

IBADAN:
JOURNAL
OF
ENGLISH
STUDIES

Volume 12, 2016

ISSN 0189-6253

Discursive Construction of the Goodluck Jonathan Administration in the War against *Boko Haram* Terrorism in Selected Nigerian Newspapers

Ayo Osisanwo, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria & Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa

Abstract

The *Boko Haram* insurgency has had some negative effects on Nigeria, and the Nigerian government has continually condemned the violence, and declared total war against the group. Linguistic studies on terrorism with bias for *Boko Haram* have largely dwelt on other areas but the reportage of the war against terrorism. Yet, it is capable of revealing the media intents, providing clearer insights into the *Boko Haram* operations, and bringing out the government's efforts in combating terrorism. This study, therefore, examines the linguistic and discourse strategies deployed by the electronic newspaper reporters in framing the administration of former President Goodluck Jonathan in the war on *Boko Haram*. Headlines, overlines and editorials are purposively sampled from four e-newspapers, published from 2011-2014, from the northern (*Daily Trust* and *Leadership Nigeria*) and southern (*The Punch* and *The Nation*) parts of Nigeria. Guided by a combination of the framing theory, critical discourse analysis, and systemic functional linguistics, fourteen (six positive and eight negative) frames were identified; fourteen discourse strategies were deployed by the newspapers; and other linguistic tools were used in representing social actors. The mediated reports on the war on *Boko Haram* terrorism implicated the government as not being sufficiently capable to confront the problem alone.

Keywords: *Boko Haram* terrorism, Goodluck Jonathan, Print media frames, Nigerian newspapers, linguistic strategies, discourse strategies

Terrorism and war on terrorism

Terrorism, as a concept, is 'hard to concisely define' Hoffman (1998:13); terrorism is "deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change" (Hoffman,

1998:43). It is effectively 'anti-democratic' since it adopts strategies that lie beyond the borders of humanitarian values; the act is therefore anti-human (Chitty, 2003).

The metaphor of the war on terrorism gained prominence from the speech of President George Bush, following the events of September 11, 2001. The U.S. President, George Bush declared Osama Bin Laden as the prime suspect, and said further, a few days later, during a speech to Congress, 'Our war on terror begins with Al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated'. Bush identified the 'heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century', the terrorists who 'practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism' that has been 'rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics'. According to Pillar (2001), "if there is a "war" against terrorism, it is a war that cannot be won....One of the realities of our efforts to apply counterterrorism programs and strategies has taught us that at best terrorism is a problem to be managed, not solved".

Similarly, *Boko Haram* has horrendously dealt with Nigeria since 2009. Their activities have literally paralysed the supposed gains of the Jonathan administration, and has had adverse effects on the Nigerian State and the West African sub-region. In response to the seemingly unending violence, the Nigerian government having made unyielding and unsuccessful peace-pacts with the group, eventually condemned the endless terror, and declared war against the group on May 14, 2013. Meanwhile, the traditional, electronic and social media in Nigeria have widely reported both the terrorist acts and the war on terrorism. They have covered the actions of the terrorists, and the efforts of the government in combating terrorism.

Following, mainly, from the views of Hoffman (1998) and Pillar (2001) on the description of what constitutes *terrorism*, the *Boko Haram* group, a group that has been attacking African countries like Nigeria, north Cameroon, Niger and Chad can conveniently be labelled as a terrorist organisation.

Boko Haram: Origin and Escapades

Boko Haram (a Hausa version of “Western education is forbidden”), is a militant Islamic group otherwise known as *Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’awati Wal-Jihad*. It is the group of people of Proselytism and Jihad – the people committed to the propagation of Prophet Mohammed’s teachings and Jihad. ‘*Boko Haram*’ is derived from a combination of the Hausa word ‘*boko*’ (book) and the Arabic word ‘*haram*’ (unlawful). Therefore, *Boko Haram* means ‘Western education is unlawful.’ Meanwhile, the *Boko Haram* group prefers the slogan ‘Western culture is forbidden,’ because culture is broader than education. The group has rejected the government of Nigeria based on the belief in the notion of ‘the unity of God’ (*tawhid*), which argues against the sovereignty of states and for the sole sovereignty of God’s laws (*hakimiyyah*) as the only legitimate form of governance; the Islamic Sharia is seen as the only sovereign government. The jama’a groups believe in violence.

Boko Haram was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 in the city of Maiduguri with the goal of establishing sharia government in Borno State under then-Senator Ali Modu Sheriff (Adesoji 2010). The BH group, especially since 2010, has engaged in endless attacks on the Nigerian State, and has taken responsibility for the consistent attack on the northern part of Nigeria, including bombing institutions, shooting the innocent, and kidnapping the unarmed. No doubt, the groups’ activities has created fear in Nigerians; rendered thousands of people homeless; and forced over 650,000 people to flee from the conflict zone to a comfort zone.

The Nigerian Government and Boko Haram

In response to the *Boko Haram* crisis, the Nigerian government has adopted, mainly, two approaches. One approach has been an attempt to negotiate or dialogue with the group. For example, there was an allegation that the former governor of Borno State, Ali Modu Sheriff, paid the sum of N100 million, or USD 620,000, to mollify the anger of the group upon the killing of their leader in 2009 (Aghedo 2012). At the federal level, the Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan established a 26-member amnesty Committee, headed by Nigerian Special Duties Minister Kabiru Tanimu. The Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolution of Security Challenges in the North was given an ultimatum of three months

within which to convince *Boko Haram* to surrender its arms in exchange for a state pardon and social integration (IRIN 2013). In response to the amnesty offer, however, Shekau said that his group had done no wrong and that amnesty was not applicable to them, arguing that it was the Nigerian government committing atrocities. In his words: 'Surprisingly, the Nigerian government is talking about granting us amnesty. What wrong have we done? On the contrary, it is we that should grant you pardon' (Agbiboa 2013a). In a video released on May 13, 2013, Shekau vowed not to cease his group's violent campaigns to establish an Islamic state in Nigeria (IRIN 2013).

The second approach was borne out of the need, according to President Jonathan, to put an end to impunity. Barely a week after *Boko Haram* refused Nigeria's amnesty offer, the group launched two devastating back-to-back attacks in the north of the country. The first was where the members of the group disguised in military uniforms, with buses and machine gun-mounted trucks, laid siege to the town of Bama, Borno State, and killed 55 people, mostly police and security forces, and freed over 100 prison inmates (Agbiboa 2013b). In the second wave of attacks that came days later, *Boko Haram* members killed 53 people and burnt down 13 villages in central Nigeria's Benue State where violent confrontations between pastoralists and nomads had been commonplace (Agbiboa 2013b). This led to the May 15, 2013 declaration of a state of emergency in Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe by President Goodluck Jonathan. In his address, the President said 'What we are facing is not just militancy or criminality, but a rebellion and insurgency by terrorist groups which pose a very serious threat to national unity and territorial integrity... it would appear that there is a systematic effort by insurgents and terrorists to destabilize the Nigerian state and test our collective resolve.' According to Jonathan, 'These actions amount to a declaration of war and a deliberate attempt to undermine the authority of the Nigerian state and threaten [its] territorial integrity. As a responsible government, we will not tolerate this'. Hence, the Nigerian president vowed to 'take all necessary action... to put an end to the impunity of insurgents and terrorists,' including the 'arrest and detention of suspects, assaults on *Boko Haram* hideouts, the lockdown of suspected *Boko Haram* enclaves, raids, and the arrests of anyone possessing illegal weapons' (IRIN, 2013). This is the second approach the Nigerian State has used in responding to the uprising.

In addition to the government's reaction, the traditional, electronic and social media in Nigeria have widely reported both the terrorist acts and the war on terrorism, as declared by the President. They have covered the actions of the terrorists, and the efforts of the government in combating terrorism. This is where our interest lies in this study. How have the media reported the war on terrorism? How have they framed and constructed the role of the Goodluck Jonathan administration in combating *Boko Haram* terrorism in Nigeria?

Media and Terrorism

The role of the media is to give information and provide a context of meaning, which can be represented textually or with the use of images. All over the world, the mass media function to inform, influence, entertain, and educate among others (Osisanwo 2011:1). The media, therefore, shapes the opinions of the audience by presenting a particular version as reality. In the months following the events of 9/11, different media houses sprang up while others gained popularity because of the full coverage of developing stories relayed from the incident. For over a decade since the 9/11 attack, critical media scholars have identified and continued to subject the reportage to analysis. The international media, especially in the US (CNN) and the UK (BBC) have mostly prioritized the fight against terrorism. Other media outlets in other nations such as some mainstream news magazines namely Newsweek and TIME have as well fronted the coverage of the combat against terrorism. Their coverage has sufficiently played a significant role in influencing the whole world to morally support the US in protesting against terrorism. The media practitioners in Nigeria and all over the world have also been responsive to the series of attacks by *Boko Haram*. The attacks which have been used as a weapon of social and political destabilisation, have been extensively reported in the traditional and social media. The print media, our focus in this study, has taken different postures to account for the terrorist acts and the efforts of the Nigerian State in combating terrorism. In the print media, the ability of a language user to select the appropriate lexical and structural items for effective communication at either the word, phrasal, clausal, sentential or textual level, comes to the fore when a critical examination is carried out on the constructions (Osisanwo 2011:2). Discourses are represented in relation to the professional responsibility of news reporters in communicating newsworthy discourses to news consumers (Osisanwo 2013). The accounts of *Boko Haram* terrorism and

how the war on terrorism has been fought, especially since 2009, and more importantly, since 2011, have regularly been reported. The series of coordinated attacks and war against the group by the government are artfully consistently constructed in news reports. This study, therefore, examines how the selected newspapers frame stories around how terrorism is fought in Nigeria.

Extant Literature and Statement of the Problem

Previous studies on global terrorism have considered, among others, terrorism in relation to media, war, politics and fear (Nacos 1994, 2002; Moeller, 2009; Altheide 2006, 2009; Weimann 2006; Hoskins and O'Loughlin 2010; Hodges 2011) with emphasis on some other Islamic groups like the Al-Qaeda. Scholarship on *Boko Haram* discourses has been carried out from the linguistic and non-linguistic perspectives. From the non-linguistic perspective, such studies have been cultural and historical (Asogwa, Iyere, and Attah 2012; Danjibo 2012; Elkaim 2013), religious and philosophical (Okemi 2013; Shuriye, Adeyemi and Huud 2013), on communication and press freedom (Ekwueme and Obayi 2012; Popoola 2012), socio-economic, sociological and political (Musa 2012; Aghedo and Osumah 2012; Ogunrotifa 2013). Therefore, a linguistic investigation of the discursive construction of the Nigerian government combat against *Boko Haram* terrorism will elucidate what philosophers, sociologists, political scientists and others have done on *Boko Haram*.

Linguistic studies have only centred on aspects of pragmatics (Chiluwa and Oyegoke 2012, Odebunmi 2014), lexis (Ogungbe and Alo 2014), aspects of grammar (Agbedo 2012) and a few others. However, insufficient linguistic and discourse attention has been devoted to the discursive construction of the war against *Boko Haram* terrorism in Nigeria which is capable of revealing the media intents, providing clearer insights into *Boko Haram* operations and exposing the success in the combative posture of the Goodluck Jonathan administration. This study, therefore, examines the linguistic and discourse strategies deployed by the electronic newspaper (e-newspaper) reporters in constructing and framing the Goodluck Ebele Jonathan administration's (GEJadmin) war against terrorism in order to establish the role of the media in setting the agenda, framing the administration and controlling the audience's knowledge. The study, therefore, answers the following questions: what agenda did the newspapers set? How is the Goodluck Jonathan

administration framed in the fight against *Boko Haram*? What are the implications of the framing?

Research Methodology

The data for this study are retrieved from four purposively selected e-newspapers from the northern (Daily Trust and Leadership Nigeria) and southern (*The Punch* and *The Nation*) parts of Nigeria. The newspapers' printed versions are widely circulated across Nigeria, while the electronic versions are available online. The papers equally allocate sufficient space to reports on the activities of Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration in combating *Boko Haram* terrorism. Headlines and overline stories and some editorials are purposively sampled from the newspapers between 2011 and 2014. The analysis is guided by a combination of the framing theory, critical discourse analysis (with bias for van Leeuwen's version in the representation of social actors) and systemic functional linguistics. The next section examines the theoretic perspectives.

Theoretic Perspective

Theoretical insight from three major theories: framing theory, systemic functional grammar and van Leeuwen's version of critical discourse analysis, guide this study. The combination of these theories provides a systematic explanation to the representation of the discursive construction of the Goodluck Jonathan administration's war against BH terrorism. The relevant aspects of the theories are discussed below.

The framing theory helps to identify the relationship between news coverage and the media agenda. Framing is a process by which the media place reality "into frame" (Watson and Hill (2000). Frame is an idea arrangement for news contents that provide context and suggestion of issues that need to be given extra attention through selection, pressure, no involvement and elaboration (Tankard & Severin, 2001). In his assertion on the framing theory, Brown (2002) says the media tell people both what is important in the world around them and how to think about the events and people who inhabit that world. In essence, with framing, the media construct what and how people should think.

Therefore, Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) argue that the media tend to control what the audience believes by the manner in which a news

item is presented. Hence, the media use frames to condition the thinking of the audience in terms of what to believe. The interest in the present study, therefore, is in the different frames deployed by the media in the discursive construction of the Goodluck Jonathan administration's war against BH terrorism. The media set the agenda in labelling the Goodluck Jonathan administration's war against BH terrorism positively and negatively, and construct different frames around the agenda. The frames, based on the same realities experienced by the audience and the media, are relevant to the media construction of the Goodluck Jonathan administration's war against BH terrorism in the reports from the various newspapers. While the audience and the media live with the reality that the government has been combating the BH in the northeastern part of Nigeria, the media go a step further in qualifying, modifying and labeling the actions of the GEJadmin, in order to bring about a better ideological construct of news reports relating to the combative posture of the government and the success or failures in winning the war.

Based on the deployment of different transitivity processes in the media constructions of the Goodluck Jonathan administration, Halliday's systemic functional grammar becomes very useful. According to Eggins (2004: 20-21), the systemic functional grammar is a functional semantic approach to language which explores how people use language in different contexts and how language is structured for use as a semiotic system. Our interest in the SFG is on the aspect of transitivity system which relates to the ideational function of the clause as meaning "representation" (Halliday 1994:101), that is, it is realized at the level of the clause as representation. Aspects of transitivity processes deployed by the media will be identified in the course of our analysis. The grammar of the clause consists of three elements of the process: the process itself (realized by a verbal group), participants in the process, and circumstances associated with the process. The types of process are: *material processes: processes of doing; verbal processes: processes of saying; mental processes: processes of sensing; relational processes: processes of being; behavioural and existential* (Halliday 1994: 107-138). The central participant in material processes – "the one that does the deed" (109) – is called an Actor, and the second (optional) participant is a Goal. Another term for the latter function is Patient, "meaning one that 'suffers' or 'undergoes' the process" (110).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) primarily focuses on 'opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' (Wodak 1995:204). It draws upon Halliday's systemic functional grammar. In this study, we are interested in van Leeuwen's contribution to CDA because of its focus on the representation of social actors and actions in discourses. Since the various constructions in the media report different ways of representing the social actors that surround the reported reality and their social action, van Leeuwen's (2008) inventory in the representation of social actors is relevant in unpacking the representations. Leeuwen's theory discusses how social actors can be defined and or described in terms of the roles assigned to them either by reality or as represented in the given text. The ten categories identified by van Leeuwen (2008) are as follows: exclusion, role allocation, genericisation and specification, assimilation, association and dissociation, indetermination and differentiation, nomination and categorization, functionalisation and identification, personalization and impersonalisation, and over determination. While majority of them are relevant and applicable to our data, only very few are not.

Exclusion refers to how social actors are either completely left out of a text or become de-emphasised. The two major types of exclusion are *backgrounding* and *suppression*. While exclusion in backgrounding is less radical, it is more radical in suppressing. **Role Allocation**, which heavily relies on Halliday's process and participant's categorisation, is the process of representing social actors by assigning grammatical roles to them. The actors are either activated or passivated and assigned the role of 'agent' ('actor'), *sayer*, *senser*, *behavior*, *assigner*; passivation can be *subjected* or *beneficialised*. **Genericisation and Specification** represent social actors as classes of people and as specific individuals that can be easily identified respectively. **Assimilation** represents social actors as individuals (individualisation) or as a group (assimilation). Two kinds of assimilation are *collectivisation* and *aggregation*. While *aggregation* represents social actors as statistics by quantifying group of participants, *collectivisation* uses generalised opinions, not statistically presented.

Association and Dissociation represent social actors as groups. In *association*, different collective groups are associated with each other due to one common interest, while in *dissociation*, an initial association gets broken. These groups may associate and dissociate themselves within the same text **Indetermination and Differentiation:**

Indetermination is where social actors are represented as unspecified, groups or individuals: the identity of the group is anonymous. *Determination* is where the identity of social actors is specified. In *differentiation*, social actors or social groups differentiate explicitly between "us" and "them". **Nomination and Categorisation:** *Nomination* identifies individuals "in terms of their unique identity" (Leeuwen 2008:42). On the other hand, *categorisation* identifies individuals "in terms of identities and functions they share with others". **Functionalisation and Identification:** In *Functionalisation*, social actors are described in terms of the activity or something they do "an occupation or role" (Leeuwen 2008:42), *identification* occurs where social actors are defined in terms of what they are permanently. **Personalisation and Impersonalisation:** *Personalisation* is the representation of social actors as human beings with the use of personal/possessive pronouns. *Impersonalisation* is the representation of social actors, abstract entities or objects.

Analysis and Findings

The four newspapers use two main frames (positive and negative) in the discursive construction of the Goodluck Jonathan administration's war against BH terrorism. The positive frames are six, including GEJadmin as warrior/fighter, GEJadmin as winner, GEJadmin as jailer, GEJadmin as concerned leader (shepherd worried for the sheep), GEJadmin as crusader and GEJadmin as helpless. The negative frames are eight, including GEJadmin as underdog, GEJadmin as failure, GEJadmin as a typical politician, GEJadmin as corrupt/bad administrator, GEJadmin as frustrated leader, GEJadmin as unyielding/adamant, GEJadmin as confused and GEJadmin as sabre-rattling rhetorician. Fourteen discourse strategies are deployed in the construction of the identified frames. They include Voice Management (VM), Publicisation of Success Stories (PSS), Indictment of Culpable individuals (ICI), Detachment from Position-taking (DPT), Emotional Appeal (EA), Direct Condemnation of the Government (DCG), Indirect Condemnation of the Government (ICG), Veiled Exposition (VE), Unveiled Exposition (UE), Avoidance of Demonising Language/negative label (ADL), Fronting the War Stories (FWS), Reference to Antecedents (RA), Comparison of the War with History (other countries) (CWH) and Use of Negative Label (UNL).

In the next section, I will discuss each of the frames alongside the discourse and grammatical strategies used in reinforcing them.

Positive Frames

GEJadmin as Warrior/Fighter

The newspapers' reports frame the Goodluck Jonathan administration (henceforth, GEJadmin) as warrior and fighter – a government that can wage war against the enemy forces. All the papers construct the administration as a warrior, fighter or war director.

Text 1

The president was apparently reacting... He said government will fight *Boko Haram*, the "group of evil-minded people who want to cause anarchy to the end," and called for a concerted effort by all well-meaning Nigerians to bring this problem under control. (*Daily Trust*, Dec 31 2011)

Text 2

Jonathan orders total war against *Boko Haram*

President Goodluck Jonathan has directed the armed forces to launch a full-scale military operation against *Boko Haram* and other violent organisations to put an end to their impunity in the country. "I am determined to protect our democracy, our national unity and our political stability by waging a total war against terrorism," he said in his nationwide Democracy Day broadcast in Abuja. (*The Punch*, May 30, 2014)

In different speeches made by the President, he had declared and directed a total war against terrorism, and against, in particular, the *Boko Haram*. The discourse strategies drawn upon to reinforce this include VM, DPT, ICI and EA. This is achieved using Leeuwen's tools such as *nomination, association, determination, individualisation, classification, collectivisation, personalisation* and *specification* for representing social actors. To start with, one very prominent social actor's representation strategy which recurs through the whole of this analysis is the use of *individualisation*. In this case, the president is represented as the major and chief spokesperson of the government and administration. He is therefore the strong individual who is constructed as a fighter and warrior.

In texts 1-2, each of the reporters attributed the sources of their information to the president, thereby using VM, that is managing the voice of the president and assigning him the role of the sayer. This helps them to detach themselves from taking position. Meanwhile, the voice is also used to indict the *Boko Haram* group as culpable in the destabilisation of the country. The papers, therefore, in the president's swift reaction to the sectarian violence, construct the president and government to have ordered and declared (a full-scale) war against the group. The president/administration is therefore a war fighter – a warrior. The use of *collectivisation* in the phrase "well-meaning Nigerians" shows the president's association with Nigerians and his view that the war against terrorism is a collective responsibility. While the media identify and specify the president as the sayer, the president's voice manages to identify and specify the members of the group as the evil perpetrators. The reporter in text 2 also personalises the president's speech thus: "I am determined" in order to bring out the human being in him.

GEJadmin as Winner

The newspapers frame GEJadmin as a winner or as winning in the war against *Boko Haram* terrorism.

Text 4

Nigeria winning *Boko Haram* war, says Jonathan

President Goodluck Jonathan on Friday said contrary to media reports, the Federal Government had started winning the war against the *Boko Haram* sect. He boasted that for about a week now, there have been no further reports of the sect seizing more territory... (*The Punch*, November 21, 2014)

Text 5

Army frees kids, women abducted by *Boko Haram*

The President said "The women and children who were kidnapped from police barracks and environs during the May 7 attack on Bama had been held in the camp since their abduction and were featured in the video by Abubakar Shekau recently". He said the women and six children were rescued after overrunning three terrorists camps in the notorious Sambisa forest area of central Borno in the ongoing onslaught against terrorists. (*Daily Trust*, May 25 2013)

In text 4, the reporter starts by using *individualisation* to activate Nigeria as a winner while “*Boko Haram* war” is assigned the role of recipient and war loser. The reporters in both texts 4 and 5 deploy the VM and DPT discourse strategies to relay their reports. Managing the voice of the president to construct the winning frame, the reporter detaches self from the extent of veracity in the war being won. The president refutes the other claim by using *determination* to identify and specify the media as the group spreading a contrary view with regards to the war already being won, and emphasises that the federal government is beginning to win. Ideologically, the reporter used the verb “boast” twice, probably to suggest that it was not supposed to be a time for celebrations yet. The use of the phrase “armed forces” is *association*, which suggests the formation of alliance among the members of the force to collectively combat terrorism.

To corroborate the winning frame, the *Daily Trust* reporter frames the headline to assign the role of actor/agency in freeing the abductees to the army and the role of beneficiaries of the freedom to the kids and women. Meanwhile, the “by-phrase” suggests circumstantialisation to activate *Boko Haram* as the kidnappers. The fronting and foregrounding of “Army” purposefully constructs the army, the security division of the GEJadmin as a winner. In achieving a successful construction, the reporter also uses the verbal process to assign the role of the sayer to the leader of the army group. The attribution of information source and the assignment of the sayer role to the newsworthy participant authenticate claims. The reporter begins with RA discourse strategy, reiterating and making reference to the initial abduction of women and children. The reporter further draws upon EA strategy by demanding joy and happiness from the readers upon the news of the release of the abductees. He further constructs the GEJadmin as winner by the use of lexicalised phrases such as “women and...children were rescued”, “overrunning three terrorists camps” “the ongoing onslaught against terrorists” and “destroyed all the camps”. In general, the media also draw upon the PSS discourse strategy, publicising the success story as a way to support the government in the purported war being gradually won.

GEJadmin as Jailer

The Nation and *The Punch*'s reporters construct the GEJadmin as jailer.

Text 6

FG convicts 40 Boko Haram members – Adoke

The Attorney General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, Mr Mohammed Adoke, on Monday said that more than 40 *Boko Haram* members had been convicted for terrorism-related crimes.

(*The Nation*, February 24, 2014)

Text 7

40 B'Haram members convicted, says AGF

The Attorney-General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, Mr. Mohammed Adoke, on Monday said more than 40 *Boko Haram* members had been convicted by the nation's courts for terrorism-related crimes. (*The Punch*, February 25, 2014)

In the headlines in texts 6 and 7, the reporters used different strategies to relay the same stories. Both papers assign the role of the sayer to the Attorney General of the Federation (AGF) and Justice Minister, Mr Mohammed Adoke. The AGF is a representative of the GEJadmin, and the incorporation of his voice authenticates the claims by the reporters. Assigning the Sayer role to him affords the reporters the opportunity to detach themselves from taking position and responsibility for the information. However, the reporter in text 6 activates the FG as the actor in the conviction, while forty members of *Boko Haram* are the recipients of the conviction. In text 7, *The Punch* reporter foregrounds the convicts, that is the forty *Boko Haram* members, whereas the actors and agency involved in convicting them are excluded (suppression) outright in the headline. Meanwhile, both reporters only substantiated the headlines in their overlines by identifying and specifying "terrorism-related crimes" as the crime for which the forty *Boko Haram* members were convicted. Both reporters also deployed *determination* and *aggregation* by specifying the range of *Boko Haram* members convicted to be above forty.

GEJadmin as Concerned Leader (Shepherd worried for the Sheep)

The president is also constructed as a concerned leader, a shepherd who is worried for the sheep, and can go to any length in protecting the sheep.

Text 8

Boko Haram: Jonathan is feeling the heat – Presidency

Presidential spokesman, Reuben Abati, said this yesterday while dismissing the claim that his boss was inactive in containing terrorism. ... He said "See, the president is the man in the kitchen; he feels the heat, and he is not running away from the heat." (*Daily Trust*, Nov 17 2014)

To frame the president as a concerned leader, the *Daily Trust* reporter uses VM, manages the voice of the presidential spokesman, Reuben Abati. In the headline "Jonathan is feeling the heat", Jonathan is formally nominated and equally activated as the agent who feels the heat, and is concerned. When a shepherd leads the sheep, the shepherd is always very concerned about the safety of the sheep. The presidential spokesman also draws upon the kitchen as a metaphorical representation of Nigeria, especially the northeastern part as the place where the heat generates from. Hence, it takes a concerned leader to be a part of the heat.

GEJadmin as Crusader

The papers construct GEJadmin as a crusader – an individual who is determined to change something because of the morality in them.

Text 10

Democracy Day: Amnesty Door Still Open For Boko Haram – Jonathan

President Goodluck Jonathan has resorted to the stick-and-carrot approach in a desperate bid to get rid of terror in the country. He declared yesterday that the door of amnesty was still open for the *Boko Haram* sect, including those with links to Al Qaeda and other international terror organisations. At the same time, the president declared his intention to wage a full-scale war against terrorists in the country. (*The Leadership*, May 30, 2014)

Text 11

Jonathan lists terms for B/Haram talks...declares 'total war' on terrorism
(Daily Trust, May 30 2014)

GEJadmin is constructed as a leader who speaks in different fora to encourage other leaders to join in the fight, advises other African leaders on how to succeed, and negotiates the right discourses on how to end terrorism in Nigeria and other African countries. *Daily Trust* and *Leadership* reporters construct the president as a crusader in reporting the same story as delivered by the president on the Democracy Day. In framing the administration as a crusader of a terrorist-free nation and continent, the *Leadership* and *Daily Trust* reporters nominate Jonathan as the Sayer and declarer of Amnesty for *Boko Haram* members, hence a change in approach from only force (stick) to persuasion (carrot), that is the use of stick-and-carrot approach. While the president is reported to be crusading amnesty, he is also reported to be bent on waging war on terrorists. In the segment of the speech "For our citizens ... if they renounce terrorism and embrace peace", there is the management of the voice of the president in the reinforcement of personalisations. The segment of the speech polarises between "Us" and "Them", where "them" represents the terrorists, their organisation and their international supporters, while "us" represents non-terrorists and all anti-terrorist groups. In this case, while the crusader sees "us" as a lover of peace, he invites "them" to change from their evil ways, stop terrorizing the nation and join "us". All the "us" and "them" suggest the representation of the social actors as human beings with the use of personal and possessive pronouns (Leeuwen 2008).

GEJadmin as Helpless

The construction of GEJadmin as a helpless administration whose knowledge, power and strength is not sufficient to overcome the *Boko Haram* terrorist group is framed by all the newspapers.

Text 12

U.S. prepares for a long, tough fight against *Boko Haram*

Over a month ago, the world was shocked when *Boko Haram* kidnapped over 250 young women from a secondary school in Chibok. The United States swiftly joined the effort to help the Government of Nigeria safely recover the hostages. President

Obama pledged our full support, and President Goodluck Jonathan readily accepted Secretary Kerry's offer of assistance. (*The Nation*, May 23, 2014)

Text 13

Boko Haram: Jonathan invites Senegalese malams for prayer

President Goodluck Jonathan has sought spiritual assistance from Islamic clerics from Senegal over the *Boko Haram* insurgency.

(*Daily Trust*, May 31 2014)

According to the newspapers, the administration looks outwards for help from more physically and spiritually powerful forces to come to her aid. To achieve this construction, UE and RA were drawn upon as discourse strategies. This was reinforced by other tools for representing social actors such as *activation*, *passivation*, *specification*, *classification*, *identification*, among others. In text 12, *The Nation* reporter, in the headline, activates the US as the physically more powerful actor who is going to render help to Nigeria and the GEJadmin to combat *Boko Haram* terrorism. The reporter begins the overline by dwelling on RA, to reiterate and remind the readers of the antecedents that led to the decision of the US to help Nigeria. He uses *identification* ("kidnapped over 250 young women from a secondary school in Chibok"), *classification* ("young women") and *aggregation* ("over 250 young women") to represent the victims of the abduction, what shocked the whole world and why the US will render help to the government of Nigeria in recovering the girls. In the sentence "The United States swiftly joined the effort to help the Government of Nigeria safely recover the hostages," the US is activated and constructed as the helper, while the Government of Nigeria is passivated and constructed as the helpless. The expression, "to help the Government of Nigeria safely recover the hostages" frames the helplessness of the government of Nigeria; and the paratactic clauses, "President Obama pledged our full support, and President Goodluck Jonathan readily accepted Secretary Kerry's offer of assistance" shows that the Nigerian president owned up to be helpless and helpable.

Meanwhile, in text 13, the *Daily Trust* reporter constructs Jonathan as the one in need of help over Nigeria. The headline nominates and activates Jonathan as the agentialised actor in the invitation to the passivated recipients "Senegalese malams". In the overline, President Goodluck Jonathan (formally *nominated*) is portrayed as spiritual

assistance seeker. The use of *association* and *functionalisation* in "Senegalese malams", "Islamic clerics", "disciples of the Late Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass", "top government officials", on the one hand, gives the association between the social actors, and on the other hand, highlights their societal roles. The identification of "Late Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass" as a great scholar foregrounds his spiritual prowess in spiritually combating the problem facing the country. The lexical item, "late", shows that the spiritual leader is dead, while the *relational identification*, "grandson", tells of the biological relationship between the late spiritual leader and the new leader, all of which point to the relevance of the new team in helping the government of Nigeria.

Negative Frames

GEJadmin as Underdog

The newspapers' reports frame the Goodluck Jonathan administration as underdog – a government that is weak and unsuccessful, especially against the *Boko Haram* terrorist.

Text 14

With the reported annexation of some parts of the country by *Boko Haram*, many, including lawyers, are urging the government to up its ante in the fight against the insurgents. They scored the government low in its approach, saying that the Goodluck Jonathan administration has failed in its constitutional responsibility of providing security for the people... President Jonathan once told a bewildered nation that he was unwilling to confront the insurgents forcefully, but would rather court them because he is the President of all Nigerians, including *Boko Haram* members (*The Nation*, September 23, 2014).

Text 15

His (the president's) speech during an inter-denominational service to mark the 2012 Armed Forces Remembrance Day on Sunday, January 8 brought to the fore **the helplessness of his administration**. Many were stunned when the President said that *Boko Haram* had **infiltrated his administration**. His speech was short of a song of lamentation. Jonathan said, "I remember when I held a meeting with elders from the North ..., somebody said that

the situation is bad that even if one's son is a member, one will not even know. That means that if the person will plant a bomb behind your house you won't know. Some of them are in the executive arm of government,... the parliamentary/legislative arm of government, ... the judiciary... the armed forces, the police and other security agencies. Some continue to dip their hands and eat with you and you won't even know the person who will point a gun at you or plant a bomb behind your house" *The Punch*, (January 16, 2012).

All the papers joined in the construction; meanwhile, *The Punch's* negative frames are more obvious than others. *The Nation's* reporter uses the VM and DPT strategies to attribute source to many Nigerians, thereby detaching self from taking position. His use of *aggregation* "many, including lawyers", that is many Nigerians, quantifies the Nigerians who are making the call to the government. The reporter further draws upon ICG, by quoting them to have scored the government's approach low and that the government is a failure in the business of providing adequate security. To further construct the GEJadmin as a weakling, the reporter uses RA strategy to draw upon a speech given in the past by the president where he had declined using force on the terrorist because he sees himself as the president of all, including the terrorists. In the report, the use of the expression, "a bewildered nation" draws upon the EA strategy. To also portray the GEJadmin as an underdog, *The Nation* reporter uses DCG thus: "...some recent half-hearted military operations...have seen the country's military losing some grounds to the insurgents", to show that the war is being gradually won by the enemies.

In text 15, *The Punch* reporter uses the phrase, "helplessness of his administration" to construct the president as an underdog. He also uses *aggregation* to quantify the number of Nigerians who were stunned when the president displayed serious weakness by acknowledging that members of *Boko Haram* had infiltrated his government. The following expressions further foreground how clueless the administration is about the enemies "even if one's son is a member, one will not even know... eat with you". This statement also draws on EA to reinforce the unreliability of the government's intelligence unit. The extensive use of "some" shows *indetermination*, which means the government or administration cannot even determine the enemies, let alone fight them. Therefore, Nigerians

cannot be saved with an erratic and unstable leadership, an underdog and a fearful weakling like the GEJadmin.

GEJ admin as Failure

The newspapers construct the GEJadmin as a failure, with regards to the number of Nigerians being killed by the *Boko Haram*.

Text 17

After the Madalla bombing, the President of the Christian Association of Nigeria, Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor, warned that Christians will have "no other option" but to defend themselves if attacks by Islamist militants continued. A former Governor of Abia State, Dr. Orji Kalu, corroborated the CAN President. In a statement on Tuesday, Orji said, "Christians (Northern and Southern) and all Southerners **must also refuse** to be made scapegoats and must get together to resist these unwarranted attacks. With the President declaring that *Boko Haram* is worse than the country's civil war, it is obvious that the group is becoming a hard nut to crack. His declaration was in line with what Soyinka said on the BBC on Tuesday "When you've got a situation where a bunch of people can go into a place of worship and open fire through the windows, you've reached a certain dismal watershed in the life of that nation," he warned.

The Punch (January 16, 2012)

In text 17, *The Punch* reporter mainly draws upon VM, DPT and ICG to portray the government as a failure. The reporter uses the verbal process in assigning the Sayer role to three newsworthy personalities in order to authenticate claims yet distance self from the source. The use of functionalisation also points out the occupational relevance and role of each of them, thereby bestowing on them a newsworthy status. The voices of the CAN president, the former governor of Abia State and the Nobel Laureate all point to the fact that the GEJadmin has failed in the war. Furthermore, in the president's declaration that "*Boko Haram* is worse than the country's civil war", there is the use of CWH to appropriately relate the situation at hand to the civil war. Through the declaration by the president that "*Boko Haram* is worse than the country's civil war" and "the group is becoming a hard nut to crack", the reporter constructs GEJadmin as failing in the fight. Using Soyinka's (Professor Wole Soyinka) voice, the reporter uses collectivisation "that nation" to

portray Nigerian in the hands of GEJadmin as having reached a state of "dismal watershed", a period and time of hopelessness and failure in the country. The use of ICG as a discourse strategy is also seen here; the reporter indirectly condemns the administration through Soyinka's voice.

GEJadmin as Typical Politician

The word "politician", which generally refers to someone who works in politics, especially an elected member of the government, or someone who uses his situation to gain an advantage, has an extended meaning which relates to an individual who makes promises which will not be fulfilled.

Text 18

The *Boko Haram* crisis is readily used by the PDP to rationalize the Jonathan Government's abdication of its constitutional responsibilities, including visits and assistance to areas affected, effective response to kidnappings and abductions (e.g. the GEJ government was silent over the Chibok girls kidnap for over 15 days). The declaration of emergency rule, massive increases in spending on security without correspondent impact, has become a political gimmick by the PDP now being counted as the GEJ achievement in promoting peace and security. The PDP is actively politicizing the declaration of emergency rule. (*The Nation*, September 10, 2014)

The Nation newspaper constructs GEJadmin as a typical politician because of its involvement in the politicisation of events and issues. In text 18, the reporter uses UE, ICI and DCG in order to expose by identifying some of the tactics of the administration, such as the ineffective response to the kidnap of the Chibok girls, spending exorbitantly on security without any impact. The reporter is quite apt in his description, thereby fronting the condemnable activities of the government. He indicts the government as culpable of politicizing the situation, condemns his emergency rule in opposition party states, while the equally troubled states which belong to his party (association) are not touched. The reporter's description also fronts the determination of two different associations that is pro-PDP and anti-PDP. Through all the descriptions – unveiled descriptions – the reporter deploys UNL, that is

negatively labels the GEJadmin and the party, PDP, as bad and very partial.

GEJadmin as Corrupt/Bad Administrator

The papers also construct the GEJadmin as a bad and corrupt administration, as exemplified below.

Text 20

Obama: Bad governance responsible for *Boko Haram*

The American president ... declared that the upsurge of terrorist groups in Nigeria and its neighbouring countries was because "the countries are not delivering for their people and where there are sources of conflict and underlining frustrations they have not been adequately dealt with". He noted that what is also true is that in some ways the problem has also metastasized. "we have more regional terrorist organisations like *Boko Haram* in Nigeria espousing an extremist ideology, showing no regard for human life." (*Daily Trust*, June 30 2013)

Text 21

Terrorism: Fashola Blames FG for *Boko Haram* Activities

Lagos State governor, Mr Babatunde Fashola yesterday heaped the blames of insurgency that has led to the death of many people in the country at the doorsteps of President Goodluck Jonathan-led federal government, saying its failure on security was responsible for the *Boko Haram* sect's takeover of some parts of the country. (*The Leadership*, Nov 13, 2014)

Text 22

ASUU faults FG's approach to terror war

The Academic Staff Union of Universities has faulted the Federal Government's approach to ending the on-going insurgency in the country. The Federal Government's approach to fighting the war orchestrated by the *Boko Haram*, the union said, was too cosmetic... and the President Goodluck Jonathan-led administration like those of his predecessors was insincere in stopping the vice. (*The Punch*, December 9, 2014)

In texts 20 and 21, with DCG, ICG and UNL strategies, the reporters (*Daily Trust* and *The Leadership*) respectively use the voices of the American President and the Lagos State Governor to directly and indirectly condemn the GEJadmin as a corrupt and bad administration. They *identified* and *specified* the bad in the governance. According to the *Daily Trust* reporter, using the voice of Obama, the government's failure to invest in the youth, not delivering the dividends of democracy and other underlining frustrations are responsible for the insurgency in Nigeria. In like manner, in text 21, *The Leadership* reporter uses Fashola's voice to identify bad administration as the cause of the protracted insurgency, such that the war is not yielding any positive result. In all, the reporters deploy *functionalisation* and *nomination* to introduce the functional and occupational roles of the social actors.

In like manner, in text 22, *The Punch* reporter also deploy the VM and DPT strategies by attributing source to the ASUU chairman who use DCG to condemn the GEJadmin for the protracted terrorism in Nigeria. The ASUU chairman in text 22 criticised the insincerity of GEJadmin in the fight against corruption, and further condemned and indicted (ICI) the GEJadmin's approach in "fighting the war orchestrated by the *Boko Haram*", as "too cosmetic and could only scratch the surface of the problem". In essence, the administration is not tactically fit or doing enough to rescue the people from the *Boko Haram*.

GEJadmin as Frustrated Leader

The newspaper reports frame GEJ as a frustrated leader.

Text 24

Boko Haram: I'm being frustrated – Jonathan

Speaking yesterday at the Presidential Villa in Abuja ... the president emphasised that his administration's efforts towards containing the security challenges in the country were being sabotaged by internal and external forces.

(*Daily Trust*, Dec 13 2014)

In text 24, the *Daily Trust* reporter uses the voice of the president to frame the president as a frustrated leader, by assigning him the role of the Sayer and recipient thus: "I'm being frustrated". The active agent in the statement is personlised as "I", whose referent is still the sayer. Upon

the realization of losing the war against the *Boko Haram*, the president confessed to being frustrated. In his speech, he identified saboteurs (internal and external) as working against his success in the containment of terrorism. Meanwhile, the reporter, through the president, draws upon EA in order to give the readers some emotional balance that the government is still in control. The ideological affiliation of the paper and the reporter, in this regard, is seen in the headline, the fronting of the frustration in the real story and the closing of the story almost with the frustration issue. Meanwhile, the other issue raised in the story, where the president expresses optimism and assurance that the country would surmount the challenges was *backgrounded* and sandwiched somewhere in the middle of the report. The use of "I", that is *personalisation* connects with *individualisation* – Jonathan, the head of the government, to show the person being frustrated.

GEJadmin as Unyielding/Adamant

The papers represent the administration as not yielding to popular advice.

Text 25

Northern youths to governors: Shun Jonathan, grant *Boko Haram* amnesty

A communique issued ... in Kaduna yesterday and signed by the forum's National President, said "We have been following with utter dismay and despair how President Goodluck Jonathan's led Federal Government has been playing politics and exhibiting such sophistry and a high sense of insensitivity in handling the *Boko Haram* insurgency and further compounding the series of challenges confronting Northern Nigeria".

(*Daily Trust*, Mar 23 2013)

At the initial state, there have been clamours that the government should grant the BH amnesty so that the killings can stop, the delay in accepting this advice led to the initial portrayal as adamant. In the headline, the reporter assigns the role of the sayer to the northern youths, manages their voice in constructing Jonathan as unyielding to advice. Their instructive construction with the use of the action verbs "shun" and "grant" sufficiently lexicalises the command to the governors since they are the northerners who feel the pain and are mostly hit by the BH

insurgency. The report uses DCG by condemning the GEJadmin as unyielding and insensitive thus: "insensitivity ... Nigeria". The report identifies and lexicalises some of the sins of the president to include: "utter dismay and despair", "playing politics", "exhibiting such sophistry", "a high sense of insensitivity" and "compounding the series of challenges confronting Northern Nigeria". The president's negligence to all the aforementioned, therefore, tells of his adamancy.

GEJadmin as Confused

The newspapers being considered also frame GEJadmin as confused – a situation where somebody is unable to understand or think clearly about what is happening, and the steps to take.

Text 26

Thousands of women ... have come out to wake up a government that claims to be working tirelessly against terrorism but sets up a committee to recover the kidnapped schoolchildren three weeks after the event. Whether it sets up such a committee because there are conflicting information on the number of missing students (which is the reason the government cites,...) or it sets it up because it is truly at a loss as what to do about these insurgents, the point remains that the entire country cannot leave the government to this exercise.

(*The Punch*, May 7, 2014)

In the frame, *The Punch* reporter hits GEJadmin directly without any form of veil. He uses *collectivisation*, *classification* and *categorisation* "the Nigerian women" to signify the relational identity and function of the people or group of people who have come together to share in the pain of the victims of kidnap, the schoolgirls. The reporter openly condemns the Federal Government's inability to recover the girls after a very long time. He uses *aggregation* in "thousands of women" to assign the agency role to the women who have come to wake up the beneficiary "a government that claims to be working tirelessly against terrorism but sets up a committee to recover the kidnapped schoolchildren three weeks after the event". This is framed on purpose to show a sharp contrast between what the government says and what it does. In addition to the UE, the reporter further portrays the GEJadmin as confused because of the conflicting possible reason for setting up the committee. In essence,

the reporter indicts the government to be quite confused if it only sets up a committee after three weeks to determine the number. *The Punch* reporter expects that if the GEJadmin is not confused, the recovery blueprint should be the main issue. Therefore, to the reporter, as framed in the newspaper, the GEJadmin is not responsive, it is a confused administration in relation to the war on terrorism in Nigeria.

GEJadmin as Sabre-Rattling Rhetorician

The Punch newspaper framed the president as a sabre-rattling rhetorician – a speechmaker who threatens to use force but seem to lack the required confidence or seriousness to follow their words with action.

Text 28

Boko Haram: Beyond a state of emergency

President Goodluck Jonathan finally declared a state of emergency in three terror-infested states in the North of Nigeria...By this declaration, the President ordered the security agencies ...to “put an end to the impunity of insurgents and terrorists” and granted them “the authority to arrest and detain suspects, take possession and control of any building or structure used for terrorist purposes.”...For him, “These actions amount to a declaration of war and a deliberate attempt to undermine the authority of the Nigerian state and threaten her territorial integrity. As a responsible government, we will not tolerate this.” It cannot be said better. But this should not be another sabre-rattling rhetoric. For so long, Jonathan allowed himself to be dragged hither and thither by the whims of myopic individuals and groups, who tacitly support the terror groups and their evil ideology.

(*The Punch*, May 16, 2013)

This frame is constructed to portray the GEJadmin as an administration whose words are not matched with action. The report in text 28 was written after the GEJadmin declared a state of emergency in the three mostly terrorised states in the northeastern part of Nigeria. The reporter begins by formally nominating “President Goodluck Jonathan” as the declarer of the state of emergency in the GEJadmin’s war against terrorism. The reporter assigns the president the role of the sayer, the actor, the commander, the declarer, the speechmaker and so forth. Through VM, the reporter uses the voice of the president to identify and

specify the actions that the armed forces are required to take, including "put an end to the impunity of insurgents and terrorists", "arrest and detain suspects", and "take possession and control of any building or structure used for terrorist purposes."

However, after reporting all of the government's declarations and expectations, using VM, *The Punch* reporter switches to self-opinion or newspaper opinion and clearly says "But this should not be another sabre-rattling rhetoric." This simple sentence is the bane of the reporter's construction of the GEJadmin as sabre-rattling rhetorician. Whereas the demonstrative pronoun "this" refers to the speech on the declaration, the use of the lexical item "another" suggests that it is not the first of such speeches made by the president. Having made such a speech not backed by action before, then the president or his administration, that is, the GEJadmin can be seen as a sabre-rattling rhetorician.

Conclusion

The newspapers *The Punch*, *The Nation*, *Leadership* and *Daily Trust* set the agenda by framing Goodluck Jonathan's administration both positively and negatively. While *the Punch* newspaper takes dominance in the negative frames, *Daily Trust* dominates the positive frames. In all the reports, fourteen frames – six positive (as warrior/fighter, winner, jailer, concerned leader, crusader, helpless) and eight negative (as underdog, failure, typical politician, corrupt/bad administrator, frustrated leader, unyielding/adamant, confused, sabre-rattling rhetorician) were identified.

In the construction of the frames, the reporters and newspapers deployed fourteen discourse strategies, including voice management, publicisation of success stories, indictment of culpable individuals, direct condemnation of the government, indirect condemnation of the government, detachment from position-taking, emotional appeal, veiled exposition, unveiled exposition, avoidance of demonising language/negative label, fronting the war stories, reference to antecedents, comparison of the war with history and use of negative label.

At the linguistic level which mingled with Leeuwen's categorisation and sub-categorisation tools in the representation of social actors, different tools, including exclusion, activation, passivation,

specification, collectivization, aggregation, individualization, association, dissociation, indetermination, differentiation, nomination (formal, semi-formal, informal), categorization, functionalisation and identification were deployed. The other linguistic strategies were deployed with the use of different processes and assignment of different roles to the social actors to foreground or background their activities and their actions. The material process dominates the clause structure, followed by the verbal and the relational processes.

This study, therefore, submits that the reporters have largely set the agenda in orientating their readers on the President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan-led administration in the war against the *Boko Haram* insurgency. The mediated reports on the war on *Boko Haram* implicate the government as not being sufficiently capable to confront the problem alone.

References

- Adesoji, A.O. 2010. The *Boko Haram* Uprising and Islamic Revivalism in Nigeria. *African Spectrum*, 45(2),95-108.
- Agbibo, D.E. 2013a 'No Retreat, No Surrender: Understanding the Religious Terrorism of *Boko Haram* in Nigeria'. *African Study Monographs*, 34(2): 65-84.
- Agbibo, D.E. 2013b 'Why *Boko Haram* Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective'. *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, 3(1): 146-159.
- Aghedo, C.U. 2012. Linguistic Determinants of Military and Terrorism in Nigeria: The Case of M.E.N.D. and *Boko Haram*. *Development Country Studies* Vol 2(11).
- Aghedo, Iro, and Oarhe Osumah. 2012. "The *Boko Haram* Uprising: how should Nigeria respond?" *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 5 (2012): 853-869. Accessed June 10, 2012.<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2012.674701>.
- Altheide, David L. (2006): *Terrorism and the Politics of Fear*. Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- Altheide, David L. (2009): *Terror post 9/11 and the Media*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Asogwa, Chika Euphemia; Iyere, John I.; Attah, Chris O. (2012). The Mass Media Reportage of Crimes and Terrorists Activities: The Nigerian Experience. *Asian Culture and History*, 4(2), 175-181.

- Ayoola, Kehinde A. and Olaosun, Ibrahim E. (2014). "Media Representation of *Boko Haram* in Some Nigerian Newspapers", *International Journal of English Linguistics*, Vol 4 No 3, 49-58
- Bakare, Waheed, Ademola Adedeji and Hammed Shobiye (2009) Islamic Militant Leader Killed – Borno Government, in: *The Punch* (Lagos), 31 July, 5.
- Brown, J. D. (2002). *Mass media influences on sexuality. The Journal of Sex Research*, 39(1), 42- 45.
- Chiluwa, I and Adegoké, A. 2013 'Twittering the *Boko Haram* Uprising in Nigeria: Investigating Pragmatic Acts in the Social Media': *Africa Today*. Vol 59(3). 82-102
- Chitty, N. (2003). 'Introduction: subjects of terrorism and media' in N. Chitty, R. Rush and M. Semeti, *Studies in Terrorism: Media Scholarship and the Enigma of Terror*, Southbound, Penang.
- Cook, David (2011). "*Boko Haram: A Prognosis*", James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University.
- Danjibo, N D. 2012. "Islamic Fundamentalism and Sectarian Violence: The "Maitatsine" and "*Boko Haram*" Crises in Northern Nigeria." Accessed January 29, 2013. www.ifra-nigeria.org/IMG/pdf/N-D-DANJIBO_
- Eggins, S. 2004: *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*. New York: Continuum. 2nd Edition.
- Ekwueme, Anthony Chinedu; Obayi, Paul Martins (2012). *Boko Haram Assault on Nigeria: Towards Effective Mass Media Response. New Media and Mass Communication*, 5/2012, 1-7.
- Elkaim, Z. 2013 *Boko Haram: The Rise, Success, and Continued Efficacy of the Insurgency in Nigeria*. 1-37
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1994. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 2nd ed. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hodges, Adam (2011). *The "War on Terror" Narrative: Discourse and Intertextuality in the Construction and Contestation of Sociopolitical Reality*. (Oxford Studies in Sociolinguistics). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hoffman, B. (1998). *Inside terrorism*. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.
- Hoskins, Andrew; O'Loughlin, Ben (2010). *War and Media: The Emergence of Diffused War*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- IRIN 2013. 'Nigerians on the Run as Military Combat *Boko Haram*'. Integrated Regional Information Networks. May 22. Available at: <http://www.irinnews.org/report/98076/analysis-nigerians-on-the-run-as-military-combat-boko-haram>.

- Kellner, Douglas. (2005). Foreward: The Bush Administration's March to War. In Artz, L. & Kamalipour, Yahya R. (Eds.). *Bring 'em on*, vii-xvii. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Leeuwen, T. 2008. *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moeller, Susan D. (2009). *Packaging Terrorism: Co-opting the News for Politics and Profit*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Musa, Aliyu Odamah (2012, April). Socio-Economic Incentives, New Media and the *Boko Haram* Campaign of Violence in Northern Nigeria. *Journal of African Media Studies*, 4(1), 111-124.
- Mustapha, A R 2012. 'Boko Haram: Killing in God's Name'. *Mail and Guardian*, April 5. Available at: <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-04-05-boko-haram-killing-in-god's-name>.
- Nacos, Brigitte L. (1994). *Terrorism and the Media: From the Iran Hostage Crisis to the World Trade Center Bombing*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Nacos, Brigitte L. (2002). *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Odebunmi, A. 2014.
- Ogunrotifa, M. E. 2013 Class Theory of Terrorism: A Study of *Boko Haram* Insurgency in In Nigeria'. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol 3(1) 27-59
- Okemi, M.E. 2013. 'Boko Haram: A Religious Sect or Terrorist Organisation': *Global Journal of Politics and Law Research*. Vol 1. (1) 1-9. UK : Centre for Research Training and Development.
- Owuamanam, Jude, Francis Falola and Shobiye Hamed (2009). The Rise, Threat and Fall of *Boko Haram*, in: *Saturday Punch* (Lagos), 1 August, 2-3.
- Osisanwo, Ayo. 2011. *Language and Ideology in News Magazines' Representation of Nigeria's 2003 and 2007 General Elections*. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of English, University of Ibadan, Ibadan. xiv+243
- Osisanwo, Ayo. 2013. "Discourse Representation in News Stories on Obasanjo's Third-term Plot in *TELL* and *THE NEWS*. *Ibadan Journal of Humanistic Studies*. Vol. 23. pp 115-141.
- Oyegbile, Olayinka and Abdulrafiu Lawal (2009). Shielding Patrons of *Boko Haram*, in: *Tell* (Lagos), 17 August, 67-71.

- Pillar, Paul R. 2001. *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Brookings Institution Press: Washington, DC.
- Popoola, I. S. (2012). Press and Terrorism in Nigeria: A Discourse on *Boko Haram*. *Global Media Journal African Edition*, 6(1), 43-66. URL: [Punch](#). 2011-2014. Ikeja-Lagos: Punch Nigeria Limited.
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). *Framing, Agenda-setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models*. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 9-20.
- Shuriye A.O, Adeyemi, B.K. and Huud, S. 2013. Global Challenge of Manual Suspicion: *Boko Haram* Uprising in Nigeria. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research Vol. 3 (5)*
- Stenvall, Maija 2003. 'An actor or an Undefined Threat? The role of 'Terrorist' in the Discourse of International News Agencies'. *Journal of Language and Politics*, Vol. 2 (2): 361-404.
- Tankard, J. W & Severin, W.J. (2001) *Communication Theories: Origin, Methods, and Uses in the Mass Media* (5th edition). New York: Longman.
- The Nation*. 2011-2014. Matori-Lagos: Vintage Press Limited
- Umar, S 2011. *The Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-Radicalism in Nigeria, 2008-2009*, Abuja: UNDP.
- Watson, J. & Hill, A. (2000) *Dictionary of Media & Communication*. 5th ed. London: Arnold Publishers.
- Weimann, Gabriel (2006). *Terror on the Internet: The New Arena, the New Challenges*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Wodak, R. 1995. Critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis. *Handbook of Pragmatics: Manual*. Eds. Verschueren, J. et al. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Pp 204-210.
- Woodward, Bob. 2002. *Bush at War*. London: Simon and Schuster.
- Yusha'u, Muhammad Jameel (2012). Representation of *Boko Haram* Discourses in the British Broadsheets. *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, 5(1), 91-108. DOI:

Author biography

Ayo Osisanwo (PhD) lectures in the Department of English, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria. His research interests are media discourse, (critical) discourse analysis and stylistics. He is also interested in English phonology. He has published several papers in journals and books within and outside Africa. He is a 2015 AHP/ACLS Fellow and this article is a product of the funding received from AHP/ACLS. The author is grateful

58 *Ayo Osisanwo*

to Professor Fred Hendricks and Juanita Fuller, his hosts at Rhodes University, South Africa; Professors Jeanne Prinseloo, Obododimma Oha, Akin Odebunmi, and Ian Sieborger of Rhodes University, South Africa and University of Ibadan, Nigeria for going through and offering advice on the initial manuscript.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY