AWKA JOURNAL OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERARY STUDIES (AJELLS)

Volume 11 Number 1
July, 2024

Discursive Strategies in Media Representation of the Sit-at-Home Order: A Discourse-Historical Approach

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Abstract

The study examined the discursive strategies in media representation of the Sit-at-Home order dished out in the south east region of Nigeria. Taiwo and Igwebuike (2015); Igwebuike (2018); Ajiboye and Abioye (2019); and Chiluwa (2011) are some of the studies carried out on media representation of socio-political issues in Nigeria. The extant studies focus on Media representation of the Bakassi-Cameroun conflict, Niger-Delta Crisis and online discourse of Biafra agitations. The studies on Biafra agitations take little or no cognizance of the (Monday) Sit-at-home exercise, therefore the present study fills the existing gap in knowledge. Data were collected from websites of Premium Times, the Guardian, BusinessDay, National Daily Newspaper and Radio Biafra's Facebook page. Textual analysis was done using Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach. Findings reveal that the media employ discursive strategies of nomination, predication, perspectivization/framing and intensifying/mitigation to represent the sit at home exercise as a threat to national development in the south east region of Nigeria and the cause of loss of lives and properties. But members of the Indigenous people of Biafra

(IPOB) and actors insist that the Sit-at-home exercise is a tool of civil disobedience and a form of protest. The study concludes that the media employs self-glorification and other derogation in reporting the Sit at home orders in the southeast. This has shaped the way people view the orders and may have contributed to the continued detention of the IPOB leader.
Keywords: discursive strategies, media representation, IPOB, Sit at home order, framing

Background to the Study

The Sit-at-home phenomenon in South East, Nigeria is a civil disobedience that is marked by a complete lockdown of the entire region. The residents of the region are mandated to stay in their houses from 6 am to 6pm. Offices, businesses and market places are closed for business on such days. This sit-at-home trend in the south east region of Nigeria can be traced down to 2018 when the leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) declared May 30 a public holiday in the south east region of Nigeria to commemorate the Biafra Remembrance Day. The Biafra Remembrance Day is an annual event that is set aside to remember the heroes, Biafra soldiers, that fought the Biafran war. Subsequently, the IPOB leader was extra judicially arrested by the operatives of the Department of Security Services (DSS) in 2021, so the group declared every Monday Sit-at-home until their leader is released from the DSS camp. On 28 July 2023, Barr. Aloy Ejimakor, Counsel to Mr. Nnamdi Kanu, via his Twitter (X) handle, informed Nigerians that Mazi. Nnamdi Kanu had cancelled the Monday Sit-at-home exercise and warned Simon Ekpa, Kanu's disciple, to desist from announcing any Sit-at-home exercise. Notably, the sit-at-home order persists in certain cities in the south east part of Nigeria as banks, some schools and major markets remain closed on Mondays. Over the years, this order has been extended to last from a couple of days up to a two-week period especially during election periods in Nigeria and in some states in the south east. It is worthy of note that the government of Nigeria

proscribed IPOB and labeled it a terrorist organisation. The Acting Chief Judge of the Federal High Court, Justice Abdu Kafarati, proscribed IPOB on 20 September 2017. The activities of IPOB as a socio-political group, including the famous (Monday) sit-at-home, has been represented by the media, since its inception, using certain strategies.

The Media (social or print) is known to employ certain strategies to help drive home its point and make its stories believable. These strategies may be effective in conditioning the minds of readers or listeners to think about certain topics in a particular way. It may prioritise certain topics over others and make them trend. Some of these strategies are called discursive strategies. Discursive strategies refer to certain linguistic tools that are employed in creating a certain perception, meaning or interpretation of some political, psychological or social issues. These are premeditated or conscientious plans to influence the audience's thought processes concerning a particular subject matter. They may be used to persuade, influence, or control the reader's understanding of some political, social or religious topics due to the power the media wield in these matters with the intent to make them receive many reactions, more than they ordinarily would have, from the reading public. Discursive strategies can either be subtle or explicit and are evident in both the written and spoken forms of language. Media uses these discursive strategies in the construction of identity for a certain group of people. They are also employed in the construction, deconstruction or reconstruction of meaning in publicizing certain trends; driving a certain narrative about a group of people, events or issues like the sit-at-home trend in the South East region of Nigeria.

The (Monday) sit-at-home directive has been massively reported by the social and print media. Since the inception of the sit-at-home exercise, the media has reportedly ascribed the economic meltdown in the region, untimely completion of amenities like the

yet to be completed second Niger Bridge to be adverse effects of the Sit-at-home order on national development in South eastern Nigeria. The present study researches certain strategies employed by the media in reporting the activities that surround the Monday sit at home order and other sit-at-home exercises in the South East region of Nigeria.

Literature Review

Media Representation

Media representation refers to the different ways the media (print or new) portrays, represents, depicts or frames different social groups or events with different characteristics. It can also refer to how certain features like social class, age, sexual orientation, religion, gender, physical (dis)abilities, or race are presented to society.

According to Cobaner (2021),

> Media representation refers to how people, institutions, events, or facts are depicted in the media; It is accepted as a concept related to how issues or problems are explained to the public and how a causal link is established. It covers all direct and indirect informative dimensions of media products, including representation, symbolic and rhetorical. These representations, on the other hand, do not exclude reality but do not describe in the transparency and neutrality of a flat mirror (p.374).

Fursich (2010) concurs: "representations are embedded in the 24-hour saturated media stream and estab-lish norms and common sense about people, groups and institutions in contemporary society" (p.115) Media representation can take many forms, including stereotypes, imagery, and narratives. Media representation of certain groups can also be influenced by economic and political contexts, and the power and ideologies of the people who make the media. It informs people's view and perspective towards a certain group of people. Text or discourse

can be constructed to include both explicit and implicit messages about how certain groups of people should be perceived and understood. A story told in the media might be replete with language or images that reinforce stereotypes or negative associations. Therefore, media representation can either be positive or negative. A TV show that portrays a certain group in a very stereotypical way, even if it is covertly negative, has the power to inform people's inaccurate or oversimplified understanding of that group, and can reinforce negative attitudes and perceptions towards the group, thereby reinforces identity construction of the group. The media has represented and portrayed IPOB and its Sit-at-home orders in different ways that are (un)palatable, thereby making the general public hold certain biases against the socio-political group.

The Sit-at-home order in the south east region of Nigeria has received a lot of backlashes from Nigerians at home and in diaspora since its inception in 2021. It is one event that has created anxiety amongst Nigerians and limited their movement to eastern Nigeria. The media (social and print) have equally popularised the sit at home directive by reporting it as a political issue geared towards releasing the IPOB leader from the DSS custody. The media has named, referred to, framed and attributed the directive in bad light especially as a deterrent to national development in the south east. This has greatly formed people's opinions of the directive. Therefore, the present study takes up the task of investigating discursive strategies that are evident in media representation of the sit at home order in order to fill the existing gap in literature, challenge the dominant narrative of the media and seek to drive new conclusions on the sit-at-home order.

There is a growing body of literature on media representation of national issues. Taiwo and Igwebuike (2015), Igwebuike (2018), Ajiboye and Abioye (2019), and Chiluwa (2011) are some of the studies carried out on media representation of socio-political issues

in Nigeria. But the extant studies focus on Media representation of the Bakassi-Cameroun conflict, Niger-Delta Crisis and online discourse of Biafra agitations. None of the studies on Biafra agitations takes into cognizance the Sit at home orders, therefore the present study fills the gap that exists in research on media representation of socio-political issues in the country.

Theoretical Framework

The Discourse Historical Approach

Ruth Wodak proposed the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) as an approach to Critical Discourse Studies. DHA is a critical approach to the study of discourse that thrives on interdisciplinarity (interdiscursivity, intertextuality and recontextualization). It studies the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between texts. It equally gives a historical approach to social issues, because it takes into cognizance the historical context of texts especially in the interpretation of texts and discourses. Reisigl (2017) says: The Discourse-Historical Approach is a flexible and productive variety of CDS that always opts for a problem-oriented perspective. Such a perspective demonstrates a clear preference for interdisciplinary research, since the selected discourse-related social problems are multidimensional. Despite its interdisciplinary character, however, the Discourse-Historical Approach has strong roots in linguistics. (p. 47)

Furthermore, DHA focuses on certain ways that political, historical, and social contexts influence the way language is used. Due to its root in critical discourse analysis, it considers variegated ways in which language is used to construct and maintain power structures, and how these structures are reinforced or challenged through discourse. Moreover, DHA also considers the role of context in interpreting texts and the ways in which language enables identity construction and creation of meaning. According to Reisigl and Wodak (2015) For the DHA, language is not powerful on its own – it is a means to gain and maintain power by

the use powerful people make of it. This explains why the DHA critically analyses the language use of those in power who have the means and opportunities to improve conditions (p.88)

Reisigl and Wodak (2015) provide a three-dimensional blue print for analysing texts in the Discourse-Historical Approach. The first step is to identify the specific contents or topics of the discourse. The second step is to investigate the discursive strategies employed in the text and the last step is to examine the specific context-dependent linguistic realizations. In analysing discourse, it becomes germane to investigate certain discursive strategies in the text being analysed.

"By 'strategy', we generally mean a more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal. Discursive strategies are located at different levels of linguistic organization and complexity" (Reisigl and Wodak 2015, p.94). The discursive strategies are significant in the representation of positive self and negative other aimed at constructing identities. Wodak elaborates:

> There are several strategies that deserve special attention when analyzing a specific discourse and related texts in relation to the discursive construction and representation of "us" and "them." Heuristically, one could orient to five questions: 1 How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes, and actions named and referred to linguistically? 2 What characteristics, qualities, and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events, and processes? 3 What arguments are employed in the discourse in question? 4 From what perspective are these nominations,

attributions, and arguments expressed? 5 Are the respective utterances articulated overtly? Are they intensified or mitigated?

Wodak lists five discursive strategies thus: Referential/nomination, Predication, Argumentation, Perspectivization, framing or discourse representation and Intensification, mitigation.

Strategy	objectives	devices
Nomination	discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/ events and processes/ actions	membership categorization devices membership categorization devices tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches **(**pars pro toto, totum pro parte) Verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions
Prediction	discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events/ processes and actions (more or less positively or negatively)	stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in the form of adjectives, apposition, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups) Explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns Collocations Explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors, and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms)

		Allusions, evocations, and Presuppositions/implicatures, etc
Argumentation	justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	Topoi (formal or more content - related) Fallacies
Perspectivization framing or discourse representation	positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance	Deictics Direct, indirect or free indirect speech Quotation marks, discourse markers/particles Metaphors Animating prosody, etc.
Intensification, Mitigation	modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterances	Diminutives or argumentatives (modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctive, hesitations, vague expressions, etc. Hyperboles and litotes Indirect speech acts (e.g. question Instead of assertion) Verbs of saying, feeling, thinking

Table 1: A Selection of Discursive Strategies (Reisigl and Wodak, 2015; p.95)

Methodology

The present study is descriptive qualitative research. Data were collected from the websites of four newspapers (Premium Times, The Guardian, National Daily and BusinessDay) and Radio Biafra. Data were collected using the non-participant method of data collection, and the instrument for data collection was a laptop. A total of twelve extracts formed the data for the study. Textual analysis was adopted as the method of data analysis. Data were

lifted verbatim off the websites of these media houses and analysed using Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Data 1

Ekpa had also announced that there would be a two-week sit-at-home in the southeast.
Such sit-at-home orders have threatened business activities and human lives over the years.
BusinessDay, September 18, 2023

By September 2023, the Monday Sit-at-home exercise had lasted for a period of two years. The sit at home tradition started as a civil action to ensure that the federal government releases the IPOB leader, Mazi Nnamdi Kanu, who was arrested in Kenya, extradited to Nigeria and locked up in DSS custody. The sit at home directive started off as a Monday ritual where markets and other businesses in the south east region of Nigeria remain closed. Along the line, the group jettisoned the plan, but a certain faction of IPOB, led by Simon Ekpa, continued to order a total shut down of the region.

In Data 1 above, BusinessDay newspaper reports that the Monday sit-at-home tradition is a threat to business activities and human lives. In this newspaper extract, the discursive strategy of predication is employed. The event (Monday sit-at –home) is discursively qualified as a threat to business activities and human lives. The exercise is thrown in a negative light in order to represent IPOB and its activities as the negative other and the government as the positive self. The fact remains that not all markets and businesses close on Mondays. Vehicular and human movement is equally palpable on Mondays as at the date of the report.

Data 2

IPOB, which remains proscribed as a terrorist group, first introduced a weekly sit-at-home exercise in August 2021. Since then, the southeastern states of Nigeria, including Anambra, Imo, Enugu, Abia, and Ebonyi, have been terrorized by supposed "unknown gunmen." These gunmen have fuelled insecurity in the region through mayhem, killings, and destruction of properties.
BusinessDay, 18 September 2023

Before 2021, the phrase unknown gunmen was non-existent in the Nigerian lexicon. It is associated with insecurity in Nigeria as several killings have been credited to this set of humans. Be that as it may, it is not exclusive to a particular region of the country. The Cable (12 June 2021) concurs:

> … crimes and murders that cut across different regions and are being perpetuated by a seemingly faceless group of people popularly labeled as "Unknown gunmen". Although the media, sometimes, tag them bandits or terrorists, apparently security agents seem to be reluctant in providing the true identity of these culprits or apprehending them. Hence, the onslaughts have continued unabated and marauders, most often, escape without capture. The million-dollar question is/are, who are these "unknown gunmen" that have continued to unleash terror in many parts of the country? (p.1)

Suffice is to say that the unknown gunmen phenomenon is a menace that has bedeviled the entire nation, not only the south eastern region of Nigeria.

The media employ nomination as a discursive strategy in Data 2 above. The members of the IPOB group are categorised as gunmen that cause mayhem, kill and destroy properties.
Perspectivisation, Framing and discourse representation is also used as a discursive strategy in Data 2. The idea that IPOB members are gunmen is entirely the writer's view and opinion.

Unknown gunmen terrorise and kill people all over Nigeria, not just in the south east. Although IPOB has been proscribed, it has not been proven that the unknown gunmen are members of IPOB. The entire nation is ravaged by insecurity.

Data 3

The sit-at-home directive issued by agitators in honour of their colleagues killed in the struggle for the realisation of Biafra Republic recorded a huge success in the South East and parts of South South regions yesterday.
The Guardian 31 May 2017

On 30 May 2017, the Indigenous People of Biafra declared a sit at home order in commemoration of the Biafra Remembrance Day to celebrate the heroes that fought the Biafra war from 1967-1970. This order was the first Sit-at-home directive in the south east.
In reporting the event, the media employed the discursive strategy of nomination. IPOB members are discursively constructed and represented as agigators in the report.

Data 4

IPOB's sit-at-home: The self-induced devastation of the South East
The Guardian, 21 December 2022

The discursive strategy of Predication is explored in Data 4 using a phrase that serves as an adjective: self-induced devastation. The sit at home event is discursively qualified as a self-induced devastation of the south east region in order to cast the event in a negative light.

Data 5

Transportation is an important sector in the region as the region hosts the Onitsha main market and the Aba market, some of the major markets in the country. This necessitates a huge inflow and outflow of people in the region. However, the report states that

transporters lose a huge sum of ten billion nairas (£18.5 million) for each sit-at-home day. This is a double tragedy for a country whose national economy is already on its knees, as reduced income means less purchasing power for transporters in the South East, with the attendant reduction in tax remission to the state governments.
The Guardian 21 December 2022

The discursive strategy of intensification is employed in the above discourse. In Data 5, the media modifies and intensifies the sit at home order using hyperbole. The report that transporters lose ten billion Naira every Monday is arguable considering the economic situation of the nation in 2022. The media also represents the sit at home event as one that has caused reduced income and tax remission in the region. It accuses the region of depriving itself of national development, albeit subtly. There is vehicular movement on Mondays, albeit skeletal.

Data 6
Undoubtedly, the sit-at-home has cost the residents of the South East a lot in terms of life and property. Since it started, several innocent citizens (both average and prominent) have lost their lives in the most gruesome manner, depriving families of their loved ones, who are sometimes breadwinners, and truncating the destinies of the dependants left behind while leaving scars that may never heal. One of the most tragic episodes was the gruesome murder of Dr Chike Akunyili (late Dora Akunyili's husband), whose face was blown off by bullets in broad daylight, and digitally recorded by onlookers, in an episode that would traumatise any decent citizen.
The Guardian 21 December 2022

Sit at home is discursively qualified as the cause of loss of lives and properties in the region. The discursive strategy of predication is employed here. The media represents the sit at home as an event

that has cost people their lives and properties. The sit at home event is discursively qualified as what led to the death of a prominent Nigerian and south easterner; Dr. Chike Akunyili. Considering that the death of the man did not take place on a Monday, the entire discourse is largely the writer's opinion and view. He equally distances himself from the entire event. Framing and discourse representation are also employed as discursive strategies in the discourse.

Data 7

But Emma Powerful, the spokesperson of the IPOB faction led by Mr Kanu, later told PREMIUM TIMES that the sit-at-home order did not emanate from the group, but was declared by "criminals" seeking to frustrate the release of Mr Kanu. Since 3 July, there had been reports of shootings by gunmen enforcing the civil action across the five states in the region.
Premium Times 8 July 2023

A faction of IPOB is framed and discursively represented as Gunmen, criminals in data 7. Perspectivisation, framing or discourse representation are the discursive strategies employed here. Nomination is also used to discursively construct a faction of the IPOB as gunmen and criminals. Strikingly, the sit at home exercise is discursively represented as a civil action.

Data 8

The sit-at-home is usually enforced by a faction of the outlawed Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). Mr Ubah, a member of the Young Progressives Party, disclosed this at the Ifeanyi Ubah International Stadium, Nnewi, Anambra State, on Sunday, when he addressed members of Anambra Vigilante Group and community security watch operatives from the four quarters of Nnewi. A video clip which showed him making the statement has been circulating on social media. The senator said the sit-at-home has had adverse effects on the commercial, economic, and well-

being of South-east residents since the region began observing the civil action two years ago.
Premium Times 3 July 2023

The discursive strategy of Nomination is employed in this newspaper extract. The sit at home exercise is discursively constructed as one that has adverse effects on the commercial and economic well-being of the people, thereby hindering national development in the region.

Data 9

"**Fashola blames IPOB's sit-at-home order for failure to complete Second Niger Bridge**

The Minister of Works and Housing, Babatunde Fashola, has shifted the blame of the federal government failure to complete the Second Niger bridge to the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) which imposed sit-at-home order on Mondays in the southeast.
National Daily Newspaper, 21 December 2022

The second Niger Bridge is located in Onitsha/Asaba. The construction of the bridge was kicked off in September 2018 under the Buhari led administration to ease East-West movement in the country. It is a huge marker of national development in the eastern region.

The discursive strategy of Predication is evident in the newspaper extract above. The sit at home exercise is discursively qualified as one that has hindered national development, completion of the second Niger Bridge in the region which is typically not true.

Data 10

Gunmen have been attacking traders and commuters across the region who flout the order. They have killed many people and set ablaze goods worth millions of naira for being sold or transported on such days. On April 21, a group of four masked

gunmen released a video clip in which it claimed responsibility for the enforcement of the suspended Monday sit-at-home order.
Premium Times 17 May 2022

In data 10, IPOB members are discursively constructed as gunmen using nomination as a discursive strategy. The members are jointly categorised as gunmen while the sit at home exercise is represented in a negative light as one that needs to be enforced, thereby connoting physical violence.
Framing or discourse representation is also employed in the extract as a discursive strategy, because the entire write-up is the writer's opinion or views, because there is no evidence that the gunmen in the video clip are IPOB members.

Data 11
This is to inform Biafrans about the flyers and posters being distributed all over Biafraland conveying our leader's famous pronouncement canceling Monday sit-at-home, and to inform the good people of Biafra that sit at home is not only dead but will never again be invoked or deployed as a tool of civil disobedience in our quest for self determination. Any person or persons talking about a non-existent sit-at-home in BiafraLand is an enemy of the people and shall be dealt with accordingly. Comrade Emma Powerful
Radio Biafra (Facebook) 13 August 2023

The media and publicity secretary of the Indigenous People of Biafra, Comrade Emma Powerful, informs Biafrans, in Data 11, of the cancellation of the Monday Sit-at-home by the IPOB leader, Mazi Nnamdi Kanu. He graciously informs Biafrans of the cessation of the Monday Sit-at-home as a tool of civil disobedience in the pursuit of self-determination.

Strikingly, the IPOB Media and publicity secretary discursively represented the Monday Sit-at-home order as a tool of civil

disobedience in the quest for self determination. On one hand, Comrade Emma Powerful refers to the Monday Sit-at-home as a tool of civil disobedience. This is a projection of his (writer's) point of view of the Sit-at-home movement. He also projects his involvement in the civil disobedience. This aligns with the discursive strategy of perspectivization, framing or discourse representation. On the other hand, he employs the same discursive strategy of perspectivization, framing or discourse representation to distance his faction of the IPOB from the Monday Sit-at-home that had already been cancelled by Mazi Nnamdi Kanu.

Data 12

Buhari's Visit: IPOB Declares Emergency Sit At Home
IPOB have declared Unexpected #SitAtHome in the whole of Biafranland on 09/09/2021 in protest against the visit of Buhari/Jubril to Imo state. This was made known in a broadcast this evening by IPOB HOD.
More details soon
Radio Biafra (Facebook) 7 September 2021

In Data 12, the IPOB HOD (Head of Directorate), Chika Edoziem, informs Biafrans of an Emergency Sit-at-home in the land which was to serve as a protest against the visit of the then President of Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari, to Imo State on 9 September 2021. He employs predication as a discursive strategy in the broadcast. The emergency Sit-at-home is constructively qualified as a protest against the visit of the president to Biafra land.

Findings

Findings reveal that the media, on one hand, employ discursive strategies of nomination, predication, perspectivization/ framing/ discourse representation and intensifying/mitigation to represent the sit at home exercise as a threat to national development in the south east region of Nigeria and the cause of loss of lives and properties. On the other hand, members of the Indigenous People

of Biafra, who birthed the sit at home directive, are framed and discursively represented as gunmen, unknown gunmen, terrorists and criminals; a construction of identity. But IPOB members and actors, through the Radio Biafra, insist that the Sit-at-home exercise is a tool of civil disobedience and a form of protest.

It is worthy of note that the media initially reported the sit at home order as a civil action and framed IPOB members as agitators. Later on, they moved to naming them terrorists, unknown gunmen and gunmen.

Conclusion

The sit at home exercise is one that originated in south east, Nigeria in 2021, but it is currently not observed in many parts of the region especially in Anambra, Enugu and Ebonyi states. The media representation of the exercise is not entirely true as many of the claims are not backed up by evidence or facts.the study concludes that the media employ a self glorification of the federal government and a negative derogation of the IPOB group. This negative representation of the IPOB has shaped the way people view the social group, its members and the Sit at home orders. This removes attention from the crux of the matter: the release of the IPOB leader, Mazi Nnamdi Kanu and shapes the perception of Nigerians on the sit at home orders. This identity construction of the IPOB group may have also contributed to the continued detention of Mazi Nnamdi Kanu.

In agreement, Noor and Hamid (2019) say:

> In the DHA, the construction of the negative-other is a discursive practice frequently used to discredit a particular group of people as inferior, bad, and different from the dominant group. The construction of negative-other or the out-group is a semantic strategy that allows a negative representation of a particular group of people, in comparison to a

> positive representation of the in-group. Wodak (2001) describes this practice as the rhetoric of ‘us versus them,'; a strategy that is used to alleviate the negative features and traits of the 'out-group,' which in this case, the sex workers, to achieve a social, political, psychological aim. (p.4)

The present study recommends that media should always embark on fact-checking certain sensitive socio-political issues before it goes to print. Issues, especially those bordering on ethnicity given the multi-ethnic nature of Nigeria, should be well-researched before they are publicized. The public should also read from multiple sources, and not run with the misinformation of a particular source of information.

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