specific about; implicit culture, such things as feelings was what they took for granted or what existed on the fringes of awareness. According to Caldas-Coulthard (2003), the language of the mass media is one of the most pervasive and widespread discourses that people from all sorts of literate societies are exposed to. Allan, cited in Omenugha (2007:167) posits:

> The language of news can never be ideologically 'neutral'. Rather each word of the news accounts for a 'two sided act' in that it is continuously oriented towards an addressee, that is, it is conditioned by whose word it is and for whom is it meant. The meaning of a word can never be affixed once and for all, as it is actively negotiated through the reciprocal relationship between addresser and addressee.

Olowe (1993) notes that journalism which is the art of distilling events into words and pictures for sale, has evolved a peculiar pattern of its own and this is referred to as 'journalistic language', 'journalese', 'journalistic jargon'. According to him, the language of reporting is a compound of different varieties of English in the sense that it exploits at any given time the entire repertoire of the potential of use that is available in the language in general. News discourse elicits peculiar lexical, semantic and syntactic structures to be readable clear and balanced (NAN Style Book 1980). Fayoyin (1990) observes that because news has to be readable and interesting, it is constrained in lexical registers and semantic macro-structure; it also possesses peculiar diatypic codes. Commenting on the importance of responsibility on the part of all who communicate, Read (1972) states:

> Utilise language adequately. When we intend to report, we must understand the structure of the language of reporting. When we intend to interpret, we must understand the language of interpretation. When we intend to judge, we must understand the language of judgment. We must not confuse these functions of language, or we shall risk manipulating our audience unintentionally. It is not manipulation which is irresponsible; it is casual, unintentional, capricious manipulation which is evil.

Semantics, style and rhetoric and what van Dijk calls relevance structures are some factors in discourse of analytic study of news. The first focusses on the meaning and interpretation in terms of clauses and sentences within the text. Style and rhetoric are seen as two significant dimensions of a news discourse. They relate text with context. Rhetoric

relates to the intended effectiveness of a news discourse; it makes the text more acceptable to the audience (Fayoyin 1990). According to Olowe (1993), the world the mass media, especially, newspaper, radio and television attempt to represent to their audience through the use of language is a complex of ideologies. Kress (1983:43) remarks:

> ...the media attempt to make sense of the world for others, namely the consumers of the media products. In doing so, they may attempt to shift readers from adherence to ideological positions or to cement them more firmly in their allegiance to ideological affiliations.

News is written in the Inverted Pyramid style to make the organisation of the story more logical. This implies that news stories are written in hierarchical order of importance. The climax or the most important element in the story comes first. It is a short but all embracing introductory paragraph which makes the lead or intro. The subsequent paragraphs which provide additional information then follow in a descending order of importance.

Language displays striking variety occasioned by the variables of space (geographical setting), time (temporal setting), and situation; the variable of situation is responsible for the concept of register (Lawal 2003). According to Alo (2004:76), the term register technically refers to "the variety of language according to use or function and is commonly understood as peculiar use of words, structures and meaning in a particular field, discipline or occupation". In his definition, Halliday (1978:111) views register as:

> a configuration of the semantic resources the member of a culture typically associates with a situation type. It is the meaning potential that is accessible in a given context.

Language is determined by situation and context and that is why Catford (1965) sees language in its variable as a subset of formal and or substantial features which correlate with a particular type of socio-situational features. According to Halliday (1978), we do not experience language in isolation but always in relation to a scenario, some background of persons and actions and events from which the things which are said derive their meaning. Thus, language is said to function in contexts of situation and any account of language which fails to build in the situation as an essential ingredient is likely to be artificial and unrewarding (p.29). The notion of register according to Halliday is a form of prediction: "given that we know the situation, the social context of language use, we can predict a great deal about the language that will occur, with reasonable probability of being right". (1978:32).

Halliday (1964) categorises what we need to know about a context of situation in order to predict the linguistic features that are likely to be associated with it under three headings – 'field of discourse', the 'tenor of discourse', and the 'mode of discourse'. These are summarised by Doughty et al as cited in Halliday (1978:33):

> Field refers to the institutional setting in which a piece of language occurs, and embraces not only the subject-matter in hand but the whole activity of the speaker or participant in a setting (we might add: 'and of the other participants')….
> Tenor… refers to the relationships between participants …not merely variation in formality…but….such questions as the permanence or otherwise of the relationship and the degree of emotional change in it….
> Mode refers to the channel of communication adopted: not only the choice between spoken and written medium, but much more detailed choices (we might add: 'and other choices relating to the role of language in the situation).…

According to Olowe (1993), what the mass media, especially newspaper, radio and television attempt to represent to their audience through the use of language is a complex of ideologies. He states further that the language of reporting is a compound of different varieties of English in the sense that it exploits at any given time the entire repertoire of the potential of use that is available in the language in general (p.14). Fayoyin (1990) observes that news is constrained in lexical registers and semantic macro-structure; it also possesses peculiar diatypic codes.

Dellinger (1995a) observes that when writing for broadcast news the written language is modified to resemble speech by purposely using fragmented sentences which mimic real speech. As observed by Fang (1991), radio news stories are written to be told in familiar words combined into sentences, which run at comfortable lengths in a style known as "conversational". The radio news writing style includes the choice of simple words and short declarative sentences.

In broadcast news, the lead usually contains the fewest details that will clearly relate the most significant element of the events being reported (Fang 1991). As noted by van Dijk (1985), the lead is used to express or to infer the theme or topic. According to Ginneken (1998:186), "the lead is where the journalist focuses a story...the journalists own ultimate abstract is in fact the one-word catch-line or slug line by which a story is identified". van Dijk (1985) notes that language users can summarize complex units of information with one or few sentences, and these sentences are assumed to express the gist, the theme or the topic of

the information. The focus of the lead serves as the theme of the entire news story. For example:

Text 1

President Obasanjo x-rays his government's performance in the power sector. (News at Dawn. 01-03-2007)

In the above example, a single dominant point is emphasised; the details will be given in the body of the news.

The lead sometimes begins with the location as a transition device; a way of redirecting the listener's attention away from the last story into the new item. For example:

Text 2

In Lesotho, opposition party has called for an early election. (The World at Noon. 06-10-2008)

The news writer assumes that the longer the sentence the less it will be understood (Fang 1991). As Fang also notes, a pressing concern exists for clarity in both sentence length and word choice because the radio listener or the television viewer unlike the newspaper reader, is unable to stop to review and reconsider the meaning of a sentence. Broadcast news writing is normally limited to a vocabulary of simple, widely understood words.

2.10   Theoretical Framework

Theories of text and talk abound, from classical rhetoric to contemporary grammatical, stylistic, conversational, narrative, and argumentative descriptions of discourse. Language use, apart from being form and meaning also meant act and action, that is, speech acts, and sociologists insisted that such language use is essentially a form of social interaction, most fundamentally in the form of everyday interaction. According to van Dijk (2004), psychologists have shown that discourses and their meanings can only be produced and understood on the basis of vast amounts of knowledge, and that language use should not only be studied concretely and empirically as abstracts structures but also in terms of strategic cognitive processes and mental representation.

The theoretical approaches which we consider relevant in this study are critical discourse analysis and systematic functional grammar. van Dijk's socio-cognitive model is based on the assumption that cognition mediates between society and discourse. Both long-term and short-term memories as well as certain mental models shape our perception and comprehension of discourse practices. According to van Dijk (1991), discourse analysis of

news is not limited to textual structures. The structures express or signal various "underlying" meanings, opinions, and ideologies. In order to show how these underlying meanings are related to the text, we need an analysis of the cognitive, social, political, and cultural context. van Dijk states further that the cognitive approach is premised on the fact that texts do not "have" meanings, but are assigned meanings by language users or by the mental processes of language users. Thus, we need to spell out the cognitive representations and strategies of journalists in the production of the news reports and those of the reader when understanding and memorizing it.

It is precisely through a detailed account of social cognitions that we are able to relate discourse and speakers with social structure and culture, that is, through the representations that language users have about social structures. These social cognitions also allow us to relate the micro-structures of discursive action and communication with the societal macro-structures of groups and institutions (van Dijk 1991)

Wodak's work on the discourse of anti-Semitism led to the development of an approach she termed discourse historical method (Sheyholislami 2001). Wodak's socio-historical model focusses on the historical context of discourse in the process of explanation and interpretation of texts.

Halliday's systemic functional grammar dwells on the functions of language in society and can be used to uncover linguistic structure of power in texts. Also Halliday's grammatical system of Transitivity construes the world of experiences into a manageable set of process types and each process type provides its own model or schema for construing a particular domain of experience as a figure of a particular kind (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). For the purpose of this study we shall adopt ideas from critical discourse analysis complemented with Halliday's concept of transitivity.

2.11 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse which views language as a form of social practice and focusses on the ways social and political dominations are reproduced by text and talk (Fairclough 1989). Kress (1990) shows CDA as a distinct theory of language, a radically different kind of linguistics listing the criteria that characterize work in the CDA paradigm. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) took these criteria further and established 10 basic principles of a CDA programme (see Wodak 1996). Fowler (1991) shows how tools provided by standard linguistic theories (1985 version

of Chomskyan grammar and Halliday's theory of systemic functional grammar) can be used to uncover linguistic structures of power in texts. Halliday's (1978, 1985) provide an exposition of his contribution to critical linguistics while Fairclough's (1989) sets out the social theories underlying CDA. van Dijk's (1985) dwells specifically on mass media discourse and communication and brings together theories and applications of different scholars interested in the production, uses and functions of media discourses. Also van Dijk's (1998) articulates ideology as the basis of the social representations of groups, and advocates a sociocognitive interface between social structures and discourse structures. According to Blommaert (2005), CDA conceives discourse as a social phenomenon and seeks consequently, to improve the social-theoretical foundation for practicing discourse analysis as well as for situating discourse in society.

A critical approach to discourse seeks to link the text (micro level) with the underlying power structures in society (macro sociocultural practice level) through discursive practices upon which the text was drawn (Thompson 2002). CDA is the uncovering of implicit ideology in texts; it exposes ideological bias and the exercise of power in text. According to Fairclough (1993), CDA begins with a view of language as a social practice; it is a kind of action. It explores relationships between discourse and society. He states further that language consists of three elements -social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and belief. Critical discourse analysis has made the study of language an interdisciplinary tool and can be used by scholars with various backgrounds, including media criticism; it offers the opportunity to adopt a social perspective in the cross-cultural study of media texts (Dellinger 1995b). According to Fowler (1981), texts must be probed in order to discover hidden meaning and value structure. The society is seen as a set of groups and institutions structured through discourse. In his views, Sheyholislami (2001) states that one key principle of CDA is that the way we write, and what we say, is not arbitrary; it is purposeful whether or not the choices are conscious or unconscious.

In conducting a critical analysis of discourse, we need some skills; a method that can be applied to debunk the hidden ideological meanings behind the written or oral word (McGregor 2003). As observed by van Dijk (2000a), CDA does not have a unitary theoretical framework or methodology because it is best viewed as a shared perspective encompassing a range of approaches instead of one school. Starting with the full text, working down to the individual word level, one can peel back the layers to reveal the "truth behind the regime" - the profoundly insidious, invisible power of true written and spoken word (McGregor

2003:7). Palmquist (1999) states that CDA does not provide answers to the problems but does enable one to understand the conditions behind specific problems 'and make us realize that the essence of that problem and its resolution lie in its assumptions; the very assumptions that enable the existence of that problem'.

Wodak (2002) says critical theories are afforded special standing as guides for human action; they are aimed at producing both enlightenment and emancipation. According to her, these types of theories do not only seek to describe and explain but also to root out a particular kind of delusion. She states further that even with differing concepts of ideology, critical theory seeks to create awareness in agents of their own needs and interests. In her words:

> For CDA, language is not powerful in its own - it gains power by the use powerful people make of it. This explains why CDA often chooses the perspective of those who suffer, and critically analyses the language use of those in power, who are responsible for the existence of inequalities and who also have the means and the opportunity to improve conditions. In agreement with its Critical Theory predecessors, CDA emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organising social institutions or in exercising power (Wodak 2002:10).

CDA is fundamentally interested in not only analysing opaque but also transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language (Wodak 2002). Kress (1990) lists the criteria that characterise work in the CDA paradigm and illustrates how these distinguish such work from other politically engaged types of discourse analysis. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) take these criteria further and establish 10 basic principles of a CDA programme which are elaborated in Wodak (2002:14-15) thus:

1.   The approach is interdisciplinary. Problems in our societies are too complex to be studied from a single perspective. The theories draw on neighbouring disciplines and try to integrate these theories. Teamwork consists of different researchers from different traditionally defined disciplines working together.

2.   The approach is problem-oriented, rather than focussed on specific linguistic items. The CDA dimension, discourse and text analysis is one of many possible approaches.

3.   The theories as well as methodologies are eclectic; i.e. theories and methods are integrated which are adequate for an understanding and explanation of the object under investigation.

4. The study always incorporates fieldwork and ethnography to explore the object under investigation as a precondition for any further analysis or theorising.

5. The approach is abductive: a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary.

6. Multiple genres and multiple public spaces are studied, and intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are investigated. Recontextualisation is the most important process in connecting these genres as well as topics and arguments.

7. The historical context is always analysed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts.

8. The categories and tools for the analysis are defined in accordance with all these steps and procedures and also with the specific problem under investigation. This entails some eclecticism, as well as pragmatism. Different approaches in CDA use different grammatical theories, although many apply Systemic Functional Linguistics in some way or other.

9. Grand Theories might serve as a foundation; in the specific analysis, Middle-Range Theories serve the aims better. The problem-oriented approach entails the use and testing of middle-range theories. Grand Theories result in large gaps between structure/context and linguistic realisations (although some gaps must remain unbridgeable).

10. Practice and application are aimed at. The results should be made available to experts in different fields and, as a second step, be applied, with the goal of changing certain discursive and social practices.

CDA is characterised by precise and descriptions of the materiality of language. Ideology also has a role to play in it. Kress as cited by Dellinger (1995b:3) observes that CDA treats language as a type of social practice among many used for representation and signification. Wodak (2002) states that the roots of CDA lie in Classical Rhetoric, Textlinguistics and Sociolinguistics as well as in Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics. Textlinguistics - the science of text according to van Dijk as cited by Fayoyin (2000) is an attempt at describing natural language beyond sentence boundaries. Text linguistics has as the basis of its inference the text. The origin of this approach can be traced to the traditional pre-occupation of some analyst with text as the main object of investigation. This has its root in rhetoric and can be described as the ancestor of textual communication. The similarity of rhetoric with

contemporary conception of text according to Beaugrande and Dressler as cited in Fayoyin is based on the following assumptions:

1. That assessing and arranging ideas is open to systematic control.

2. The transition between ideas and expressions can be subjected to conscious training;

3. Among the various texts which express a given configuration of ideas, some are of higher quality than the others;

4. Judgments of texts can be made in terms of their effect upon the audience or receivers.

5. Texts are vehicles of purposeful interaction.

The range of notional development of text linguistics is multi-faced and this accounts for its diverse procedural approach. They are as stated below:

1. Cohesion- the mutual connectedness of surface structures which is grounded in grammaticality;

2. Coherence- the link in the configuration of underlying textual features;

3. Intentionality- the communicative goals of the text producer;

4. Acceptability- the perceived favourable response and attitude of the text receiver;

5. Informativity- the predictability or the otherwise of communicative occurrences;

6. Situationality- the determinants of contextual relevance of texts; and

7. Inter-textuality- the existence of nexus between communicative units in the text (Beaugrande and Dressler, cited in Fayoyin 2000: 126).

The notions of ideology, power, hierarchy and gender together with sociological variables are all seen as relevant for an interpretation or explanation of a text (Weiss and Wodak 2003). CDA takes a particular interest in the relationships between language and power. van Dijk (1995a) observes that ideologies involve mental objects such as ideas, thoughts, beliefs, judgments and values. According to him, ideologies are social in that they relate to groups, group positions and interests, touching on topics such as class, gender or race struggles, social power and dominance. They are also shared beliefs held by members of a group. van Dijk further states that ideological categories consisted of norms or values, position, resources, attitudes, more specifically, social representation shared by members of a group, and lastly, models, in terms of stored episodic memory or mental representations of personal experiences of specific actions, events or situations.

van Dijk (1988b) notes that CDA is concerned with studying and analysing written texts and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced and transformed within specific social, economic, political and historical contexts. Luke (1997) also points out that given the power of the written and spoken word, CDA is necessary for describing, interpreting, analysing and critiquing social life reflected in text.

Selucky (1982), as cited by Kilanda (2003) observes that the media is used both in the process of ideology and in propagandistic activities and as a form of communication using a dogmatic and exhortatory mode of address. According to Teer-Tomaselli (1992) as cited by Kilanda (2003), propaganda is tightly connected to the concept of ideology. Propaganda also has much in common with public information campaign by governments, which are intended to encourage or discourage certain forms of behaviour. The propagandist aims at changing the way people understand an issue or situation for the purpose of changing their actions and expectations in ways that are desirable to the interest groups.

Olateju (2004) submits that CDA implies a systematic methodology and a relationship between text and social conditions, ideologies and power relations. Interpretations are always dynamic and open to new contexts and new information. Also the objective of CDA according to Fairclough as cited by McGregor (2003) is to uncover the ideological assumptions that are hidden in the words of our written texts and oral speech. Fairclough further states that CDA tries to unite, and determine the relationship between three levels of analysis- the actual text, the discursive practices (that is the process involved in creating, writing, speaking, reading and hearing), and the large social context that bears upon the text and the discursive practices. According to McGregor (2003), oppression, repression, and marginalisation go unchallenged if the text is not critically analysed to reveal power relations and dominance.

2.11.1 Principles of CDA

The principles of CDA outlined by CDA practitioners (Fairclough, 1995b; Kress 1991; Hodge and Kress, 1993; van Dijk, 1988a, Wodak, 1996) and cited in Sheyholislami (2001:13) are summarized below.

1. Language is a social practice through which the world is represented.

2. Discourse/Language use as a form of social practice in itself not only represents and signifies other social practices but it also constitutes other social practices such as the exercise of power, domination, prejudice, resistance and so forth.

3. Texts acquire their meanings by the dialectical relationship between texts and the social subjects: writers and the readers, who always operate with various degrees of choice and access to texts and means of interpretation.

4. Linguistic features and structures are not arbitrary. They are purposeful whether or not the choices are conscious or unconscious.

5. Power relations are produced, exercised and reproduced through discourse.

6. All speakers and writers operate from specific discursive practices originating in special interests and aims which involve inclusions and exclusions.

7. Discourse is historical in the sense that texts acquire their meanings by being situated in specific social, cultural and ideological contexts, and time and space.

8. CDA does not solely interprete texts, but also explains them.

CDA approach is multidisciplinary as it employs interdisciplinary techniques of text analysis. The theories draw on neighbouring disciplines and try to integrate these theories and methods for adequate analysis. Therefore, CDA's approach, theories as well as methodologies will be adequate for our analysis in this study.

2.12   The Concept of Ideology

Ideology is a complicated term with different implications and interpretation depending on the context in which it is used. There are many definitions of ideology and we do not have a single adequate definition of the term. Eagleton (1991) highlights various definitions of ideology; and for the purpose of our study, three out of the definitions are relevant. These are highlighted below:

2.12.1 Ideology as a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class

Ideology here denotes the interests of specific social groups and refers to ideas and beliefs (whether true or false) which symbolise the conditions and life experiences of specific, socially significant group or class. It is the promotion and legitimation of the interests of such social groups in the face of opposing interests (Eagleton 1991:29).

2.12.2 Ideology as ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power

A dominant power may legitimate itself by promoting beliefs and values congenial to it; naturalising and universalising such beliefs so as to render them self-evident and apparently inevitable; denigrating ideas which might challenge it; excluding rival forms of thought, perhaps by some unspoken but systematic logic; and obscuring social reality in ways convenient to it (Eagleton 1991:5-6).

2.12.3 Ideology as the conjuncture of discourse and power

Ideology is concerned with the actual use of language between particular human subjects for the production of specific effects. To describe ideology as "interested" discourse calls for the same qualification as characterising it as a question of power (Eagleton 1991:10). Ideology can be seen as a discursive field in which self-promoting social powers conflict and collide over questions central to the reproduction of social power as a whole. This may entail the assumption that ideology is peculiarly action-oriented discourse, in which contemplative cognition is generally subordinated to the furtherance of interests and desires (Eagleton 1991:29).

The concept of ideology often implies distortion, false consciousness; manipulations of the truth in the pursuit of particular interests (Fairclough 1995b). The only way of gaining access to the truth is through representations of it, and all representations involve particular points of new values, and goals. The 'truth' according to Fairclough, in an absolute sense is always problematic and a source of much fruitless argument; also truth is a slippery business, but abandoning it altogether is surely perverse. Balkin (1998:101) contends that a theory of ideology in particular, must consider the following questions:

1. What kinds of things (objects, entities, mechanisms, or structures) are we investigating? This is the problem of the proper object of study.

2. Do we define ideology in terms of its content (for example, distortion or mystification), the function it serves (for example, furthering the interests of the ruling class), its causes (for example, cognitive bias, reduction of cognitive dissonance), or its effects (for example, creating or sustaining unjust relations of social power?) This is the problem of the proper mode of explanation.

3. What is our attitude toward ideology - pejorative, positive, or neutral? This is the problem of interpretative stance.

4.	How does our theory handle the inevitable difficulty that the analysis of ideology may itself be ideological? This is the problem of self-reference.

The concept of ideology as highlighted by van Dijk (2000b:7-8) can be summarized as follows:

2.12.4 Ideology as 'false consciousness' or 'misguided beliefs':

van Dijk (2000b) explains that within Marxism, ideologies were forms of false consciousness; that is, popular but misguided beliefs inculcated by the ruling class in order to legitimate the status quo, and to conceal the real socioeconomic conditions of the workers. This negative notion of ideology has become the central element in the commonsense and political uses of the term - as a system of false, misguided or misleading beliefs.

2.12.5 Ideology as a general notion

van Dijk (2000b) proposes a more general notion of ideology, which allows the study of 'positive' ideologies such as those of feminism and anti-racism in the same way, namely as systems that sustain and legitimatise opposition and resistance against domination and social inequality. Ideologies need not be negative and need not be dominant. Thus, a general theory of ideology allows a broader and more flexible application of the notion.

2.12.6 Ideology as the basis of social practice

According to van Dijk, ideologies as systems of ideas and social groups and movement not only make sense in order to understand the world (from the point of view of the group), but also a basis for the social practices of group members. Thus, according to him sexists or racists ideologies may be at the basis of discrimination, pacifist ideologies may be used to protest against nuclear weapons, and ecological ideologies will guide actions against pollution. As observed by van Dijk (2000b:9), one of the crucial social practices influenced by ideologies are language use and discourse, which in turn also influences how we acquire, learn or change ideologies. He posits:

> Much of our discourses, especially when we speak as members of groups, expresses ideologically bases opinions. We learn most of our ideological ideas by reading and listening to other group members, beginning with our parents and peers. Later we 'learn' ideologies by watching television, reading text books at school, advertising, the newspaper, novels or participating in everyday conversation with friends and colleagues, among a multitude of other forms of talk and text (2000b:9)

2.12.7 Ideology as social cognition

According to van Dijk (1995b), ideologies are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize socially shared attitudes; they indirectly influence the personal cognition of

group members in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions. Ideologies consist of socially shared beliefs that are associated with the characteristics properties of a group, such as their identity, their position in society, their interests and aims, their relations to other groups, their reproduction, and their natural environment. van Dijk calls the mental representations of individuals during social actions and interactions 'models'. To him, models control how people act or speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others. According to van Dijk, mental representations are often articulated along 'US versus THEM' dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms and other groups in negative terms (1995:22)

As also observed by van Dijk (2000b), psychologists often associate different beliefs with different types of memory, or with different system of cognition. He represents the relation between social cognition and discourse as follows:

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Interaction/Discourse                         │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                     ↑
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Social Cognition                              │
│                                               │
│            Group knowledge                    │
│                   ↑                           │
│            Group Attitudes                    │
│                   ↑                           │
│            Group Ideology                     │
│                                               │
│ Socio-cultural knowledge (Common Ground)      │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
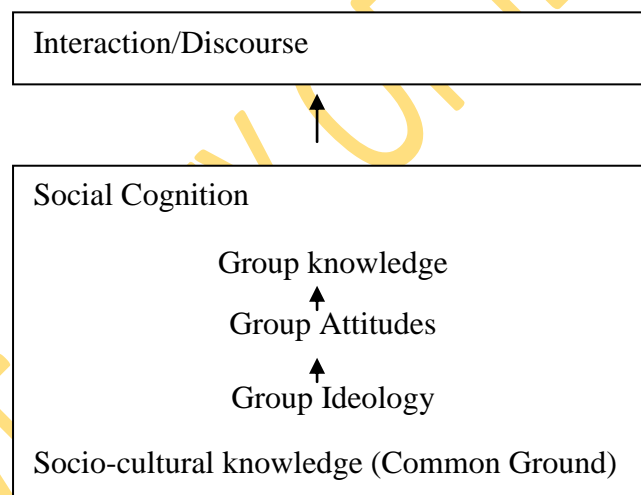
Fig 2.3: Relation between social cognition and Discourse (Source: van Dijk 2000b:20)

        van Dijk has been able to link ideologies as forms of social cognition, with social practices and discourse, at the micro-level of social situations and interactions, on the one hand, and with groups, group relations, institutions, movements, power and dimensions, on the other hand. (2000b:86)

2.12.8 Ideology as social representation

        van Dijk (2000b) asserts that ideologies form the basic social representations of the beliefs shared by a group, and precisely function as the framework that defines the overall coherence of these beliefs. Thus according to him, ideologies allow new social opinions to be

easily inferred, acquired and distributed in a group when the group and its members are confronted with new events and situations.

2.13   Political Ideology

Political ideology refers to a set of ideals, principles, doctrines, myths, or symbols of a social movement, institution, class, or large group that explains how the society should work. It is concerned with how to allocate power and to what needs it should be used (Blatterg 2009). Political ideology is a belief system that explains and justifies a preferred economic and governmental order for society. It offers strategies for its maintenance and helps give meaning to public events, personalities and policies. Political ideologies are concerned with many different aspects of a society like the economy, education, health care, labour law, the judicial system, the provision of social security and social welfare. A political ideology therefore is a set of ideas and principles that explain how the society should work and offer a blue print for certain social order (Ake 1999).

2.13.1 Awoism: Political Ideology of Obafemi Awolowo

Chief Obafemi Awolowo was a Nigerian politician, lawyer, philosopher, journalist, nationalist and pioneer of free education at all levels in Nigeria. His political ideology is generally referred to as Awoism in Nigeria, while his close followers are referred to as Awoists. Omoboriowo (1982:11-12) captures the concept of Awoism thus:

> Awoism is derived from the word 'Awo' – the short form for Awolowo. An *'ism'* is a doctrine. It is also a system of a theory. Awoism is the totality of the theories or doctrines associated with the ideas and teachings of Chief Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria…. Awoism is a natural and supra-national political theory which aims at the orderly and rapid transformation of Nigeria and of Africa - mentally, socially and economically so that Nigeria first and foremost and Africa as a whole will assume their positions among the developed nations of the world within a record time. It implies, by definition,… a revolution in our thoughts, our utterances, in our daily work, in our attitude towards labour and in our inter-personal relationships. In short, it requires a total mental emancipation and a cultural reassessment. Awoism is a political doctrine. But above all, it is a total conception of life.

As stated in a special publication of *Newswatch* (June 1987 p 18), Awolowo's thoughts have crystallised into a body of knowledge that has come to be known as Awoism, and "Awoism is being taught under 'African Political Thought' of the political science programme in the University of Calabar, Cross River State, Nigeria". As also noted by Akinade (2009),

Awolowo's political ideologies remained compelling to contemporary Nigeria, especially in the Yoruba-dominated Southwestern region.

2.14   Media Ideologies of Journalists

As observed by van Dijk (2000b:28), media ideologies of journalists control their ways of writing or editing news, background stories or editorials. In his words:

> As a speaker I may categorise myself and other participants as members of various groups. I may speak as a man, sexist or racist, as a professor or student, and this will not only affect the things I speak about (as represented in event models), but also the beliefs and opinions I may have about the current situation, for instance about other participants in the communicative event. Thus, men may not only speak derogatorily about women, but also address them in that way. Similarly, professional ideologies of teachers will of course influence the context models of their didactic discourse….

He sums this up by saying "ideologies not only may control *what* we speak or write about but also *how* we do so". Dellinger (1995a) asserts that broadcasters are often presented as relying heavily on the government to control and spread ruling class ideology, while audiences remain supple objects of manipulation. According to van Dijk (1991), if a news report is 'biased', this is usually because the mental model of the journalist features structures and opinions which favour a specific ideological perspective on an event. Hence, critical analysis of the meaning of discourse in fact often involves the tentative reproduction of the beliefs in the underlying models of the speaker/writer. Selection of events subjects the audience to the angles that the journalists choose to foreground while veiling some facts which they choose to cover up. As observed by Caldas-Coulthard (2003), news is the report or recontextualisation of an event and the treatment of any topic will always depend on who is chosen to comment and whose opinions and definitions are sought. News therefore, is not an objective representation of facts − news is a cultural construct that encodes fixed values. These values help journalists to determine what is newsworthy and therefore what gets reported.

According to Deuze (2005), the ideology of journalism can be seen as being actively constructed by professionals working in popular journalism genres, using a similar discourse from a different theoretical perspective: instead of professional ideology, a kind of personalized utilitarian ideological framework is applied to give meaning to being a journalist. Fairclough (1995a) observes that the reporter is projected as a figure of authority,

someone who knows (has the facts) and someone who has the right to tell; while the audience is projected as receptive, waiting to be told, wanting to know.

Sproule (1994) argues that objectivity and neutrality of the media remain problematic since everyone is always and already determined by a particular ideology and like everyone else, new reporters and the organisations that back them are subjective. Thus, according to Hall (1997), in addition to their work as carriers of ideology, the media can also be used or (misused) with the aim of subverting the discourse for the direct support of one or another of the major position within the dominant ideology. Therefore the media content (i.e. news) can be either ideological or propagandistic. As argued by Fiske (1987), the theories of news which foreground questions of accuracy, bias or objectivity are important because they can give insight into the professional ideology of news makers. According to Fiske, broadcast news programmes (TV and Radio), unlike newspapers are not supposed to take sides but are required to present an impartial and balanced summary of significant events. He states further that news can never give a full, accurate objective picture of reality nor should it attempt to, for such an enterprise can serve to increase its authority and decrease people's opportunity to "argue" with it, to negotiate with (p. 307). Broadcasters emphasise the informational and factual nature of the news: news can be 'gathered', 'uncovered', or 'exposed'; and as noted by Stone and cited in Curran and Gurevitch (1991), most of the time, objectivity is just the rationale for regurgitating the conventional wisdom of the day. Chandler (1995) notes that few events are directly observed by reporters; most stories are repackaged from secondary sources such as news agencies, press conferences, spokespeople, often with biases intact. Hall, as quoted by Chandler (1995:5) suggests that "the media…tend faithfully and impartially, to reproduce symbolically the existing structure of power in society's institutional order".

In his own views, Kieran (1997:86) posits:

> Remaining true to the nature of the events is the overriding ideal of respectable journalism and news media organisations. This is why good journalists do not approach news events and stories with a general overarching explanation in mind…Good journalists follow the particular events and threads of a particular story to apprehend what actually happened and why. Such inductive inference enables the journalist to remain open to, and sceptical of the nature of the actual event, characters involved, and truth of the matter (as represented by differing parties) in a way in which commitment to a particular ideology precludes. This is why we are inclined to distrust journalists who merely apply a given ideological line to every newsworthy event. We do not trust that they are as open as good journalists to the

possibility of falsification of evidence, inconsistency regarding their judgements, or incoherence about their principles of interpretation and evaluation. They make assumption about events rather than remaining open to the critical reflection required to arrive at an appropriate and justifiable report.

As stated by Hartley (1992), news has to be impartial, that is, it must narrate events without a point of view and since according to him, that is impossible, there is a contradiction between (required) impartiality and (unavoidable) point of view. In his own views, Lewis (1991) argues that news favours and sustains the hegemony of those in power.

2.15   Ideology in news reporting

News discourse analysts (van Dijk 1988a, 1988b, 1991; Bell, 1991, Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995a) have generally   pointed out that news discourse cannot provide a perspective that is totally free from subjective interpretation of events; rather it tends to construct reality in a manner congruent with the underlying ideologies. Thus, political ideology is inherent in the reporting of news and is also reflected in the use of language. Kieran (1997) states that it is important to realise the significance of the claim that the news media are inherently ideological. The notion of ideology as stated by Foucault (1984:60):

lies not in drawing the line between that in a discourse which falls under the category of scientificity or truth, and that which comes under some other category, but in seeing historically how effects of truth are produced within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false.

Thus, the relevance of Fiske's (1988:308) argument that news should:

encourage its readers to negotiate (often stubbornly) with it, to use its discursive resources to provoke and stimulate viewers to make their sense of, and validate their point of view on, the social experience it describes rather than merely report on the way things are taken to be.

As Kieran (1997) posits; news media representations, and our reactions to them, depend upon an evaluation of their nature and significance which is held to be ideological. According to him, we tend to recognise a distinction between the basis for news reports, the video evidence and eyewitness testimony, and the explanation for a particular news report. Normally it is only when we think a news report does not fit the evidence available that we look to sociocultural ideological explanations.

Taking reports at face value does not mean that we should not be critical of them or accept the news report of a particular event as the appropriate one. Rather, it means something like a process of reflective equilibrium (Rawls 1971 quoted in Kieran 1997:85).

This involves a symbiotic process of critically examining the relevant empirical facts and our considered intuitive judgments about the particular event in relation to our general principles of interpretation and evaluation. By bringing to bear principles of interpretation and evaluation, which apparently align with most of our intuitions, we can re-examine any conflicting judgments. We can strive, through this critical process, to reach a position of reflective equilibrium where our considered judgments and intuitions are in harmony with our considered principles of interpretation and evaluation (Kieran 1997).

Ideology is an elusive concept. According to Altschull (1984), the ideological content of each news system reflects the interest of those who finance the press, and ideology provides the frames, limits and contents of the news. As noted by Caldas-Coulthard (2003), news producers are social agents in a network of social relations who reveal their own stance towards what is reported. News is not the event, but the partial, ideologically framed report of the event. Bluhm (1974) distinguishes between latent and forensic ideologies. According to him, a forensic ideology is a more or less rationally consistent, articulate and proselytising set of ideas in periods of social change; latent ideologies are implicit in spoken language and behaviour during more settled times. The forensic sense of the term ideology is more common, has negative connotations and often considered deceptive and extreme. Political ideology usually refers to support for (or opposition to) public policies, government programmes, elected officials, candidates, social movements and political parties that are usually differentiated in terms of their liberal or conservative orientations(Schiff 2004). Hall (1996:26) provides a definition of ideology:

> By ideology I mean the mental framework – the language, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representations - which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, figure and render intelligible the way society works.

In his own views, Connell (1984) observes that the media belong first and foremost to the realm of ideology. This is corroborated by Tomaselli and Tomaselli (1985:2) who posit:

> When reporting on the world around us, it is necessary to engage our ideology. Only once we have cut through our ideology which guides our view can we … begin to comprehend how our views of the world is structured, to report on actual conditions of existence and to write about objective processes.

Trew (1979) as cited by Fairclough (1995b) argues that discourse is seen as a field of both ideological processes and linguistic processes and there is a determinate relationship between these two kinds of processes; specifically, the linguistic choices that are made in

texts can carry ideological meaning. van Dijk (1999) proposes a theory of ideology based on a more explicit socio-cognitive theory in which ideologies are first defined as fairly general and abstract mental representations which govern the shared mental representations (knowledge and attitudes) of social groups. Second, the societal members, or institutions are involved in the formation, confirmation, reproduction, or change of such ideologies. van Dijk assumes for instance that specific elite groups such as politicians, journalists, teachers, scholars, and their institutions, are greatly involved in the process of ideological reproduction. Third, is the assumption that these societal (and historical) processes of ideological formation and change are enacted by group members through social practices in general, but especially in many forms of institutional talk and text.

According to Fairclough (1995a), representations in media texts may be said to function ideologically in so far as they contribute to reporting social relations of domination and exploitation. He states that ideological representations are generally implicit rather than explicit in texts, and are embedded in ways of using language which are naturalised and commonsensical for reporters, audiences, and various categories of third parties – presuppositions and taken–for-granted assumptions upon which the coherence of the discourse depends, or the ordinary ways in which interviews are conducted. Fairclough differentiates ideological aspects of discourse from persuasive aspects. To him, both ideological aspects and persuasive aspects in different ways are political aspects of discourse which problematise the idea of the media simply 'giving information'. A documentary, for instance, will typically adopt a particular point of view on its topic and use rhetorical devices to persuade audiences to see things that way too, while ideologies, by contrast, are not usually 'adopted' but taken for granted as common ground between reporter and/or third parties and audience without recourse to rhetorical devices (p.45). Fairclough's (1995a) view is that media discourse should be regarded as the site of complex and often contradictory processes, including ideological processes. Ideology should not be seen as a constant and predictable presence in all media discourse by definition; rather, it should be a working principle of a number of questions which analysts should always be ready to ask of any media discourse. He states further:

> Media texts do indeed function ideologically in social control and social reproduction; but they also operate as cultural commodities in a competitive market…, are part of the business of entertaining people, are designed to keep people politically and socially informed, are cultural artefacts in their own right, informed by particular aesthetics; and they are at the same time caught

up in-reflecting and contributing to - shifting cultural values and identities (1995:47-48)

Kuo (2003) argues that media discourse is biased and the ideological opinions held by the media institutions are very often implied, hidden, denied or taken for granted. Only by a critical investigation of the linguistic devices and discourse strategies can these biases be uncovered. In the words of Balkin (1998:105):

> What distinguishes ideological thinking from mere fantasy or mistake is the social context in which belief occurs and the use that people make of it. An important consequence of this approach is its emphasis on the normative dimension of all ideological analysis. To understand what is ideological, we need a notion not only of what is true but also of what is just. False beliefs about other people, no matter how mistaken or unflattering, are not ideological until we can demonstrate that they have ideological effects in the social world. To demonstrate this, we must know something about the relationship between a person's thought and the existing condition of social power, as these provide the necessary background for considering of justice and injustice.

Balkin argues further that it is for this reason that the study of ideology necessarily intersects with the study of how social power is created, sustained and distributed.

2.16   Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG)

Linguists like Halliday and some others decided to approach the use of language in situations from a functional angle. These linguists believe that language is not only behavioural but also situational. Halliday (1964) identifies the 'field of discourse', 'tenor of discourse' and the "mode of discourse' as what we need to know about a context of situation in order to predict the linguistic features that are likely to be associated with it. The 'field', which includes the subject matter, is the social action in which the text is embedded. The 'tenor', which includes the level of formality as one particular instance, is the set of role relationships among the relevant participants; and the 'mode' is the channel, which is essentially the function that is assigned to language in the total structure of the situation.

Systemic linguistics recognises three primary levels of language - substance, form, and context. Substance is the raw language which may be phonic (involving spoken symbols) or graphic (involving written symbols); form is the arrangement of substance into meaningful units. The form in turn has lexis and grammar as subdivisions. The context refers to the

situation under which a piece of language is used. Situation comprises thesis, immediate situation and wider situation. Thesis refers to what is being talked about. Immediate situation refers to the current circumstance in which the text takes place; it includes the text producer, time, place, space and participants in the text. Wider situation is the cultural linguistic background that manifests itself in the text.

For practical analysis of news stories the framework of analysis can be described along the following categories.

(1)   At the level of form

    (a)   Grammar - determination of sentences, sentence type, group clauses etc

    (b)   Lexis - description of word units, and their sets, idioms etc

(2)   At the level of situation

    (a)   Thesis - summary of the news text in terms of headline or slug

    (b)   Immediate situation - news writer, actors in news, space occupied, location in the bulletin etc

    (c)   Wider situation - cultural interface and linguistic background, use of interpretive modifiers, use of titles in news or maximum description of actors etc. Fayoyin (1990: 129)

The immediate situation identifies the sources of news, the actors and characters in news, space occupied or time, location of item in the bulletin, which contribute a lot of information that are useful in the analysis of media messages.

Halliday distinguishes three metafunctions of language which are interconnected. First is the ideational function through which language lends structure to experience. The ideational structure has a dialectical relationship with social structure, both reflecting and influencing it. The second is the interpersonal function which constitutes relationships between participants; the third is the textual function which constitutes coherence and cohesion in texts.

2.16.1 Relationship between CDA and SFG

Fowler (1991) shows how Halliday's theory of Systemic Functional Grammar can be used to uncover linguistic structures of power in texts. He illustrates that systematic grammatical devices, not only in news discourses, but also in literary criticism function in establishing, manipulating and naturalising social hierarchies. Fowler concentrates on analysing news discourses and in providing grammatical tools for such analysis. Whether

analysts with a critical approach prefer to focus on micro-linguistic features, macro-linguistic features, textual, discursive or contextual features, and whether their perspective is primarily philosophical, sociological or historical, in most studies there is reference to Hallidayan Systemic Functional Grammar. This indicates that an understanding of the basic claims of Halliday's grammar and his approach to linguistic analysis is essential for a proper understanding of CDA (Wodak 2002:16)

Since this study dwells on the functions of language in the society, the systemic functional grammar will be relevant.

2.17   Transitivity and Process Types

Halliday's (2004) grammatical system of transitivity construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types (p170). The three principal types of process in the English clause are 'material', 'mental' and 'relational'. Halliday refers to these three process types as the principal types in that they are the cornerstones of the grammar in its guise as a theory of experience; they present three distinct kinds of structural configuration, and they account for the majority of all clauses in a text (2004). The other three subsidiary process types located at each of the boundaries are 'behavioural' at the boundary between material and mental, 'verbal' at the boundary between mental and relational, and 'existential' at the boundary between relational and material.

The following figure which represents process types as a semiotic space has different regions representing different types. The regions have core areas which represent proto-typical members of the process types; but the regions are continuous, shading into one another, and these border areas represent the fact that the process types are fuzzy categories (Halliday 2004).

Fig 2.4: The Grammar of Experience: Types of Process in English (Halliday 2004:172)

Fig 2.4 above represents Halliday's system of Process types. The system has six terms - material, behavioural, mental, verbal, relational and existential. The elements that make up the transitivity structure of a clause are of three components:

1.   a process unfolding through time
2.   the participants involved in the process
3.   circumstances associated with the process (Halliday 2004:175)

2.17.1 Material Process

According to Halliday (2004), material clauses are clauses of doing and happening; a material of events as taking place through some input of energy. There is always one participant – the 'Actor' in a material clause which brings out the unfolding of the process through time, leading to an outcome that is different from the initial phase of the unfolding. Such a material clause represents a *happening* which is traditionally called *intransitive*. On the other hand, the unfolding of the process may extend to another participant, namely the 'Goal'. This type of material clause represents a *doing* and can be called *transitive* (p180). The assumptions that lie behind notions of Actor and Goal are valid for material clause but

not for clauses of other process types. Material clauses construe figures of doing and happening. Halliday identifies other participant roles that may be involved in the process of a material clause - scope, recipient, client and attribute (p191). The scope may construe an entity which exists independently of the process but which indicates the domain over which the process takes place and also may not be an entity at all but rather another name for the process. Thus, the Scope in a material clause can be labelled as either 'scope: entity' or 'scope: process' (p193). Recipients and Clients occur in systematically different environments; the two functions of recipient and Client resemble one another in that both construe a benefactive role, i.e. they represent a participant that is benefiting from the performance of the process. The Recipient is one that goods are given to; the Client is one that services are done for (p191). The attribute in a material clause is always an optional added specification.

2.17.2 Mental process

A mental clause constructs a quantum of change in the flow of events taking place in our consciousness. Mental clauses are concerned with our experience of the world of our own consciousness; they are clauses of *sensing* (Halliday 2004:197). There are four sub–types of sensing which are treated by the grammar as distinct types. These are 'perceptive', 'cognitive', 'desiderative' and 'emotive'. In a mental clause there are two distinct participant roles which are *Senser* and *Phenomenon*. The *Senser* is the one that "senses", i.e. feels, thinks, wants or perceives and is construed as being endowed with consciousness. The *Phenomenon* is that which is felt, thought, wanted or perceived, it may be not only a thing but also an act or a fact (p. 204). Mental clauses also include macrophenomenal clauses where the Phenomenon is an act and metaphenomenal clauses where the Phenomenon is a fact.

2.17.3 Relational Process

Relational clauses serve to characterize and identify; they are processes of 'being' and 'having'. In relational clauses, there are two parts to the 'being', that is, something is said to be something else; a relationship of being is set up between two separate entities. Thus, the verbs that occur most frequently as the process of a relational clause are 'be' and "have' (p214). The categories of the relational clauses include (i) the type of relation: 'intensive/circumstantial/possessive' with their sub-categories; (ii) the relation-mode: 'attributive/identifying' within 'identifying' (a) the voice: 'operative/receptive' and (b) the

information focus: 'marked/unmarked' (Halliday 2004: 247). The relationals, more than other process types have a rich potential for ambiguity, which is exploited in many registers from technocratic and political rhetoric to the discourse of poetry and folk sayings.

2.17.4 Behavioural Process

Behavioural clauses are processes of physiological and psychological behaviour like breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming and staring. They are typically human and the least of all the six process types as they have no clearly defined characteristics of their own. They are partly like the material and partly like the mental. The participant who is 'behaving', that is, the *Behaver* is typically a conscious being. Behavioural clauses do not 'project' indirect speech or thought; they often appear in fictional narrative introducing direct speech as a means of attaching a behavioural feature to the verbal process of saying (Halliday 2004:248-252).

2.17.5 Verbal Process

Verbal clauses are that of 'saying'. Halliday (2004) states that verbal clauses are important resources in various kinds of discourse as they contribute to the creation of narrative by making it possible to set up dialogic passages. The process of a verbal clause is realised by a verbal group where the lexical verb is that of *saying* (p. 254). In a verbal clause, there is a *Sayer* which can be anything that puts out a signal. This can be shown in the following example.

Text 3

> **The House of Reps /says a Bill on building codes is underway.**
> *Sayer*
> *(The News at Dawn 31-07-2008)*

In this extract, the nominal group- 'The House of Reps' functions as the *Sayer,* while the process is realised by the verb *says.*

Halliday notes that verbal clauses play an important role in academic discourse by making it possible to quote and report from various scholars while at the same time indicating the writer's stance with verbs like 'point out', 'suggest', 'claim', 'assert' (p. 253). Also, in news reporting as stated by Halliday, verbal clauses allow the reporter to attribute information to sources, including officials, experts and eye witnesses (p. 252). Verbal clauses accommodate three further participant functions in addition to the *Sayer*. These are *Receiver*, *Verbiage* and *Target*. According to Halliday, the receiver is the one to whom the saying is

directed, it may be the subject in a clause which is 'receptive' and is realised by a nominal group typically denoting a conscious being (a potential speaker), a collective or an institution. The *Verbiage* is the function that corresponds to what is said; representing it as a class or thing rather than as a report or quote and the *Target* occurs only in a sub-type of verbal clause; this function construes the entity that is targeted by the process of saying (p. 255-256).

2.17.6 Existential Process

Existential clauses represent that something exists or happens and they make an important, specialized contribution to various kinds of texts as in narrative, where they serve to introduce central participants in the placement stage at the beginning of a story (Halliday, 2004:257). Existential clauses have the verb 'be' and resemble relational clauses. An existential clause contains a distinct circumstantial element of time or place; the entity or event which is being said to exist is labelled – *Existent* (p. 258).

2.18 Analytical Framework for the news texts

van Dijk's socio-cognitive model and Wodak's socio-historical model are utilised in this study. The analytical framework is hereby presented.

2.18.1 van Dijk's socio-cognitive model

According to van Dijk (1995b), it is the sociocognition – social cognition and personal cognition – that mediates between society and discourse. He defines social cognition as the system of mental representations and processes of group members. For van Dijk, ideologies are the overall, abstract mental systems that organise socially shared attitudes and they indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions (1995:19). van Dijk calls the mental representations of individuals during such social action and interactions "models". According to him, models control how people act, speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others. He notes further that mental representations are often articulated along US versus THEM dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms (1995:22).

van Dijk (1998:61-63) posits that anyone who desires to make transparent such an ideological dichotomy in discourse needs to analyse discourse in the following ways:

(i)   Examining the context of the discourse: historical, political or social

         background of a conflict and its main participants.

87

(ii)   Analysing groups, power relations and conflicts involved.

(iii)   Identifying positive and negative opinions about Us versus Them.

(iv)   Making explicit the presupposed and the implied.

(v)   Examining all formal structures: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to (de)emphasise polarized group opinions.

van Dijk (1988b) integrates his general theory of discourse to the discourse of news in the press, and applies his theory in analysing news reports. Therefore, the socio-cognitive model as developed by van Dijk is found relevant to this study.

2.18.2 Wodak's socio-historical model

One feature that distinguishes Wodak's approach from other approaches is the focus on the historical contexts of discourse in the process of explanation and interpretation of texts. Sheyholislami (2001) notes that Wodak's work on anti-Semitism led to the development of an approach which she termed *discourse historical method.* The term *historical* occupies a unique position in the approach and denotes an attempt to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of many layers of a written or spoken text. According to Wodak and Ludwig (1999:12), language manifests social processes and interaction and constitutes those processes as well. They state further that viewing language this way entails at least three things:

(i)   Discourse always involves power and ideologies and no interaction exists where values and norms do not have a relevant role.

(ii)   Discourse is always historical. It is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before.

(iii)   Depending on their background knowledge, readers and listeners might have different interpretations of the same communicative event (p13).

Wodak's socio-historical model is relevant to this study since it focusses on the historical contexts of discourse in the process of explanation and interpretation of texts.

These frameworks – van Dijk's socio-cognitive and Wodak's socio-historic models, complemented with Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar are adapted for our analysis. This is in line with Wodak's (2002) assertion that an understanding of the basic claims of Halliday's grammar and his approach to linguistic analysis is essential for a proper understanding of CDA.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the data for this study, the sampling procedure used in the selection of the news bulletins, and the methods and procedure of data analysis. We also highlight the period of time covered by the data and the significance of the period of time.

3.2 The Data

The data for this study were derived from selected radio news bulletins of Osun State Broadcasting Corporation (OSBC), Osogbo. The texts were representative samples of daily news broadcast of the Living Spring F.M (104.5) Radio station of the OSBC, Osogbo. The station transmits News at Dawn, State News, The World at Noon, Home News, and News Across the Country at different intervals daily. Osun State Broadcasting Corporation is owned by the state government and it has been chosen as our focus in this study because of the leadership tussle and political tension within the state where the station is located during the regime of Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola.

3.3 Sampling procedure

The data for this study consisted of 1000 written news reports collected from the Library department of the OSBC. The written news items were collected on a monthly basis starting from April 2007 to November 2010. After the news reports were read, 250 were purposively sampled based on their political content. Thus, the data covered the period between April 2007 and November 2010. The selected news bulletins focussed on political and current events in Nigeria and covered various themes such as government and politics, education and health, violence, conflict, and labour issues. The period of time covered by the data was very significant because of the political activities as a result of the elections in Osun State during the regime of Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola.

3.4 Pilot Study

A pilot study was carried out after the selection of the data using only the radio lead news. The lead news serves as the headline in a news item and shows the theme or topic. Analysis of the lead news was done using the theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis to uncover hidden political ideologies in the news. The analysis also focussed on discourse strategies employed by journalists in the construction of radio news on the OSBC radio. Findings from the pilot study showed that journalists employed the use of different

strategies to influence the way people understand issues or situations for the purpose of changing their actions in ways that are desirable to the political actors. The pilot study also revealed that radio news contained underlying ideologies and subjective meanings displayed by the use of various strategies.

The pilot study was found useful as it paved the way for the present larger study.

3.5   Procedure for data analysis

A content analysis of the data was carried out at the surface and deep levels. At the surface level, the constituents making up the structure of the texts were analysed and at the deeper level we looked at the underlying meanings of the sentences constituting each text. The analysis of data started with thematic and ideological analyses of the news reports (see Chapter Four). Here we examined the themes of Government and Politics, Violence, Conflict and Crime, Education and Health, Labour issues as well as Historicist, Humanitarian and Welfarist ideologies as they occurred in the news. These were subjected to a critical analysis. In chapter five, we focussed on discourse strategies and ideologies that occurred in the news texts to bring out the hidden and subjective meanings in them. The analysis also covered linguistic devices such as lexicalisation, collocations and passivisation.

3.6   Data Classification/Presentation

The use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) has led to the development of a different approach to the understanding of media messages. Critical discourse analysis has made the study of language, including media criticism, into an interdisciplinary tool. CDA approach is interdisciplinary and multidimensional, and is thus considered appropriate for this study.

The CDA framework proposed for the analysis of data stemmed from van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, Wodak's socio-historical model and Halliday's systemic functional grammar. Thus, a content analysis of the data was carried out using the tools of CDA and SFG. Halliday's (2004) concept of Transitivity was used in the analysis to reveal the process types in the clauses and sentences. An analysis of the ideological leanings as well as analysis of discourse strategies was carried out to reveal the interaction between political ideologies and discourse strategies in the OSBC radio news texts.

3.6.1 Ideologies in the news texts

The ideologies which are found and analysed in the news texts are Historicist, Humanitarian and Welfarist. These are explained below:

3.6.1.1 Historicist Ideology:

This involves using the past to interpret the present political situation. According to van Dijk (2000:72), historicist ideology is used to show that the present situation can be relatively compared to earlier positive or negative events in history. It is the belief in historical periods – the theory that each period of history has its own unique beliefs and values and can only be understood in its historical context.

3.6.1.2 Humanitarian Ideology

Humanitarian ideology has to do with the defence of human rights, critique of those who violate or disregard such rights (van Dijk 2000). It is the institutionalisation of compassion, extension of welfare and succour to the society at large.

3.6.1.3 Welfarist Ideology

Welfarist ideology is a political system in which the government assumes the primary responsibility of assuring basic health, education and financial well being of all its citizens through programmes and direct assistance (Encarta Dictionaries).

In the tabulation that follows, we present these ideologies and their corresponding themes.

Samples of the contents of the data are presented in the Tables below**.**

Table 3.1: Samples of Themes and Ideologies.

Theme	Ideology	Token
Government and Politics	Historicist	1. Mr. Adeojo said Senator Kola Ogunwale was part of the PDP consultative forum meeting held on 18th of July 2004 and was one of the first people who congratulated Prince Oyinlola at the meeting. 2. Chief Fasoranti commended the Tribunal for taking its time to arrive at the verdict over the petition filed by the governorship candidate of the Labour Party, Dr. Olusegun Mimiko while urging Dr. Agagu to emulate the maturity displayed by the late Chief Adebayo Adefarati when he lost the election in 2003. 3. Chairman of the Commission, Chief Samuilla Makama told newsmen in Markurdi, Benue State that the transparency built into the 2006 census process is a clear testimony of the Commission's intentions to conduct a credible census.
Government and Politics	Humanitarian	1. Governor Oyinlola charged the people of the state to remain law abiding and ensure that children and wards are not used as political thugs and as miscreants. 2. He warned that the state government will not shirk its responsibility to secure the lives and property of the people of the state. 3. He said the federal government remains resolute to ensure a hitch-free conduct of the April polls, appealing to youths to resist being used as cannon fodders by desperate politicians.

92

		4. Prayers have already been said in churches and mosques across the country for the repose of the soil of those who lost their lives during the elections and for God to intervene in the current situation.
	Welfarist	1. The Chairmanship aspirant promised to construct sustainable road, execute water projects, and revive agriculture sector for the good of the people of Irewole Local Government.
		2. The Deputy Governor who assured that Oyinlola led-government will always extend its hand of love and affection to all without sentiment added that the government is to care for all, not people of the same political party ideology alone.
		3. Responding, Chief Obasanjo reassured the people of Nigeria and the world that he would continue in his life changing programmes which he has embarked upon for the benefit of all and sundry.
Violence, Conflict and Crime	Humanitarian	1. Osun State Police Command has been charged to ensure adequate security of life and property in the state.
		2. The Chief of Naval Staff, Vice Admiral Ishaya Ibrahim has said the Navy is trained to save lives.
	Welfarist	1. Noting that Osun State is known for peace, the state PDP Chairman called on the police to investigate the matter with a view to curbing any act that could disrupt public peace

Education and Health	Historicist	1.	He stated that inadequate planning had been the bane of the nation's education in the past, adding that plans should be made to integrate people whose awareness towards education has been sharpened by the new education system.
	Welfarist	1.	Mr. Afolabi who noted that the donation came at an appropriate time reaffirmed government's commitment to the eradication of malaria among the people of the state.
		2.	The State Commissioner for Health, Mr. Lanre Afolabi has stated that the present administration under Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola expends an average of one hundred and eighty million naira on the procurement of drugs and related items to prosecute its free and qualitative health care services.
Labour Issues	Historicist	1.	Work resumes today throughout the country after civil servants observed yesterday as holiday to enable them celebrate the May Day also known as Workers' Day.
	Humanitarian	1.	The new leadership of the Nigerian Union of Journalists has been advised to defend the interest of members appropriately.
		2.	They express the belief that there is nothing wrong in the NUJ having a dual purpose of professionalism and trade unionism so as to be able to protect and defend the interest of its members.
Labour Issues	Welfarist	1.	The meeting, among others agreed that the 15 percent salary increase should be paid to workers at the federal level, while the pump price of motor spirit was also reduced to ₦70

		from the initial ₦75.
		2. In a message to the rally, the President Elect Alhaji Umar Yar'Adua pledged to create dynamic and beneficial working conditions for workers.

Table 3.2: Samples of Ideologies and Discourse Strategies

Ideology	Discourse Strategy	*Token*
Historicist	Positive Self-presentation and Negative other-presentation.	1. A cross section of parents in Osun State has likened the efforts of the Oyinlola-led administration on the improved standard of education especially at the primary and secondary school levels to the continuity of the education legacy of the old sage, late Chief Obafemi Awolowo.
	Authoritarianism as a source of news making	1. This year's Armed forces Remembrance Day celebrations in Osun State was also attended by the Deputy Governor, Erelu Olusola Obada, Chief Judge, Justice Fasasi Ogunsola,
		the Head of Service, Elder Segun Akinwusi and top government functionaries. 2. This statement was made at a Press Conference held in Lagos by the Chairman, Organising Committee of the International Colloquium on slavery, slave trade and their consequences, Professor Abi Derefaka. Professor Derefaka posited that the first emancipation in a colonial society that resulted to the formation of a modern state was led by a Yoruba slave. 3. The two-bedroom flat where late Chief Obafemi Awolowo was detained in 1962 has

			been turned to a research institute by the Lagos State Government.
		4.	The Garden is in honour of President Goodluck Jonathan who served his mandatory NYSC year in Iresi about 28 years ago.
Historicist	Foregrounding and Informativeness	1.	Forty-eight years ago, precisely on October 1 1960, the British Union Jack was lowered and Nigeria's Green-White-Green was hoisted in its place.
	Blame Transfer	1.	Lagos State Governor Babatunde Fashola has appealed to men of the Nigerian Armed forces to allow the nation's democracy to grow by allowing it to learn from its past mistakes.
		2.	Osun State Governor Mr. Rauf Aregbesola says the gruesome murder of the former Attorney General of the federation and Minister of Justice, Chief Bola Ige was an attempt to wipe out good governance from the South West.
Historicist	Motivation and Support Garnering		Governor Oyinlola described the past four years of the parliament as memorable and eventful in terms of progress recorded by his administration. Governor Oyinlola urged the people of Osun State to continue to give his administration their fullest support, cooperation and assistance.
Humanitarian	Motivation and Support Garnering		Governor Aregbesola who submitted that he came to regain the rights of the people to a rightful living, promised to provide clean portable water, employment and all necessary social amenities that will move the state to an

		enviable position.
	Authoritarianism as a source of news making	1. The federal government has approved the downward review of land premium and charges within the Federal Capital Territory. The political head of Information and Communication Ministry, Professor Dora Akinuli let this out in Abuja at the end of the weekly meeting of the Federal Executive Council. 2. While assuring the people the safety of their lives and properties, the Osun State helmsman thanked the people of the state for the support, show of affection and huge turn-out at his swearing-in ceremony.
	Blame Transfer	The traditional ruler blamed the immediate past Obasanjo administration for fostering crisis in the present government adding that stakeholders and consumers should have been involved before taking decisions on key sectors in the economy.
Humanitarian	Use of Figures and Statistics	Over five hundred people have been arrested in connection with the mayhem that broke out in Jos as peace was gradually returning to the country. Reports also add that security operatives have continued to patrol all the streets of the Tin City.
	Manipulation	1. The state chapter of the PDP has advised its main opposition, AC to learn to toe the path of peace and stop attacking innocent people as it occurred last week in Obokun Local Government where innocent women were attacked. 2. The forty-six year old politician maintained

			that as a federal representative in 1993, a grassroots politician who is the incumbent chairman, he has touched the lives of his people and he understands the needs of the populace.
Welfarist	Use of Figures and Statistics	1.	Monetisation arrears have started reaching individual bank accounts of two hundred and twenty-five thousand members of staff of parastatal agencies. Dr. Baba Ahmed disclosed that 40 billion naira had been released for payment into the accounts of benefiting staff, out of 85.2 billion naira verified arrears.
		2.	Osun State government in South Western Nigeria has increased hectarage in the nine farm settlements from 5,000 to 14,000. In addition, N45 million had been expended on the training of youth products unemployment to boost food production in the state.
Welfarist	Blame Transfer	1.	The Cocoa Products Industry, Ede that has been comatose for few years due to various litigations and technical problems will soon come alive again. Osun State Deputy Governor Erelu Olusola Obada regretted the lukewarm attitude of the past government to the ailing company despite all huge economic potentials.
	Source Avoidance		Report says the workers' monthly remunerations may be higher than that of their colleagues in the mainstream of the state civil service.

	Positive Self-Presentation and Negative Other-Presentation	The Chairman, in a release by the Party's Director of Publicity, Prince Adeolu Adeyemo, indicates that it is laughable that the AC, rather than showing concern for the welfare of judicial workers and appreciating Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola's peace meeting that led to the suspension of their strike, the AC is imputing sinister motive for their alleged resumption of strike.
	Authoritarianism	1. The Minister of Education, Professor Rukayat Rufai says Nigeria has made progress in special funding for education and UBE community initiative self-help projects. The Minister assured Nigerians that the Almajiri education system will guarantee job creation for the beneficiaries. 2. President Obasanjo says Nigeria's debt to the Paris Club has now been fully conserved and the country is no longer indebted to the Paris Club of creditors
Welfarist	Motivation and Support Garnering	1. Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola pronounced that his administration would not relent in its effort to extend dividends of democracy to the door steps of all and sundry. 2. The Governor of Osun State Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola says his government welcomes suggestions from the citizenry on how to make the state fare best in the country. Prince Olagunsoye remarked that his administration is determined to serve creditably well and selflessly.

	Foregrounding and Informativeness	The Boundary Communities Development Bill has been signed into law by President Olusegun Obasanjo …. The donation of the ambulances was sequel to the completion of Health Centres and Clinics in the border communities by the National Boundary Commission.
	Manipulation	1. Osun State government again re-affirmed its strong disposition to be labour friendly as Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola received an award of excellence from the state council of the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC).

Detailed analyses of these are in Chapter Four.

At this juncture, it is necessary to contextualise the OSBC radio news to assist in the interpretation of the texts.

3.7   Contextualisation of OSBC Radio News

The selected radio news bulletins from the Osun State Broadcasting Corporation centred on politics. This is due to the fact that the period chosen for this study was a time of political activities and elections in the state.

Osun State which was created on the 27th of August 1991 is located in the Southwestern part of Nigeria. According to the publication of Osun State Ministry of Information and Youth Development (2010), the State covers an area of approximately 14,875 square kilometers. It is bounded by Ogun, Kwara, Oyo, Ondo and Ekiti States in the South, North, West and East respectively. The National Population Census exercise conducted in 2006 placed the population of the state at 3,423,535 (Osun State Ministry of Information and Youth Development 2010).

The indigenes of Osun State belong to the Yoruba tribe and the major sub-ethnic groups are Ife, Ijesa, Igbomina and Oyo. These people reside in the state and live in harmony with foreigners and other non-indigenes from all parts of Nigeria. Osun State consists of 30 Local Government Areas with the state capital at Osogbo. The Yoruba and English languages are used for official and business transactions. News reports are also relayed in these two languages on the OSBC Radio 104.5 FM.

Yoruba is one of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria and the Yoruba language is also one of the three major indigenous languages in the country – others are Igbo and Hausa. The Yoruba people have a rich cultural heritage which is demonstrated in all spheres of their lives. Their culture finds expression in their arts, literature, music and other social activities.

When Osun State was created in 1991, it was ruled by a Military Administrator – Col. Leo Segun Ajiborisa. The first democratically elected governor was Alhaji Isiaka Adeleke who ruled from January 1992 to November 1993. Chief Bisi Akande of the Alliance for Democracy (AD) became the second executive governor from May 1999 to May 2003 after which Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) was elected the governor of the state in May 2003. Prince Oyinlola was the governor of Osun State until the 26[th] of November 2010 when an Appeal Court in Ibadan declared his election illegal. The ruling of the Appellate Court brought in Engineer Rauf Aregbesola of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) as the winner of the April 2007 elections and he assumed office on the 27[th] of November 2010 as the executive governor of Osun State.

The late Chief Obafemi Awolowo was a Nigerian nationalist and Yoruba political leader. During the pre-independence and first republic politics, Awolowo formed a political party - the Action Group (AG), in 1951. The AG grew from a cultural organization – Egbe Omo Oduduwa which Awolowo initiated in 1947. According to Emetulu (2011), it was Obafemi Awolowo that brought better intellectual grounding and sophistication to ideological politics in the country. He observes further that while most political leaders were content to sit in expectation of indigenous rule for its own sake, Awolowo was far ahead of the rest.

Ilenre (2009:2) corroborates this assertion thus:

> At independence in 1960, the Western Nigeria made up of the present Ogun, Osun, Oyo, Ekiti, Edo, Delta and part of Lagos State was far ahead of the Eastern and Northern regions in terms of physical and intellectual development. The Region was then at par with India and Malaysia.

Awolowo's political ideologies and welfarist programmes of free education, better health services, rural integration and affordable shelter are used as instruments of propaganda by politicians to attract more followership and also to win the support of the Yoruba people. This explains the reason why the people especially the politicians always identify with Awolowo's political ideologies and ideals.

The OSBC is located at Ile-Awiye, Oke-Baale, Osogbo the State capital from where it transmits to people of the state and neighbouring states like Kwara, Oyo, Ondo and Ekiti.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEMATIC AND IDEOLOGICAL ANALYSES OF THE NEWS TEXTS

4.1   Introduction

In this chapter, texts of the news broadcasts are analysed under the themes of Government and Politics, Violence, Conflict and Crime, Education and Health, and Labour Issues. It should be noted that the different news items are all related to politics. Also, an ideological analysis of the news texts under the categories of historicist, humanitarian, and welfarist is done. In analysing the contents of the texts, the linguistic approach is adopted. Thus, the analysis is done at both the surface and deep levels. The constituents making up the structure of the texts are analysed at the surface level and at the deep level, we are concerned with the underlying meaning embedded in the texts.

4.2   Thematic analysis

The themes of a news text are not only relevant in the construction of a general meaning of the text itself, but they also have an important role in the activation, the retrieval and the (trans-)formation of situation models in memory (Peteofi 1971 cited in van Dijk 1985). According to Wenden (2005), themes communicate a writer's representations of the conditions, events, practices, individuals and groups that are the focus of a text and or talk. They are based on information selected from a wide range of rhetorical options, e.g. causes/consequences, problem, solutions, argumentation or description etc. Wenden states further that authors' choices reveal what they consider relevant to an understanding of the topic and as such, they are a key to their ideological biases.

Fayoyin (1990) states that theme represents an important element in a text as a semantic unit and a unifying factor. The themes in an item may be linearly or hierarchically and temporarily or causally related. He observes further that themes have a propositional property and may not be expressed by chronological succession of sentences and other elements in the text. According to him, for news discourse, the traditional indices for determining theme or thematic structure are the 'headline' and 'lead' which represent the highest level macro-position and 'strategic cues' for understanding news. Thus, they provide the summary category of news and also give the fundamental proposition of the news story.

van Dijk (1988a) posits that the theme or topic is what the discourse is about and that the thematic organisation of news discourse plays a crucial role. He makes a distinction between the 'macro' and 'micro' structures of news discourse in analysing the structures of

news. The 'macro' relates to the overall content of a text, that is, the 'thematic' structure, while the 'micro' relates to the overall form of a text, that is, 'schematic' structure. The macrostructure of a text is its overall organisation in terms of themes or topics. According to van Dijk, a topic is part of a hierarchical, topical, or thematic structure which may be expressed by a summary and which defines what is subjectively the most important information, gists, upshot of the text. He states further:

> Topics are crucial in the overall understanding of a text, e.g., in the establishment of global coherence; and they act as a semantic, top-down control on local understanding at the micro level. Topics in a text indeed play a central role. Without them it would be impossible to grasp what the text is about globally; we would only be able to understand local fragments of the text, with no understanding of their overall relationships, hierarchy, and organisation. (1988:35)

The macro structures are referred to as 'semantic' because according to van Dijk (1985:74), "when we are talking about notions such as topic, theme or gist of a text, we are dealing with meaning and reference and not with syntactic form, style or rhetorical devices". He states further that we are not even talking about the meaning of isolated words or sentences, but about the meaning of larger fragments of text or about whole texts; we do not assign a theme or topic to one sentence, but to larger stretches of talk or text. In the following, the news texts are analysed under the different themes.

4.2.1 The theme of Government and Politics

In this section an analysis of the news texts under the theme of government and politics with the corresponding ideologies is carried out.

4.2.1.1   The theme of Government and politics with historicist ideology
Text 4:
> **The State chapter of the Peoples Democratic Party has described as not true a statement allegedly credited to Senator Kola Ogunwale where he said he was not part of the adoption of Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola for a second term.**
>
> **This is contained in a statement signed by the party's secretary, Mr. Yinka Adeojo in Osogbo.**
>
> **Mr Adeojo said Senator Kola Ogunwale was part of the PDP consultative forum meeting held on 18th of July 2004 and was one of the first people who congratulated Prince Oyinlola at the meeting, adding that the party had the video clips of the meeting.**

103

The PDP scribe recalled that if the NEC of the Party is to sanction anybody, then Senator Ogunwale should be the first as he was one of the architects of the meeting which adopted Prince Oyinlola for second term.
(The Home News. 01-11-2007)

The extract above reveals the strategy of attacking and denouncing. Here the integrity of Senator Ogunwale is questioned and his credibility is attacked. The reference to the statement made by the Senator as 'not true' by the state chapter of the PDP implies that the Senator is a liar. The journalist makes use of the language that euphemises, hence the use of 'not true' as against referring to the senator as a liar. The news report contains verbal aggressive message which attacks the Senator's character and competence and which also ridicules him.

Infante and Wigley (1986) refer to this type of aggressiveness in interpersonal communication as a destructive one which leads to interpersonal dissatisfaction and relationship deterioration. We note the use of the adverb – 'allegedly' in the first paragraph of the extract. The word is used when reporting something that other people say is true, where there is no proof. Ayoola (2008) notes that the word is universally used by media practitioners to protect the media organisation from avoidable libel suits.

There is a subtle threat in the last paragraph – 'The PDP scribe recalled that …for second term'. It can be inferred from this statement that Senator Ogunwale can be sanctioned by the party. The use of the noun 'architects' in the sentence means that the Senator was one of the originators or prime movers of the campaign for Oyinlola to run for the second term as governor of Osun State.

Text 5:

The leader of the Pan Yoruba socio-cultural group, Afenifere, Chief Reuben Fasoranti has advised Dr. Olusegun Agagu, against appealing the judgement of the Election Petition Tribunal that nullified his election last Friday.

Chief Fasoranti who is also a chieftain of the Democratic Peoples Alliance (DPA), at the leaders and stakeholders meeting, attended by the National Chairman of the Party, Chief Olu Falae and Chief Sola Ebiseni among others, urged Dr. Agagu to accept the verdict of the Justice Garba Nabaruma led Tribunal.

Chief Fasoranti commended the Tribunal for taking its time to arrive at the verdict over the petition filed by the governorship candidate of the Labour Party, Dr. Olusegun Mimiko while urging Dr. Agagu to emulate the maturity displayed by the late Chief Adebayo Adefarati when he lost the election in 2003.
(The News at Dawn. 31-07-2008)

The first paragraph of this extract projects Chief Reuben Fasoranti, the leader of Afenifere as giving genuine advice to Dr. Olusegun Agagu, but a closer look reveals that the advice given by Chief Fasoranti is aimed at discrediting Agagu. This implies that Agagu could not have won the election; hence he should accept the judgement. It should be noted that Chief Fasoranti himself is a politician in the Democratic Peoples Alliance who could have seen Agagu as an opponent in another political party – Peoples Democratic Party. Thus, it can be inferred that the advice given by Chief Fasoranti to Dr. Agagu is a means of manipulation to discourage him (Agagu) from appealing the judgement and accept defeat.

To 'urge' as we have in the second paragraph "urged Dr. Agagu to accept the verdict" is persuasive and it is a political strategy aimed at influencing Agagu to have a change of mind. Politics, as defined by Chilton and Schaffner (2002:5) 'is a struggle for power between those who seek to assert and maintain the power and those who seek to resist it.'

It should be noted that 'Afenifere' is a name of a group of Yoruba elders who are political stalwarts in Nigeria. Babatope (2008:15-16) delves into the history of Afenifere:

> The Afenifere movement was the political organisation created in 1994 by leadership of the Papa Obafemi Awolowo political family to fight the Abacha regime. Afenifere was the broad-front of the Yoruba resistance movement against the Abacha regime and the vanguard for the struggle for democracy. It was the Yoruba affiliate of NADECO that sprang up in Nigeria in June 1994 as a national resistance movement for the realisation of the June 12 Abiola mandate.

In the third paragraph, the statement – 'while urging Dr Agagu to emulate the maturity… 2003', is historic and also implies that Agagu is immature.

Text 6:

> **In Nigeria, the National Population Commission says it has never entertained the idea of projecting and estimating population figures for any state, local government, community or locality.**
>
> **Chairman of the commission Chief Samuilla Makama told newsmen in Markurdi, Benue State that the transparency built into 2006 census process is a clear testimony of the commission's intentions to conduct a credible census.**
>
> **He said the extension of the census by two days and the provision of additional forms to all states that needed them afforded the states of equal opportunities to be properly enumerated.**

The chairman also reminded critics of the exercise that thousands of unused forms were returned to the commission which means that census materials were more than enough.

Chief Samuilla Makama insisted that the NPC conducted a scientific exercise that could be scientifically proven and no attempt was made to favour or disfavour any part of the country.
(The World news 04-03-2007)

In this extract, the credibility of the National Population Commission NPC is being protected and projected. Through the use of an authoritative source – that is, the chairman of the NPC, and other means that persuasively suggest the truthfulness of the claim being made, for example, the statement in the last paragraph – 'Chief Samuilla Makama insisted that the NPC conducted a scientific exercise that could be scientifically proven", the credibility of the NPC is implicitly revealed. The information contained in paragraphs two and four brings to remembrance the 2006 population census. It also serves to debunk the claim of the critics of the census.

Text 7:

The recent protest at the National Assembly Complex Abuja over moves to expunge the Local Government system from the 1999 constitution was part of the commitment of National Union of Local Government Employees, NULGE to protect democracy and rule of law.

The president of NULGE in Osun State, Comrade Kayode Afolabi stated this while answering questions on Platform, a current affairs personality interview programme on OSBC 104.5FM.

Comrade Afolabi said NULGE as a responsible body of workers at the third tier of government is irrevocably committed towards protecting and enhancing the rights and privileges of workers at the Local Government level.

The NULGE boss agreed that the 1976 Local Government Reform has accelerated the career prospects of council workers through greater exposure to education and training.

He defended the various steps taken by Osun State Government on the revenue and expenditure profile of local governments with remarks that all actions taken in that respect were in line with due process.
(The News at Dawn 23-10-2008)

The reference to National Union of Local Government Employees NULGE) as 'a responsible body of workers' in the third paragraph of this news report is a credibility

strategy. A critical look at the first paragraph of this extract creates a kind of doubt about NULGE's credibility. However, the doubt about the union's credibility is dismissed with the statement in the second part of the paragraph – 'was part of the commitment of …. to protect democracy and rule of law in the country'. This statement expresses an ideological principle of patriotism. The word 'protest' has a negative connotation and it is viewed as anti-government. Thus the claim that the protest 'is to protect democracy and rule of law in the country' is ironical.

It can therefore be concluded that the union's use of protest as a weapon to protect democracy and rule of law in the country as stated in the report amounts to sarcasm.

4.2.1.2 Government and politics with humanitarian ideology

Text 8:

> **Osun State Governor, Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola has in the meantime reacted to violent demonstrations on Saturday's Gubernatorial and State Assembly elections in the state.**
>
> **In a state broadcast to the people, Governor Oyinlola expressed concern at the actions of some opposition parties to the result of the election.**
>
> **The governor recalled his pre-election broadcast where he reiterated the need for politicians to comport themselves with decorum and civilized human standards.**
>
> **Governor Oyinlola however regrets that some politicians have taken laws into their hands.**
>
> **He warned that the state government will not shirk its responsibility to secure the lives and property of people of the state.**
>
> **Governor Oyinlola charged the people of the state to remain law abiding and ensure that children and wards are not used as political thugs and as miscreants.**
>
> **Governor Oyinlola shortly after the state broadcast reacted to his victory at the polls and pockets of violence in some parts of the state.**
> **(The News at Dawn. 16-04-2007)**

In this extract we have the use of the strategy of blaming the victim. What is being inferred from the extract is that the 'violent demonstration' was carried out by the opposition. The opposition is usually associated with violence and crime. This, according to Chase (2008) is a popular way to assign blame for negative events, whether that blame is deserved or not. As noted by van Dijk (1996), social power is the control exercised by one group or

organisation (or its members) over the actions and or the minds of the (members of another party), thus limiting the freedom of action of the others or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies.

The fourth sentence in the extract is a mental clause with the emotive mental verb **regrets** serving as the process. In the last paragraph of the report, there is the use of embedded metaphor in the noun phrase - 'pockets of violence' in the prepositional phrase introduced by 'of'. The statement in the third paragraph of the extract 'to comport themselves with decorum and civilised human standards' is derogatory and portrays the politicians as uncivilised and uncultured.

Text 9:

The Nation's ruler, President Obasanjo has again read the riot act to those lurking around the corners to unleash violence during the April polls.

Leading a PDP Presidential campaign Rally at the Aba township stadium, President Obasanjo warned against acts of lawlessness.

He said the federal government remains resolute to ensure a hitch-free conduct of the April polls, appealing to youths to resist being used as cannon fodders by desperate politicians against the poor people of Abia state.

The PDP presidential hopeful, Governor Umar Yar'Adua said his administration if elected will adopt the reform programmes of the Obasanjo administration.
(The Sunday Extra. 04-03-2007)

The above extract reveals a strategy aimed at attacking and instilling fear in the hearts of people who may plan to foment trouble during the 2007 elections. The report implies that the government has the power to prevent and resist those who may want to sabotage its efforts in making the election a success. The introduction of Obasanjo by the journalists with the noun phrase 'The nation's ruler' amounts to expressing the obvious. This is used strategically by the journalist to project Obasanjo as the one in control over the affairs of the nation. To read the riot act as in – 'President Olusegun Obasanjo has again read the riot act … during the polls' denotes giving a strong warning against those who may want to cause trouble during the election. The use of the material process verb **unleash** in 'to unleash violence' brings to mind the experience and image of war. Also, the journalist's choice of the expression 'lurking around the corner' instead of using a verb like 'planning' connotes a kind of bad and secret act to be carried out by those referred to in the statement.

The appeal made in the third paragraph of the extract to youths to resist being used as 'cannon fodders' suggests that the youths are being exploited by the politicians. The youths are usually engaged as thugs by the politicians for a token during elections and they are considered as people who are resources to be exploited or sacrificed. The use of the adjective 'desperate' to describe the politicians in the noun phrase -'desperate politicians' – suggests that the politicians can do anything to achieve their goals. In the last paragraph of this extract, a reference is made to the former president of Nigeria, late Umar Yar-Adua who is described as 'The PDP Presidential hopeful'. This connotes that Yar'Adua was considered as the hope of the party then at a time when he was the governor of Katsina State in Nigeria. The statement that 'his administration if elected will adopt the reform programmes of the Obasanjo administration' can be interpreted to mean that Obasanjo played the role of Yar'Adua's political godfather.

Text 10:

Handing-over committee in Nigeria begins work today in Abuja.

A committee to handle preparations for the hand over from President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria to his successor who emerged in a controversial poll is due to begin work today.

The committee's working appears to be the federal government's answer to calls by the opposition parties that the election results of the last elections be annulled in order for fresh elections to take place.

Meanwhile opposition politicians and civil society group in Nigeria are said to be getting ready to protest against the results of the country's presidential election which gave victory to the Katsina State governor, Alhaji Umar Yar'Adua of the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)

The Secretary to the government of the federation, Chief Ufot Ekaete was quoted as saying in a release that the twenty nine member presidential committee will begin work later today.

According to him, senior security officials, serving ministers, top public and protocol officials, constitute members of the committee.

Prayers have already been said in churches and mosques across the country for the repose of the soul of those who lost their lives during the elections and for God to intervene in the current situation.
(The World at noon. 30-04-2007).

The name of Obasanjo's successor 'who emerged in a controversial poll' is not mentioned in the first paragraph of this extract. The failure of the journalists to mention the name of Alhaji Umar Yar'Adua until we get to the third paragraph is strategic. The ideological position of the journalist or that of the media house is revealed here. In the first paragraph we have an idea of a committee set up to handle preparations 'for the handover from President Obasanjo to his successor', while the report goes further in paragraph two to give a conflicting information – 'The committee's working appears to be the federal government's answer to calls by the opposition parties…' The ambiguity in the news report is evident as members of the audience are not sure of the committee's job. Is the committee responsible for preparations for the handover from Obasanjo to Yar'Adua or is it responsible for investigating the result of the 'controversial' election? The ambiguity in this extract leads to the information given in the third paragraph. What is the source of the journalist's claim that opposition politicians and civil society group in Nigeria are getting ready to protest against the result of the country's presidential election? The source is not given and this is also a strategy used to hide the truth. One of the many ways to influence the structure of a model (and the understanding of a news event) is to manipulate what information is important, by displaying it more or less prominently in the news reports (van Dijk 1995c). According to van Dijk, if journalists or their elite sources want less or no attention paid by the public to certain aspects of a news event, they will make sure that such information is less prominent or absent in the news report, so that it will most likely lack prominence in the model of the news event. In the same way, news texts may emphasise or de-emphasize the causes or consequences of events or the properties of news actors (p 150).

The idea of opposition politicians and civil society groups getting ready to 'protest' conveys a negative image of the politicians and the group as it paints them as protesting against the government rather than portraying them as advocating truth and justice.

In the fourth paragraph, we have an indirect quotation – 'The secretary to the government of the federation…was quoted as saying in a release that … begin work later today'. Kuo (2003:281) observes that 'quotations are frequently woven into the fabric of news discourse to make the news report livelier as well as to give it a semblance of factuality and authenticity.' Also in the sentence, we have the use of the material process verb **begin** with a circumstantial element – 'today'.

Text 11:

> The conference of Nigeria Political Parties in Osun State today counselled aggrieved politicians who are hell bent in turning Osun State to a battlefield for their selfish ends to desist from such acts.
>
> The call was made today when representatives of the NPP paid a solidarity visit on the State Governor Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola in his office.
>
> Governor's office correspondent Oluwagbemiga Oyeleke reports that representatives of the National Democratic Party (NDP) Osun State Chapter, who were in the governor's office earlier had indicated their resolve to defect to the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP).
> (The News across the country. 09-07-2007)

We have in this extract the strategy of satirizing and attacking. Describing the politicians as 'aggrieved' and people 'who are hell bent in turning Osun State to battlefield for their selfish ends' criminalises the politicians and damages their image and personality. The use of the adjectives 'aggrieved' and 'hell bent' to describe the politicians portrays them as people who have been seriously wounded and determined to do anything regardless of the consequences. Also, the employment of the war related diction – 'battlefield' brings to mind the image of war where the people are engaged in armed conflict.

Text 12:

> Debate on the report of the investigative panel on the alleged irregular contract award by the leadership of the House of Representatives failed to commence today.
>
> This follows the refusal of the speaker Mrs. Patricia Etteh to step aside as demanded by some members.
>
> Report says the proceeding was rowdy although there was no physical combat among members.
>
> Shortly after the Speaker introduced the debate on the matter, the Deputy leader of the House, Alhaji Mohammed Aliyyu Gumel, raised a point of order that the Speaker should step aside to allow debate on the matter to continue.
>
> The session lasted about two hours and as the speaker made an attempt to leave the chamber with the mace, she was prevented by those calling for her to step aside for deliberation to continue on the panel's report.
>
> The House has thus adjourned till tomorrow morning.
> (The News across the country. 16-10-2007)

The above news report indicates that the refusal of the one time Speaker of the House of Representatives in Nigeria, Mrs Patricia Etteh to step down from her position stalled the debate on Idoko Panel's Report on the contract scam in the House. Mrs Patricia Etteh happened to be the first Nigerian female to assume the position of the Speaker in the House of Representatives. The statement in the second paragraph of the extract – 'the refusal of the speaker, Mrs Patricia Etteh' – suggests stubbornness and rigidity. To 'step aside' means to withdraw or resign from position. This term as noted by Chiluwa (2007) was used by Ibrahim Babangida who was a former military ruler in Nigeria.

The statement in the third paragraph of this extract – 'Report says the proceeding was rowdy although there was no physical combat' presupposes that proceedings in the House are usually rowdy. This describes the situation in the Nigerian setting as most of the proceedings in both the Upper and the Lower Houses (i.e. the Senate and the House of Representatives) always end in pandemonium, and more often than not, members engage themselves in physical combat.

We have the verbal clause of saying in 'Report says …among members' where the grammatical function of 'Report' is that of the 'Sayer' while the process is realised by the verb **says.**

Text 13:

> **The state chapter of Association of Local Government of Nigeria (ALGON) has described the recent decision of the court of Appeal in Ibadan which dismissed the application of the Action Congress for a stay of proceedings in the litigation against the victory of Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola in the April 14 2007 polls as a further indication of the judiciary's remarkable courage to do justice to all parties without playing to the gallery.**
>
> **A statement jointly signed by the state ALGON chairman, Hon Teslim Igbalaye and the association's spokesperson Mr. Bamidele Salam noted that the ruling of the appellate court confirms the general belief that the state chapter of the Action Congress does not have any substance upon which to sustain the on-going litigation and should have conceded defeat long before now.**
>
> **While advising the AC leadership to take a cue from its numerous legal defeats and take the courageous path of honour, Osun ALGON said true politics should respect the freewill of the people rather than be desperate for power.**
>
> **It further expressed the confidence of the people in all thirty local governments and Ife East Area office in the exemplary leadership of Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola and urged him to stay focused in his determination to turn the fortune of the state around.**
> **(The State News. 18-04-2008)**

In this report the strategy of credibility is employed to project the Nigerian judiciary as very effective and unbiased. 'The opposition Party – Action Congress (AC) is discredited. The extract projects the Association of Local Government of Nigeria, Osun State branch as taking sides with the ruling political party in the State – The Peoples Democratic Party. The decision of the Court of Appeal to dismiss the application of the Action Congress against the victory of Governor Oyinlola is described as the 'judiciary's remarkable courage to do justice to all parties". What is regarded as justice to the PDP can be regarded as injustice to the opposition party – the Action Congress. The expression 'without playing to the gallery' implies that the decision of the Appellate court is justifiable and devoid of favouritism.

In the second and the third paragraphs of this extract, the credibility of the State chapter of the Action congress is attacked. The report contains the use of derogatory language to refer to the AC. Such derogatory form of language can be seen in the statements – 'the Action Congress does not have any substance … and should have conceded defeat before now' and 'while advising the AC leadership to take a cue from its numerous legal defeats… rather than be desperate for power'. This implies that the AC has failed and therefore should accept defeat. Again, the statement – 'true politics should respect the free will of the people rather than be desperate for power' connotes that the AC does not practice genuine politics but wants power at all cost.

Text 14:

Election of first black president of the United States draws chains of reactions from world leaders.

World leaders have been expressing their feelings and extending hands of fellowship to the new president–elect in the US, Barrack Obama.

In his congratulatory message, the Nigerian President Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua says Barrack Obama's election has finally broken the greatest prejudice in human history.

President Yar'Adua said the election of Obama has numerous lessons Nigeria could learn from.

The president's reaction came a short while ago after the commencement of the Federal Executive Council meeting currently in progress at the Aso Rock Villa, Abuja.

President Yar'Adua urged Nigerians to learn from the American experience of selfless service to humanity and the nation.
(The News across the country. 05-11-2008)

The first sentence in this extract serves as the lead with the Process realised by the verb **draws**. We also have a verbal clause of saying in the fourth paragraph – 'President Yar'Adua said ….Nigeria could learn from'. The verb **said** serves as the process while grammatical function of 'President Yar'Adua" is that of the sayer. This report contains loaded messages used to attach value to Barrack Obama's election as the president of the United States of America. Obama happens to be the first Black person to be elected as President of the United States of America. This, as implied in the news report has put an end to irrational dislike of a person or group based on ethnicity, nationality, religion or social status.

The last paragraph of the extract – 'President Yar'Adua urged Nigerians to learn … the nation' presupposes that Nigerians (unlike the Americans) lack selfless service to the nation and humanity.

4.2.1.3   Government and politics with welfarist ideology
Text 15:

> **A chairmanship aspirant in Irewole Local Government area of Osun State, Prince Olusoji Ajayi says his priority is to emulate the administrative style of Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola in making governance accountable to people if voted in the next election.**
>
> **Prince Ajayi stated this while addressing faithfuls of the PDP at Muragiri rally in Ikire.**
>
> **The chairmanship aspirant promised to construct sustainable road, execute water projects, and revive agriculture sector for the good of the people of Irewole Local Government.**
>
> **He assured the people that if voted into office his administration will address areas of needs of the populace.**
>
> **Prince Ajayi also commended the leadership quality of the Chief of Staff to the Osun State governor, Elder Peter Babalola saying the PDP government in the state has touched the lives of the people in Irewole Local Government.**
> **(Sunday Extra. 29-07-2007)**

In the first paragraph of this extract we have a verbal clause of saying which serves to introduce a report of what was said – 'his priority is to emulate the administrative style of …in the next election'. In this clause the process is realised by the verb **says**, while the

114

grammatical function of the noun phrase – 'A chairmanship aspirant in Irewole Local Government Area of Osun State, Prince Olusoji Ajayi' is that of 'Sayer'.

What we have in this extract is an example of political persuasion which is one of the strategies of manipulative discourse. Shell and Moussa (2007) explain that persuasion means to win others over, and according to Cialdini (2001), people are easily persuaded by other people whom they like. van Dijk (2006:379) asserts that:

> manipulative discourse focusses on several crucial and fundamental issues: the international struggle between Good and Evil, national and international solidarity, the seriousness of the situation…, positive self-presentation as a strong ("firm") and morally superior leader, and negative other – presentation (e.g. of the opposition) as opportunistic.

Governor Oyinlola of Osun State is presented as somebody worthy of emulation in this extract. The occasion was at a political rally. This is a strategy used to emphasise the power, position, authority and moral superiority of Oyinlola to appeal to the ideologies, attitudes and emotions of the audience. The reference made to Governor Oyinlola and his chief of staff, Peter Babalola is an example of appeal to authority in which prominent figures are cited to support a position, argument, idea or course of action. The information contained in paragraph three presupposes that Irewole Local Government Area of the State lacks basic social infrastructures and that the agricultural sector is 'dead'; hence the need to 'revive' it.

Text 16:

> **Osun State Deputy Governor, Erelu Olusola Obada has re-emphasised that the present government will not set vengeance on anybody but continue her developmental projects across the state.**
>
> **Erelu Obada stated this in her office while receiving Ibodi Traditional Council, headed by Oba Ibironke Ajibike who paid her a courtesy call to celebrate the victory of PDP in the just concluded general elections.**
>
> **According to the Deputy Governor, the present government places high premium on the well being of the entire citizenry irrespective of socio-political differences.**
>
> **The Deputy Governor, who assured that Oyinlola led-government will always extend its hand of love and affection to all without sentiment, added that the government is to care for all, not people of the same political party ideology alone.**
>
> **She then admonished Ijesa people to be more united and focused for the area to enjoy more progress and peace.**
> **(The News at dawn. 01-05-2007)**

The above extract contains the strategy of manipulation. The report is a typical political–ideological move that tries to win over the opposition by emphasising the political power and moral superiority of Erelu Obada and the party she represents. As rightly observed by van Dijk (2006), one crucial cognitive condition of manipulation is that the targets (persons, groups etc) of manipulation are made to believe that some actions or policies are in their own interests, whereas in fact they are in the interests of the manipulators and their associates. He states further:

> Of importance is such a case is that the (real) interest and benefits of those in control of the manipulation process are hidden, obscured or denied, whereas the alleged benefits for 'all of us', 'for the nation', etc are emphasised (2006:370).

Thus, the positive reference to the party (PDP) or praise to the government and its principles is to enhance the party's credibility. The expression that the present government 'will not seek vengeance on anybody…' as contained in the first paragraph amounts to trying to win the support of people who probably did not cast their votes for the PDP in the general elections. Also the admonition given by Erelu Obada to Ijesa people 'to be more united and focussed' is an indirect way of telling the people to support the Peoples Democratic Party. There is an implication here that supporting any other political party amounts to lack of focus. The use of the verb **assured** is to further convince the people and to substantiate the claim earlier made by the deputy governor.

Text 17:

> **Former U.S. President Bill Clinton eulogised Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as a respected leader who is also reliable.**
>
> **President Olusegun Obasanjo has ended his official visit to the United States on a glorious note.**
>
> **Reports say encomiums were showered on the Nigerian leader by high ranking officials of the American government with many appreciating his contributions to peace and the development of not only his country but the whole of Africa.**
>
> **Former American president Mr. Bill Clinton described Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as a man who is dependable and reliable.**
>
> **Mr Clinton said Chief Obasanjo is one of the rare leaders who have focus and a new emerging African leader who stood by him while he was in office.**

Responding, Chief Obasanjo reassured the people of Nigeria and the world that he would continue in his life changing programmes which he has embarked upon for the benefit of all and sundry.
(News across the country. 15-01-2007).

In this extract, former President Clinton of the United States of America presents the former president of Nigeria - Chief Obasanjo as a reliable and credible personality, not only in Nigeria but also in the international community. He is presented by Clinton as somebody who has contributed immensely to the growth of the African continent. The journalist's choice of the topic, (that is, Obasanjo's visit to the United States) as being newsworthy, the control of its style and rhetoric, have a persuasive access to the minds of the audience. As the president of Nigeria then and as the number one citizen in the nation, Obasanjo had the most privilege access to the media. Thus, the report on the visit that ended on a 'glorious note', the encomiums showered on him by 'high ranking officials of the American Government' and Bill Clinton's reference to Obasanjo as 'dependable, reliable and a leader who has focus' became necessary. It can also be inferred from this extract that all the encomiums showered on Obasanjo by the officials of the American government have to do with the fact that he 'stood by him (Clinton) while he was in office'; hence, the opportunity for Clinton to praise Obasanjo. We have the use of a borrowed term – **encomium**. The word is from Greek – 'egkomion' which means an expression of high praise. The use of the word is significant in the sense that it enhances Obasanjo's position as someone whose personality is recognised in the international community.

We note the use of the pronoun 'who' in the relative clauses in the extract – (1) '… a man **who** is dependable and reliable'; (ii) …'leaders **who** have focus", and (iii) '….African leader **who** stood by him while he was in office'. These are restrictive relative clauses which according to Aremo (2004), are clauses which clarify the reference of the antecedent by specifying the entities to which they are restricted or limited. Thus, the relative clauses make clear the man/leader being referred to.

Text 18:

Osun State chapter of the People's Democratic Party has commended the people of the state for identifying with the good work of Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola.

Secretary of the party in the state Mr. Yinka Adeojo stated this today in a statement in Osogbo.

Mr. Adeojo particularly thanked the Performing Musicians Association of Nigeria for coming to Osun State and associating with the government and its good work.

According to him, the contribution of PMAN and the large turnout of people who witnessed the Democracy Day Rally is a testimony to good performance and the prevailing peace and security in the state.

The P.D.P scribe said the noise being made by some opposition political parties should be disregarded as it is a calculated attempt to tarnish the name of the P.D.P.
(The news across the country. 31-05-2009)

The news report highlighted above indicates the influence of the power of the ruling class/party in Osun State as whatever is done by the administration whether positive or negative is termed 'good work'. People always identify with success but dissociate from failure. Hence the association of PMAN 'with the government and its good work' as stated in the third paragraph. Leading politicians have access to the media and as such whatever they do is considered right and appropriate. Journalists will seek to interview them, ask their opinions, and thus introduce them as major news actors or speakers in news reports. According to van Dijk (1995b), media power is generally symbolic and persuasive in the sense that they have the potential to control to some extent the minds of the audience. He defines social power as:

> a social relation between groups or institutions, involving the control by a (more) powerful group or institution (and its members) of the actions and the minds of (the members) of a less powerful group. Such power generally presupposes privileged access to socially valued resources, such as force, wealth, income, knowledge or status (van Dijk 1995b:10).

Eaman, as cited by Sheyholislami (2001:5) rightly observes that "news is consciously created to serve the interest of the ruling class", and as a result, as observed by Fowler (1991:11), 'the world of the press is not the real world but rather a partial one which is skewed and judged". van Dijk (2000b) also notes that the words of those in power are taken as self-evident truth and the words of those not in power are dismissed as irrelevant.

The last paragraph is a strategy employed in blaming the victim - the opposition, to portray them as haters of progress or as anti-progress. The PDP and Governor Oyinlola of Osun State are positively represented while the opposition political party - Action Congress - and its members are negatively represented as 'noise makers' This implies that whatever they (the opposition) say is irrelevant and should be discarded. One important thing to note

according to van Dijk (1988a:22) is that "mental representations are often anticipated along US versus THEM dimensions", in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves and their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms. The choice of the lexical item 'noise' is negative and derogatory.

The news item also stated that "the large turnout of people ... is a testimony of good governance and the prevailing peace and security in the state". A large turnout of people at the rally does not necessarily mean the existence of peace, harmony and security in the state. More often than not, people are hired to attend political rallies in Nigeria.

In the last paragraph of the extract, we have the verbal clause of saying in – 'The PDP scribe said the noise… to tarnish the name of the PDP'. The process is realized by the verb **said**, while the nominal group – 'The PDP scribe' is the Sayer.

Text 19:

A chieftain of the Peoples Democratic Party in Osun State Alhaji Busari Baruwa has counselled those lending dissenting voices to President Obasanjo's alleged third term bid to be conscious of the voice of the majority in a democratic dispensation.

According to the Osogbo based politician, only Nigerians could decide such.

Alhaji Baruwa who stated this while featuring on an OSBC Living Spring Current Affairs programme "Gbangbadekun" also disclosed his choice of Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu as his role model in politics.

Baring his mind on Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola's style of administration in Osun State, the politician described the Okuku born prince as one of the best governors in the country.
(News across the Country. 03-01-2007).

The first paragraph of this extract contains ideological implications. It implies that those in support of President Obasanjo's third term as the ruler in Nigeria are in the majority while those who are against this plan, that is, 'those lending dissenting voices' are in the minority. van Dijk (1991:113) notes that one of the most powerful semantic notions in critical news analysis is that of implication. According to him:

Words, clauses, and other textual expressions may imply concepts or propositions which may be inferred on the basis of background knowledge. This feature of discourse and communication has important ideological

dimensions. The analysis of the "unsaid" is sometimes more revealing than the study of what is actually expressed in the text (p. 114).

'To be conscious of the voice of the majority' implies that the ruling party – Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) to which Obasanjo belongs has the majority of people in the parliament and that these are the people to decide and approve Obasanjo's third term. In other words, Obasanjo has the support of the majority. The counsel given by the 'chieftain of the PDP' can be viewed as an attempt to silence the opponents by attacking their positions.

As noted by van Dijk (1995b), the elites have preferential and active access to public discourse in general, and to that of the media in particular; they serve as reliable sources, they are the preferred actors of news reports, and they are the ones who are typically quoted. The above assertion is revealed in this extract with the type of the personality chosen to feature in the current affairs programme of the OSBC. Through media discourse, the elites are also the groups that potentially have most influence in public opinions, models, and ideologies. It can be concluded as opined by Sheyholislami (2001) that the journalists and the media are involved in choosing the sources of information – who gets interviewed or who gets to be quoted or heard in news.

Text 20:

> **In a related development, political office holders have been advised not to see their position as a way of enriching their pockets but rather to give those that voted them in, dividends of democracy.**
>
> **Peoples Democratic Party chairman in Osun State, Alhaji Ademola Rasaq stated this when he led the state working committee of the party to Irepodun Local Government Area of the State for the swearing in and inauguration of the local party executives in the council.**
> **(The News across the country. 03-12-2008)**

The adverbial phrase at the beginning of the extract is a conjunct which serves a connective function in a passive sentence with the verbal group – **have been advised** as the Process.

It is assumed that in Nigeria people go into politics to make money and acquire wealth. Nigerian politicians are linked with the desire to make money or enrich their pockets rather than fulfilling the promises made to the electorates during campaigns, before elections. After assuming office, the politicians live in affluence while those who voted them in live in abject poverty. Hence, the advice that the politicians should 'give those that voted them in

dividends of democracy'. The expression 'dividend of democracy' is a term frequently used in the Nigerian political discourse to refer to something good or desirable that is gained as a bonus in a system of government based on the principle of majority decision making.

Text 21:

> **Governor Jonah Jang of Plateau State has called on Nigerian leaders to use the country's wealth for its development.**
>
> **Governor Jang made the appeal in his message to mark the nation's 48th Independent anniversary.**
>
> **The governor who said Nigeria is endowed to become a leading economy however adds that leaders at all levels must resolve to use the nation's wealth for the development of all.**
>
> **He called on Nigerians to support President Umar Musa Yar'Adua's vision of taking Nigeria to the next level.**
> **(The news at dawn. 01-10-2008)**

In this extract there is an insinuation that Nigeria's wealth is not being used to develop the country and that there are some leaders who mismanage the country's resources. The second paragraph of this extract carries an emotional power as Governor Jang makes an 'appeal'. An 'appeal' is a plea or earnest request to somebody for something; hence the governor's petition to the 'leaders'

The information in the third paragraph presupposes that the activities of Nigerian leaders have prevented the country from becoming a leading economy. It implies that the nation's wealth is being used by very few people for their own benefits and not for the development of every citizen in the country. We have the use of the strategy of support garnering in the last paragraph as Nigerians are enjoined to support Yar'Adua in his 'vision of taking Nigeria to the next level'.

4.3   The theme of Violence, Conflict and Crime

The news texts under the theme of violence, conflict and crime in association with their corresponding ideologies are discussed in this section.

4.3.1 The theme of Violence, conflict and crime with humanitarian ideology
Text 22:

> **Various security agents in the country can effectively combat crimes if they are adequately fed with useful information by members of the public.**

Deputy Commander, Osun State command of the National Drugs Law Enforcement Agency, NDLEA, Mr. Steve Akabuzu, expressed this view today while speaking with OSBC news on the recent raid carried out by the Agency on Indian hemp dealers and smokers in Osogbo.

Mr. Akabuzu who disclosed that the Agency made several arrests yesterday at a primary school at Sabo area of Osogbo lamented that the suspects were in the age range of thirteen to twenty-two.

The NDLEA boss, who revealed that the Agency acted on a tip off, charged members of the public to always feed his officers with useful information that could help reduce crime in society.
(The News across the country. 31-05-2007)

The first sentence in this extract presupposes that members of the public have not been cooperative with security agents in the country to combat crime. This implies that crime is on the increase or that the security agents find it difficult to fight crime. The conditional statement in the second part of the sentence –'if … of the public' reinforces the first part – 'various …crimes'. The statement also depicts members of the public as people who connive with criminals or who are partners in progress with criminals; hence the NDLEA boss 'charged members of the public to always feed his officers and men with useful information'.

In the third paragraph, we have an explicative (non-defining) relative clause- 'Mr. Akabuzu who disclosed…' This can be explained thus:

(1)   Mr. Akabuzu lamented that the suspects were in the age range of thirteen to twenty-two.

(2)   Mr. Akabuzu disclosed that the Agency made several arrests.

The relative clause adds information about the referent 'Mr. Akabuzu' in the main clause. Also, the subordinate clause 'who revealed…' in the last paragraph gives a clearer meaning through its connection with the main clause than it would in isolation.

The collocation 'useful information' repeated twice in the extract is significant, meaning that some information may not be useful. By contrast, some information may be 'useless'.

Text 23:

The Chief of Naval Staff, Vice Admiral Ishaya Ibrahim has said the Navy is trained to save lives.

The Naval boss said he is not ready to lead his men in full scale war against the militants in the Niger Delta.

Vice Admiral Ibrahim told newsmen in Yola that though Navy personnel operating in the Niger-Delta had been attacked by militants, the Navy had resisted the temptation to either retaliate or engage the militants in full scale war.
(The News at Dawn. 01-11-2008)

The ideology that underlies this report is one which advocates violence resistance and a rejection of violence as an effective approach in dealing with the Niger-Delta militants.

The Navy is being positively represented in this extract. The organisation is portrayed as a life-saver and not a life-destroyer. In other words, there are some other organisations that are trained to kill. While the militants are seen as violent and belligerent, the Navy appears to be on a peacemaking mission in the Niger-Delta and therefore 'had resisted the temptation to either retaliate or engage the militants in full scale war'. Chiluwa (2011) observes that certain lexical items have been noted to occur frequently in the Nigerian press in representing the Niger-Delta ethnic militia groups and their activities. He states further:

> …the insurgents preferred to be recognised as freedom fighters' which in their own interpretation of the expression capture their actions and intentions. However, the press generally label them 'militants', which appears to represent the value judgement of the government and the political class. The label 'militants' in the Nigerian sense merely constraints the unlawful method of the armed resistance, while 'freedom fighters' (in the literal sense) attempts to explain the actions of the insurgents, which according to them was to liberate their people from over fifty years of exploitation by the Nigerian government and their foreign oil business collaborators (2011:94).

The report tries to emphasise the good qualities of the Navy and the bad qualities of the militants. Thus, we have in the extract the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

Text 24:

Speaker of the State Parliament, Honourable Adejare Bello says the spate of politically motivated assassinations in the country is a wrong signal to patriotic Nigerians who are interested in politics.

Honourable Bello made the observation while speaking with OSBC news in his office.

Noting that the ugly trend calls for great concern of all and sundry, the lawmaker urged security agencies in the country to put in place special mechanism that will help in the arrest of perpetrators.
(The Home News. 01-02-2009)

The first sentence in this extract is a verbal clause whose Process is realised by the verb **says**. There is an insinuation in this report that politics is associated with murder, and that politics appeared to be synonymous with assassination in the Nigerian political system. It implies that political office holders in the country can be eliminated at any time and that Nigerians who love the country and are ready to serve may be discouraged. According to Chiluwa (2006), the Nigerian socio-political climate consistently favours this perception that politicians are usually murdered by gun trotting men and we can see that media reports systematically represent this ideological perception.

The last paragraph is an indictment on the security agencies; it suggests that they are not performing their duties as expected. The phrase 'ugly trend' used to describe the incidence of politically motivated assassinations in the country paints a picture of an unpleasant, objectionable, horrible and dreadful situation.

Text 25:

Britain commences investigation on sex for visa allegation against immigration officers

The British Home office has launched investigation into allegation that immigration officials have been granting visas to foreign nationals in exchange for sexual favour.

A newspaper report in London says the allegation is levelled by a former administration officer at one of Britain's immigration processing centres.

The officer claimed that corrupt officials at the centre had sex regularly with female applicants who in turn extend their visa.
(The world News. 02-01-2010)

In the first sentence of this extract, which is the lead, we have a material clause which can be represented thus:

Britain	commences	investigation on sex for visa allegation against its immigration officer
Actor	Process	Goal

The process is realised by the verb **commences,** while the Actor is the nominal group 'British'. The statement refers to allegation levelled against British immigration officials who have been granting visa to foreign nationals in exchange for sexual favours. This suggests corruption on part of the officials who had sex regularly with female applicants and in turn

extend their visas. This portrays the officials as immoral and corrupt. The journalist's reference to the immigration officials in a dysphemistic way is deliberate in order to present them in a negative way and to emphasise their bad actions, hence the choice of the phrase **sex for visa.** Dysphemism, according to Crystal (1992) is the use of an offensive or disparaging expression instead of a neutral or pleasant one. Also, Allan and Burridge cited by Yusuf (2006:28), state that dysphemisms are used 'as a weapon against those things and people that frustrate and annoy us, and whom we disapprove of, despise, dislike or just plain hate'.

The allegation in this extract can also be seen along US and THEM dimension; that is, the US (British/Whites) and THEM (the foreign nationals). It shows the distinction between US and THEM. According to van Dijk (1985), US generally is associated with the value GOOD or emotion of LIKE, and THEM with BAD and DISLIKE. It should be observed that such practice of obtaining visa through sexual favours could have been happening among the immigration officers and the nationals (Whites) without any complaints. The problem could be traced to racial discrimination as the allegation involves British immigration officials and 'foreign nationals'. As rightly observed by van Dijk (1985) ethnic prejudices and stereotypes are acquired largely by text and talk and the media play a vital role in the reproduction process. The views expressed in this report can be said to be based on British ideological principles of norms and values.

4.3.2   Violence, conflict and crime with welfarist ideology
Text 26:

> **Osun State Police Command has been charged to ensure adequate security of life and property in the State.**
>
> **Chairman Osun State Peoples Democratic Party, Alhaji Ademola Rasaq gave the charge in a release issued in Osogbo.**
>
> **The release is sequel to an alleged attack by members of an opposition party on some innocent members of the public at Orita-Olaiya and some parts of the state.**
>
> **Alhaji Ademola Rasaq accused the gubernatorial candidate of a rival party of importing political thugs who dressed in mobile police uniform to the State to unleash terror on the public.**
>
> **Noting that Osun State is known for peace, the State PDP chairman called on the police to investigate the matter with a view to curbing any act that could disrupt public peace.**
> **(The News at dawn. 25-03-2007)**

The charge given to the police to 'ensure adequate security of life and property in the state' implies that Osun State lacks security and that the police in the state are not performing their duties as expected. We can identify in this media report a mode of ideological operation through the use of the strategy of expurgating the other. Thompson (1995:87) defines this strategy as being:

> The construction of an enemy, internal or external, who is portrayed as evil, dangerous or threatening and against whom individuals are called upon to collectively resist or expel.

Although the report does not mention the names of the gubernatorial candidate and the rival party, we have the use of dysphemistic expressions aimed at a negative presentation of the 'rival party'. The expression contained in the fourth paragraph – 'importing political thugs who dressed in mobile police uniform… to unleash terror on the public', and the 'alleged attack by members of an opposition party' present the opposition political party as brutal and very dangerous.

Text 27:

> **Men of the underworld have invaded the secretariat of the Irele Local Government in Ode-Irele, Ondo State.**
>
> **Reports say offices affected are those of the Chairman, Secretary and Head of Personnel Management, Open Registry and Auditor's office.**
>
> **Other offices burgled by the night marauders are computer room and NULGE offices, while files and other documents were removed.**
>
> **Council officials say the suspects also invaded some houses at Ode-Irele where they made away with over seven hundred thousand naira.**
>
> **Reacting, the council chairman, Chief Akindoye Albert described the incident as unfortunate and assured that the perpetrators must be unmasked, saying the case has been reported at the police station.**
> **(The News at Dawn, 02-12-2007)**

This report starts with the noun phrase 'men of the underworld' which refers to the armed robbers. This expression means 'criminal' and it has become a popular one used in describing armed robbers in Nigeria. The robbers are also referred to as 'night marauders' meaning people who move around under the cover of darkness to perpetrate evil. Apart from this, the robbers are also given names such as 'suspects' and 'perpetrators'. The negative and

derogatory names give the impression that armed robbers are truly devilish and dangerous. This negative characteristic of the robbers reinforces the heartlessness they demonstrate during their operations. Peace (1998) notes that by keeping a stock of terminology to represent individuals and events, the journalist makes the story easier to tell but creates wider implications. Thus the different names given to the armed robbers – 'night marauders', 'men of the underworld', 'suspects' – imply many things and various interpretations. The activities of the armed robbers give an opportunity for the journalist's use of dysphemistic expressions.

It can be seen from the extract that the journalist draws on the resources of relational clauses as exemplified in the following sentences:

1. Reports say offices affected **are** those of the Chairman, Secretary and Head of Personnel Management, Open Registry and Auditor's office

2. Other offices burgled by the night marauders **are** computer room and NULGE offices, while files and other documents were removed.

In the above sentences, we have the use of 'identifying relational clauses'. The process is realised by the verb 'be' in the simple present plural form **are**. According to Halliday (2004), relational clauses serve to characterise and to identify. The use of the adjective – **unmasked** in '….the perpetrators must be unmasked' paints an image of the criminals being in the dark and acting under a cover. We also note the journalist's use of the verb **invaded** in the extract. The word which is repeated twice in the extract is a strategic device employed by the journalists to create emphasis.

4.4   The theme of Education and Health

This section features analysis of news texts under the theme of education and health together with their corresponding ideologies.

4.4.1 Education and health with historicist ideology

Text 28:

An educationalist says UBE educational policy should focus more on technical skills acquisition.

An educationist, Professor Taoheed Adedoja has stressed the need for immediate planning with a view to accommodating products to be turned out from the federal government's Universal Basic Education programme.

Professor Adedoja, who is the chairman of Oyo State Universal Basic Education made the call in Ibadan.

He stated that inadequate planning had been the bane of the nation's education in the past, adding that plans should be made to integrate people whose awareness towards education has been sharpened by the new education system.

According to Professor Adedoja, the policy of education should focus more on technical skills acquisition.
(The News across the country. 30-10-2009)

According to the National Policy on Education (2004), a nation's policy on education is government's way of realizing that part of the national goals which can be achieved using education as a tool.

This extract presupposes that the federal government's education programme lacks planning. The extract starts with the introduction of an authority figure in the educational system – 'an educationist, Professor Taoheed Adedoja'. This is strategic as the professor is considered to be an authority in the field of education and as observed by van Dijk (1988b), elite sources are not only considered more newsworthy (as new actors) but also as more reliable observers and opinion formulators.

According to Adedoja and Fabiyi (2007), the fundamental principle of UBE in Nigeria is that everybody must have access to equivalent education comprehensively and co-educationally. The Universal Basic Education in Nigeria is programmed to be for 9 years and it is designed by the government to cater for a child's education from primary school to the end of the Junior Secondary School. The programme is expected to be universal, free and compulsory. According to Aluede (2006:97):

> The UBE scheme in Nigeria can be said to be the product of earlier educational scheme, programmes and educational decisions. It is the offshoot of previous schemes, which could be said to have been bedevilled by problems which the current scheme is expected to offset.

McCarty (2004) describes policy and ideology as social constructs. He contends that they reflect the interests of the dominant groups and serve to maintain unequal relationships of power and access within the larger society. He argues further that the manifestation of such overt demonstration of ideology and power is seen in social institutions such as education. In his own contributions, Cummins (1999) views educational ideology as coercive relations of power that are realised in the everyday practices of the education system. It should be noted here in agreement with O'Heffernan (1994) that a web of interdependency exists between news and politics where policy makers recognise that policy cannot be effectively supported

and delivered without publicity to help legitimise the course of action being planned; and as the media are conduits for that information they also become inextricable part of that policy process.

The fourth paragraph of the extract contains an insinuation that people who had been involved in the educational planning process in Nigeria in the past were mediocre and unqualified. Hence, the statement that 'plans should be made to integrate people whose awareness towards education has been sharpened by the new education system'. The adverbial phrase – 'in the past' takes us back to history and implies that the problem of education planning in Nigeria has been on for a long time.

We have the use of non-restrictive relative clause in the third paragraph – 'Professor Adedoja, who … in Ibadan'. The relative clause – 'who is the chairman of Oyo State Universal Basic Education' merely explicates or adds information to the main clause- 'Professor Adedoja …made the call in Ibadan. This kind of clause according to Pecheux as cited by Montgomery (1992:8) acts as 'lateral reminders, prompting a kind of return of the known in thought'.

4.4.2 Education and health with the underlying welfarist ideology

Text 29:

> **The State Commissioner for Health, Mr. Lanre Afolabi has stated that the present administration under Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola expends an average of one hundred and eighty million naira on the procurement of drugs and related items to prosecute its free and qualitative health care services.**
>
> **The Commissioner disclosed this in his office while receiving a consignment of ninety thousand doses of anti-malaria drugs donated to the state by the Federal Ministry of Health.**
>
> **Mr. Afolabi who noted that the donation came at an appropriate time reaffirmed government's commitment to the eradication of malaria among the people of the state.**
> **(The State News. 01-09-2007)**

The use of figures is employed in this extract to project the activities of the administration of Governor Oyinlola in Osun State. The advantage of the occasion is utilised to highlight, through the use of figures, the government's activities and to bring to focus the free health care services of the administration.

As noted by Wolfsfeld (1997), political leaders exert complete control over the news media and the press becomes an electronic bulletin board, providing multimedia presentations

of political propaganda. The information about the purchase of drug and eradication of malaria in this report has an ideological implication, as providing free health services to the people of the State was one of the promises made by Oyinlola during his political campaigns. Hence it is important that the activities of his administration as regards free health be emphasised and made public.

Text 30:

> **Stakeholders in the education sector have called for an overhaul of the sector to tackle the problems hindering its development.**
>
> **This was the consensus of stakeholders at a workshop organised for teachers by the disciplinary council in Yenegoa, the Bayelsa State capital.**
>
> **Some of the problems believed to have been hindering development of education in the country include examination malpractices, indiscipline, and cultism, among others.**
>
> **Different resource persons advised teachers to strive to improve the standard of education in the country.**
> **(The News across the country. 24-03-2008)**

The lexical item "stakeholders" as used in the noun phrase – Stakeholders in the education sector – denotes a group of people with a direct interest, involvement and investment in the education sector. Calling for an 'overhaul' of the sector implies that the education sector in Nigeria is in a very bad state and needs to be examined and revised thoroughly. Also 'to tackle the problems' entails that the sector is faced with a lot of difficulties which need to be dealt with.

The statement in the last paragraph of the extract contains an insinuation that teachers are responsible for the low standard of education in the country. They are indirectly accused of being part of the causes of the problems in the sector, hence the advice to them 'to strive to improve the standard of education in the country'.

Text 31:

> **The Director General of the National Mathematical Centre, Professor Sam Ale says for the country to join the first twenty economies, federal and state governments must encourage the study of mathematics and other sciences.**
>
> **Professor Sam Ale stated this in Damaturu, Yobe State at the closing ceremony of a workshop organised for secondary school mathematics teachers.**

He said the dream of joining the topmost economies of the world could be achieved if students are encouraged to study mathematics at the primary and secondary school levels.

Professor Sam Ale commended Yobe State Government for the sponsoring of three hundred science teachers for training at the National Mathematical Centre in Abuja and called on other states to follow suit.
(The News at dawn. 01-11-2008)

The above extract is motivational and persuasive. It is aimed at influencing the attitudes of the audience towards the study of mathematics and the sciences. According to Drake and Sobrero (1987), attitudes and persuasion are among the central issues of social behaviour. Lakoff (1993) as cited by Katrnakova (2001:11) defines persuasive discourse as:

> A non-reciprocal discourse whose primary aim is to persuade listeners or readers to change their behaviour, feelings, intentions or opinions by communicative means.

In this extract, the study of mathematics and the sciences is attached to improvement in the nation's economy. The third paragraph contains a conditional statement – '…if students are encouraged to study mathematics at the primary and secondary school levels'. In other words Nigeria's aspiration of joining the first twenty economies in the world cannot be achieved without adequate knowledge of mathematics. This news report reveals an ideological content which serves the purpose of influencing the audience. The commendation given to Yobe State government 'for the sponsoring of three hundred science teachers for training…' is a motivational strategy directed at other states in the country to emulate the Yobe State government. It should be noted that in Nigeria, the study of mathematics is compulsory at all levels of education; a credit pass in West African School Certificate is required as a prerequisite for admission into tertiary institutions in the country. The modal – **must** used in the first paragraph expresses an obligation or compulsion which emphasises the importance of studying the subjects.

4.5 Labour Issues

Issues that are related to Labour and the relevant ideologies are analysed in this section.

4.5.1 Labour and historicist ideology

Text 32:

Work resumes today throughout the country after civil servants observed yesterday as holiday to enable them celebrate the May Day also known as Workers Day.

Reports across the country indicated peaceful celebration of the day as against news of demonstrations planned by opposition parties who lost at the last general elections in the country.

At a rally in Abuja to mark the occasion, the NLC president Comrade Abdulawaheed Omar called for the review of the circular stopping the implementation of the 15% increase in the federal public sector.

President Obasanjo who was represented at the rally by the Minister of Labour, Dr. Hazzan Morray urged the labour unions to be more civil and realistic in their demands.

In a message to the rally the President Elect Alhaji Umar Yar'Adua pledged to create a dynamic and beneficiary working conditions for workers.
(The News at dawn. 02-05-2007)

The expression in the fourth paragraph of this extract - 'urged the labour unions to be more civil and realistic in their demands' - directed at the NLC is negative and derogatory and portrays Nigerian civil servants as unrealistic. This also implies that the demand for the fifteen percent increase by the workers is not reasonable and therefore, cannot be achieved. As Fiske (1987:285) observes, trade union actions are always represented as 'demands' whereas employers are said to 'offer'. According to him, 'demand' is a disruptive word which places 'demanders' with the negative forces that make news. He argues further that because unions are presented in such a negative way, the audience is placed in a polar 'us/them' situation. Thus the use of the word 'demand' in this extract suggests that the request of the labour union lacks substance.

The information contained in the second paragraph – 'news of demonstrations planned by opposition parties who lost at the general election in the country' reveals the journalist and the media organisation's strategy of presenting the opposition parties in Nigeria as bad and evil. According to Altschull (1984), the news media are agents of those who express political and economic power in all societies and the ideological content of each news system reflects the interest of those who finance the press. Bouzgarrou (2002) also observes that it is inherent in media language that the news makers identify with a group that includes the conglomerates whom they represent and also the recipients who are expected to assume and give their consent to the main propositions. This observation agrees with Fairclough's (1995b:63) claim that 'the news media can be regarded as covertly transmitting the voices of social power holders.'

Yar'Adua's message to the rally as reported in the last paragraph is to garner the support of the Nigerian Labour Congress. The use of the verb **pledge** which serves as the process in the sentence signifies an assurance and guarantees better working conditions for the workers. Also the employment of the adjectives 'dynamic' and 'beneficial' suggests a vibrant and favourable disposition of the government to the workers' welfare.

4.5.2   Labour and humanitarian ideology

Text 33:

> **The new leadership of the Nigerian Union of Journalists has been advised to defend the interest of members appropriately.**
>
> **As a new set of leadership has just been elected to run the affairs of the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) for the next three years, veterans of the trade have called on the new leadership not to abandon unionism for the sake of professionalism.**
>
> **Mallam Mohammed Khalid and Mr. Jola Ogunlusi who were former general secretaries of the NUJ stated this is an interview with OSBC news in the Rivers State capital, Port Harcourt.**
>
> **The duo hold the view that trade unionism roles should not be abandoned totally since union activities do not necessarily make organisations less professional.**
>
> **They express the belief that there is nothing wrong in the NUJ having a dual purpose of professionalism and trade unionism so as to be able to protect and defend the interest of its members appropriately.**
> **(The World at noon. 01-03-2008)**

The first sentence in this extract contains a presupposition that the Nigeria Union of Journalists has failed to serve the interest of its members, hence the call in the second paragraph on the NUJ leadership 'not to abandon unionism for the sake of professionalism'. This implies that journalists have been so much engrossed in their profession to the detriment of their welfare. What we have in this extract is a projection of the importance of trade unionism in organizations. It suggests that journalists' roles as news writers should not jeopardise their participation in union activities. It can be implied from this extract that 'unionism' and 'professionalism' are two different things denoting different things and the two should be viewed as separate without one affecting the other. This connotes that news writers should fight for their rights but should not allow this to affect their job negatively. The ideology inherent in this report is that journalism and unionism should operate side by side.

The phrase 'veterans of the trade' is metaphoric and it is used to refer to people who have considerable experience in the profession of journalism.

Text 34:

The Katsina State Government has threatened to sack any health personnel found sabotaging the immunization exercise in the state.

The State Commissioner for Health, Alhaji Danlami Garuba gave the warning while flagging off the state integrated measles campaign.

He said the State government will not allow unpatriotic people to sabotage the exercise.

According to him, the Ministry has deployed over two hundred senior supervisors from both the state and federal levels to ensure effective monitoring of the exercise.
(The News across the country. 26-11-2008)

We note the choice of lexical items and expressions in the above extract- 'threatened, sack, sabotage, warning, unpatriotic people, deployed'. The choice of these terms by the journalist in presenting the commissioner's warning not only creates an atmosphere which suggests a kind of hatred for the workers by the Katsina State government but also creates wider implications. This choice may be interpreted as signalling the ideological position of the journalist to discredit the health workers. As noted by Fairclough (1995a:81), 'an important variable in the representation of discourse is the degree to which boundaries are maintained between the voices of the reporter and the person reported.' He states further:

A very high proportion of media output in news, current affairs and documentary consists of the mediation of the speech or writing of, mainly, prominent people in various domains of public life – politicians, police and lawyers, many categories of experts, and so forth. Sometimes such people speak for themselves….sometimes their discourse is represented by news readers or reporters (1995:79).

To 'threaten' means to express a hostile intention towards somebody and suggests an unwelcome consequence; 'sabotage' implies deliberate destruction or action taken to undermine or destroy somebody's effort or achievements while 'deploy' connotes a military force or troop positioned in a specific area ready for action. The use of the verbal group **has deployed** as the process in the last paragraph of the extract is hyperbolic and serves as a

rhetorical device to enhance meaning. These linguistic choices paint a picture that the health workers are really bad.

The third paragraph of the extract – 'he said …. the exercise' is an indirect reference to the workers, meaning that they are destroyers and are not loyal to their employer.

4.5.3   Labour and welfarist ideology

Text 35:

> **Nigerian workers resume duty after a four-day job boycott.**
>
> **Nigerian workers today resume work at their various offices after a four-day strike over increase in the prices of petroleum products and value added tax (VAT) among other grievances against the Federal government.**
>
> **The industrial action which was the first since President Musa Yar'Adua assumed office this year paralysed economic activities.**
>
> **The labour leader, Abdul Waheed Omar, called off the strike after a meeting with the federal government in Abuja in the early hours of Saturday.**
>
> **The meeting, among others agreed that the 15 percent salary increase should be paid to workers at the federal level, while the pump price of motor spirit was also reduced to ₦70 from the initial ₦75.**
>
> **Meanwhile, the effect of the fuel scarcity is still biting hard as many workers were stranded in most parts of the country as a result of the strike.**
> **(The world at noon. 25-06-2007)**

The first sentence in this extract which is the lead is a material clause with the verb **resume** serving as the process. In the second paragraph the cause of the strike action is given – 'increase in the prices of petroleum products and value added tax (VAT), among other grievances'. This is to bring to focus workers' complaints even though the strike had been called off. As observed by van Dijk (1995b), unless workers resort to violence and strikes, they have less active and passive access, have less credible sources, are less quoted and have less news value. He states further:

> Strikes tend to be covered as problem for the public, if not as a threat to the economy. In industrial conflicts, the perspective of management is prevalent in the definitions of the situation, in interviews, quotes, topics, and style of coverage. Workers are not defined as part of the audience. In sum, except in negative accounts of conflicts or in news about negotiations with their leaders, workers are hardly visible at all (1995:26).

The information in the third paragraph – 'The individual action...economic activities' can be seen as deliberately given and it is intended to reveal to the audience that Yar'Adua's administration was ushered in by a strike action. The expression that the industrial action 'was the first since President Musa Yar'Adua assumed office' is an euphemism used by the journalist because Yar'Adua assumed office in May 2007 and the strike action took place in June the same year, barely one month of his assumption of office.

The verb **paralysed** used in the sentence implies that the economic system in the country was brought to a standstill. We note the alternate use of the lexical items – 'strike' and 'industrial action' in the extract. Both are negative and denote work stoppage by employees as a protest against an employer to achieve a specific aim.

4.6   Ideologies and discourse strategies in the news texts

In this section, an analysis of the ideologies and discourse strategies in the news text is carried out.

Ideological analysis involves making interpretive judgements about what social conditions are like and making judgement about whether a way of thinking is adequate or inadequate to serve particular ends and whether social conditions are just or unjust (Balkin 1998:111), According to van Dijk(2000b), ideologies need to be analysed as the socio-cognitive interface between social structures, of groups, group relations and institutions, on the one hand, the individual thought, action and discourse, on the other hand.

4.6.1 Historicist Ideology

Historicist ideology is used to show that the present situation can be relatively compared to earlier positive or negative events in history (van Dijk, 2000b:72). This means using the past events to interpret the present political situation. It is the belief in historical periods – the theory that each period of history has its own unique beliefs and values and can only be understood in its historical context.

4.6.1.1   Historicist Ideology with the strategy of positive self-presentation

Text 36:

> **A cross section of parents in Osun State has likened the efforts of the Oyinlola led administration on the improved standard of education especially at the primary and secondary school levels to the continuity of the education legacy of the old sage, late Chief Obafemi Awolowo.**
>
> **Opinions gathered from parents in Ilesa, Ile-Ife, Gbongan and parts of Osogbo by OSBC correspondents showed parents' appreciation to the present administration for its huge investment on education in Osun State.**

According to them no administration in the recent past spent so much on the construction of new blocks of classrooms, provision of teaching aids, introduction of home grown feeding of pupils and promotion of teachers as at when due.
(The News across the country. 01-07-2010)

In this extract which reflects historicist ideology, the journalist employs a strategic technique of projecting the positive qualities of late Chief Obafemi Awolowo onto Governor Oyinlola of Osun State. This is to stimulate an emotional and positive response from the audience. People always like to associate with success or anything that is good and dissociate from anything negative or bad. Obafemi Awolowo was a Nigerian politician who introduced free education in Nigeria in 1955.

Awolowo sees an educated person as a complete being in all aspects of life. His love for education and its inherent benefits are demonstrated in his speeches. According to him:

> In order, therefore, that every Nigerian may be elevated beyond the level of the lower animals, and reflect his unique status as the image of God and monarch of the earth, it is imperative and urgent that our Governments should educate him free of charge especially as the majority of Nigerians cannot, in any case procure the wherewithal to accomplish this goal for themselves (Awolowo 1981c:174)

The political party which he founded – Unity Party of Nigeria again practised free education in some states in Nigeria between 1979 and 1983. Commenting on Awolowo, Ajewole-Orimogunje (2006:59) posits:

> Awolowo realised that with education, any nation would eradicate ignorance, disease, fear and poverty. One of his reasons for advocating free education was that education, if available to all, would enhance the formation of a democratic society with enlightened people forming the pillar of such a society. He also believed that education is a right of every Nigerian and not to be regarded as a privilege.

On Awolowo's free education programme, Omoboriowo (1982:33) comments:

> The leadership requirement for this nation in the area of education is that of a visionary dynamic figure who sees education not only as the basic fundamental which citizens can ride to social progress. Perhaps the most destructive badge worn by Awoism is the pioneering championship of free education at all levels in Nigeria …. We can confidently afford the cost of free education at all levels in Nigeria. Even if Nigeria will have to borrow to implement this crucial social objective, the masses are ready for the austerity which results in other areas. The greatest gift you can give to a child is to educate him. The greatest dis-service is to deny him his need.

The numerous achievements of Awolowo have endeared him to the hearts of many Nigerians, especially the Yoruba people. Thus, at every available opportunity, reference is made to him. According to Akinade (2009:1):

> Awolowo was an astute nationalist, politician, and reformer who played a frontline role in Nigeria's quest for independence from the colonial masters. His contributions to the political and development ideology is generally referred to as Awoisim in Nigeria and his close lieutenants – generally referred to an Awoist- hold on to this broadly welfarist ideology up to this day. Even in death, Awolowo remains relevant in Nigeria politics, every politician who craves Yoruba support identified with his name and succession even when he does not claim to be an Awoist overtly.

In the report, we have the use of appeal to authority in - 'a cross section of parents in Osun state…late Obafemi Awolowo'. This involves citing a prominent figure to support a position, idea or a course of action. As earlier mentioned, people usually associate with anything good. Also the media's report of the appreciation shown by parents to the 'present administration for its huge investment on education', the construction of new blocks of classrooms, provision of teaching aids and promotion of teachers as at when due are all ideological vehicles used to highlight government achievements.

4.6.1.2 Historicist ideology and the strategy of Authoritarianism

Text 37:
In Nigeria, this year's Armed Forces and Remembrance Day Celebrations have been rounded off today with the traditional laying of wreaths at the feet of unknown soldiers.

In Osun State, the governor, Prince Olagunsoye, Oyinlola led others to perform the ceremony in Osogbo, the state capital.

The occasion which also witnessed the traditional gun salute was attended by friends and relations of the fallen heroes as well as members of the Nigerian Legion.

This year's Armed Forces and Remembrance Day celebrations in Osun State was also attended by the Deputy Governor, Erelu Olusola Obada, Chief Judge, Justice Fasasi Ogunsola, the Head of Service, Elder Segun Akinwusi and top government functionaries.
(The World at noon. 15-01-2007)

The 15th day of January every year is set aside as the Armed Forces Remembrance Day Celebration. The celebration which was formerly marked on the 11th of November every year was changed to January 15 in Nigeria in commemoration of January 1966 when the first shot was fired to start the process that metamorphosed into the Nigerian Civil war (Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development, Cross River State). Commenting on the importance of the day, Meribe in *The Punch* of 11th January 2011 remarks:

> January 15 each year is set aside to celebrate Nigerian soldiers: soldiers who gave their lives fighting for our country to remain as an indivisible entity; soldiers who died on tours of duty in Burma, Congo, Liberia, Sierra-Leone, Sudan etc; soldiers who died in the creeks of Niger Delta on national assignments; soldiers who are dying in instalments from the injuries they sustained while on duty....

The historical event of the dead soldiers is brought to focus in this extract. The Armed Forces Remembrance Day Celebration is an annual event meant to honour the military officers who lost their lives in order to sustain the unity of Nigeria.

The phrase 'unknown soldier' as used in the first paragraph of this extract refers to the fallen heroes, i.e. the soldiers. While commenting on the importance of the Armed Forces Remembrance Day, President Goodluck Jonathan as quoted by Omonobi (2011:1) asserts:

> These people need to be remembered; they are mainly in our Armed forces, the police and other security agencies. Sometimes, we always look at the excesses and some of the individuals in these services, sometimes we probably don't really appreciate the kind of job they have been doing over the period and the sacrifices they make.

In paragraph three of this extract, the relative clause – 'which also witnessed the traditional gun salute' gives additional information about the ceremony.

Text 38:

The forthcoming International Conference on Slavery which will be hosted by Osun State Government is aimed at remembering African heroes and celebrating the emancipation efforts at securing freedom from slavery.

This statement was made at a Press Conference held in Lagos by the Chairman, Organising Committee of the International Colloquium on Slavery, slave trade and their consequences, Professor Abi Derefaka.
Prof. Derefaka posited that the first emancipation in a colonial society that resulted to the formation of a modern state was led by a Yoruba slave.

While recalling that the inhuman activity of slavery led to irreversible cultural and special dislocation among Africans, the don regretted that there are still vestiges of slavery up till today.

The Executive Director of the Centre for Black Culture and International understanding, Professor Wole Ogundele had earlier in his speech explained that the conference is not to apportion blames or witch-hunt but to seek understanding of our past and to foster beneficial relationship between Africans at home and those in Diaspora.
(The state News. 08-07-2010)

The above extract has historical background and projects the historical events of the slave trade in Nigeria and by extension, Africa. The message here can only be understood in its historical context. Slavery or involuntary human servitude was practised across Africa from prehistoric times to the modern era. Traditionally, African slaves were bought to perform menial or domestic labour, to serve as wives or concubines, or to enhance the status of the slave owner (Wright 2009).

The expression '… is aimed at remembering African heroes … freedom from slavery', underscores the activities of the 'heroes' who had fought for freedom of the people from the colonial masters.

The third paragraph of the extract makes reference to Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, a Yoruba in South Western Nigeria who was captured and sold to Portuguese slave traders when he was about 12 years old. He was taken to England where he schooled and was trained to perform missionary services. He established a church in Abeokuta in present Ogun State of Nigeria; he also translated the Bible into the Yoruba language. In the fourth paragraph, the phrase; 'activity of slavery' reminds one of the evils of slavery as occasioned by the colonial masters who came to Africa in the guise of evangelism. Slavery can be referred to as a state of being completely dominated by another or the state or condition of being held in involuntary servitude as the property of somebody else. According to Wright (2009:1)

> Slavery is a social institution defined by law and custom as the most absolute involuntary form of human servitude. The definitive characteristics of slaves are as follows: their labour or services are obtained through force; their physical beings are regarded as the property of another person, their owner, and they are entirely subject to their owner's will. Since earliest times, slaves have been legally defined as things; therefore they could, among other possibilities be bought, sold, traded, given as gift, or pledged for a debt by their owner, usually without any recourse to personal or legal objection or restraint.

The above quotation paints a terrible picture. Also, the use of phrase 'vestiges of slavery' can be termed to mean the way Nigerians, especially the youths, travel aboard to

seek greener pastures; where the majority of them engage in dirty jobs in order to make ends meet. This can be seen as another form of slavery. Phrases such as 'emancipation efforts', 'freedom from slavery', 'slavery', 'slave trade and the consequences', 'inhuman activity', 'irreversible cultural and spatial dislocation', and 'vestiges of slavery' all point to the negative effects of slavery and its effect on Africans

Text 39:

The two bedroom flat where late Chief Obafemi Awolowo was detained in 1962 has been turned to a research institute by the Lagos State Government.

The Centre described by late Awolowo as a mosquito infested camp is now an edifice for research on democracy and good governance.

The camp which is located at Lekki was said to be have started as a Portuguese Late Camp and later a colonial Guest House before it was turned to a detention camp where the late sage was detained for sixteen days.

Speaking during the dedication of the centre, Governor Fashola said the transformation of the building is aimed at immortalising Chief Obafemi Awolowo who he said lived all his life for the service of the common man.

The centre will house all the research works, pictures, writings and documentary evidence of the first premier of Western Region.
(News across the country. 26 – 06-2009)

This extract again brings to focus Awolowo's political experience. The constant reference to Awolowo in news bulletins especially in OSBC underscores the important position he occupied in Nigeria's political history. Chiluwa (2011) notes that the ideological work done by media language includes the ways in which individuals or groups, identities and relations are represented. He states further that particular constructions of social identities specifically define how the actions of those represented are to be judged or evaluated.

Herodotus as quoted by Fagbamigbe (1981:xi) asserts that the purpose of history 'is to put on record the astonishing achievements of our own and other people so that the great deeds of men may not be forgotten'. This assertion corroborates the statement credited to Governor Fashola in the fourth paragraph of this extract –'Governor…. said the transformation of the building is aimed at immortalising Chief Obafemi Awolowo who he said lived all his life for the service of the common man'. As noted by Ilenre (2009:1)

Chief Obafemi Awolowo spent a life-time of his resourceful labour on earth in the service of humanity. On his death …his country men and women who cherished his self discipline, hard work, justice, rule of law and love for the

141

ordinary people grieved at the passing away of a truly great humanist and a world statesman of Yoruba extraction from Africa.

The last paragraph serves the purpose of informing the audience that Awolowo was the first premier of Western region of Nigeria. The expression 'mosquito infested camp' in the second paragraph is emotionally loaded. It paints a horrible picture of the suffering and agony which Awolowo passed through when he was in detention in the camp.

Text 40:

The week-long celebrations of this year's Iresi Day climax tomorrow in the ancient town.

A statement by the chairman of the planning committee Iresi Day, Prof Tunde Lawuyi says the celebration will climax with the Oluresi of Iresi honouring distinguished sons, daughters and well wishers of the town with chieftaincy titles.

The event which holds at the NUD primary school Iresi will have a 500 million naira Education Foundation launched and the inauguration of the Goodluck Jonathan Garden.

The Garden is in honour of President Goodluck Jonathan who served his mandatory NYSC year in Iresi about 28 years ago.
(The Home News. 05-11-2010)

Our focus in this extract is on paragraphs four and five. The celebration of Iresi Day is attached to the inauguration of the Goodluck Jonathan Garden. The association of the celebration with Nigeria's President Goodluck Jonathan, a public and authority figure, is done on purpose. This is done to generate euphoria and to boost the image of the town. The launching of Goodluck Jonathan Garden is enough to publicise the event and make it newsworthy. van Dijk (1995a:33) rightly asserts that "the elites are the ones that have preferential and active access to public discourse in general, and to that of the media, in particular." The last paragraph serves to inform the audience that Goodluck Jonathan did his one year National Youth Service in Iresi, a town in Osun State of Nigeria. The attachment of the inauguration of Goodluck Jonathan Garden to the launching of the 500 million naira is purposeful – that is, to boost the income to be generated through the Education Foundation.

4.6.1.3 Historicist ideology and the strategy of Foregrounding

Text 41:

Nigerians are today celebrating the nation's Independence anniversary.

Forty-eight years ago, precisely on October 1 1960, the British Union Jack was lowered and Nigeria's Green-White-Green was hoisted in its place.

The event signified that Nigeria has dropped the toga of slavery and put on that of independence.
(The World at noon. 1-10-2008)

The temporal adverbials – 'forty-eight years ago', 'precisely on October 1 1960, bring to memory the historic event of October 1, 1960. These adverbials are topicalised to foreground the importance of the events which signified Nigeria's freedom from oppression and hegemony. Nigeria became an independent country within the commonwealth on October 1, 1960. Prior to this time, Nigeria was colonised by the British people. Some Nigerian nationalists, including Obafemi Awolowo, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Nnamdi Azikwe who were strong opponents of the British rule in the country, fought for Nigeria's independence. The extract reveals that Nigeria suffered under the colonial rule of the British people.

Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony is a theory of power and domination which emphasises power through achieving consent rather than through coercion (Fairclough 1995b). In van Dijk's (1995a:7) views, hegemony is "leadership as well as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society". According to Gramsci (1971) as quoted by Dellinger (1995b:9):

> Hegemony exists when a ruling class (or rather, an alliance of ruling class fractions) is able not only to coerce a subordinate class to conform to its interests, but exerts "a total social authority" over those classes and the social formation as a whole.

Thus, the significance of Nigeria's freedom from oppression and slavery is brought to focus in this extract. The expression contained in the second paragraph – 'the British Union Jack was lowered and Nigerian Green-white-Green was hoisted in its place' depicts the identities of both Nigeria and Britain. The 'Union Jack' refers to the British flag while 'Green-White-Green' refers to the Nigerian flag. The above expression also connotes that Nigeria as a nation is promoted or elevated while Britain is demoted or relegated.

Text 42:

Today, the seventh of July 2009 makes it eleven years since the acclaimed winner of the June 12, 1993 elections died in mysterious circumstances.

Eleven years after his death, Nigerians are still calling on the federal government to immortalise him.
(The State News. 07-07-2009)

143

In this extract, the historical event of June, 12, 1993 is brought to focus and foregrounded in the first sentence. As observed by Wodak and Ludwig (1991:12), "discourse is always historical, that is, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before". The June 12, 1993 election believed to be won by Chief M.K.O. Abiola was annulled by Ibrahim Babangida. Abiola was a Yoruba man and the Yoruba people of the Southwest Nigeria felt bad. This news report draws the attention of the audience to some prevailing societal evils. People, especially politicians are murdered and their killers are never known. This is an indictment on the Nigerian government. The adjective 'acclaimed' which occurs in the noun phrase 'acclaimed winner' portrayed Abiola as somebody admired, applauded and celebrated by the people on his victory in the 1993 presidential election. The extract serves the purposes of showcasing the political situation in Nigeria.

4.6.1.4   Historicist ideology and the strategy of Blame transfer

Text 43:

> **Osun State Governor Mr. Rauf Aregbesola says the gruesome murder of the former Attorney General of the federation and Minister of Justice, Chief Bola Ige was an attempt to wipe out good governance from the South west.**
>
> **He disclosed this today in Esa Oke at a posthumous 80[th] birthday of the Cicero of Esa Oke and commemoration of nine year anniversary of his death.**
> **Chief Bola Ige was murdered at his Ibadan home on December 23, 2001 by yet to be identified assassins.**
> **(The Sunday Extra. 26-12-2010)**

In the extract, the cause and effect of an event that happened in 2001 is brought to focus. Members of the audience are reminded of the murder of Chief Bola Ige nine years after his assassination. The meaning inherent is this extract is that Bola Ige was killed so as to prevent the Southwest from having good governance. He was believed to be a mouthpiece and one of the people who fought the cause of the Yoruba race. According to Tyson (2006:9), "the writing of history is a matter of interpretations and all historical accounts are narrative". While commenting on cases of assassination in Nigeria, Babatope (2008:100) posits:

> Nigerians have continued to express their deepest concern on unresolved assassinations of some prominent politicians in Nigeria…. The most prominent of these cases are the tragic assassinations of Uncle Bola Ige, a former Attorney-General of Nigeria and one of the most eloquent and inspiring politicians of our era, Chief A.K. Dikibo… Uncle Bola Ige's assassination will continue to be a terrible dent on our political history. The continued dilemma of the country in failing to unmask the killers of these

illustrious sons of Nigeria will continue to agitate the minds of Nigerians as regards the eventual success of democracy in our land.

In paragraph two, we have the use of parallelism in the metaphor – 'Cicero of Esa Oke'. The journalist draws a parallel between Bola Ige and Cicero who was a Roman writer, statesman and orator. Here, the oratory prowess of Bola Ige is likened to that of Cicero. We can see the comparison of the two in the sense that they both share the same qualities of rhetoric and eloquence. This type of comparative techniques as observed by Oha (1994:17) "has important and cognitive attitudinal functions as it invites the audience to perceive two situations as sharing the same features". In the first sentence of the extract the use of the verb **says** serves the function of attributing the information to Governor Aregbesola. Also, the journalist's choice of the word 'gruesome', an adjective, serves to paint a horrifying experience. The extract on the whole indicts the law enforcement agents as well as the government, for after nine years after Bola Ige was killed, the 'assassins are yet to be identified'.

4.6.1.5 Historicist Ideology and Spatio-temporal Adverbials

The texts analysed above under the historicist ideology feature the use of temporal adverbials as can be seen in the following:

1.   at the primary and secondary school levels (Text 36)

2.   in Ilesa, Ile-Ife, Gbongan and Osogbo (Text 36)

3.   in the recent past (Text 36)

4.   as at when due (Text 36)

5.   Today, the seventh of July (Text 42)

6.   Eleven years after his death (Text 42)

7.   up till today (Text 38)

8.   at a Press conference held in Lagos (Text 38)

9.   Iresi day climaxes tomorrow (Text 40)

10.   in Iresi about 28 years ago (Text 40)

11.   In Nigeria, this year's Armed Forces and Remembrance day (Text 37)

12.   have been rounded off today (Text 41)

13.   In Osun State … in Osogbo (Text 37)

14.   Nigerians are today celebrating (Text 37)

15.   forty-eight years ago, precisely on October one 1960 (Text 41)

16.   in last year's general elections (Text 41)

These serve as circumstantial elements and they augment the clauses in which they occur. They are circumstantials of location which construe the unfolding of the process in space and time. Thus, the above examples show the place and time in which the events took place. The circumstance elements realised by adverbials provide contextual information for the events.

4.6.1.6 Historicist ideology and Transitivity System

The transitivity system as reflected in the texts analysed under the historicist ideology is exemplified in the following extracts showing different process types.

Extract from text 36

1. Opinions **gathered** *(process: material*) from parents in Ilesa, Ile-Ife, Gbongan and parts of Osogbo by correspondents **showed** *(process: material)* parent's appreciation to the present administration

2. According to them no administration is the recent past **spent** *(process: material)* so much on the construction of new blocks of classrooms.

Extract from Text 38

3. While recalling that the inhuman activity of slavery **led** **to** *(process: material)* irreversible cultural and special dislocation among Africans, the don **regretted** *(process: mental)* that there **are** *(process: relational)* vestiges of slavery up till today.

4. The Executive Director of the centre **explained** *(process: verbal)* that the conference **is not** **to***(process: relational)* apportion blames.

Extract from Text 43

5. Osun State Governor **says** *(process: verbal)* the gruesome murder of the former Attorney General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, Chief Bola Ige **was** *(process: relational)* an attempt **to wipe out** *(process: material)* good governance from the southwest.

6. He **disclosed** *(process: verbal)* this today in Esa Oke at a posthumous 80[th] birthday of the Cicero of Esa Oke.

7. Chief Bola Ige was **murdered** *(process: material)* at his Ibadan home on December 23, 2001 by yet to be identified assassins.

Extract from Text 40

8.   The event which ***holds** (process: material)* at the NUD primary school, Iresi ***will have** (process: relational)* a 500 million naira Education Fund ***launched** (process: material)* and the inauguration of Goodluck Jonathan garden.

9.   The Garden ***is** (process: relational)* in honour of President Goodluck Jonathan who ***served** (process: material)* his mandatory NYSC year in Iresi.

Extract from Text 42

10.   Today, the seventh of July 2009 ***makes** (process: relational)* it eleven years since the acclaimed winner of the June 12, 1993 elections ***died** (process: material)* in mysterious circumstances.

The differences in process types are associated with different functional participation roles to reveal the ways of construing experience. The process types in the examples given above represent different types of experience of – 'doing' and 'happening' (material), process of 'sensing' (mental), process of 'being' which relate a participant to an identity or attribute (relational), and processes that enact 'saying' (verbal). Transitivity as shown above is concerned with the configuration of processes and accompanying participants and circumstances. The process is realised as a verbal group, the participants refer to people or things involved in the process and are usually realised as nominal groups. The circumstances provide information for the events and are realised as adverbial constituents.

Some verbs can serve in more than one process type in different senses. For example, the verb **makes** in sentence 10 above is a relational process in the sense of 'be', rather than a material process.

4.6.2   Humanitarian Ideology

Humanitarian ideology has to do with defence of human rights, critique of those who violate or disregard such rights (van Dijk, 2000b). It is the institutionalisation of compassion, extension of welfare and succour to the society at large.

4.6.2.1 Humanitarian Ideology and the strategy of Authoritarianism

Text 44:

The federal government has approved the downward review of land premium and charges within the federal capital territory.

The political head of Information and Communications Ministry, Professor Dora Akinyuli let this out in Abuja at the end of the weekly meeting of the Federal Executive Council.

The Minister said the downward review will definitely bring relief to critics of the July 2009 upward review of premium payable within the FCT.

According to Prof. Akinyuli, the present downward review is a product of an in-house committee set up by the FCT administration to study the reactions and bring suggestions.

She said one of the observations of the committee is that the global economic recession has taken its toll on the economies of many countries including Nigeria thereby affecting the purchasing power of the people.
(The World at noon. 04-02-2010)

This report shows the federal government's concern for the people. We can infer from this extract that the downward review of land premium within the federal capital territory came as a result of 'the study of the reactions from people' and the objection of the critics of the July 2009 upward review'. This implies that the federal government would not have reviewed the premium if there had not been any negative reactions from the people and the 'critics'. This negates the idea portrayed in the first paragraph which projects the government as caring and altruistic. We note the journalists' choice of the expression - 'The political head of information and communication ministry' instead of 'The Minister of Information and Communication. This choice can be seen as a matter of aesthetics. Also the choice of the phrasal verb **let out** instead of a verb like **announced** suggests revealing a secret information to audience.

Text 45:

Osun State Governor, Engineer Rauf Aregbesola has reiterated his commitment to the peace, progress and development of the state.

This is contained in a release by the Director of Research and Strategy, Action Congress of Nigeria, Osun State, Mr. Sunday Akere.

Governor Aregbesola urged security agents to assist in protecting and safeguarding all citizens, as well as government properties in all locations across the state.

While assuring the people the safety of their lives and properties, the Osun state helmsman thanked the people of the state for the support, show of affection and huge turn-out at his swearing-in ceremony.
(News at dawn. 29-11-2010)

The charge by Governor Aregbesola to security agents to assist in protecting and safeguarding all citizens as well as government properties across the state' can be seen as a humanitarian action. According to *Webster's Online Dictionary:*

> Humanitarian is based on a view that all human being deserve respect and dignity and should be treated as such …, humanitarians work towards advancing the well-being of humanity as a whole. It is the antithesis of the "us versus them" mentality that characterises tribalism and ethnic nationalism. Humanitarians abhor slavery, violation of basic and human rights, and discrimination on the basis of features such as colour of skin, religion, ancestry, place of birth etc. Humanitarianism drives people to save lives, alleviate suffering and promote human dignity in the middle of man-made or natural disasters.

The verbal group 'has reiterated' in the first sentence of the extract serves to affirm the governor's dedication and obligation to the people of Osun State. The reference to the governor as 'helmsman' in the noun phrase – the Osun State helmsman' projects the image of somebody who is capable of leading the people.

4.6.2.2 Humanitarian ideology with the strategy of Motivation and Support garnering

Text 46:

> **Governor of Osun State, Engr. Rauf Aregbesola has called on all arms of government and people of the state to form a united front capable of aiding the new government to turn Osun State into an enviable state in the country.**
>
> **Governor Aregbesola promised to improve the state educational system with improved technology.**
>
> **According to him, urban and rural areas must be developed to serve as pivot for exemplary social, political and economic advancement.**
>
> **Governor Aregbesola who submitted that he came to regain the rights of the people to a rightful living, promised to provide clean potable water, employment and all necessary social amenities that will move the state to an enviable position. (The Home news. 27-11-2010)**

The above news item is a report of Governor Aregbesola's inaugural speech which he delivered on the 27[th] of November, 2010. It would be recalled that Engr. Aregbesola became the governor of Osun State on the 26[th] of November 2010 after the Appeal Court sitting in Ibadan, the Oyo State capital nullified the election of Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola of the Peoples Democratic Party as the governor of the State. Oyinlola became the governor of Osun State after he was declared winner in the April 14th 2007 Governorship election.

The occasion of the inaugural speech was utilised by the new governor to present his government's ideology to the people of the state. The last paragraph of the extract presupposes that the people in the state had been deprived of their rights in the past. Thus, the new government will 'regain the rights of the people'. Humanitarian ideology as observed by van Dijk (2000b) involves the defence of human rights and critique of those who violate or disregard such rights. The modal verb **must** in the extract suggests compulsion on part of the government to fulfil its promises.

4.6.3 Welfarist Ideology

Welfarist ideology is a political system in which the government assumes that primary responsibility of assuring basic health, education and financial well being of all its citizens through programmes and direct assistance (Encarta Dictionaries).

4.6.3.1 Welfarist ideology with Figures and Statistics

Text 47:

Monetisation arrears have started reaching individual bank accounts of two hundred and twenty five thousand members of staff of parastatal agencies.

Permanent secretary in the office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Dr. Hakeen Baba Ahmed dropped this hint at a forum in Abuja.

Representing the Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Alhaji Yayale Ahmed, Dr. Baba Ahmed disclosed that 40 billion naira had been released for payment into the accounts of benefiting staff, out of a total of 85.2 billion naira verified arrears.

He added that payment of the monetisation arrears was delayed due to extensive processes demanded before such a huge amount of public funds could be disbursed. (News across the country. 14-07-2009)

The welfarist ideology that underlies the message in the above extract projects the federal governments as assuming the responsibility and devotion to citizens' well-being. The news story provides a kind of relief to workers who might have been expecting such gesture from the government. The figures given in the extract – 'two hundred and twenty-five thousand members of staff' and '40 billion naira' suggest preciseness and are used strategically to portray the government as caring and willing to alleviate the suffering of the workers. That monetisation arrears have started reaching some individuals' account is an indication that the arrears would be received by all government workers. The disclosure of the source of the information by the journalist is meant to enhance the reliability of the information as elite sources are more newsworthy and reliable.

The use of the verb **disclosed** in the third paragraph implies revealing something that has been covered or hidden.

Text 48:

> **One hundred and seventy-seven billion naira has been set aside in the next three years as subsidy to protect all electricity consumers under the new multi-year tariff order introduced in the electricity sector by the federal government.**
>
> **The subsidy is to cater for the short fall between the cost of producing a unit of electricity and the amount paid by consumers.**
>
> **A statement in Abuja by the Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC) explained that the new tariff regime was mainly designed to attract more investors to Nigeria's electricity sector and not to impose any price increase on consumers.**
>
> **The chairman of NERC, Dr. Ransome Owan explained that the federal government has fully taken into consideration the need to encourage long term investment in the sector and the need to protect the citizenry from any unilateral increase in tariff.**
> **(News across the country. 28-01-2009)**

This extract serves the purpose of projecting the welfarist ideology of the federal government as it sets aside billions of naira to subsidise the tariff paid by electricity consumers in Nigeria. The information contained in the second paragraph is meant to reveal to the audience that the tariff paid by the consumers falls short of the cost of production of electricity in Nigeria. This is to show Nigerians that the government caters for their needs and that it is also devoted to the promotion of their welfare.

According to *Wikipedia Encyclopaedia (2007):*

> Subsidising is one way of redistributing income to the poor. It is money that is paid usually by a government to keep the price of a product or service low to help a business organisation to continue to function. The cost of the subsidised good is reduced for the consumer and so they have the ability to consume more of said good.

Thus, the federal government is giving the subsidy to 'protect' its citizens from any unilateral increase in tariff and to attract more investors to Nigeria's electricity sector. This implies that the government is sensitive to the plight of the people. The verbal phrase 'to protect' used in the first and the fourth paragraphs has the connotation that the government is responsible to cater for, shield and save the citizens from any harm.

Text 49:

> **The National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) is to collaborate with states and local Governments to provide N1 million to each village in the country to enhance the economic capacity of the poor.**
>
> **National co-coordinator of NAPEP, Dr. Magnus Kpakol stated this during a joint implementation meeting with state co-ordinators of NAPEP and state commissioners for local governments in Abuja.**
>
> **He stressed the need to empower the poor at the grassroots in the face of current global financial crisis.**
>
> **NAPEP received about N11 billion in the last eight years of its existence to fight poverty.**
> **(News across the country. 20-02-2009)**

The activity of NAPEP to eradicate poverty in the country is projected in the first paragraph. It can be inferred from this news item that the government is sensitive and committed to the plights of the poor people and that it is ready to alleviate their suffering through NAPEP. This is aimed at raising the hope of the people especially those in the villages as NAPEP in collaboration with state and local governments will provide 1 million naira to each village in the country to rid them of poverty. There is an insinuation in the last paragraph that the money received by NAPEP 'in the last eight years to fight poverty' had not been spent judiciously. As observed by the *Association of Senior Civil Servants of Nigeria (2007:6)*:

> In the immediate past, government and its organisations have proclaimed commitment to poverty alleviation. The truth has been that the more claims are made and organisations created, the higher the incidence of poverty.

The use of the material process verb **stressed** in the third paragraph emphasises the readiness of the organisation to help the poor.

Text 50:

> **One hundred and seventy-seven billion naira has been set aside in the next three years as subsidy to protect all electricity consumers under the new multi-year tariff order introduced in the electivity sector by the federal government.**
>
> **The subsidy to cater for the short fall between the cost of producing a unit of electricity and the amount paid by consumers.**

152

A statement in Abuja by the Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission explained that the new tariff was mainly designed to attract more investors to Nigerian electricity sector and not to impose any price increase on consumers. (News across the country. 30-10-09)

The use of the figure 'one hundred and seventy-seven billion naira' in the first paragraph of this extract is meant to arouse the interest of the audience. The generation of electricity is considered important in Nigeria as consumers rely on its daily supply for quite a number of activities. This information about the amount of money set aside as subsidy is strategically placed at the beginning of the news item. This coheres with van Dijk's (1988a:13) assertion that 'first propositions in news items (typically lead sentences) are recalled much more than the later sentences.'

The statement in the second paragraph is an indirect way of telling the audience that the federal government subsidises the cost of producing electricity in Nigeria.

Text 51:

As part of its effort at revitalising the agricultural sector in the state, over 153 selected youths were today sent on 3 months foreign trip to Songhai Farm Settlement Centre in Portonovo, Benin Republic, for agricultural training programmes.

Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola informed the youth that a committee headed by him has been put in place to properly settle the youths for large agricultural productions after their training. (News across the country 13-08-09)

In this extract, we note the use of the figures –"over 153 selected youths…on 3 months foreign trip", to highlight the welfare package of the Oyinlola-led government in Osun State. This creates an impression that the government is making efforts to empower the youths in the state in order to make them self-reliant. Paragraph two of the extract carries the implication that the government is ready to provide the youths with funds on their return from the training so as to make them large scale farmers. The verb **revitalising** as used in the first sentence suggests that the agricultural sector in Osun State will be revived.

4.6.3.2 Welfarist Ideology with the strategy of Motivation and Support garnering

Text 52:

The state wing of Nigerian Union of Teachers has congratulated Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola on his 59[th] birthday.

In a statement by the caretaker committee headed by Comrade Yemi Omoyeni, the union described the Okuku born prince as a visionary leader and astute administrator whose style of governance has helped to wipe away tears and sorrow from the faces of all public servants in Osun State, who hitherto were living in palpable fears of losing their jobs.

The statement added that teachers in the state will never forget Prince Oyinlola for his positive impacts on their lives most especially his recent approval of the new Teachers pecuniary allowance otherwise called T.S.S.

The union further wishes Governor Oyinlola long life and Solomonic wisdom to steer the ship of the state to the Promised Land, assuring his administration of teachers' continued unalloyed support.
(The State news. 23-05-2010)

Lexical choices are utilised in this report to emphasise the positive values of Governor Oyinlola. According to van Dijk (1998:12), "lexicalisation is a major, and well known domain of ideological expression". The journalist's use of specific lexical items such as 'visionary leader', 'astute administrator', 'positive impacts' to describe Oyinlola is an instrument of projecting the state government's humanitarian ideology. It also reveals pro - government ideology of the OSBC. This projects Oyinlola as someone devoted to the promotion of human welfare and social reforms. The expression – 'whose style of governance has helped to wipe away tears and sorrow… fears of losing their jobs' implies that Oyinlola's administration is sensitive to the plight of the workers. Added to this is the approval of the new teachers' salary scale in the state. It would be recalled that the Akande-led administration which preceded Oyinlola's administration sacked several teachers in the state and this explains the statement in paragraph two of this extract. The statement – 'a visionary leader…who hither to were living in palpable fears of losing their jobs' thus brings to focus the retrenchment of thousands of workers by Governor Akande's regime. This is substantiated by the following news text:

Text 53:

The PDP scribe was reacting to a press conference by AC gubernatorial candidate Mr. Rauf Aregbesola where he promised to employ 5,000 workers sacked by the Akande regime and also raise internally generated revenue to N14billion within 100 days.
(The State News. 29-1-2007).

Mr. Aregbesola had called the press conference during the period when the case of the gubernatorial election petition in Osun State between him and Oyinlola was at the Tribunal. As observed by Ibrahim (2009:1):

> …most of the state governments that claimed to be social democrats (Awoists) introduced diametrically opposite of what they claim to represent. Rather than create jobs, tens of thousand were axed in Osun, Oyo, Ogun and Lagos among others. In Osun state under Bisi Akande (now AC national Chairman), over ten thousands jobs were axed with a whole working family (father, mother, and even children) retrenched.

We note the use of the noun phrase – 'Solomonic wisdom' as expressed in the last paragraph of Text 52. Here, an allusion is made to the Biblical king Solomon who asked God to grant him wisdom with which to rule his people. The material process verb **describe**d in the second paragraph characterises Oyinlola while the modal auxiliary verb **will** in the third paragraph expresses willingness and insistence on part of the teachers.

4.7   Summary

We have attempted thematic and ideological analyses of the news bulletins in this chapter. Our analysis revealed that a number of ideologies such as historicist, humanitarian and welfarist underlie and influence journalists' use of specific discourse strategies. Analysis of themes showed the predominance of the theme of politics as well as some other related themes. Ideological analysis revealed that radio news reports contain hidden and subjective meanings that highlight pro-government activities. It was also discovered that ideologies influence the choice of specific discourse strategies by journalists with a view to enhancing better comprehension of the news by the audience.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCOURSE STRATEGIES AND IDEOLOGY IN THE NEWS TEXTS

5.1   Introduction

In this chapter, our analysis focusses on lexical choices and collocations, lead news, discourse strategies and ideologies used in the news reports. The strategies which are found and analysed include:

- Blame transfer
- Source avoidance as a means of masking negative issues
- Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation
- Foregrounding and Informativeness
- Metaphorisation
- Authoritarianism
- Motivation and support garnering
- Use of figures and statistics
- Manipulation

5.2   Lexical Choices and Collocations

The OSBC radio news features different lexical items and collocations which bring out significant meanings in the texts. Examples of such are highlighted in the underlined expressions in the following news texts:

Text 54:

> **The PDP National Chairman, Dr. Ekwesilieze Nwodo has described Osun State Governor, Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola as a <u>pace-setter</u> among all the governors in the country, saying that this is why the state is developing at a <u>galloping rate</u>.**
> **(The news at dawn 06-11-2010).**

Text 55:

> **Engr. Ayegoro highlighted some of the <u>tremendous achievements</u> of Governor Oyinlola in the areas of potable water and declaration of Osun State as guinea-worm free state and the best state in B-field zone to have <u>good record</u> by the UNICEF.**
> **(The news across the country. 05-02-2010).**

Text 56:

A message of goodwill signed by the Chairman and Secretary, Alhaji Ismail Ayodele and Elder Tunde Oguntomi described the celebrant as a <u>worthy leader</u> and a <u>man of the people</u>.
(The Home news. 03-02-2010).

Text 57:

In a statement issued by his Press Secretary, Mr. Olumide Ajayi, Honourable Bello noted that the <u>exemplary life</u> of Prince Oyinlola is a <u>testimony</u> for others to emulate.
(The News at Dawn. 05-10-2009).

In the examples given above, we have the use of lexical items projecting the good image of Governor Oyinlola. For example, referring to Oyinlola as a <u>pace-setter</u> (Text 54) portrays him as a leader and somebody worthy of emulation. This quality is then tied to the development of the state which was at a 'galloping rate'. This implies that Osun State is developing at a very fast rate due to the outstanding qualities of the governor. In Text 55, the adjective 'tremendous' collocates with the noun 'achievements' to paint a picture of great and impressive performance of the governor. To have a '<u>good record</u> by the UNICEF' places Osun State in a top position among all other states in the country. Also the reference to Governor Oyinlola as a <u>worthy leader</u> and a <u>man of the people</u> presents him as a respectable person who deserves the people's respect and somebody who is loved and admired. The expression of Oyinlola's good image is further projected in the statement – 'the exemplary life of Prince Oyinlola is a testimony'. This implies that Oyinlola's achievements and style of administration should be copied by others.

Also, the news texts exhibit lexical items that are used to highlight and portray the government positively. This can be seen in the following:
immense human and material potential of the country.

enviable leadership	greatest good
leadership position	enhanced performance
sustainable youth development	self employed
job creators	self reliant
country's polity	political arena
functional and qualitative education	tremendous assistance
economic prosperity	developed economy
democratic process	arduous task
self sufficiency	

157

The lexical items – <u>self-employed</u>, <u>self-reliant</u>, <u>job creators</u>, refer to the activities of the government in encouraging the people, especially the youths to earn a living by working independently or by running a business. The contexts of usage of these items can be seen in the following:

Text 58:

Represented by the Director of Grassroots and Public Enlightenment, Mrs Moji Fakokunde, the Permanent Secretary said the training programme was meant to train the participants to become <u>self-employed</u> and <u>self-reliant</u>. Dr Babatunde pointed out that the country is faced with economic problems, hence the need for the youths to become <u>job creators</u> and turn the country to a producer rather than a nation of consumers foreign goods.
(The News at dawn 05-02-2010).

The above projects the welfarist ideology of the government in catering for the needs of the people. This is further portrayed in the following:

Text 59:

The present administration in Osun State would continue to give attention to the growth and <u>enhanced performance</u> of all aspects of agriculture to ensure <u>self-sufficiency</u> in livestock production and exportation of food and cash crops.
(News across the country 15-07-2009).

The above suggests that the Osun State government values agriculture and will therefore, encourage the farmers in agricultural production to cater for the needs of the people. The expression – 'ensuring <u>self sufficiency</u> in livestock production … cash crops' connotes that people in the state will have food in abundance and also in excess for importation.

The effort of Governor Oyinlola and his administration towards the economic development of the state is highlighted in the underlined lexical items in the following extracts.

Text 60:

Prince Oyinlola expressed the optimism that partnering with a <u>developed economy</u>, such as Pennsylvania, would boost the <u>economy</u> of Osun State and uplift the standard of living of the people.
(News across the country 01-07-2009)

Text 61:

The event saw the Osun State Governor, Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola assuring that his administration would continue to work in consortium with willing private investors with a view to propelling the state to <u>economic prosperity</u>.
(State news 20-08-2009).

Text 62:

Prince Oyinlola, in his Goodwill message in the occasion of the country's independence anniversary reminded Nigerians of the <u>immense human and material</u> potential of the country which he said had positioned the nation for <u>enviable leadership</u> in the Committee of nations.
(The news at dawn. 01-10-2008).

Text 63:

He added that very few countries in the world were as well endowed as Nigeria, stressing that with <u>determination</u>, <u>faith</u> and <u>steadfastness</u>, the nation would take its <u>leadership position</u> among countries of the world. Oyinlola restated his administration's resolve to continue to promote the <u>greatest good</u> for the people.
(The news at dawn 01-10-2008).

The collocations, <u>developed economy</u> and <u>economic prosperity</u> in the above texts suggest that Osun State government is not lagging behind in the plan for economic upliftment of the state. The expression – 'with a view to propelling the state to economic prosperity', with the use of the lexical verb **propelling** connotes that the state will experience a kind of action that will move it forward speedily.

The use of the expression 'immense human and material potential of the country' strategically places Nigeria in a higher position among the nations of the world. The collocations <u>enviable leadership</u> and <u>leadership position</u> also project Nigeria as a country to be emulated. In Text 63, the abstract nouns <u>determination</u>, <u>faith</u> and <u>steadfastness</u> are employed to attract the attention of the listeners. The employment of these lexical items and collocations are used to highlight the ideology of the government / the ruling political party.

Lexicalisation is also used strategically to portray and describe the actions of the opposition political party. Such usage includes 'opposition candidates, reported inconsistencies, serious objection, manipulated electoral register' etc. as manifested in the following texts:

Text 64:

> Counsel for Osun State chapter of PDP, Mallam Yusuf Alli, SAN, today took <u>serious objection</u> to the attempt by AC counsel to <u>scuttle justice</u> in the trial of the petition by Rauf Aregbesola.
> (News across the country 04-02-2010).

Text 65:

> The objective was sequel to the alleged <u>manipulated electoral register</u> that the AC counsel, Mr. Rotimi Akeredolu, SAN, attempted to use to cross examine a witness called by PDP to maintain its defence against the charge of <u>electoral disturbance</u> which the AC ward supervisors brought against some members of the party.
> (News across the country 04-02-2010).

Text 66:

> This is sequel to complaints by a number of <u>agents of the opposition candidates</u> on the basis of the <u>reported inconsistencies</u> on the voters' register which prevented many eligible voters from exercising their voting rights.
> (The news at dawn 08-02-2010).

Some of these collocations carry negative connotations. For example, the adjective 'manipulated' in the phrase 'manipulated electoral register' portrays the AC as fraudulent. It suggests that the AC has falsified the register, probably for the party to win at the Tribunal. It also projects the party members as criminals who should be prosecuted. To 'scuttle' in the collocation - <u>scuttle justice</u> suggests destruction and implies that the opposition party, i.e. the AC is destructive. The negative collocations are aimed at silencing the opponents by attacking their position. Further analysis on lexicalisation is carried out in section 5.6.1.

5.3   The Lead in the news texts

The lead news serves as the headline and focusses on a single dominant point. It serves as the theme of the entire news story. The following are examples of lead news identified in the news texts.

Text 67:

> Osun State government charged to come up with radical policy to curb sabotage in fuel distribution.
> (News across the country 25-06-2007).

Text 68:

Osun State governor calls for more women participation in politics.
(News at dawn 01-01-2008).

Text 69:

In Osun State, South West Nigeria, police receive commendation for foiling an armed robbery attack in the state capital.
(The world at noon. 31-07-2007).

Text 70:

Christians urged to be Godly.
(News across the country 24-03-2008)

Text 71:

Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola receives commendation for promoting teachers in the state.
(News across the country. 10-12-2008).

Text 72:

Distribution of the much awaited permanent voters' card commences in Osun State.
(News across the country 09-01-2008).

Text 73:

Elected chairmen of the thirty Local Government areas in Osun State to be sworn-in tomorrow.
(News across the country 09-01-2008).

Text 74:

Over five hundred people have been arrested in connection with the mayhem that broke out in Jos as peace is gradually returning to the city.
(News at dawn 01-12-2008).

Text 75:

Reps pledge support on minimum wage.
(The State news 12-08-2009).

Text 76:

Governor elect, Engr. Rauf Adesoji Aregbesola says his victory is that of God. (The state news 27-11-2010).

Text 77:

Osun State Governor, Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola has promised that his administration will expand the existing dam in Obafemi Awolowo University. (The state news 17-02-2009).

Text 78:

Nobel Laureate, Professor Wole Soyinka has said that Nigeria is on the way of losing her democratic value. (The state news 12-08-2009).

The lead news identified in the above texts serve the purpose of introducing the news stories. One major characteristic of the lead is that it is explicit and straight to the point. In the above lead news, the themes of the news stories can be inferred before getting the explanations in the subsequent paragraphs. Lead news features simplicity and clarity of language as can be seen for example, in – 'Christians urged to be Godly' and 'Reps pledge support on minimum wage'. Also, the lead may place the main actor at the beginning of the sentence. This is evident in some of the texts. For example – 'Osun state governor calls for ….' and 'Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola receives commendation for ….' Another characteristic of the radio lead news is that it may reveal the 'who', 'what', and 'where', and leave the 'why' and 'how' for the following paragraphs. This can be seen for example, in 'Osun State governor, Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola has promised … in Obafemi Awolowo University'. Also the lead news features the use of the simple sentence as we have in the following:

- Osun State governor calls for more women participation in politics.
- Distribution of the much awaited permanent voters' card commences in Osun State.
- Elected chairman of thirty Local Government Areas in Osun State to be sworn-in tomorrow.

For clearer identification of people and actors in news events, journalists make use of Appositions in the lead. Examples of these are shown in the following:

1. Governor Elect, Engr. Rauf Adesoji Aregbosola

2. Osun State governor, Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola

3. Nobel Laureate, Professor Wole Soyinka

In example 1, Engr. Aregbesola is introduced as the 'governor elect' immediately he was declared winner of April 2007 gubernatorial election in Osun State. This serves as information to the people of the state that a new governor has emerged. The nominal group – 'Osun State governor' in example 2 highlights the official position of Olagunsoye Oyinlola, while in example 3, we have an added identity given to Professor Wole Soyinka – which precedes his academic title, that is, 'Nobel laureate'. The use of apposition in the examples given above serves as an important linguistic device for identifying people. Also, the lead may begin with an adverbial element as in Text 69 – 'In Osun State, South Western Nigeria'. Here, the adverbial phrase is used as a transition device to redirect the listener's attention from the last story, and to introduce a new topic.

5.4 Blame Transfer

This strategy is an ideological construct created and propagated by politicians and the media to blame the ills of the society on the others (van Dijk1995b). The following texts which contain the strategy of blame transfer are hereby analysed.

Text 79:

> **Anyaoku has criticised the way Nigerians worship looters of public treasury.**
>
> **The former Secretary General of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku has criticised the current trend in which people who amass wealth are celebrated and worshipped without recourse to the source of such wealth.**
>
> **He said such trend was fast eroding the rich African value such as honesty and pride and the dignity of labour.**
>
> **Chief Anyaoku spoke at the inauguration of an educational foundation in Nnewi, Anambra State.**
> **(The News across the country 01-01-2007)**

In this extract, we have an abstract material clause with Anyaoku as the 'Actor'. The process is realised by the verbal group – **has criticised** and directed at the Goal – 'the way…treasury'. This extract reveals that some Nigerians are known to have embezzled public funds meant to cater for the generality of the masses. The statement credited to Chief Emeka Anyaoku who was the former Secretary General of the Commonwealth reveals how people who amass wealth through dubious means are celebrated in the society. In the extract, the journalist distanced Anyaoku from other Nigerians as if he is not a Nigerian. By

163

employing the strategy of blame transfer, he (Anyaoku) shifts the blame on other Nigerians – (i) the treasury looters and (ii) the sycophants who worship the looters. The verb **criticised** in the statement suggests a rejection of the actions of the looters and a condemnation of those who celebrate them. The noun phrase 'public treasury' implies joint ownership of the country's fund which should not be for a few people. This is a verbal attack on both the 'looters' and their 'worshippers'. People who should be blamed for their evil are rather being praised. This is also an irony which points to the fact that those who embezzle public funds in Nigeria go about enjoying their ill-gotten wealth while majority of the people wallow in poverty. The use of the verb **eroding** in the extract underscores the rate at which people's integrity is gradually being destroyed by corruption and how this has negatively affected every aspect of the Nigerian system.

Text 80:

> **Lagos state Governor Babatunde Fashola has appealed to men of the Nigerian Armed forces to allow the nation's democracy to grow by allowing it to learn from its past mistakes.**
>
> **He made the appeal in his office during a courtesy call on him by the new General Officer Commander (GOC) 81 division of the Nigerian Army Lagos, Major General Chikwe.**
> **(The News across the country 04-03-2008)**

In this extract, a strong message is being passed across to the Nigerian Armed Forces, an organisation which is being indirectly accused of causing instability in the governance of the country. In other words, it is the Nigerian Armed Forces that had not allowed democracy to work in Nigeria in the past; hence the advice that the organisation should 'learn from its past mistakes'. Here the blame of instability of democratic governance in the country is transferred to the Armed Forces since they have had the opportunity of hijacking the governance of the country from the civilians a number of times in the past. This connotes that the military has been the major problem to democracy in Nigeria. The use of the verbal group **to grow** also connotes that democracy in Nigeria has remained static and that men of the Armed forces are responsible for this lack of progress and stability. Hence, the subtle plea by the Lagos State Governor to the GOC to give democracy a chance in the country. The historicist ideology expressed in this extract manifests in the expression – 'to allow the nation's democracy to grow by allowing it to learn from its past mistakes'. The 'past mistakes' refer to the military coup d'etats that had happened in Nigeria whereby power was

hijacked from the civilian government by the military. Coup d'etat had been staged in Nigeria at different times to overthrow or seize power from an existing government.

Text 81:

As the nationwide industrial action called by labour unions in Nigeria to protest the increase in pump and prices of petroleum products enters the fourth day, two prominent Nigerians have stressed the need for Government and labour to resume negotiations.

The Oludo of Ido Osun in Osun State, South West Nigeria, Oba Aderemi Adedapo, Saporoyo Akorede the first, and a legal icon Otunba Bayo Aremu made the call today in separate telephone interviews with OSBC news.

Oba Adedapo who spoke from Lagos State that the unfortunate strike has taken its toll on socio-economic life of the nation.

The traditional ruler blamed the immediate past Obasanjo administration for fostering crisis in the present government adding that stakeholders and consumers should have been involved before taking decisions on key sectors in the economy.

Oba Aderemi lamented the untold hardship brought on the masses and urged all parties involved to shift grounds in the interest of overall development of the nation.

Also speaking, a legal practitioner and chairman Iwo Board of Trustees, Otunba Bayo Aremu commended the Federal Government for the worthwhile concessions already made but harped on the need for further negotiations.

He advocated a statutory allocation of crude oil to be refined in Nigeria and sold locally with a view to taking care of the masses….
(The World at noon, 26-06-2007)

This extract focuses on the socio-economic problems caused by fuel scarcity in Nigeria.

First, we note the statement credited to Oba Adedapo in paragraph three of the extract – 'the traditional ruler blamed… in the economy'. The crisis generated by fuel scarcity which led to an industrial action by the Nigerian Labour was attributed to Obasanjo who though was no longer in power but was believed to have adopted the policy of deregulation which brought about increase in the price of petroleum products. By employing the strategy of blame transfer, the traditional ruler shifts the blame on Obasanjo's administration. Journalists have the right to choose those to be interviewed and as such 'two prominent Nigerians' (including the traditional ruler) were interviewed in this report. As noted by van Dijk (1988a),

165

elite sources are not only considered more newsworthy (as news actors) but also as more reliable as observers and opinion formulators. Also, Madux and Rogers as cited by van Dijk (1988a) observe that in most social conflicts, authorities such as high ranking politicians, experts or police officers are asked their descriptions of and evaluations of the facts. Halloran et al (1970) posit that preferred sources are identifiable individuals with known views and, ideally, well known public figures who occupy some official or semi-official position.

The ideological significance of the statements – 'adding that stakeholders and consumers … in the economy' is the advocacy of the involvement of stakeholders and consumers in decision making on key sectors of the economy.

We note the significance of the statement - 'The Oludo of Ido Osun in Osun State …. with OSBC news' in the second paragraph of the extract. It serves the purpose of identifying the Actors in the clause- that is, 'The Oludo of Ido Osun and a legal icon'. The collocations – 'unfortunate strike' and 'untold hardship' in the extract serve to unfold the degree of the suffering and agony experienced by the people during the period of the strike.

Text 82:

> **The Cocoa Products Industry, Ede that has been comatose for few years due to various litigations and technical problems will soon come alive again.**
>
> **Osun State Deputy Governor Erelu Olusola Obada disclosed this today while on an inspection visit to the moribund cocoa factory.**
>
> **The Deputy Governor after being conducted round by the company's engineers told the workers that the state Governor Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola will soon break the ice on the issue.**
>
> **She regretted the lukewarm attitude of past government to the ailing company despite all huge economic potentials.**
>
> **Erelu Obada who was accompanied by the State Commissioner for Agriculture, Hon. Akin Titiloye and the Permanent Secretary Parastatals Dr. Olumide Babatunde told the distressed workers that the governor had approved the release of six months salary arrears.**
> **(The News across the country. 04-09-2009)**

The strategy of Blame Transfer is employed in the fourth paragraph of this extract – 'she regretted… despite all huge economic potentials'. Here the problems being encountered by the Cocoa Products Industry are presented as being caused by the 'past government'. The statement connotes that the past government had neglected the company regardless of the fact

166

that the company has the capability of boosting the economy of the state. It can thus be inferred that the journalist tries to highlight the positive characteristics of the present government against the 'past government'. This defines the welfarist ideology of the ruling government and portrays it as one which is very sensitive to the plight of the workers. It is also geared at gaining political advantage over the others.

The idea conveyed in the first paragraph that the company which 'has been comatose will soon come alive again' implies that the company is 'dead' or in a state of coma and needs to be revived. This is reinforced by the negative collocations – moribund cocoa industry, ailing company, distressed workers – which suggest that the situation of the company and its workers is bad. However, the use of expressions such as approval of the 'release of six months salary arrears' and 'breaking of the ice on the issue' signify a positive expectation. Also, the Deputy Governor can be viewed as empathising with the workers. The expression of empathy according to van Dijk (2000b) may be largely strategic and serves to manage the speaker's impression with the audience.

5.5 Source Avoidance as means of masking negative issues

This strategy is employed by journalists to hide the truth or mask negative issues. The use of the strategy is found in the following news reports:

Text 83:
Reports indicate that Nigerians' living condition is low despite the increase in external reserve.

It has been observed that Nigeria's external reserves rose to an all time high of eighty two billion dollars.

This is attributed to improved proceeds from the sale of crude oil during the year

Reports, however, indicate that despite the rise in the external reserves, the living condition of an average Nigerian remains low.

This, according to reports, was attributable to inflation which rose to twenty eight percent in the last quarter of the year.

The increase in inflation was said to be due to increase in pump prices of petroleum products during the year.
(The News at Dawn 02-03-2007)

This news report contains an implication that there is mismanagement of Nigeria's resources or that people who are responsible for the management of these resources are unfit

and ineffective. An increase in external reserve should be an indication for better living condition of Nigerians. This suggests that the increase in external reserve has no positive impact on the people and it presupposes that Nigerians are destined to remain poor. This is an indictment on the leaders and managers of economic resources in Nigeria; it is also an indirect way of accusing them of incompetence and embezzlement of public fund as the statement carries an assumption that the country's resources are being mismanaged. In the extract, we have 'reports indicate'. Which report? Who gave the report? The source of the report is not given. We can therefore conclude that the writer/journalist employs the strategy of **source avoidance** which is used to mask negative issues.

Also in the extract, the report concludes with the statement – 'The increase in inflation was said to be due to increase in pump prices of petroleum products during the year'. We note that this statement is based on the previous knowledge of the writer as well as that of the audience. This shared knowledge, that is, the increase in pump price of petroleum products during the year, is utilised by the journalist to bring to focus the cause of inflation in the country. The statement is a claim of **cause,** which according to Swadley (2004), answers questions such as – How did this happen?; What led to this? What caused it? What are its effects? The extract as a whole tries to establish a link between Nigerians, poverty, and inflation. In other words, the problem of low standard of living of Nigerians is caused by inflation brought about by increase in the price of petroleum products. The ideology in this extract serves the purpose of building up emotion in the audience.

Text 84:

Nigerians are advised to ensure free and fair election in 2007 elections.
 (The World at noon 01-02-2007)

This statement is a proposal realised by a non-finite clause where the verbal group **are advised to ensure** serves as the process. The statement presupposes that Nigerians are riggers and manipulators of election results. It implies that elections in Nigeria have neither been free nor fair hence the advice that 2007 election be free and fair. There is the use of agentless passive in "Nigerians are advised to ensure". Who gave the advice? The statement which does not contain the speaker/source is an advice to Nigerians. This is a major omission of fact done on purpose. It also contains an insinuation, suspicion and a negative undertone that the 2007 elections may not be successful. It conveys a message that the success of the exercise may be undermined.

The above text is a lead, which according to Fang (1991) usually contains the fewest details that will clearly relate the most significant elements of the events being reported. van Dijk (1985) also notes that the lead is used to express or to infer the theme or topic.

Text 85:

> **Lawmakers in the state are expected today to put finishing touches to a legislation that will empower them to control their workers.**
>
> **Report says the workers' monthly remuneration may be higher than that of their colleagues in the mainstream of the state civil service.**
>
> **The legislation called "Assembly Service Commission" will empower the state lawmakers to recruit, appoint, promote, confirm and discipline their workers without undue inference from the state. The legislature had lost many of its trained staffers to the state service as a result of undue transfer of service.**
> **(The Home News 13-07-2008)**

The strategy of source avoidance is employed by the journalist in the second paragraph of this extract. The issue of workers salary is a very sensitive one and needs to be addressed with caution so as not to cause disaffection between the workers and their employer. Hence the source of the report that the workers' remuneration might be increased is not given in the news report; and as such nobody can be held responsible for the statement. This shows the hidden ideology of the newsmaker. Also in this report there is an insinuation that the workers being referred to are not under the control of the lawmakers. It can thus be inferred that the lawmakers are indirectly advocating an autonomous status so that they will have power over their workers who will not be under the State Civil Service.

The last paragraph of the extract connotes that employees under the services of the State Assembly are under-paid and do not enjoy the same benefits as their counterparts in the state service, hence the statement that 'the legislature had lost many of its trained staffers to the state service as a result of undue transfer of service'. We note the use of the modal verbs – **will** and **may** in the extract. According to Dellinger (1995b), modal expressions are used to signify judgements as to truth, likelihood, desirability, obligations and grant permission. Aremo (2004) also asserts that the modal is used by the speaker/writer to indicate his mood or attitude with respect to whether or not the action, event, etc, denoted by the verb can be regarded as obligatory, necessary, permitted, possible, etc. Halliday (2004) views modality as the speaker's judgement, or request of the judgement of the listener, on the status of what is being said. The use of **may** in '…. monthly remunerations may be higher ….' is to express

the possibility of the increase in the workers' remunerations and also to project a welfarist ideology, while **will** in '… Assembly Service commission will empower the state …' expresses a degree of volition or willingness.

Text 86:

> **Workers resume at their places of work today after the Christmas and Boxing Day holidays.**
>
> **It will be recalled that yesterday and Tuesday were declared public holidays by the federal government to enable Christians enjoy the season which marked the birth of Jesus Christ over two thousands years ago.**
>
> **Report says only few workers reported for duty and were seen discussing their experiences during the holidays, especially how they celebrated Christmas.**
> **(The Home News. 27-12-2007)**

The first sentence in this extract is a material clause with the verbal group **resume** as the process. The sentence contains a circumstantial element realised by the adverbial group 'at their places of work today after the Christmas and Boxing Day holidays'. This serves the purpose of augmenting the information about the Actor - that is, 'workers'.

The third paragraph has an ideological implication as it portrays the workers as lazy, unserious, cheats and people who are not committed to their jobs. We have the use of the strategy of source avoidance in the last paragraph – 'Report says only few workers …' The source of the report is not given. There is also the use of vague quantifier – 'few' in the last paragraph. Vague expressions are ones that do not have well defined referents or which refer to fuzzy sets (van Dijk 2000a). According to Aremo (2004), 'few' suggests a small number which may be regarded as 'almost none'.

5.5.1 Source Avoidance and the use of Passivisation

Passive voice applies to the realignment of semantic roles such that the actor of a material process or the sayer of a verbalised process is elided from the clause structure (Ayoola 2008). Passive construction is used for a variety of purposes. It can be employed to conceal the identity of the actor in a material process. The following are instances of the use of passivisation in the news texts:

Text 87:

> **Over one hundred people were killed during a seven-week period of unrest in the country.**
> **(News at dawn 03-04-2007)**

170

Text 88:

Those suspended, all members of the progressive group were beaten up and bundled out of the chamber during the pandemonium that attended the day's meeting.
(News across the country 24-06-2010).

Text 89:

A young man has been shot dead in Ibadan.
(News across the country 13-01-2010).

Text 90:

They alleged that four other parties willing to participate in the election were bought over to do so.
(News across the country 03-07-2009).

Text 91:

Federal government challenged to give priority to rural development.
(News across the country 05-01-2008).

We also find the use of passive constructions in the following extracts:

1. The increase in inflation was said to be due to increase in pump prices of petroleum products during the year.
    (Extract from Text 83)

2. Reports indicate that Nigerian's living condition is low despite the increase in external reserve.
    (Extract from Text 83).

3. Nigerians are advised to ensure free and fair elections in 2007.
    (Extract from Text 84)

In Texts 87 – 90, the victims are thematised while the agents are missing. This is done by the use of the passive verbs – were killed, were beaten up, has been shot dead, and were bought to convey the agentlessness. This omission is done on purpose – to shield the journalist from possible prosecution. The actions of the agents are de-emphasised or defocussed through this type of sentence order. The ordering of words to de-emphasise or emphasise an action has ideological implications.

Passivisation is also used in sentences 1 – 3 (i.e. Extracts from Texts 83 and 84), where we have the elimination of the Sayer. In Text 91, for instance, we are not informed about the person who challenged the federal government. This also applies to the other sentences and it is done to protect the journalists from having to provide further information on the sayer. This agrees with Nunn's (2007) assertion that the media recreate 'characters' in news events to represent an ideology.

5.6 Positive Self-presentation and negative Other-presentation

This strategy is typical in giving biased account in favour of the speaker's or writer's interest while blaming negative situations and event on the opponents (van Dijk 2006). The strategy is found and analysed in the following:

Text 92:

Nigerian politicians have been advised to imbibe the spirit of forgiveness whenever there is a disagreement in their fold.

Architect Goke Omigbodun a former chieftain of the Action Congress now in the Peoples Democratic Party stated this while featuring on a personality interview programme on OSBC Television Ch. 32 UHF.

Architect Omigbodun who claimed he had to leave his former party because of the inconsistency and undue imposition of candidates by the party hierarchy, crossed over to the PDP because of its large heartedness towards its members, especially the aggrieved ones.

According to him, the posture of Osun State Governor, Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola is such that no politician can fault his capital as well as human developments.
(The World at Noon 01-04-2007)

In this extract, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) is represented as accommodating, consistent, law abiding and adhering to democratic processes, while the opponent, the Action Congress (AC) is portrayed as inconsistent and undemocratic. According to this report, Architect Omigbodun 'had to leave his former party (AC) because of the inconsistency and undue imposition of candidates by the party and crossed over to the (PDP) because of its large heartedness towards its members'. This statement in the third paragraph of the extract carries the notion that the PDP is more reliable, more accommodating and democratic in contrast to the Action Congress; hence the advice in the first paragraph – 'Nigerian politicians have been advised to imbibe the spirit of forgiveness whenever there is disagreement in their fold'. It presupposes that the AC as a party lacks the spirit of forgiveness and this results in defection of its members to the opposing party – the PDP.

The last statement in the extract – 'According to him … as well as human development' reinforces the notion of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation as Governor Oyinlola and his party - the PDP are presented positively while the AC and its members are presented negatively. The ideology that underlies this statement is one which projects the People's Democratic Party as being superior to the other parties. We note the phrase **large heartedness** in '…crossed over to the PDP because of its large

172

heartedness towards its members especially the aggrieved ones'. The PDP is the ruling party in the state and as such politicians especially the ones in the opposing parties would want to associate themselves with the party so as to enjoy the benefits of being members of the party. Thus the PDP cannot but have a 'large heart' that can accommodate people. Also 'their' (Action Congress) negative actions are made more prominent, whereas 'our' (i.e. People Democratic Party's) negative actions are de-emphasised. This is an example of 'emphasising our good things, and de-emphasising our bad things' which according to van Dijk (2004), is using a positive generalisation in order to mitigate the effect of a specific negative act.

Text 93:

> **President Obasanjo has identified good governance as a panacea for the country's economic ills.**
>
> **President Olusegun Obasanjo has described good governance as most important solution to poverty in the country.**
> **Chief Obasanjo made the remark at a forum in New York, United States.**
>
> **He said his government will do everything possible to make life comfortable for Nigerians in its policies and programmes.**
> **(News at Dawn 08-01-2007)**

In the first statement of this extract which serves as the **lead**, we have the use of the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative-other presentation. It is a material clause with the verbal group **has identified** serving as the process. The nominal group – 'President Obasanjo' serves as the Actor while 'good governance'… is the Goal. The statement connotes an implication that Nigeria lacked good governance in the past and that Obasanjo as the President of Nigeria then would provide the necessary solution to the nation's economic problems. This is an indictment on the previous leaders who governed Nigeria before Obasanjo became a civilian president in 1999. Obasanjo had also been a military ruler in Nigeria from 1976 to 1979. This statement, apart from being an indictment on Obasanjo's predecessors is also an indirect accusation on the past regimes. Obasanjo was reported to have made this remark at a forum in New York, United States of America.

Obasanjo's advocacy of good governance is seen as a medicine or form of treatment that will cure Nigeria's sick economy. The word **panacea** which is borrowed from the medical register and used here to mean **solution** or **remedy** implies that Nigeria's economy is seriously sick and needs to be treated for recovery. McGregor (2003) notes that our words (written or oral) are used to convey a broad sense of meanings and the meaning we convey with those words is identified by our immediate social, political and historical conditions.

173

The last paragraph of this extract presents Obasanjo's government as only that which is capable of bringing an end to the suffering of Nigerians. This projects a welfarist ideology of the government. This means that his policies and programmes would eradicate poverty and make life more meaningful to the people as his predecessors were unable to achieve this; hence it is Obasanjo's government that is capable of doing these. Obasanjo's governance is being presented positively while his predecessors are presented in a negative way.

Text 94:

Ondo State Governor urges Federal Government to spend more on power sector.

Ondo State Governor, Dr. Olusegun Agagu says for the nation's power sector to be revived, the federal government must be ready to spend more to complete all power projects in the country.

Dr. Agagu who was testifying before the House of Representatives Committee on Power and Steel in Abuja said he did his best to salvage the crucial sector while serving as Minister between July 2000 and November 2002.

He emphasised that it was not correct to say that all happenings in the sector since 1999 have amounted to failure, adding that during his tenure, power generation was increased from 1,425 megawatts to 6000 megawatts, thereby making it possible for everybody that needed power to get it.

Ondo State governor however cautioned the House Committee against generalising when it comes to apportioning blame, over the poor state of the power sector and called for the forward looking approach in the area of privatisation and reasonable tariff regime to rescue the sector.
(The News at Dawn, 19-03-2008)

The strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is employed in this extract, that is, in paragraphs three and four to emphasise Agagu's democratic credentials; - during his tenure power generation was increased from 1,425 megawatts to 6000 megawatts. In paragraph three we have a strategic move of positive self-presentation in the statement – 'he did his best to salvage the crucial sector while serving as Minister between July 2000 and November 2002'. Agagu made the statement to justify his actions and achievements during the period he served as a Minister in the power sector in Nigeria. This is a claim that the generation of power in the country was far better when he was the Minister. In paragraph two –'Ondo State Governor…projects in the country', the federal government is implicitly being accused of not funding the power sector. Thus, for the sector to be revived there is need for the federal government to spend more on it. The use of the verb phrase **to be**

174

renewed is significant. The mental process verb **revive** paints a situation whereby the power sector is completely dead and needs to be brought back to life. This describes the situation of power generation in the country. Also the blame of poor power generation is indirectly transferred to the federal government which has failed to adopt the 'forward looking approach'. Thus in the last paragraph of the extract, Agagu advocates tactically the privatisation of the power sector and probably a review of the tariff paid by consumers. We can see Agagu in the extract as emphasising his own achievements and moral justification while discrediting the federal government as not living to the expectation of the people.

We also note the choice of the verb **salvage** in the second paragraph of the extract. The word suggests that the power sector was in such a terrible and total condition of damage before Agagu came into the Ministry to rescue it. Also the claim that the increase from 1,425 megawatts to 6000 megawatts made 'everybody that needed power to get it' is an overstatement as nobody in the country can claim to have adequate power supply from the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN), then and even up to the present time.

The second paragraph of the extract is a verbal clause of saying with the verb **say** serving as the process. According to Halliday (2004:252), 'verbal clauses allow the reporter to attribute information to sources, including officials, experts and eye witnesses'. The grammatical function of – 'Ondo State Governor, Dr. Olusegun Agagu' is that of Sayer**.**

Text 95:

> **The State Chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Alhaji Ademola Rasaq has described recent calls by the Action Congress (AC) that the election petition tribunal venue be shifted to the state Police headquarters as a political subterfuge which should be dismissed outrightly.**
>
> **The Chairman, in a release by the party's Director of Publicity, Prince Adeolu Adeyemo, indicates that it is laughable that the AC rather than showing concern for the welfare of judicial workers and appreciating Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola's peace meeting that led to the suspension of their strike, the AC is imputing sinister motive for their alleged resumption of strike.**
>
> **It would be recalled that the AC had on Monday agitated for the shift of the venue of the election petition Tribunal.**
> **(The State News. 10-02-2010)**

In this extract, the PDP is represented positively while the AC is represented negatively. The call by the Action Congress for the change of venue of the election petition tribunal is seen as an evil and malevolent act by the Peoples Democratic Party. While

Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola of the PDP is portrayed as peace loving and caring, the opposition party – the Action Congress portrayed as insensitive. The noun phrase – 'political subterfuge' as contained in the first paragraph suggests that the AC has a hidden agenda and an ulterior motive by its actions. The expression – 'that the Action Congress rather than showing concern for the welfare of judicial workers…' carries the implication that the Action Congress is insensitive and callous, while the PDP is portrayed as welfarist.

In the first paragraph, we have the use of apposition in - 'The State Chairman…Alhaji Ademola Rasaq'. Apposition, according to Alo (2007) is a major linguistic tool for representing and identifying people in the media. The position as well as the responsibilities of the person is given by the journalist before mentioning the names. The employment of the adjective 'laughable' in the second paragraph and the verb 'agitated' in the last paragraph implies that the action of the AC is ridiculous and that is also an attempt to arouse public feeling.

5.6.1   Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation with Lexicalisation

Lexicalisation is a vital tool of ideological expression. The OSBC radio news texts feature lexical choices used to represent the ruling political party positively and the opponents negatively. Some examples are presented below:

Lexical items representing positive self-presentation

good governance	PDP's large heartedness
enviable state	improved technology
economic advancement	rightful living
good work	good performance
prevailing peace	visionary leader
astute administrator	positive impacts
leadership quality	selfless service
improved standard of education	

Lexical items representing negative other-presentation

aggrieved politicians	unpatriotic people
election rigging	noise
opposition political parties	violent demonstration
political thugs	miscreants
cannon fodders	desperate politicians
controversial poll	hell bent
battlefield	gruesome murder
pockets of violence	selfish ends
unleash terror	attack by members of an opposition party
lukewarm attitude of past governments	rival party

The contexts of usage of some of the lexical items listed above are illustrated in the following texts:

Text 96:

Osun State chapter of the Peoples' Democratic Party has commended the people of the state for identifying with the <u>good work</u> of Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola.

According to him, the contribution of PMAN and the large turnout of people who witnessed the Democracy Day Rally is a testimony to <u>good performance</u> and the <u>prevailing peace</u> and security in the state.
(The news across the country. 31-0-2009)

Text 97:

The state wing of Nigerian Union of Teachers has congratulated Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola on his 59th birthday.
In a statement by the caretaker committee… the union described the Okuku born prince as a <u>visionary leader</u> and <u>astute administrator</u> whose style of governance has helped to wipe tears and sorrow from the face of all public servants in Osun State…
The statement added that teachers in the state will never forget Prince Oyinlola for his <u>positive impacts</u> on their lives ….
(The State news. 23-05-2010)

Text 98:

Osun State Police Command has been charged to ensure adequate security of life and property in the state. Chairman Osun State Peoples Democratic Party Alhaji Ademola Rasaq gave the charge in a release issued in Osogbo. The release is sequel to an alleged <u>attack</u> by members of an <u>opposition party</u> on some innocent members

of the public. Alhaji Ademola accused the gubernatorial candidate of <u>a rival party</u> of importing <u>political thugs</u> who dressed in mobile police uniform to the state to <u>unleash terror</u> on the public.

(The news at dawn. 25-05-2007)

Text 99:

The conference of Nigeria political parties in Osun State today counselled <u>aggrieved politicians</u> who are <u>hell bent</u> in turning Osun State to a <u>battle field</u> for their selfish ends to desist from such acts. The call was made today when representatives of the NPP paid a solidarity visit on the state Governor Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola in his office.

(The news across the country. 09-07-2009)

The underlined words in the above news texts show how lexicalisation is used to project pro-government ideologies and manipulate the audience. The texts reveal the employment of lexical items such as 'good work', 'good performance', 'prevailing peace', 'visionary leader', 'statute administrator' etc to emphasise the positive qualities of Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola. On the other hand, derogatory terms such as 'rival party', 'opposition party', 'aggrieved politicians' etc are used to refer to the opponents. These are mainly used by journalists to express their ideological position and that of the political ruling class. Following Fowler and Hodge (1979:188), we can infer from the news texts that lexical choices 'are consciously or unconsciously principled and systematic'. We can thus conclude that lexical choices in the news texts are ideological based.

5.7   Authoritarianism as a source of News making

In this strategy, journalists depend on authority figures considered as newsworthy and reliable, as sources of news. The following analysed news texts feature this strategy:

Text 100:

President Olusegun Obasanjo has assured the International Community that the reform contemplated in the United Nations will derive tremendous benefits from the wealth of experience of Nigeria if the nation secures a permanent seat in the U.N Security Council.

President Obasanjo stated this in Lagos.

The President who expressed Nigeria's commitment to the principle of multi-lateralism in the global organisation added that Nigerian membership will confer credibility on the council.

(The News across the Country 02-02-2007)

Obasanjo, the former president of Nigeria, speaks in this extract with the voice of the one having authority to convey the message that Nigeria has a lot of potentials that the International Community can benefit from. The journalist's use of authoritative source is an effective credibility strategy as Obasanjo occupies the position of someone who can be trusted and believed by the people. As observed by van Dijk (1995b:16):

> Controlling attitudes may be a result of controlling the discourses of mass communication, as well as their topics, meanings, style and rhetoric, whether by the journalists themselves or, indirectly, by those they accept as credible sources. Obviously, such results depend on the access to alternative sources of information, oppositional knowledge and beliefs, and more fundamental ideologies.

In the extract the use of persuasive rhetoric as shown in the first paragraph is employed to drive home the point that Nigeria deserves a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. Here, Nigeria as a country is elevated. This also implies that Nigeria is a country to be reckoned with in the international community. It is like giving credibility to a country that has been relegated to the background or a country whose citizens are seen as people who have nothing tangible to contribute to world development. The report projects a nationalist ideology which according to van Dijk (2000b:78) 'implies positive reference to or praise for one's country, its principles, history and traditions.'

The first paragraph in the extract is one long sentence made up of three clauses – one main clause and two subordinate clauses. The main clause – 'President….community' is a material clause having **has assured** as the process. The paragraph contains a conditional statement made deliberately to manipulate or control the minds of the people. The assertion is also a political strategy and propaganda aimed at inculcating positive thinking in the minds of Nigerians about Nigeria and its leadership.

The verb **assured** as used in the first sentence of the extract gives an impression of certainty; it also carries the tone of surety. Also, the use of the modal **will** in the report expresses an obligation and conveys a degree of certainty and authority. Again, the employment of **will** in 'Nigerian membership will confer credibility on the council' seems to further strengthen the possibility of Obasanjo's claim. Fowler as cited by Dellinger (1995b:8) states that 'modal expressions are used to signify judgements as to truth, likelihood, desirability, obligation and grant permission'. Dellinger notes further that modals are used to:

179

suggest the presence of an individual subjectivity behind the …text, who is qualified with the knowledge required to pass judgement…or assign responsibility. The frequent use of modal expression has the effect of enhancing subjectivity and giving the …audience the "illusion of a person with a voice and opinions."

The phrase **tremendous benefits** made up of an adjective **tremendous** and noun **benefits** portrays Nigeria as a nation that has a lot to offer to the international community; this advantage the community will lose if it fails to grant Nigeria a permanent seat in the UN Security Council.

The last sentence of the extract – 'The president who expressed….credibility on the council' carries an ideological assumption that Nigeria's membership in the Council will be an asset. The combination of **Nigeria** and **membership** as a compound noun is also an ideological vehicle signalling the positive roles that Nigeria will play in the United Nations. The second paragraph of the extract is made up of one sentence. It is a material clause with "President Obasanjo" as the Actor and the Process realised by the verb **stated.** This sentence is used by the journalist to affirm the statement credited to Obasanjo in the first paragraph.

Text 101:
The National Chairman of Independent National Electoral Commission INEC, Professor Maurice Iwu says all is now set for the 2007 General elections.

Professor Iwu stated this in Abuja at the closure of the three-day National forum on election.

At the forum with the theme "Critical Challenges Ahead" Professor Iwu explained that the forum has debunked the insinuation that INEC is working for some individuals.

The INEC boss assured Nigerians of transparent, free and fair elections.

Some of the things that were discussed at the forum included curbing violence during election, money politics, women participation, and the use of election voters' card.
(The News at Dawn, 23-01-2007)

In the above extract, we first note the statement credited to INEC boss in the fourth paragraph. Prof. Iwu, who was the Chairman of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC); a body saddled with the responsibility of conducting a free and fair elections in Nigeria in 2007, 'assured Nigerians of transparent, free and fair elections come 2007'. Elections in

Nigeria in the past had been associated with diverse problems such as rigging, violence, killing etc. This statement made by the INEC boss as reported by the journalist is a strategy aimed at putting the minds of the electorates and Nigerians at large at rest that the elections would be conducted without the problems usually experienced during the past ones. Such an important message should come from a person in a position of authority concerned with such matters. In the words of Schiff (2004:55):

> Elites include government officials, notable persons in non-profit institutions and celebrities with high social status. Political elites are persons inside government offices as well as persons competing in major parties for those positions…. Elites are, in general members of the upper class.

The third paragraph of the extract implies that INEC officials had been indicted by some people of working for some individuals or groups in Nigeria. This is seen as a challenge on the part of INEC as the theme of the three-day-forum' critical challenges ahead' implies. The whole extract suggests lack of confidence in INEC by Nigerians; it carries an insinuation that 2007 elections might not be successful. This can be attributed to the experience of people in past elections. The verb **assured** in 'The INEC boss assured …. come 2007' serves as the Process in the clause with 'The INEC boss' serving as the Actor. The verb also carries a tone of assurance or surety that everything concerning the elections would be alright. It shows the organization's confidence about the elections.

Text 102:

The Minister of Education, Professor Rukayat Rufai says Nigeria has made progress in special funding for education and UBE community initiative self help projects

Professor Rufai stated this in Thailand while participating in the tenth session of the High Level Group on Education for All, organised by UNESCO.

The Minister assured Nigerians that the Almajiri education system will guarantee job creation for the beneficiaries

She also gave an assurance that Nigeria will revitalise its adult and youth literacy programmes from 2011/2012 to accelerated national efforts.
Professor Rufai called on stakeholders to ensure the fulfilment of their commitment towards improving access to education for all before 2015.
(The News across the country. 23-03-2010)

This extract serves to report what is said (i.e. Nigeria has made progress in special funding for education). The grammatical function of the nominal group - 'The Minister of Education' is that of 'sayer' while the process is realised by the verb **says**.

The media are involved in choosing the source of information, for example, who gets to be heard or quoted in news. According to Fairclough (1995a:49):

> One striking feature of news production is the overwhelming reliance of journalists on a tightly limited set of officials and otherwise legitimised sources which are systematically drawn upon, through a network of contacts and procedures, and sources of facts and to substantiate other 'facts'

In the extract, the noun phrase 'The Minister of Education' occupies the first position and carries the emphasis and authority and power of an authoritative source; that is, the minister has the authority and she is in the position to know the progress made by Nigeria in funding education. The assurance given by the Minister on educating the 'Almajiris' and revitalizing adult and youth literacy programmes confirmed the minister's authoritative position and the welfarist ideology of the government. The 'Almajiris' are children found in the northern part of Nigeria whose means of sustenance is begging. According to Mahmud (online), the word 'Almajiri' emanated from an Arabic word 'Almuhajir' meaning 'immigrant', given to Islamic pupils in Northern Nigeria who left their home towns usually to an Islamic teacher to obtain sound Koranic education. Reliance on officials as source of information as noted by Fowler (1991:21) 'is tied to the media's dependence on the status quo to keep their ownership and continue their profitability.' Also, Chandler (1995) quoting McQuail (1986:194), observes that 'elites are both key sources and key subjects of news'. According to him, news often reports what prominent people say about events rather than the events themselves and what such people say may constitute an event in itself. He concludes by saying that 'powerful people make news'.

Text 103:

President Obasanjo says Nigeria is no longer indebted to Paris Club.

President Olusegun Obasanjo says Nigeria's debt to the Paris Club has now been fully conserved and the country is no longer indebted to the Paris Club of creditors.

The president in a letter to the Senate put the actual cost of the nation's exit from the Paris Club at twelve point one-two billion dollars.

Senate President Ken Nnamani intimated the Senators with President Obasanjo's brief.
He explained that the exit payments were made in three phases.

President Obasanjo said he has instructed the Minister of Finance to return the savings to the excess crude oil account from where the exit payment was sourced with the consent of all stakeholders.
(The News at Dawn. 30-01-2007)

Obasanjo in this extract has the facts and figures as he is in the best position to give information about the Paris Club debt. He has the authority to know the status of Nigeria as far as the Paris Club debt was concerned. Therefore, members of the audience should believe that 'the country is no longer indebted to the Paris Club of Creditors'. McGregor (2003:2), citing van Dijk asserts that the words of those in power are taken as 'self-evident truths' and the words of those not in power are dismissed as irrelevant, inappropriate, or without substance. Thus, no other person could have given the information to Nigerians except the one in authority – the one ruling the country as at that time.

5.7.1 Authoritarianism and Verbal Processes

Verbal processes are the ones that enact saying: In a verbal process, the main participant is the 'Sayer', while the other participants include a 'Receiver', 'Verbiage' and 'Target'. The 'sayer' is defined as 'anything that puts out a signal and the 'receiver' is the one to whom the saying is directed. The 'Verbiage' corresponds to what is said, while the 'Target' construes the entity that is targeted by the process of saying (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). This is exemplified in the texts below:

Text: 104

Osun State Governor Elect	**says**	**his victory is of God**
Sayer	*Process*	*Verbiage*

(The News at dawn. 27-11-2010)

Text: 105

The Osun PDP Chairman	affirmed	that the President had rightly faulted the critics
Sayer	*Process*	*Verbiage*

(The State news. 21-06-2010)

The media usually rely on prominent people in the society as sources of information. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:252) observe that in news reporting, ''verbal processes allow the reporter to attribute information to sources". This is demonstrated in the following examples where the verbal processes are underlined.

Text 106:

The Governor of Osun State Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola <u>says</u> his government welcomes suggestions from the citizenry on how to make the State fare best in the country.

(The Home news. 03-01-2010)

Text 107:

Professor Rufai <u>stated</u> this in Thailand while participating in the tenth session of the High Level Group Education for All, organised by UNESCO. The Minister <u>assured</u> Nigerians ….

(The News across the country. 23-03-2010)

Text 108:

Osun State Governor, Engineer Rauf Aregbesola <u>has reiterated</u> his commitment to the peace, progress and development of the state…. While <u>assuring</u> the people the safety of their lives and properties, the Osun State helmsman thanked the people of the state for the support, show of affection and huge turn-out at his swearing-in ceremony.
(News at dawn 29-11-2010)

Text 109:

A chairmanship aspirant in Irewole Local Government of Osun State, Prince Olusoji Ajayi <u>says</u> his priority is to emulate the administrative style of Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola in making governance accountable to his people if voted in the next election.
(Sunday Extra. 29-07-2007)

Text 110:

Osun State Deputy Governor Erelu Olusola Obada <u>disclosed</u> this today while on an inspection visit to the moribund cocoa industry.

(The News across the country. 04-09-2009)

Text 111:

The National Chairman of Independent National Electoral Commission INEC, Professor Maurice Iwu <u>says</u> all is now set for the 2007 general elections. Professor Iwu <u>stated</u> this in Abuja at the closure of the three-day National Forum on election. At the forum … Professor Iwu <u>explained</u> that the forum has debunked the insinuation that INEC is working for some individuals. The INEC boss <u>assured</u> Nigerians of transparent, free and fair elections.

(The News at dawn. 23-01-2007)

Text 112:

Vice Admiral Ibrahim <u>told</u> newsmen in Yola that though Navy personnels operating in the Niger Delta had been attacked by militants, the Navy had resisted the temptation to either retaliate or engage the militants in full scale war.

(The News at dawn. 01-11-2008)

The underlined verbs in the above texts show the journalists' use of verbal processes in attributing information to sources.

5.8   Use of Figures and Statistics

Figures and statistics are used in media reports to suggest precisions and to present the facts as against mere impressions or suggestions (van Dijk 2000b). The following news texts highlight this usage:

Text 113:

Police in Nigeria to buy eight thousand new fire-arms ahead of next year's general elections.

Police in Nigeria say plans are on to buy eight thousand new fire-arms ahead of next year's general election.

This is meant to arm fifty thousand new policemen to maintain law and order during the polls.
(The World at noon. 01-09-2010)

In the lead of this extract, we have a material clause augmented by Circumstances. This can be expressed thus:

Police in Nigeria	to buy	eight thousand new fire-arms	ahead of next year's general election
Actor	process	Goal	Circumstance

Here the process is realised by the verbal group **to buy**. The circumstantial element realised by the adverbial group – 'ahead of …election' augments the information about the Goal while the nominal group – 'Police in Nigeria' which is the Actor is directly involved in the process. In the statement, the given figure of fire-arms to be purchased – **eight thousand** is enough to send fear into the hearts of Nigerians. It also summarises the various forms of violence, crime and confusion associated with elections in Nigeria. This statement clearly indicates that elections in Nigeria are associated with violence as it conveys a message of disorderliness and confusion. Since the fire-arms are not to be bought to provide security to the police and the citizens of Nigeria but in readiness for elections, it is evidently clear that violence is anticipated in the elections. It should be noted that elections in Nigeria are usually accompanied by killing, maiming, arson and looting, hence, the police should be ready for the exercise. This gives the impression that the election will lead to disturbances and chaos. The designated roles of the police include maintenance of law and order and protection of lives and property but in this case, the fire-arms are to be used 'against' innocent citizens of Nigeria to ensure free and fair elections.

The use of figures, that is 'eight thousand new fire-arms' and 'fifty thousand new policemen' further heightens the fear of the audience.

Text 114:

Government announces plan to assemble twenty thousand units of tractors per annum to increase food production in Nigeria.

The Federal Government of Nigeria says it has concluded plans to assemble twenty thousand units of tractors per annum to increase food production and encourage mechanised farming.

The Minister of Agriculture and Water Resources, Dr. Sayyadi Ruma disclosed this in Kaduna.

He said the production of the tractors would begin next year. According to him, the federal government is taking all necessary measures to ensure that the global food crisis is arrested and food security is achieved in the nation.

Dr. Ruma explained that other measures to address the situation include the removal of subsidy on fertilizer and the take over of its importation from the private sector.

The Minister stressed that the measures became necessary because "the subsidy is no longer reaching the farmers".

Dr Ruma said government's food storage capacity would be improved from the present three hundred thousand metric tonnes to one million metric tonnes in each of the country's six geo-political regions.

(The World at Noon. 29-07-2008)

The use of figures in this extract projects the efforts and readiness of the Nigerian Federal Government to combat food shortage and provide abundant food for Nigerians. The 'plan to assemble twenty thousand units of tractors per annum' as we have in the first paragraph and the improvement in food storage capacity from 'three hundred thousand metric tonnes to six million metric tonnes in each of the country's six geo-political regions' paint the picture of availability of food in abundance and elimination of hunger in the country.

It should be noted that majority of the people of Nigeria wallow in poverty and find it difficult to feed. Thus, the declaration of these figures by the federal government through the Minister of Agriculture is enough to put the minds of the people at rest; it is also an assurance that the people would soon have enough food to consume. The use of these figures is ideological as the increase in food storage capacity from three hundred thousand to one million metric tonnes in each geo-political zone will definitely put an end to hunger and starvation. The report is a strategy used to raise the hope of Nigerians for better days ahead. It is unfortunate that since the time this promise was made and up to the present time, Nigerians have not had enough supply of food and the prices of the available foodstuffs are beyond the reach of the masses. The announcement can therefore be viewed as a political propaganda.

In this extract, we have verbal clauses of saying in – 'The federal government of Nigeria **says** …. mechanized farming "and in – He **said** the …. next year'. In the fifth paragraph, we have a direct quotation – 'The subsidy is no longer reaching the farmers'. Direct quotations

according to Fairclough (1995a) preserve the original wording, not having to change the tense of verbs, the person or pronoun. Kuo (2003:281), citing Fairclough submits that "quotations – both direct and indirect – are frequently woven into the fabric of the news discourse to make the news report livelier as well as to give it a semblance of factuality and authenticity". Bell (1991:530) admits that quotation is a pervasive feature of news text. In his words:

> As most news is "what people say more than what people do", quotation is a pervasive feature of news text and has fascinated discourse analysts, who have attempted to discern its specific characteristic and general functions. It is generally believed that apart from precision, vividness, or dramatic effectiveness, quotation is often used to establish a distance between the journalists and the person or opinions quoted.

Thus, the essence of the quotation in this extract is to give a precise and factual report about the issue being discussed. There is a relationship between the quotation and power relations in the society as this marks the power and status of the speaker, that is, the Minister of Agriculture and Water Resources.

Again, in the extract, there is an information –'The Minister stressed ….because the subsidy is no longer reaching the farmers'. Here, mention is not made of where the subsidy is being diverted to; hence the questions – where does the subsidy go? who receives the subsidy? This information is not revealed, and this is done deliberately to hide the truth. Also the journalist may be trying to play safe. As noted by Fairclough (1992), one of the reasons why journalists use direct quotation is that they do not wish to be seen as endorsing the use of a word or expression in a particular context.

Text 115:

Power distribution equipment worth billions of naira to be released for use nationwide.
Power distribution equipment and materials worth four billion naira are to be released from the stores of the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) nationwide for rehabilitation and repair of transformers and other facilities.
In addition, six hundred transformers are to be released to areas with inadequate power distribution and faulty transformers.

The Minister of state for Energy and Power, Mrs Fatimoh Ibrahim stated this today while receiving the report of seven adhoc committees set up last month to examine the logistics and funding problems confronting the existing and new power plants in the country.

Mrs Ibrahim who said the materials will be released within the next six weeks added that the measure is part of a short-term intervention to check the recurrent power distribution problems facing many Nigerian communities.

The Minister who noted that the problems in the power sector are surmountable explained that the administration is being careful in declaring a state of emergency in the sector.
(The news across the country. 31-03-2008)

The information contained in the first statement of this extract, that is, 'billions of naira', the subsequent mention of the specific amount of money in the second paragraph – 'four billion naira' and the figure – 'six hundred transformers' given in the third paragraph are strategies intended to raise the hope of the audience and to calm the tension of Nigerians. They are also used to show the welfarist ideology and the commitment of Nigerian government to the supply of power in the country. The Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) is an organisation saddled with the responsibility of providing electricity supply in the country. However, the organisation has failed to satisfy the needs of Nigerians and people no longer rely on it due to its ineffectiveness. The Nigerian government on the other hand has not been able to solve the numerous 'problems' of the PHCN. Hence the need for the statistics given in this extract as the Nigerian society is biased against the PHCN.

The use of the phrase 'recurrent power distribution problems' as contained in the fourth paragraph suggests that the supply of electricity in the country is grossly irregular and inadequate.

We have the use of intensive relational clauses in (i) power distribution equipment and materials worth four billion naira are to be released…and other facilities; and (ii) In addition, six hundred transformers are to be released ….faulty transformers. The process in each of the clauses is realised by the verbal group **are to be**. Also there is the use of classifying relational clause in –'the measure is part of a short term … Nigerian communities' with the process realised as **is.**

It should be noted that the equipment and materials to be given are promises which may never be fulfilled as it is stated that the materials 'will be released within the next six weeks'. The last paragraph of the extract suggests that all hope is not lost as the 'problems in the power sector are surmountable', meaning that the problem will be overcome. There is also a presupposition that a state of emergency might be declared in the power sector

We have the use of defining relative clause in – 'Mrs Ibrahim who said the materials will be released…' and in – The Minister who noted that the problems in the power sector…'. These clauses serve the purpose of providing additional information.

Text 116:

> **Osun State Government in South Western Nigeria has increased hectarage in the nine Farm Settlements from 8,000 to 14,000. In addition, N45 million had been expended on the training of youth unemployment to boost food production in the State.**
>
> **The Osun State commissioner for Agriculture and Natural resources, Aremo Adekunle Alao disclosed these while briefing the Press at the on-going Ministerial Press Conference organised by the Ministry of Information.**
>
> **On training of farmers, a total of 58,178 farmers were trained on various improved farming practices across the State under Agricultural Extension Services.**
>
> **The Commissioner further added that government has provided technical support on Animal Husbandry and Agro-forestry to 200 participating secondary schools across the state.**
> **(The Home news. 11-01-2008)**

The use of figures and statistics in the above extract serves to project the activities of the Osun State government in providing food for the people and creating employment for the youths in the state. This has an ideological significance as food is considered important to life. Also the issue of youth employment is vital as this has become a great problem in Nigeria. Graduates are being produced in Nigerian tertiary institutions in large numbers yearly without commensurate jobs. Hence the relevance and importance of using figures such as increasing hectarage in farm settlements from 8,000 to 14,000, spending 45 million on training of youths, training 58,178 farmers on improved farming practices and providing technical support on Animal Husbandry and Agro-forestry to 200 secondary schools in the State.

These figures are used strategically to provide information and to assure the audience of the government's concern about the welfare of the people in the state. They also carry positive connotation about the government. The information given in this report was at a press conference organised by the Ministry of Information. This provides an advantage utilised by the Commissioner for Agriculture; which is emphasised and propagated by the media.

5.9   Motivation and Support Garnering

This involves a political propaganda aimed at garnering the support of the people. The texts below highlight the use of this strategy.

Text 117:

Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola has urged the people of Osun state to continue to give his administration their fullest support, cooperation and assistance.

The Governor made the call on the floor of the state parliament while proclaiming the dissolution of the House.

Governor Oyinlola described the past four years of the parliament as memorable and eventful in terms of progress recorded by his administration.

He attributed the tremendous improvement in both human and social development recorded in Osun State to the harmonious relationship between the executive and the legislative arms of government.
(The News at Dawn 01-06-2007)

The above extract signifies a plea made by Governor Oyinlola to garner the support of the people of the State. The first statement of the extract – 'Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola … cooperation and assistance' suggests that Oyinlola enjoys the support of the people and therefore, seeks further support. The statement in the fourth paragraph is a strategy aimed at winning the support of the people. By attributing the state's improvement in human and social development to the cordial relationship between the executive and the legislative arms of government, Oyinlola indirectly calls for further support of both arms of government. The statement implies that Oyinlola is being tactful by not arrogating to himself alone the success of the 'tremendous improvement in both human and social development recorded in the state' but tries to acknowledge the other participants – that is, the executive and the legislature. The extract reflects a political ideology used to control the audience's actions and behaviour. The reference to the past four years of the parliament as memorable and eventful in terms of progress recorded by Oyinlola's administration is historic and also propagandistic. It is aimed at influencing the opinions and behaviour of the audience. Nelson (1996:28) defines propaganda as:

a systematic form of purposeful persuasion that attempts to influence the emotions, attitudes, opinions, and actions of specified target audiences for ideological, political or commercial purposes through the controlled transmission

191

of one-sided messages (which may or may not be factual) via mass and direct media channels.

The use of the adjectives 'memorable' and 'eventful' in the third paragraph is to portray and project the achievements of the parliament as unequalled in the history of the state. We have a material clause in – 'The Governor made the call on the floor of the state parliament', with the noun phrase – 'The Governor' serving as the Actor. The Process is realised by the verb **made** with 'the call' as the Goal, and the circumstantial element – 'on the floor of the state parliament'.

The encomium showered on the members of the parliament is motivational; it is used as a means of winning their support in subsequent elections.

Text 118:

Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola has commended the people of the state for their unflinching support for his administration since its inception.

The Governor gave this commendation while receiving Olobu of Ilobu, Oba Ashiru Olaniyan and his entourage who paid him a courtesy visit in his office.

Prince Olagunsoye pronounced that his administration would not relent in its effort to extend dividends of democracy to the door steps of all and sundry.

Earlier, Oba Ashiru Olaniyan had promised the continued support of people of the ancient town to the re-election bid of the governor and implored him to give Ilobu a satellite campus of the newly established State University.
(The State news 12-2-2007)

The commendation given to the people of Osun State by the governor serves the purpose of motivating the audience. This is done to achieve political goals. The people of Ilobu had given 'unflinching' support to Oyinlola's administration 'since its inception'. The message in this remark is that Oyinlola's administration needs more of such support. The visit of the Oba and the entourage to the governor is more than a 'courtesy call'; it is also meant to appeal to and persuade the governor to site a satellite campus of Osun State University in the town. The promise made by the king of his subjects' support to the governor led to another promise by the governor to "extend the dividends of democracy to the door steps of all and sundry". "Unflinching", an adjective, means not changing or becoming weaker, even in a very difficult or

dangerous situation" (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*). This implies that the people of the State are resolute in their action of supporting the government.

Text 119:

> **The Governor of Osun State Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola says his government welcomes suggestions from the citizenry on how to make the state fare best in the country.**
>
> **The Governor said God assisted the state immensely last year as his administration conducted the affairs of the state peacefully and successfully too.**
>
> **He expressed appreciation to the citizenry and civil servants for their co-operation last year stressing the importance of continued support in order for his government to succeed again this year.**
>
> **Prince Olagunsoye remarked that his administration is determined to continue to serve creditably well and selflessly.**
> **(The Home News 03-01-2010)**

The governor's expression of appreciation to the people of Osun State for the past year as reported by the journalist is to garner the continuous support of the people. The first paragraph in this extract presents a situation where the government respects the voice of the people and accepts contributions from them. This statement has an ideological implication that the people of the state are important in decision making and in running the affairs of Osun State. In the third paragraph – 'stressing the importance of continued support in order for his government to succeed again this year' is a strategy of soliciting further support from the audience.

We have the use of verbal clauses in the first paragraph 'Governor of Osun State …says… in the country', and in the second paragraph – 'The governor said ….', where the verbs **say** and **said** serve as the Process.

5.10 Foregrounding and Informativeness

As observed by Bouzgarrou (2002:20), 'a common force of linguistic manipulation is the selection of events in that the people are subject to the angles that the news makers choose to foreground and the veiling of certain facts which many writers choose to put in shadow". Pan (2002), also notes that the choice of words is crucial in presenting the intended information about

the news event to the audience, and hence, it is an indication, whether implicit or explicit, of the ideological stances on the part of the media in general and journalists in particular.

The following news texts feature the use of the strategy of foregrounding.

Text 120:

> **As the Super Eagles plan to ambush Tunisia, a cross section of soccer lovers rallies support for Eagles.**
> **(News across the Country 01-09-2009)**

In this sample, the actors – 'The Super Eagles' and 'a cross section of soccer lovers' are foregrounded in the sentence with alpha-beta (αβ) structure:

As the Super Eagles plan to ambush Tunisia,/

          β

a cross section of soccer lovers rallies support for Eagles

          α

The verbal group **plan to ambush** which serves as the process conveys a strong meaning and message. The verb **ambush** suggests a sudden attack on the opponent and underscores the preparation of the Super Eagles of Nigeria to defeat their opponent – Tunisia in the football match. It gives insight into the kind of confrontation that the opponents will face, the attack they will suffer from the Super Eagles as if they (the Tunisians) are not aware that they are going to be engaged in a competition. Note that the use of the materials process verb **ambush** by the journalist instead of using a verb like **defeat** is to heighten tension and probably to impress the soccer fans who are anxious about the game. The independent clause which forms the second part of the statement – **a cross section of** … **rallies support for Eagles** implies that the victory of the Nigerian football team – Super Eagles depends on the support of the soccer fans. Also, Tunisia is portrayed as an enemy to be attacked by a greater force - the Super Eagles. To plan as we have in **plan to ambush** may not only be viewed from its literal meaning but can also be viewed to mean a kind of plot, tactics, strategy and scheme to be employed by the Super Eagles to achieve victory.

194

Text 121:

Electricity consumers in Osun State have rejected crazy PHCN Bills

Electricity consumers in Osun State have decried what they described as arbitrary bills being given by Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) in the recent time.

A cross section of the consumers, including Honourable Moruf Lawal and Mr. Kunle Ajibodu who spoke with OSBC news however called on the energy company to address the matter in the interest of the public.
(News across the country. 02-02-2007)

In this extract, the noun phrase – 'Electricity consumers' is placed in a prominent position – the beginning of the sentence to foreground it. As observed by van Dijk (2000b:55)

> This kind of sentence order in discourse has many functions, including ideological ones…information that is expressed in the beginning of a text thus receives extra emphasis: it is read first and therefore will have more control over the interpretation of the rest of the text than information that is expressed last ….. This more generally, word and sentence meaning in discourse may become foregrounded or backgrounded by their position in the semantic structure as it is expressed by sentences order in the discourse.

The ideological assumptions in this sample show the consumers of electricity in Osun State and by extension Nigeria as people who have lost confidence in the services provided by the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN). The first sentence is a material process clause that represents 'doing' with Actor + Process + Goal.

Electricity consumers in Osun State	*have rejected*	*crazy PHCN bills*
Actor	*Process*	*Goal*

The Actor i.e. the nominal group 'Electricity….State' directs the doing to the Goal. 'crazy PHCN bills', while the Process is realised by the verbal group **have rejected.** The rejection of the PHCN bill by the people is the consequence of the organisation's ineffectiveness and incompetence. The lexical item – **rejected** connotes a negative attitude of people towards the PHCN as the organisation is known for inefficiency and incompetence. The PHCN which is expected give uninterrupted supply of power to Nigerians is not capable of doing so. As a result,

many activities which could have contributed to the economic growth of the country are paralysed due to epileptic supply of electricity. PHCN bills the consumers heavily at the end of each month with little or no supply of power and even without reading the meters. Hence, the rejection of its bills and also the rejection of the organisation as implied in the statement. The semantic implication and association of the use of crazy in the noun phrase **crazy PHCN bills** explicitly relates PHCN with mental illness or madness and insensibility. The collocation – 'energy Company' in the last paragraph which is used to refer the PHCN with the use of 'energy' as an adjective describes the kind of services provided by the organisation.

Text 122:

> **Rebels in Nigeria have killed fifteen government soldiers and abducted over seventeen others.**
> **(The News at Seven. 26-06-2007)**

The above sample is a lead news story with the strategy of foregrounding consequences. The consequences of the rebels' actions are foregrounded –'have killed fifteen soldiers and abducted seventeen others'. In this extract it can be inferred that there are certain facts which the journalist has hidden. The event that led to the killing and abduction of the soldiers is veiled and not made known to the public.

Text 123:

> **Over five hundred people have been arrested in connection with the mayhem that broke out in Jos as peace is gradually returning to the country.**
>
> **More than five hundred people have been arrested in connection with the mayhem that broke out in Jos, Plateau State capital last week.**
>
> **Reports say the city of Jos which was enveloped with violence throughout the weekend is now a ghost of its former self.**
> **Reports also add that security operatives have continued to patrol all the streets of the tin city.**
>
> **A Christian Cleric, Bishop Benjamin Kozi told newsmen that the crisis that erupted after the local government elections in the state was hijacked by religious fanatics who have been unleashing terror on Christians, as many churches and religious centres have been burnt to ashes.**
> **(The News at Dawn 01-12-2008)**

The first statement of this extract – 'over five hundred people' foregrounds the consequences of the actions of the people involved in the crisis in Jos. The whole extract gives information about the crisis such that the listeners are able to have full understanding of the event being reported by the journalists. We note the use of diction relating to violence and disaster in the extract such as 'mayhem', 'enveloped with violence', 'crisis', 'erupted', 'hijacked', religious fanatics', 'unleashing terror', 'burn to ashes', etc. This clearly reveals the ideology of the news writer. As stated by van Dijk (1988c:177), lexical choice is an eminent aspect of news discourse in which hidden opinion or ideologies may surface.

The choice of these lexical items by the reporter is significant. They are chosen to describe and reflect the situation of things in Jos at that time. The use of the verb **erupted** for example, suggests a sudden happening and brings to mind a kind of volcanic eruption which destroys life and property; the verbal group **was enveloped** in '…the city of Jos was enveloped with violence…' portrays the city as being completely covered up in chaos and confusion without any means of escape. Also, to 'unleash terror', 'burnt to ashes', describe a situation of total destruction, while the expression '….the mayhem that broke out' suggests a kind of epidemic that spreads fast. All these evoke the world of disaster. There is a striking metaphor in 'Reports say the city of Jos… is now a ghost of its former self'. To equate the city of Jos with a ghost paints a pathetic picture. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), a metaphor establishes a cognitive link between two entities in which the traits of a conceptually concrete source domain are mapped onto a conceptually abstract target domain. As rightly observed by Santa (2002), images are most efficiently produced through the use of metaphor. This coheres with Johnson (2005), who asserts that metaphorical images are so effective due to the social and natural contexts in which we acquire or learn their meanings.

In the third sentence of this extract, there is major information given by the journalist – 'tin city'. Jos is referred to as the tin city. This gives the audience important information that the mineral element – tin, is found in the city.

Text 124:

The Boundary Communities Development Agency Bill has been signed into law by President Olusegun Obassanjo

Vice President Atiku Abubakar disclosed this today in Abuja in a message to the hand over of twelve ambulances to six Border States.

197

The benefiting states are Kebbi, Ogun, Sokoto, Kwara, Adamawa and Katsina.

The donation of the ambulances was sequel to the completion of Health Centres and Clinics in the border communities by the National Boundary Commission.

The Vice President who was represented by his special adviser on political matters Professor Aliyu Yahaya said the Agency will soon take off.
(The News across the country 14-02-2007)

The actor, that is, Obasanjo and the action of signing of the Boundary Communities Development Agency Bill are foregrounded in the first paragraph of this report. Both the actor and the action are placed in prominent position (at the beginning) of the material clause whose process is realised by the verbal group **has been signed.** The reporter draws on the resources of relational clause in the third paragraph – 'The benefiting states are ….' This relational clause serves the purpose of identification, that is, to identify the states that benefit from the donation of the ambulances. The verb **are** serves as the process.

van Dijk (2000b) observe that sentences that express positive meanings will typically appear up front in headlines, leads etc. He posits:

> This overall strategy controlling the order of discourse may also affect the various categories that conventionally define the schematic structure of text or talk. Thus, the conventional categories of Headline, Title or Summary are typically realised at the beginning of a text, and thus tend to be filled by propositions that express the most important meaning …. but the basic idea is that importance of information is related to importance of meaning which in turn is related to prominence of position (first, last, on top etc). And it is this general principle that may be interpreted as ideologically relevant (2000: 55-56).

Foregrounding the salient information in the first part of this extract has the ideological function of emphasis. Also, the donation of the ambulances projects the welfarist ideology of the government.

5.11 Manipulation

This strategy as observed by van Dijk (2006) is one of the discursive social practices of dominant groups geared towards the reproduction of their power. Such dominant groups may do so in (other) ways as well e.g. through persuasion, providing information, education, instruction

and other social practices that are aimed at influencing the knowledge, beliefs and (indirectly) the actions of the recipients. The strategy of manipulation is found in the texts below:

Text 125:

> **The presidential candidate of the Peoples Democratic Party Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua has extolled President Olusegun Obasanjo as a nationalist and a great leader who has lived all his life for the progress of Nigeria.**
>
> **Alhaji Yar'Adua stated this today in Abia State.**
>
> **The presidential candidate said he knows Nigerians are reasonable people and will give their votes to the PDP in next month's general elections.**
>
> **He assured the people of his resolve to pursue the various reforms of President Obasanjo if voted into power come next month.**
> **(The news across the country. 02-03-2007)**

The above extract projects the interest of the late President of Nigeria – Umaru Musa Yar'Adua and his party – the People's Democratic Party. The statement as we have in – 'The presidential candidate said … general elections' is manipulative as it contains information about the goals and intentions of the speaker. What we have in the first sentence of this extract is a strategy aimed at influencing the audience to accept the candidature of Yar'Adua as he 'extolled' his predecessor – Obasanjo and describing him as 'a nationalist and a great leader who has lived all his life for the progress of Nigeria'.

The third statement connotes that Nigerians are being lured into voting for the PDP. It also suggests that people are being persuaded to vote for the party. Manipulation could also be a form of (legitimate) persuasion (O'keefe, 2002, Dillard and Pfau, 2002). The crucial difference between persuasion and manipulation according to van Dijk (2006) is that in persuasion the interlocutors are free to believe or act as they please depending on whether or not they accept the argument of the persuader; whereas in manipulation recipients are typically assigned a more passive role: they are victims of manipulation. As noted by Wodak (1987) and as cited by van Dijk, this negative consequence of manipulative discourse occurs when the recipients lack the specific knowledge that might be used to resist manipulation.

We have the use of relational clause in "…Nigerians are reasonable people" with the process being realised by the verb 'be', that is, **are.**

Text 126:

> The state chapter of the PDP has advised its main opposition, AC to learn to toe the path of peace and stop attacking innocent people as it occurred last week in Obokun Local Government where innocent women were attacked.
>
> In a statement, the secretary of the PDP in the state, Mr. Yinka Adeojo wondered what the interest of the AC was in the Local Councils in the state to warrant its false statement that there were plans to sack the Councils' officials.
>
> The PDP scribe was reacting to a Press Conference by AC Gubernatorial candidate, Mr. Aregbesola where he promised to employ 5,000 workers sacked by the Akande regime and also raise internally generated revenue to N14 billion within 100 days.
>
> The PDP scribe also took exception to the standard of road construction in Lagos since 1999 when Aregbesola had been Commissioner for Works in spite of huge sums of money voted for road construction in the State.
> (The State news. 29-01-2007)

The above extract reveals manipulative strategy aimed at attacking and discrediting the opponent. The report contains a reaction by the ruling party in the state – the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) against the claim by the opposition party – the Action Congress (AC) to employ some workers sacked by the previous regime and also to raise the internally generated revenue in the state. This is clearly seen by the ruling party as a threat and a means of influencing people's attitudes and emotions negatively.

The extract reveals an attack by the PDP scribe on the AC gubernatorial candidate. As one of the political parties in the state, the AC had the freedom to highlight its plan if and when voted into power. The action and pronouncement of the Action Party led to the advice given by the PDP to the AC to 'learn to toe the path of peace and stop attacking innocent people'. As noted by van Dijk (2006:365), 'manipulating people involves manipulating their minds, that is, people's beliefs, such as knowledge, opinions and ideologies which in turn control their actions". Manipulation, socially speaking, is a discursive form of elite power reproduction that is against the best interest of dominated groups and (re)produces social inequality (p. 364). The last paragraph of this extract contains an insinuation that the AC Gubernatorial aspirant – Mr. Aregbesola embezzled the money meant for road construction in Lagos state when he was the Commissioner for Works. It also suggests that the quality of roads constructed by Aregbesola's administration is questionable.

What we have in the whole extract is the news writer's use of language of opposing views incorporated into the news item to silence the opponents by attacking their positions. The promise made by the AC gubernatorial candidate to employ 5,000 workers sacked by the previous regime and to raise internally generated revenue to 14 billion within 100 days generated the reaction of the secretary of the ruling party – PDP in the state. The AC and its members are characterised as deceptive and violent in the extract. Words or expressions whereby a text or talk characterised persons, groups, social relations, events or conditions that shape a conflict are chosen from among a wide range of options to reinforce and legitimate the ideology communicated through the discourse themes (Bloomaert and Verschueren, 1998; van Dijk, 1999b; Goatly 2000). As noted by Berkes (2000), the media are powerful as tools for manipulation because members of the public are widely exposed to them, and they are also trusted by the public. We note the humanitarian ideology expressed in the third paragraph of this extract where Mr Aregbesola promised to employ the 5,000 workers sacked by the Akande regime.

Text 127:

> **The current chairman of Egbedore Local Government in Osun State, Otunba Akinwale Ajetunmobi has declared that his wealth of experience as a politician stands him out as the best candidate for the House of Representatives.**
>
> **Otunba Ajetunmobi made the declaration today in Osogbo while speaking with journalists after picking his nomination form at the PDP Secretariat to represent the people of Egbedore, Ejigbo, Ede North and Ede South Federal Constituencies at the National Assembly in 2007.**
>
> **The forty-six year old politician maintained that as a federal representative in 1993, a grassroots politician who is incumbent chairman, he has touched the lives of his people and understands the needs of the populace.**
> **(The news across the country 29-01-2007)**

By highlighting Otunba Ajetunmobi's achievements and credentials through persuasive rhetoric and propaganda, the journalist employs the strategy of manipulation to sell his candidature to the audience. The persuasive power of such rhetoric is manifested in the choice of words and expressions such as – 'wealth of experience', 'a federal representative', 'a grassroots politician' and 'incumbent chairman'. According to van Dijk (1995b), in many situations the

news media have been persuaded, manipulated or even coerced to follow political views; and it is primarily their definition of the situation that contributes to the manufacture of public opinion. He argues further:

> That the news media generally do not act as major opponents of political or corporate policies and interest is not because of their powerlessness, but because of the fundamental similarities of ideological positions (1995:28).

Thus, it can be said that their common ideologies are jointly produced, each acting within its own sphere of influence and control, but each also dependent on the other.

The report is a political propaganda aimed at influencing the attitude of the people. Propaganda according to Turkovic (1994) is typically understood as a prominently manipulative phenomenon; it is considered to be a top-down process, it is an active, intent, plan or strategy initiated and controlled by the political elite of the state, carried out by the media and aimed at the social target group - the audience.

Text 128:

Osun State Governor expresses readiness to integrate the main objectives of African Peer Review Mechanism.

Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola today analysed the policies of his administration, reflecting his government as an institution set to integrate and incorporate the main objectives of the African Peer Review Mechanism.

Speaking at the launching of the African Peer Review Mechanism in Osogbo, Osun State capital, Governor Oyinlola itemised a umber of projects and policies he executed to put the economy and political governance in the state on the standard contained in the International Protocol for improved political and economy for Africa.
(The News across the country. 21-07-2008)

We have in this extract the strategy of manipulative discourse where Governor Oyinlola as reported by the journalist emphasises his power, achievements and moral superiority. By itemising the projects and policies which he executed to meet the international standard, the report appeals to the relevant ideologies, attitudes and emotions of the audience. The report is also aimed at emphasising Oyinlola's democratic credentials. The reference to 'international

protocol for improved political and economy for Africa' is a means of providing information to the audience for the purpose of influencing them.

Text 129:

> **Osun State government has again re-affirmed its strong disposition to be labour friendly as Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola received an award of excellence from the state council of the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC).**
>
> **At a fund raising programme for the building of the permanent secretariat of the NLC in Osogbo, Governor Oyinlola restated the ideals of his administration to always put smiles on the faces of its workers.**
> **(The news across the country. 26-07-2008)**

Through the use of specially selected words and expressions by the journalist, the audience's emotions are roused and appealed to in this extract. We have the use of such expressions in the first paragraph of this extract emphasising that the state government 'has re-affirmed its strong disposition to be labour friendly'. The phrase 'labour friendly' suggests a positive action of the state government towards the state workers; implying that all their demands will be met. There is a strong emphasis placed on this with the phrase 'has again re-affirmed'. This connotes the state government's determination and readiness to satisfy the workers' desires. Also, 'to always put smile on the faces of its workers' implies that the workers salaries and remunerations will receive a boost such that the workers will constantly be happy.

The idea of re-affirming the state government's 'strong disposition to be labour friendly' is an ideological vehicle aimed at garnering the support of the workers, more so as the government received an 'award of excellence' from the state council of the NLC. It is also a means of telling the audience that Oyinlola's government is concerned with the welfare of the workers.

Text 130:

> **Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola has enjoined the people of Iwo to support the present administration so that more dividends of democracy will be brought to their door steps.**
>
> **Prince Oyinlola made the call during the anniversary of Iwo Progressive Group.**

The Governor charged the people of the ancient town not to allow individuals or groups to play politics with the television project in the town, saying the project will be completed soon.
(The State news. 01-11-2008)

We have the use of manipulative discourse in the report. Members of the audience are being manipulated through the choice of expression used in the news report. The expression - 'so that more dividends of democracy will be brought to their door steps' implies that if the people of Iwo fail to support Governor Oyinlola administration, they will not enjoy any benefit from the government. This is manipulative and connotes that enjoying any benefit from the government is tied to supporting the government. This presents an ideology that any community that does not support or vote for the government in power is not likely to derive any benefit, that is, – 'dividends of democracy' from the government. As noted by Reck (2002), politics mainly has to do with the government, the opposition, the relationship between the two and the relationship towards the state and the people.

In the expression – 'to play politics with the television project', politics is presented as a game. This is metaphoric and it brings to mind the experience we have of games involving two or more players having a certain target. It entails that the television project in Iwo town has been a topic for political campaigns. It should be noted that the Television Station sited in the town by the Bola Ige regime in the old Oyo State was abandoned for a long period of time.

The second paragraph of this extract is a material clause augmented with circumstance, the process is realised by the verb **made** with 'Prince Oyinolola' as the Actor. The circumstantial element is realized by the adverbial group – 'during the tenth anniversary of Iwo progressive Group', while 'the call' is the Goal.

5.12   Metaphorisation

Metaphorisation is comprehended as a mapping of features from one conceptual domain, called the source domain, to another conceptual domain, called target domain (Budaev 2009). Mappings, according to Lakoff (1993:24), 'are not arbitrary, but grounded in the body and in everyday experience and knowledge'. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) observe that our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in

nature. They state further that metaphorical concepts provide ways of understanding one kind of experience in terms of another kind of experience.

According to a model developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphors comprise a concrete source domain and a conceptual target domain. The most salient characteristics of the source domain are mapped onto the abstract target domain to provide a profound cognitive image. The source domain transfers ontological meaning onto the target domain such that the resulting metaphor produces a stream of entailments that formulates our understanding of the concept. As noted by Chiluwa (2007), metaphors are a major discourse strategy which writers explore to achieve figurative meaning. The following texts highlight the journalists' employment of metaphorisation in the news reports.

Text 131:

Local government elections in Ekiti State concluded yesterday with People's Democratic Party sweeping the polls.
(Sunday Extra 21-12-08)

In this sample above, which is a lead, the first part has a material process verb with **concluded**. There is a circumstantial element – **yesterday** which gives additional information about the Actor. (i.e. Local government…). The second part of the statement has the verb **sweeping** used metaphorically. The verb **sweeping** denotes a material process but it is used here as a mental process verb to evoke the image of concrete action of victory for the People's Democratic Party in the polls. According to Kirmayer (1993), metaphors do not simply constitute an isomorphic mapping of one conceptual scheme onto another; they go beyond analogy in so far as they transform the topic by interaction with sensory, affective, cognitive aspects of the juxtaposed elements. The word is used in a metaphoric sense to mean that the PDP won the local government elections easily and in an impressive way. Hence, the journalist's use of sweeping instead of a word like **wining.** Commenting on the influence of metaphorical language on our everyday thinking and reasoning abilities, Lakoff and Turner (1989:xi) posit:

Metaphor is a tool so ordinary that we use it unconsciously and automatically, with so little effort that we hardly notice it. It is omnipresent; metaphor suffuses our thoughts, no matter what we are thinking about. It is accessible to everyone: as children, we automatically, as a matter of course, acquire a mastery of everyday metaphor. It is conventional: metaphor is an integral part of our ordinary

everyday thought and language. And it is irreplaceable: metaphor allows us to understand ourselves and our world in ways that no other modes of thought can.

Again, the choice of **sweeping** to describe the victory of the PDP is deliberate in order to portray the party as one which cannot be challenged by any other political party in Nigeria, and also, to elicit some reactions from the audience.

Text 132:

Human rights' activist bags three and a half years imprisonment in China.
(The World at noon 03-04-2008)

The word **bags** in the above text is a verb and is used as a metaphor. The idea of the human rights activist being captured is conveyed in the statement. The three and a half jail term imposed on the activist can be viewed as a commodity which can be packed in a container. Lakoff and Turner (1989:xi) assert that metaphor "is indispensable not only to our imagination but also to our reason". They observe that metaphors construct a cognitive framework of social knowledge and worldview.

According to Ortony (1975:46), there are at least three communicative functions that metaphor might serve:

> First, they might allow one to express that which is difficult or impossible to express if one is restricted to literal uses of language. Evidence for this "inexpressibility" claim would constitute encouraging support for the necessity-of-metaphor view. A second possible function of metaphor is that they may constitute a particularly compact means of communication. Although conscious experience is continuous in form, the linguistic system we use to talk about it is comprised of discrete elements (lexical items). Unlike more literal forms of language, metaphor may enable us to convey a great deal of information in a succinct manner by obviating the need to isolate the predicates to be expressed into their corresponding lexical representations. Finally, metaphor may help capture the vividness of phenomenal experience. If metaphors convey chunks of information rather than discrete units, they can paint a richer and more detailed picture of our subjective experience than might be expressed by literal language. This we call "vividness" claim.

The journalist's choice of the word 'bag' used as a verb in the context instead of a word like 'jailed' or 'sentence to' is strategic as it evokes the image of a concrete action.

Text 133:

Nigerian leaders urged to shed the toga of a boss and humble themselves.
(The World at noon 03-01-2009)

In this extract, there is an embedded metaphor in the noun phrase – "the toga of a boss". This metaphor which draws upon the audience's knowledge of the Nigerian political system implies that Nigerian leaders are proud and bossy. Santa (2002) observes that rhetoric imbued with negative metaphors can drastically sway public opinions when implemented strategically. As stated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another. As observed by Johnson (2005), while this association between separate entities permits a profound cognitive understanding of the target domain, the ensuing mental entailments establish a framework for understanding an extended number of related concepts. The noun phrase –'the toga of a boss' consists of a prepositional phrase introduced by 'of'. The 'toga' which is a long loose piece of clothing worn by people in ancient Rome is used in this phrase to give a mental picture and to serve as an imagery to characterise Nigerian leaders.

Text 134:

The commercial city of Aba has gone asleep as banks shut their doors against customers for fear of armed robbers.
(News at Dawn 02-06-2008)

Here, the expression "has gone asleep" is used metaphorically. The word **asleep** in this context is an adjective used predicatively to describe the city of Aba. It carries a negative connotation of unusual calmness, quietness and a kind of peace that pervades the graveyard. The word 'commercial' also used as a modifier refers to the city of Aba as an environment full of activities, without a dull moment and for such a city to be **asleep** suggests a situation whereby everything remains grounded, ineffective and unproductive. The journalist's use of descriptive language is aimed at creating a vivid image in the minds of the audience. Also, the idea of banks shutting their doors against customers in 'as banks shut their doors against customers for fear of armed robbers' connotes that armed robbers have become terrors in the society.

Again the word **asleep** can be seen as a euphemism which is strategically used by the journalist to mean that the city of Aba is literarily 'dead'. Euphemisms, accordingly to Lutz

(1989:4) are 'words or phrases designed to avoid harsh or distasteful reality'. Our analysis shows the journalists' use of metaphor to create different realities in different situations.

Text 135:

> **All is set for President Olusegun Obasanjo's three-day official visit to Ogun State which begins today.**
>
> **Reports from Abeokuta, the state capital say the ancient town is now wearing a new look.**
>
> **During the visit, the son of the soil is billed to commission a number of projects executed by Governor Gbenga Daniel.**
>
> **The son of the soil's visit coincides with the thirtieth anniversary of the creation of the state.**
> **(The News at Dawn. 31-01-2007)**

Our focus in this extract is the use of the expression – 'son of the soil'. The expression is a coinage and manifests as a metaphor. The metaphor - 'son of the soil' is the journalist's style of referring to Obasanjo as an indigene of Abeokuta in Ogun State. It thus implies that Obasanjo is not a stranger or 'visitor' in Ogun state but somebody who has his roots in the state. As noted by Chiluwa (2007), coinages are particularly Nigerian usages reflecting either in the Nigerian cultural thought or the Nigerian social environment; they function as part of the semantic vehicles of the Nigerian social-cultural experiences. He states further that through coinages, media discourse mediates people's belief system and their indigenous thoughts (p 232). Banjo (1996) citing Johnson (1981) and Osakwe (1992) observes that the strategies at the disposal of the Nigerian writer of English expressions are by no means infinite and operate not only at the syntactic and lexical levels, but also at the rhetorical level. It can be concluded that the usage of the expression – 'son of the soil' which manifests as a metaphor, exhibits the choice and style of the journalist.

5.13   Summary

In this chapter, we have carried out the analysis of discourse strategies and ideologies to show their interaction in the news texts. Our analysis revealed the journalists' use of discourse strategies such as blame transfer, source avoidance, positive self-presentation and negative other-

presentation, authoritarianism, manipulation etc. It also revealed the use linguistic devices such as lexicalisation, collocation and passivisation to foreground the ideologies. The analysis showed that there is a close interaction between political ideology and discourse strategies in OSBC radio news texts.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Introduction

This study has carried out an analysis of the political ideologies and discourse strategies in selected radio news of Osun State Broadcasting Corporation, (OSBC), Osogbo. The analysis was done within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which links the texts with underlying power relations and ideologies. Van Dijk's socio-cognitive and Wodak's socio-historical models were employed and complemented with Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), for its emphasis on the form/function relationship in language use. Thematic and ideological analyses were carried out in chapter four. The news texts were analysed under historicist, humanitarian and welfarist ideologies. Themes such as government and politics, violence, crime and conflict, education and health etc. were critically examined. In chapter five the data were analysed to show the interaction between political ideology and discourse strategies used to project it in OSBC radio news texts.

6.2 Summary of Findings

The data for this study covered the period between April 2007 and November 2010. The data were subjected to a critical discourse analysis to find out the ideologies and discourse strategies employed by journalists in the construction of political news on the radio. The study revealed the link between political ideologies and discourse strategies in OSBC radio news.

Findings from the analysed data are summarised below:

6.2.1 Thematic and Ideological Analyses

Ideological analysis of the news text was done under the categories of historicist, humanitarian and welfarist ideologies. Our analysis revealed that these ideologies influenced the journalists' use of specific discourse strategies. It was revealed that the radio news report contained hidden and subjective meanings that highlighted pro-government activities. The historicist ideology was characterised the use of spatio-temporal adverbs and transitive clauses for detailed material, mental and relational processes. These were used to represent the actions of political actors in the news events. The strategies utilised for humanitarian and welfarist ideologies were blame transfer, source avoidance, positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, foregrounding, figures and statistics, manipulation and authoritarianism.

Analysis of themes of government and politics, violence, conflict and crime, education and health, and Labour issues was also carried out. The thematic analysis revealed that radio news reports contained ideological assumptions embedded in them. Findings also revealed that the news aimed at influencing the behaviour and changing the audiences' actions and expectations.

The analysis showed that the majority of the news reports were woven round the theme of politics in that most of the reports had political undertones. The analysis further revealed the nature of the conjuncture between political ideologies and discourse strategies in OSBC radio news.

6.2.2. Discourse Strategies

Our analysis showed that various discourse strategies were used by journalists to influence the attitude and behaviour of the audience. The analysis revealed that the news texts contained a lot of discourse strategies such as blame transfer, source avoidance, positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, authoritarianism, foregrounding and informativeness, use of figures and statistics, motivation and support garnering, metaphorisation and manipulation. Findings from the study revealed that journalists employed the strategy of blame transfer as an ideological construct created and propagated jointly by politicians and the media to exonerate the political actors from the ills of the society and shift the blame on others. The strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation was ideologically based on the positive self-schema which defines the ideology of a group. Lexical choices were used for positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation in giving biased account of the facts in favour of the speaker's or writer's interest, while blaming negative situations and events on the others.

It was revealed from the analysis that the strategy of authoritarianism as a source of news making was tied to the media's dependence on the status quo to keep their ownership and continue their profitability. Events concerning those in power were given prominence and emphasised while events concerning those not in power were de-emphasised or defocussed. This supports the notion that the news media generally adopt the perspective and legitimate the dominance of the elites as the media are involved in choosing their source of information, that is, who gets to be heard or quoted in news.

Findings from the study also revealed that the strategy of source avoidance was employed to hide the truth or mask negative issues. The source of negative issues was avoided by the means of agentless passives. The use of figures and statistics was employed by journalists to suggest preciseness and to represent the facts as against mere opinions and impression, while the strategy of foregrounding revealed that events concerning the leading political class were emphasised, taken as truth and given prominence. This study further revealed that the strategy of manipulation was used in news report to enhance the moral superiority and credibility of those in power. It made use of emotional appeals to influence the audience while discrediting members of the opposing group. It was also revealed that manipulation was used to exercise control over the audience to influence their knowledge, beliefs and actions. Metaphorisation which featured in the use of dysphemism and metaphoric verbs was used to influence the audience's perception of radio news in relation to the cause and effect of given situations. This study has shown that discourse strategies are used by journalists to manipulate opinions, mobilise actions and influence people's perception in ways that are desirable to the interest group.

6.2.3   Interaction between political ideologies and discourse strategies

This study revealed a close interaction between political ideologies and discourse strategies in OSBC radio news texts. Historicist ideology reflected in the historical comparison of events. Humanitarian and welfarist ideologies manifested in the strategies of blame transfer, source avoidance, authoritarianism, motivation, figures and statistics, manipulation etc. This interaction showed the relationship between ideologies and discourse strategies and demonstrated how they enhance the comprehension of the radio news.

6.3   Conclusion

Media discourse is found to be biased. It contains discourse strategies and ideologically based opinions of the media organisation which are often hidden and implied. Such discourse strategies, ideologies and biases can only be uncovered through a critical investigation. Ideologies are the fundamental beliefs that form the basis of the social representations of a group and its members. They can be seen as forms of social cognition with social practices and discourse and they have to do with systems of ideas and beliefs shared by a social group. Ideologies influence what we say and how we say it and vice versa. Information that portrays the

212

interest group in a negative way or the opposition in a positive way tends to remain implicit, de-emphasised, hidden and vague, while information that portrays the interest group positively or the opposition negatively are made explicit, emphasised, topicalised and given detailed attention in news reports.

Our analysis has shown the relevance of CDA in interpreting news discourse and in analysing discourse to find hidden meanings. The insight and awareness gained through the utilisation of CDA in analysing discourse strategies have assisted us to better appreciate, comprehend and discover the truth in news reporting. The analysis also revealed that political ideologies interact with discourse strategies in the news texts. This interaction throws useful insight into the ideational process that is crucial in the construction of radio news.

6.4   Recommendations

Studies have been carried out on linguistic and stylistic features of news in the electronic media in Nigeria. Media news reports can be better appreciated and comprehended through the awareness of ideologies and discourse strategies and how they interact in news discourse. A critical analysis of news bulletins enables us to uncover hidden meanings and ideological assumption embedded in them. Many messages can be communicated through the texts and images on the television. Since television news conveys ideologically-laden information and images, future studies should undertake an analysis of the conjuncture between ideology and television news. Much more studies need to be undertaken to determine how the audiences' awareness of ideologies can enhance a better comprehension of television news.

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