

TUG OF WAR: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF *PUNCH* AND *DAILY TRUST* NEWSPAPERS' COVERAGE OF POLIO ERADICATION IN NIGERIA

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the world's greatest parents: Dr and Pharm, O. O. Oyewo. No amount of words can effectively capture the depth of my gratitude to you both. Thank you for the sacrifices you made, for believing in me, and for the endless prayers. I love you, and God bless you.

I also dedicate this thesis in honour of my late grandfather, Mr. Adebayo Adio Oyedemi. Your exemplary life was and is an inspiration to me.

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ABSTRACT

The resurgence of the polio virus in Nigeria following vaccine rejections poses a severe threat to the total worldwide eradication of polio. Vaccine refusals are a huge problem in Nigeria, especially in the North, which accounts for about 60 percent of polio cases in 2013. These refusals were informed by claims that polio vaccines contained anti-fertility properties that were designed by the 'West' to reduce the Muslim population. These claims and subsequent vaccine rejections culminated in the killing of health workers during an immunisation exercise in February 2013.

This study is an analysis of the coverage of the polio eradication controversy by two newspapers- *Punch* and *Daily Trust*, following the killings of the health workers. *Daily Trust* is situated in Northern Nigeria, while *Punch* is situated in the South. The choice of these newspapers is based on the argument by Ayodele (1988) and Omenugha (2004) that the Nigerian press has been accused of escalating tension in the country because they view many aspects of the Nigerian reality from the lenses of religious, political and cultural prejudices.

Because it is a text-based study, the chosen research method is Fairclough's (1995) model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), following a preliminary thematic content analysis. In addition to Fairclough's model, the study employs textual analytic tools such as narrative analysis and rhetoric/argumentative analysis. The selected texts, which comprise editorials and news stories are analysed based on the themes identified during the thematic content analysis.

The study concludes that while the two newspapers differ in their locations and stylistic approach to news, they are similar in their coverage of the polio eradication crisis. They both side with the Federal Government and help perpetuate the South versus North animosity thereby ignoring the intricacies involved in the polio eradication controversy.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

My decision to examine *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers' representations of the polio eradication controversy was largely informed by a series of events. These events range from the killing of polio vaccinators in February 2013 to the Niger State Government's decision to jail anti-polio vaccination activists. Another factor was the April 2012 attacks on the media by non-state armed group, Boko Haram, when the media was accused of being unprofessional and biased against the North (*Premium Times*, 2012). In addition to these, my perception of vaccine refusals and the North was also a determining factor.

On the 8th of February 2013, nine, perhaps ten (the media and public officials could not decide on the exact number of people involved) polio vaccinators were shot dead in Kano State during an immunisation exercise to ensure the total eradication of the polio virus from Nigeria. Prior to the killing of the vaccinators, there had been vaccine refusals resulting in a resurgence of the polio virus. Vaccine refusal is the reason that polio is still a problem in three countries: Pakistan, Afghanistan and Nigeria (WHO, 2013; GPEI, 2013). These refusals are based on the assertion that polio vaccines contain anti-fertility agents and are a Western ploy to annihilate Muslim populations worldwide (Obadare, 2005; Yahya, 2007; Antai, 2008; Antai, et al., 2009; Kaufman & Feldbaum, 2009; Olufowote, 2011; Cooke & Tahir, 2012). This resulted in a massive campaign by religious and political leaders in Northern Nigeria, against the preventive immunisation of children (Yahya, 2007; Cooke and Tahir, 2012).

The polio controversy that has trailed these anti-polio immunisation campaigns, demonstrates a political struggle between the Federal Government and the Northern States (Yahya, 2006: 3). Because of the turbulent political and religious history in Nigeria, the Federal Government was torn between eradicating a serious health problem at the expense of the beliefs of the Northern Muslim majority, and pacifying their already rocky relationship (Yahya, 2007: 190). The media play a role in maintaining or destabilising this tenuous relationship. Media reports in September 2013, have presented the government as threatening to jail citizens who advocated against the immunisation of children to eradicate polio (Opara, 2013; Nmodu, 2013).

The majority of the print media in Nigeria are produced and published in the South thus reproducing the social norms from the South, including prejudices and stereotypes against Northern Nigerians (Bonde, 2005). The press in Nigeria have often been accused of contributing to the escalation of tension in the country through prejudiced reporting based on religious, political and cultural biases (Ayodele, 1988; Omenugha, 2004). This prejudice is however not limited to the media.

Like many Nigerians from Southern Nigeria, certain stereotypes, prejudices and biases against Northerners shaped my perception of vaccine refusals and the consequent resurgence of the polio virus. I believed that the Northerners were ignorant, illiterate religious fanatics, who used religion to perpetrate violence at any slight provocation/opportunity. However, my sojourn into the field of cultural studies in 2013 proved me wrong. Being introduced to concepts of ideology (Marx, 1970; Thompson, 1990) and hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) and their role in society, I was able to understand better the complexities involved in the Nigerian society, politically, historically and religious-wise.

1.2. Research Goals

The study seeks to investigate how existing hegemonic processes are sustained in *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers' representations of the struggle between the Federal Government and Northern Nigeria over the polio eradication initiative. The aim is to analyse the two newspapers based on the North and South divide in the Nigerian political and social context in order to establish whether there is a difference in the representations based on their locations. Because "textual analysis is sensitive to absences as well as presences" (Fairclough, 1995: 58), the study further examines who is present or absent in the representations, as well as the positioning of the various stakeholders as sources and subjects.

1.3. Significance of the Study

Although polio's re-emergence and eradication efforts are just beginning to receive attention in communication studies (Olufowote, 2011: 743), there are several studies on the polio eradication controversy (Obadare, 2005; Antai, 2008; Renne, 2006; Yahya, 2006; Yahya, 2007; Olufowote, 2011; Cooke and Tahir, 2012). However, few of them approach the polio eradication controversy from a news-based perspective (Olufowote, 2011), and those who do focus on the representations of Northern newspapers only. This study therefore aims to locate the newspaper representations of the polio controversy within the ongoing political and religious struggle for power, based on the North and South dichotomy of Nigerian politics and media ownership.

1.4. Thesis Structure

Chapter Two discusses the research context by locating the study within the historical, political and social context of the Nigerian society. To do this, the chapter explores the emergence of the Nigerian society, early attempts at polio eradication, and the media landscape and then gives a brief discussion of *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers.

Chapter Three discusses the theoretical foundations of the study. By focusing on representation and the meaning making process, the study is located within the broad field of Cultural Studies. It draws on the discursive approach to representation, particularly Foucault's (1979) conception of knowledge, power and truth. It also discusses those elements of Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony that are similar to Foucault's ideas on discourse to understand how certain 'truths' are consented to and accepted as the norm. Lastly, the chapter discusses the normative theories of the press identified by Christians et al (2009) to understand how newspaper contents are shaped and how sources are prioritized.

Chapter Four discusses the research methodologies, methods, data selection and sampling procedures that inform the study. Informed by the qualitative approach to research, the study draws on Fairclough's (1995) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the primary research method, but also relies on a preliminary thematic content analysis.

Chapter Five presents and discusses the findings of the thematic content analysis. The thematic content analysis discusses the following themes identified in the newspapers' representations: **blame versus commitment to progress; condemnation versus commendation; and compensation versus punishment.** The chapter further includes the presentation and discussion of the findings from a critical discourse analysis of six news stories.

Chapter Six presents and discusses the analysis of editorials found in the two newspapers, these were selected because editorials represent the opinion of the media institution. Chapter Seven concludes the study.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH CONTEXT

2. Introduction

In 1988, the World Health Organization (WHO) committed itself to eradicating polio, launching Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI) (Cooke & Tahir, 2012). The GPEI is a public-private partnership led by WHO, Rotary International, the U.S. Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (Cooke & Tahir, 2012). The GPEI set out to eradicate polio¹ by 2000 (Kew, 2012). By 2003, the number of countries with polio outbreaks was down from one hundred and twenty-five to seven countries (Yahya, 2007; Cooke & Tahir, 2012). However, in spite of efforts to eradicate polio completely, in 2013, polio remained a problem for three countries, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Nigeria (GPEI, 2013; WHO, 2013). People refusing to have their children vaccinated are the main reason for the continuation of polio outbreaks (Yahya, 2007; Cooke & Tahir, 2012; WHO, 2013). This is the case for Nigeria, especially in the North, and accounted for 33% of polio cases in 2012 (WHO, 2013). According to Cooke and Tahir (2012), a culture of mistrust and fear, which culminated in the targeted killings of health workers in Nigeria in 2013, has further impeded the drive to eliminate polio. This is particular to the North East (WHO, 2013), where two states, Borno and Yobe accounted for 69% of wild polio² cases in 2013 (GPEI, 2013). This culture of mistrust and fear stems from the on-going struggle for political power between Northern and Southern Nigeria since the country's independence in 1960, and a mistrust of the west. The primary concern of this chapter is to situate the study in the political, social and historical context of the Nigerian society. To achieve this, I explore the national identity of the Nigerian society by tracing its emergence politically and historically. I further explore the early attempts at polio eradication. This chapter also gives a brief description of the Nigerian press landscape and a background of the selected newspapers, *Punch* and *Daily Trust*.

2.1. Nigeria's Political and Historical Background

The polio vaccination crisis helps show a pattern of emergent tensions between the North and the South that can only be understood in light of historical relations between both regions

¹Polio is a contagious disease caused by the polio virus, and can cause lifelong paralysis and death (CDC, 2013).

² Wild polioviruses are "field isolates and reference strains derived from polio viruses known to have circulated persistently within a community and have the capacity to circulate indefinitely within susceptible human populations" (WHO, 1998: 13).

(Obadare, 2005). Nigeria is a political and legal entity that was shaped in a mould cast by colonial conquest rather than by indigenous historical and traditional factors (Peshkin, 1967; Davis & Kalu-Nwiyu, 2001). During the pre-colonial period, most of the people who settled in the area later known as Nigeria, had constructed, entrenched, and transformed their own respective states based on different systems of political administration (Ejiogu, 2001). After the abolition of the slave trade and the commencement of legitimate trade, the British gradually established their political dominance over the different ethnic groups³ that inhabited this area (Amoda, 1978; Awe, 1999; Sodipo, 2013; Lawal, 1978; Falola & Heaton, 2008). This resulted in the Northern and Southern protectorates, and by 1914, due to economic reasons, Lord Frederick Lugard amalgamated the different parts into what is now known as Nigeria, without much regard for ethnic boundaries (Amoda, 1978; Awe, 1999; Sodipo, 2013; Lawal, 1978). The advent of colonialism introduced new elements that altered the political, economic and social organization of the people (Awe, 1999). The British policy of indirect rule in Nigeria perpetuated separate ethnic and local identities, further fuelling existing divisions, historical hostilities and rivalries among the people of Nigeria⁴ (Awe, 1999; Davis & Kalu-Nwiyu, 2001; Sodipo, 2013).

Since its independence in 1960, Nigeria has experienced periods of turbulence that have threatened efforts for democratisation and stability (Okpananchi, 2012; Ahmadu & Yusuf, 2010). The transition to civilian rule from a long military regime, in 1999, however, resulted in increased conflicts in the country (Ahmadu & Yusuf, 2010; Okpananchi, 2012). The basis of these conflicts has often been characterized by ethnic, religious, political and communal undertones, with a particularly high occurrence in Northern Nigeria (Omenugha, 2004; Okpananchi, 2012), where two-thirds of the population are Muslim (Schacht, 1957; Group, 2010). Although the causes of the conflicts in Northern Nigeria vary, they do have a predominantly religious dimension (Lewis, 2002). In the early 2000s, many northern states implemented the Sharia Criminal Code⁵, thereby pitting the North against the Federal Government and other religious minority groups within the area (Obadare, 2005; International Crisis Group, 2010; Gambo and Omirin, 2012). The implementation of the

³ There are about 374 ethnic groups, each of which have a distinct language and culture (Ejiogwu, 2001: 328). Of this number, there are three major ethnic groups- Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo.

⁴ The three major ethnic groups have historically oppressed all other minor ethnic groups (from the seizure of lands in the south by northern jihadists to the secession of the Igbo which led to the Biafra war). During colonialism, politics centred on ruling classes from the three major ethnic groups, which functioned as tools for the exploitation of the masses and to stifle the aspirations of the minority groups. (Lawal, 1978).

⁵ Sharia is the belief that the principles of the Qur'an should guide everyday life. Sharia defines crimes and punishments, regulates contractual relationships, provides guidance, and a legal framework for relations with non-Muslims within and outside of its jurisdiction (Naniya, 2002: 15).

Sharia Criminal Code redefined the public role of religion in the Nigerian political landscape and radically reshaped the discourse on the country's citizenship (Obadare, 2005: 281).

Independent Nigeria emerged as a new political entity in 1914 without a common history or tradition, and had to build itself as a nation (Davis and Kalu-Nwivu, 2001: 2). Cultural differences among the ethnic groups as well as the timing, nature and extent of the ethnic groups' contact with the Europeans led to an imbalance in the development of the Northern and Southern regions of the country (Peshkin, 1967; Davis & Kalu-Nwivu, 2001). This imbalance stems from the advantages gained by direct interactions with the Europeans which were restricted to the Southern region because of the British's policy of non-intervention in the North (Davis & Kalu-Nwivu, 2001; Hackett, 2003; Peshkin, 1967; Tibenderana, 1983). The Northern aristocratic rulers' authoritarian leadership over the people (peasants) encouraged the British to seek to convert them into willing instruments of British imperialism (Lawal, 1978). It was also in the interest of the Northern rulers to act as tools of the British in order to maintain their age-old power over the peasants (Lawal, 1978: 263). Upon independence in 1960, mutual distrust and strong ethno-religious identities in both North and South prevented a truly pan-Nigerian identity from developing (Sodipo, 2013: 4). Presently, "there is still a clear distinction between North and South with the North being the poorer, more rural and predominantly Muslim part of the country while the South is predominantly Christian, has a complex tribal structure, rich oil resources and a westernized business sector" (Bonde, 2005: 2).

This North and South dichotomy is a phenomenon in Nigerian politics that describes the persistent division and disagreements between the Northern and Southern regions to ensure that the interests of their ethnic nationalities are considered by the Federal Government when making national decisions (Oboh, 2010: 3). In addition, the North-South divide has become a political tool that politicians use to mobilize supporters for narrow political motives (Sodipo, 2013: 3). For most of its existence as an independent country, between 1966 and 1999, Nigeria was a military state, with leaders predominantly from the North. This generated a deep resentment among southern Igbo and Yoruba power elites which resulted in a political contestation in Nigeria to achieve a "power shift" (Obadare, 2005; 280). The transition to civilian rule in 1999 and Obasanjo's accession to the presidency was viewed as a victory for the South in its struggle to "shift power" and further fuelled a sense of political and cultural marginalization in the North (Obadare, 2005; Cooke & Tahir, 2012). On the one hand, the South accused him of kowtowing to entrenched Northern interests; on the other hand, the North accused him of renegeing on a secret pact that swore him to certain political concessions

to the Northern establishment (Obadare, 2005: 280). From this period, there has been tension between the centre and the North, which worsened the existing state-citizen divide. In addition, religion plays a key role in conditioning the attitudes of many Northern Nigerians in the context of the overall struggle for political advantage in the country (Obadare, 2005: 279).

2.2. Polio Eradication in Nigeria

It is only within the context of the coincidence of health, politics and history that the logic behind the refusal of polio vaccines by Northern Nigerian political leaders and the general public can be understood (Obadare, 2005). Since disease played a formative role in the colonial encounter, the history of polio eradication and immunization campaigns in Nigeria can be traced back to the colonial era (Obadare, 2005; Antai, 2008). Obadare (2005) argues that the outbreak of diseases, many of which were brought about by the interaction of colonialists with the local populations, served to confirm the existing perception of Africans as diseased and unhealthy. This led to the earliest medical interventions by the colonialists being targeted, not at their newly conquered territories and subjects, but to foreground the process of imperial domination (Obadare, 2005).

Immunization programmes in Nigeria were introduced in 1956 after an increasing incidence of polio among expatriates led to a growing concern with polio vaccination and the subsequent institution of a scheme for vaccinating expatriates working in Nigeria by the colonial office (Antai, 2008; Renne, 2012). Following Nigeria's independence, immunization programmes were re-introduced as the Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI) in 1979 to provide immunization services to children aged 23 months and below, however, following limited success, it was re-launched in 1984 (Renne, 2006; Ekerete, 2000; Antai, 2008). These efforts to eradicate polio failed due to the political and economic instability in the country between 1979 and 1986⁶ (Renne, 2006: 1860).

The Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI) launched its eradication efforts in Nigeria in 1996, a time when the country was in deep economic and political crisis (Cooke & Tahir, 2012). In spite of these political and economic challenges, Nigeria made significant progress on polio from 1996 to 2001 (Cooke & Tahir, 2012). There was a dramatic expansion of coverage, a significant drop in reported cases, and increasing optimism that the 2005 global eradication target might be met (Renne, 2006; Cooke & Tahir, 2012). However, as the campaign effort intensified in 2003, there was increased resistance in the country's north

⁶ During this period, Nigeria held two elections, faced religious crises in the North and experienced two military coups (Osaghae, 1998; Renne, 2006).

(Renne, 2006; Cooke & Tahir, 2012). Religious as well as political leaders in the North were reported to have preached against, and made attempts to stop, the preventive immunization of children in the early 2000s (Yahya, 2007; Cooke & Tahir, 2012). This was done based on the assertion that the polio eradication initiative in Nigeria was a Western ploy to reduce Muslim populations by causing infertility in the immunized children (Obadare, 2005; Yahya, 2007; Antai, 2008; Antai, et al., 2009; Kaufman & Feldbaum, 2009; Olufowote, 2011; Cooke & Tahir, 2012).

Northern Nigeria's refusal to support the worldwide campaign against polio was attributed to the region's leaders and beliefs (Renne, 2006; Yahya, 2006; Yahya, 2007). However, these refusals were not just shaped by perceptions of western religious politics, but also shaped by past incidents relating to malpractice in the vaccine delivery (Yahya, 2007). They were also influenced by northern Nigeria's distrust of the Federal Government especially in the wake of the transition to civil rule, and the global anti-terrorism campaign that trailed the September 11, 2001 terrorist acts in the United States of America (Obadare, 2005; Yahya, 2007; Cooke & Tahir, 2012). International pharmaceutical company, Pfizer, was accused of using experimental drugs on patients without informing them of the risks (Yahya, 2007).⁷ In addition, the Supreme Council for Sharia in Nigeria claimed to have seen a document that named UNICEF and WHO in the development of anti-fertility vaccines administered to women in form of tetanus toxoid vaccines⁸ (Yahya, 2007; Antai, et al., 2009; Cooke & Tahir, 2012). As Obadare (2005) notes, the polio eradication controversy brings to the fore the much lamented historical disconnect between the state and its citizens in post-colonial Nigeria.

⁷ In 2007, the Nigerian government and officials of the Northern Nigeria state, Kano, filed four court cases against Pfizer after eleven children were killed and others suffered brain damage following the use of the experimental drug, *Trovan* during a 1996 polio epidemic (Vogt, 2007).

⁸ The first polio vaccine was the inactivated polio virus vaccine (IPV) which was produced using virus grown on monkey kidney cells and inactivated with formalin. The disadvantages of this vaccine were the cost of production and the difficulty of intramuscular administration and its inability to produce optimal intestinal immunity (Baicus, 2012). The Oral Polio Virus vaccine (OPV) was adopted by the WHO in 1972 as part of the Expanded Programme on Immunization (WHO, 2012). According to WHO, countries that initially introduced vaccination with IPV later switched to OPV because of its many advantages (2012: 5). These advantages include: increased availability of vaccines in developing countries; ease of administration; suitability for mass vaccination campaigns; lower cost of production and superior induction of intestinal mucosal immunity (Baicus, 2012; WHO, 2012). Although OPV is a safe vaccine, adverse effects occur on rare occasion (WHO, 2012: 6). The most serious of these side effects is the appearance of Vaccine Associated Paralytic Poliomyelitis (VAPP) (Baicus, 2012; WHO, 2012). The VAPP, WHO argues, occurs only in populations where the coverage of OPV is low, thereby causing polio outbreaks and cases as circulating Vaccine Derived Polio Virus (VDPV) (WHO, 2012: 6).

2.3. *Media/Press Relations in Nigeria*

From its inception, the Nigerian press has been a driving force in the nation building process (Adesoji, 2010: 23). The Nigerian press predates the Nigerian nation by more than a hundred years, and was borne out of the need to arouse consciousness in the mind of the people (Omoera, 2010; Adaja, 2012). Oboh (2010) argues that the struggle against colonialism was fought and won on the pages of the Nigerian newspapers. The Nigerian press has been useful as a medium for shaping the political landscape of the country, an avenue for agitation and better political leadership (Omoera, 2010). In addition, the Nigerian press has played crucial roles in both conflictual and cooperative relationships among social, economic and political forces (Adebanwi, 2004: 767).

The first newspaper, *Iwe Irohin fun awon Egba ati Yoruba* was published in 1859 by Anglican Cleric, Revd. Henry Townsend and was known for its criticisms of the colonial government (Adaja, 2012; Ossai & Oriakhi, 2012; Akinwale, 2010; Adesoji, 2010). After a complaint was lodged to the authorities of the Church of England, the paper made an attempt to make amends by deriding the popular struggle, which incurred the wrath of the Egba people who mobilized to set its offices and printing press ablaze (Ossai & Oriakhi, 2012: 17). In 1863, another newspaper, *Anglo-African* was founded by Robert Campbell, an American immigrant; however, the focus of this paper was exclusively on literary matters (Ossai & Oriakhi, 2012: 17). Both newspapers especially *Iwe Irohin fun awon Egba ati Yoruba* set the stage for the emergence of the nationalist press that clamoured for self-rule and played a key role in the struggle for political freedom from the colonial British powers (Ossai & Oriakhi, 2012: 17).

During colonialism, the Nigerian press was a strong force in the struggle for the attainment of political independence and its relationship with the government has often been antagonistic ranging from mild restrictions during the colonial era to full blown repression in the post-colonial era (Adesoji, 2010; Akinwale, 2010). However, the biggest growth of the press in Nigerian history, took place during the military regime (Bonde, 2005: 6). During this period, Adesoji (2006) notes that the Nigerian press became more vociferous and even took to guerrilla journalism in order to push a cause it believed in (2006: 38). Oboh (2010) argues that the press contributed to the collapse of the Nigerian first republic as each newspaper would defend the ethnic and sectional interest of its proprietor until the military took over the reins of government in 1966 (2010: 5).

Before independence, the Nigerian media landscape was separated based on ownership, however, after independence, the media organizations became weak, partisan and ethnocentric with allegiances being shifted to dominant parties and government of the region (Akinwale, 2010; Adaja, 2012). Ojo (2003) argues that the South-West monopolises the Nigerian media industry. This, he further argues, is based on the media's historical origin, advantage of market forces, patronage and professional hold over the industry, and a cultivation of a deep-rooted worldview of South-Western Nigeria (2003: 834). This argument is buttressed by Okwori and Adeyanju's assertion that "the emergence of *Daily Trust* newspaper in the North is helping to break the concentration of newspapers in what is derisively called the Lagos-Ibadan axis⁹" (2006: 27).

Because the majority of the print media in Nigeria are produced and published in the South, the media are potentially reproducing the social norms from the South, including prejudices and stereotypes against Northern Nigerians (Bonde, 2005: 7). The press in Nigeria have often been accused of contributing to the escalation of tension in the country through prejudiced reporting based on religious, political and cultural biases (Ayodele, 1988; Omenugha, 2004; AfricanMediaBarometer, 2011). In 2012, Islamic non-state armed group, Boko Haram, attacked *Thisday* newspaper as a warning to the Nigerian press against portraying the "unsubstantiated view of government" (*Premium Times*, 2012). This is because "news is largely elitist focusing on government action, business and influential people (African Media Barometer Nigeria, 2011: 27).

Two newspapers, one from the North and one from the South have been selected to investigate how and if these arguments influence their representations of the polio eradication controversy. The newspapers selected are *Punch* newspaper, a national newspaper that is situated in the South, and *Daily Trust* newspaper, a national and regional newspaper situated in the North.

2.3.1. *Punch* Newspaper

Punch Newspaper was established in 1971 in Lagos by James Aboderin, former Chief Accountant of National bank, and Samson Amuka, editor of Sunday Times (Agbaje, 1990: 211). It is the most widely read newspaper in Nigeria (<http://www.punchng.com>, 2013). The company was established specifically to publish light-hearted newspapers and, thereby, break the monotony of the largely politicised and 'heavy' offerings from the Nigerian press

⁹ Lagos and Ibadan are the commercial hubs of the South-Western part of Nigeria.

(Agbaje, 1990: 211). The co-proprietors ensured that the *Sunday Punch*, which was launched on 18 March 1973, and the daily, *The Punch*, which was launched on 1 November, 1976, were ‘lively’ papers containing special features catering to the tastes of a middle class readership (Agbaje, 1990: 211).

Based on a 2011 Media Reach OMD report, *Punch* newspaper topped the list of the ten most widely read national newspapers, with 2.8 percent readership of the total number of 127, 787, 529 Nigerians interviewed (MediaReachOMD, 2011). Regional statistics also show the newspaper as leading in the South-East with 5.3 percent of the 18, 001, 928 respondents. The South-West region is divided into Lagos and South-West, where *Punch* had a 14.9 percent of readership in Lagos and a 1.0 percent readership in South West out of 10, 487, 339 and 17, 311, 176 respondents (MediaReachOMD, 2011).

Punch newspaper was one of the very few newspapers that were very vocal in condemning the activities of the military regime (Adesoji, 2010: 23). However, soon after, the *Punch* newspaper group became submerged in the political morass and its co-founders fell out with each other confirming that privately owned newspapers could be wracked by partisan politics as much as government owned newspapers (Agbaje, 1990: 211).

2.3.2. *Daily Trust Newspaper*

Daily Trust newspaper is owned by Media Trust and was founded in 1998 and is the largest circulating newspaper in Northern Nigeria (Daily Trust Official Facebook page, 2013). It is one of the very few newspapers located in Northern Nigeria. Okwori and Adeyanju argue that “the establishment of *Daily Trust* in the North has increased religious coverage and coverage of previously neglected ethnic groups” (2006: 27). Based on the Media Reach OMD 2011 report, on a national scale, *Daily Trust* is the fifth most widely read newspaper with 1.8 percent of the 127, 787, 529 respondents (MediaReachOMD, 2011). *Daily Trust* further topped the list of the ten most widely read newspapers based on regional demographics. In the North-East, it had a 3.6 percent readership out of 16, 494, 514 respondents. In the North-Central, it had a 2.5 percent readership out of 30, 680, 402 respondents. In the North-West, it had a 2.9 percent readership out of 19, 588, 790 respondents (MediaReachOMD, 2011).

The Media Trust Company also publishes other newspapers such as, *Weekly Trust*, *Sunday Trust* and *Aminiya*¹⁰. The newspaper aims at being “a world class media company that earns public trust with a mission to disseminate credible information for the good of all stakeholders” (<http://dailytrust.info/>, 2013). The newspaper is known to have a zero tolerance towards bribery and corruption of staff (AfricanMediaBarometer, 2011). It publishes a **NO THANKS** section in the newspaper that states that their staffs are paid salaries and gratification, and therefore should not be given money by anybody (African Media Barometer Nigeria, 2011: 27). The newspaper has been on the receiving end of the cross fire between the government and non-state armed group, Boko Haram. On May 7 2012, reporters without borders published an article titled **Daily abuses suffered by Nigeria’s Journalists**, the article mentioned attacks on journalists from *Aminiya* and a marketing executive of *Daily Trust* by armed men and security agents respectively. The article also mentioned an attack on the newspaper’s office in Kano, a Northern Nigeria state, by vandals, and the attacks on the paper’s bureau chief by soldiers in Kaduna, another northern state (<http://en.rsf.org/nigeria-daily-abuses-suffered-by-nigeria-s-07-05-2012,42570.html>, 2012).

2. 4. Conclusion

This chapter has given an insight into the various events that surround the polio controversy between North East Nigeria and the Federal Government. This was done by giving a brief discussion of the historical and the political development of the country. In lieu of this discussion, I traced the early attempts at eradicating polio, the rise, emergence and development of the Nigerian press. I conclude by giving a brief discussion of the selected newspapers- *Punch* and *Daily Trust*- to provide an understanding of they operate and how this might influence their reportage of the polio eradication controversy.

¹⁰ Aminiya is a sister newspaper of Daily Trust, Weekly Trust and Sunday Trust published by Media Trust. It is published in Hausa, the dominant indigenous language of Northern Nigeria.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3. Introduction

Located within the broad field of cultural studies, this study investigates the contesting discourses and hegemonic processes that are embedded within the representations of the polio eradication controversy in *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers. This chapter, which discusses the theoretical underpinnings of the study, is divided into four sections. The first section discusses representation, language and the process of meaning making. The second discusses the concept of discourse with specific emphasis on Foucault's notions of knowledge, power and truth. This is to understand how the discourses involved in the polio eradication struggle are perceived as 'truths'. The third section discusses those elements in Gramsci's conception of hegemony that are similar to Foucault's ideas on discourse to understand how these 'truths' are consented to and accepted as the norm. The final section leads to a discussion of the normative theories of the press specifically the four roles of the press identified by Christians et al to allow for an understanding of how *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers' sources are prioritized and how this shapes their news content.

3.1. Representation, Language and Meaning Making

Contemporary cultural studies is centred on questions of representation, with emphasis on the constitutive role of language as the means and medium through which meaning is made and knowledge formed (Barker, 2002). From its emergence in the mid-1950s, the field of cultural studies, although its theorists differ in approach, there has been an area of consensus, with regard to the focus on 'culture' (Hall, 1981). The concept of culture has been described as a complex site of convergent interest, rather than a logically or conceptually clarified idea (Hall, 1981: 21). There are divergent views on the concept of culture. These views range from the early conceptions of culture as the whole way of life to the more recent conception of culture as the process of producing and exchanging meanings (Hall, 1981; Hall, 1997; Fiske, 1987; Barker, 2012; During, 2005). Hall gives a simple but succinct description: "primarily, culture is concerned with the production of and the exchange of meanings between members of a group or society" (1997: 2).

Culture is about shared social meanings (Barker, 2012: 7). However, meanings can only be shared and constituted through language (Weedon, 1987; Hall, 1997). Weedon (1987: 173) describes language as the place where actual and possible forms of social organization

and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Language in representation and ultimately in culture is important because languages are systems of representation that use some element to express thoughts, concepts, ideas or feelings (Hall, 1997: 4). This focus of culture on representation as producing and exchanging meaning through language is described by Hall (1997) as the constructionist approach to representation. The constructionist approach differs from two other approaches- reflexive and intentional approaches highlighted by Hall (1997).

The constructionist approach is concerned with how people “construct meaning using representational systems” (Hall, 1997: 25). The constructionist approach has two major variants; the semiotic approach and the discursive approach. While this study is informed by the discursive approach, a brief discussion of the semiotic approach is pertinent. The semiotics approach was largely influenced by Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure. The semiotics approach was concerned with the production of meaning through language as a system of signs. Representation in this approach was understood on the basis of the way words functioned as signs in a language (Hall, 1997: 42). Saussure (1972) identified two elements that make up the ‘sign’: the signifier, which refers to the object, image or word; and the signified, which is the mental conceptualisation of the object, word, or image. These two elements of the sign, according to Saussure (1972: 67), are linked arbitrarily without any internal connexion between them. Although these elements are required to produce meaning, it is the relation between them, which is fixed by cultural and linguistic codes, which sustains representation (Hall, 1997: 31).

The semiotic approach allows for a deeper understanding of how language constructs meaning. However, it has been criticised for restricting the process of representation to language which sees it as a fixed, closed and static system (Weedon, 1987; Hall, 1997). This approach, Weedon (1987: 175) argues, does not account for the plurality or arbitrariness of meaning. However, subsequent developments focused on representation as a source for the production of social knowledge – a more open system which was connected with the social practices and questions of power (Hall, 1997: 42). This marked the move from the focus of representation on language to discourse.

3.2. Discourse, Knowledge, Power and Truth

The discursive approach to representation is influenced by the works of French philosopher, Michel Foucault. Foucault was concerned with the production of knowledge

through discourse (which he defines more broadly than language) (Hall, 1997: 42). Foucault's approach is more attentive to historical specificities than the semiotic approach, with emphasis on relations of power rather than relations of meaning (Hall, 1997: 43). For Foucault, discourse is not merely a linguistic concept, rather, what interested him were the rules and practices that produced meaningful statements and regulated discourse in different historical periods (Hall, 1997: 44). This conception of discourse was concerned with both language and practice, it referred to the regulated production of knowledge through language which gives meaning to both material objects and social practices (Barker, 2012: 20).

Foucault's conception of discourse constructs the topic by defining and producing the objects of knowledge (Hall, 1997: 44). This construction of the topic and objects, Foucault argues, is made possible by a group of relations established between authorities of emergence, delimitation, and specification (Foucault, 1972: 49). While discourse defines and produces the object of knowledge, it also governs and regulates how a topic of knowledge can and cannot be talked or reasoned about (Hall, 1997; Barker, 2012). For instance, a discourse of orientalism¹¹ in Europe, in the nineteenth century is likely to be derogatory and condescending because, according to Said, "every European in his knowledge of the orient¹² was consequently a racist, an imperialist and ethnocentric" (1978: 204). According to Foucault, "we cannot speak of just anything in any circumstances whatever, and, not everyone has the right to speak of anything whatever" (Foucault, 1981; 52). Foucault also argued that discourse never consists of one statement, one text, one action or one source; rather, the same discourse will appear across a range of texts, and as forms of conduct at a number of different institutional sites within society (Hall, 1997: 44). When this occurs, Foucault describes them as belonging to the same discursive formation. He asserts that,

Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, a system of dispersion, whenever one can define regularity between objects types of statements, concepts or thematic choices, we are dealing with a discursive formation (Foucault, 1972: 41).

Foucault argues that nothing meaningful exists outside of discourse, and thus it is discourse - not the things in themselves, which produces knowledge (Hall, 1997: 45). Hall (1997) argues that Foucault's position on discourse, knowledge, and power differs radically from the Marxist theory of class interests and ideological 'distortion'. He argues that

¹¹ Orientalism is a school of interpretation whose material happens to be the orient, its civilizations, peoples and localities (Said, 1978).

¹² The orient is a system of representations framed by the west (Europe) that refers to countries in the east and Asia (Said, 1978).

knowledge, once used to regulate the conduct of others, entails constraint, regulation and the disciplining of practices (Hall, 1997: 49). According to Foucault, “in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality” (1981: 52).

Foucault’s conception of power rejected Marxist notions of power as overly negative and repressive. He argues that “the notion of repression is completely inadequate to account for precisely what productivity there is in power” (Foucault, 1979: 36). This, according to Hall, suggests that we are all, to some degree, caught up in the circulation of power as both oppressors and oppressed. Foucault further argues that what gives power its hold is the fact that it does not simply weigh like a force which says no, but that it runs through society producing things, inducing pleasure, forming knowledge and producing discourse, therefore, it must be considered as a productive network which runs through the entire social body (Foucault, 1979: 36).

Knowledge linked to power, Hall (1997) argues, not only assumes an authority of truth, but has the power to make itself true. Therefore, truth is not outside power or deprived of power (Foucault, 1979: 45). By truth, Foucault means “the ensemble of rules according to which true and false are separated and specific effects of power attached to the true” (1979: 46). According to Barker, Foucault explores the circumstances under which statements are combined and regulated to form and define a distinct field of knowledge requiring a particular set of concepts and delimiting a specific regime of truth (2012). Each society has its regime of truth, its “general politics” of truth, that is, the types of discourses it harbours and causes to function as true (Foucault, 1979: 46). Foucault further identifies five historically important traits that characterize the concept of truth: truth is centred on the form of scientific discourse and the institutions which produce it; it is subject to a constant economic and political incitation; it circulates in apparatuses of education and information whose extent is relatively wide within the society; it is produced and transmitted under control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political or economic apparatuses; it is the stake of a whole political debate and social confrontation. Foucault further argues that there is a constant “battle for/around truth (1979: 46).

The shift towards a constructionist approach to language and representation did a great deal to displace the subject from a privileged position in relation to knowledge and meaning (Hall, 1997). Although discourse is enmeshed with power, it is not necessary to find a subject for power and knowledge to operate (Hall, 1997: 54). This displacement of the

subject is referred to by Foucault as genealogy. This he describes as a form of history which accounts for the constitution of knowledge, discourses, domains of objects, without having to refer to a subject (Foucault, 1979: 35). Therefore, it is discourse not the subjects who speak it, which produces knowledge. Although subjects may produce particular texts, they are operating within the limits of the episteme (characteristic way of thinking or the state of knowledge at a particular time), the discursive formation and the regime of truth of a particular period and culture (Hall, 1997: 55). Thus the subject is produced within and subjected to discourse (Hall, 1997: 55).

3.3. Ideology and Hegemony

Though Foucault sets up his conception of discourse in opposition to ideology, his view of discourse as the medium of struggle is very similar to the sociological conception of ideology¹³ (Purvis & Hunt, 1993) They further argue that what Foucault offers is the possibility of an account of the emergence of ideology from a complex of social and institutional practices thus avoiding the tendency of Marxism to succumb to teleological explanations of causes or origins (Purvis and Hunt, 1993: 490). Hall (1986) defines ideology as the mental frameworks - the languages, concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation - which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works (1986: 26). Within Gramscian analysis, ideology is understood in terms of ideas, meanings and practices, which, while they purport to be universal truths, are maps of meaning that, sustain powerful social groups (Barker, 2012: 67). Hence, ideology is not separate from the practical activities of life, rather, it is understood as a phenomenon in day-to-day conditions (ibid: 67).

Gramsci, though influenced by Marxism, rejected class reductionism and advanced a definition of ideology, which is considerably closer to Foucault's conception of power (Hall, 1997: 48). The originality of Gramsci's concept of hegemony, according to Bocoock (1986), stems from its break from a dogmatic Marxist approach which was concerned with economically determined classes and their actions (1986: 35). Ideologies, according to Gramsci, are real historical facts which must be combated and their nature as instruments of domination revealed to make the governed intellectually independent of governing, in order to destroy one hegemony and create another (1988: 196). Gramsci's conception was that particular social groups struggle in many different ways, including ideologically, to win the

¹³ The sociological conception of ideology focuses on multiple conceptions of ideology as the outcome or result of the specific social position of classes, groups or agents. Here, ideology is the result of objective social position and, most significantly, as a sphere or arena of struggle (Purvis and Hunt, 1993: 478).

consent of other groups in order to achieve a kind of ascendancy in both thought and practice over them (Hall, 1997: 48). This conception of power was referred to as hegemony. For Gramsci, hegemony is defined as intellectual and moral leadership whose principal constituting elements are consent and persuasion (Fontana, 1993: 140). To Gramsci, reality is perceived, and knowledge is acquired through moral, cultural, and ideological filters through which society constructs meaning thus hegemony implies the creation of a particular structure of knowledge and a particular system of beliefs (ibid: 140).

The fact that hegemony is never permanent, and is not reducible to economic interests or to a simple class model of society, according to Hall (1997) has some similarities to Foucault's position, though they differ radically on some key issues (1997: 48). While Gramsci emphasised the political, he did not totally exclude the economic area (Bocock, 1986: 35). It is only when the ruling social group constructs a socio-political order capable of instilling its particular cultural and moral beliefs in the consciousness of the people that it can be assured of a stable hegemony (Fontana, 1993: 144). Fontana further asserts that a social group can be said to assume a hegemonic role when it articulates and proliferates throughout society's cultural and ideological belief systems, whose teachings are accepted as universally valid by the general population (Fontana, 1993: 140).

Bocock (1986) describes three terms that identify three discrete albeit interconnected areas in a social formation, which form the baseline for the conceptualization of hegemony: the economic, the state and the civil society (1986: 33). For Gramsci, however, the state comprises both the economic and the political organisation of the bourgeois class, and he sought to include the state and civil society as areas in which power was exercised and hegemony established (Pozzolini, 1970; Bocock, 1986). This resonates with Gramsci's (1971) argument that the state and the civil society perform organisational and connective functions in sustaining the hegemony and direct domination exercised by the dominant group and the state in society. Gramsci (1971) also identifies a social group which he calls "intellectuals". He describes the intellectuals as the dominant groups' deputies who exercise the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government (Gramsci, 1971: 12). The intellectuals, according to Fontana (1993) are the organizers and educators of society whose functions are to create particular ways of life and conceptions of the world, and translate the values and interests of specific social groups into the common and general values (1993: 141). Hegemony is therefore "conceived as the vehicle through which the dominant social groups establish a system of permanent consent that legitimates a prevailing

social order by reinforcing interwoven ideas that have been affirmed and articulated by the intellectuals” (Fontana, 1993: 141).

3.4. Media Representation and Normative Theories

In relation to hegemony, the news media play an essential role in maintaining the authority of the existing political system, thus, the news paradigm can be seen as operating within this larger ideological sphere (Reese, 1997). Gamson et al assert that “the special genius of this system is to make the whole process seem normal and natural that the very art of social construction is invisible” (1992: 374). Since the social structure of a society produces norms that define aspects of social life which are important to its members, the media is dependent upon this social structure (Tuchman, 1978: 183). Christians et al (2009) argue that it is impossible to make a definite statement regarding what the main tasks of the media and the norms for performing those tasks should be. They give two reasons for this: first, there are varying interests and expectations on the part of those inside and outside the press and second, no formal claim can legitimately be made on a free press to carry out any particular task (Christians et al, 2009: 121).

There has been a lot of debate around “the possible social purposes of media and the standards against which they should be judged, and this has led to the reformulation of a social theory about the position of the media in society” (McQuail, 1994: 122). The main origins of these media theories, according to McQuail lie in the roles frequently attributed to the press in the rise of modern society (1994: 123). The notions of freedom of the press and social responsibility have led to several attempts at formulating normative media theories (Siebert, et al., 1956; McQuail, 1983; Christians, et al., 2009). This study however, draws upon the normative theory of the media formulated by Christians et al (2009).

Christians et al identify four roles of the press: monitorial, facilitative, radical and collaborative. The monitorial role describes the press as a channel of information. The facilitative role describes the press as enabling public participation and deliberations to “develop a shared moral framework for community and society” (Christians et al, 2009: 126). The radical role focuses on exposing abuses of power and aims to raise popular consciousness of wrongdoing, inequality, and the potential for change (ibid: 126). The collaborative role advocates a partnership between the press and the state. This they argue is appropriate in developing nations under pressure for economic and social development amidst scarce resources and immature political institutions (ibid: 127). Of these four roles

identified by Christians et al, the monitorial and the facilitative are the most relevant to the selected newspapers in this study.

The monitorial role of the media, Christians et al argue, has been a defining feature of journalism since its beginnings, and is the essential task of the media as defined by the press itself (2009: 143). The Nigerian press for instance, foregrounds this role as the essence of journalism by claiming to be “purveyors of information” who serve the public’s right to know (Nigerian Press Council, 1998: 5). Christians et al further argue that the scope of this role of the press varies according to the involvement of the media in the society (Christians et al, 2009). The level of involvement of the media is dependent on ownership and control of media institutions, the role of the media in sustaining inequality, how and whose version of reality is represented (McQuail, 1994).

Christians et al (2009) further argue that there are several tensions at the heart of the monitorial role, with the notion of objectivity being a major area of continuous tension. Tuchman describes objectivity as a strategic ritual used by professionals to defend them from critical onslaught (1972: 661). According to Lichtenberg, the notion of objectivity is a cornerstone of the professional ideology of journalists (2000: 238). Therefore, for the journalist, objectivity means presenting facts that are true, reliable, and valid, without emotion, bias and value judgements (Tuchman, 1972; Hackett, 1984; Lichtenberg, 2000; Christians, et al., 2009). Christians et al argue that the idea of a monitorial role of the press in this dominant meaning can be seen as delegitimising journalism activities that go too far in the direction of expressing opinions, conveying ideologies, or taking too active a part in the wider affairs of society as an involved and partisan actor (2009: 147). They further argue that when values and opinions guide the selection of facts, the basic understanding of the monitorial role of the press is violated to some extent (Christians et al, 2009: 146).

The media’s relationship to power also shapes role performance thus the criteria of news relevance are partly determined by the power of sources or the power of those who are featured in news (Christians et al, 2009: 150). Because media institutions are constrained by time and financial limits, in order to maintain the regularity of news, journalists crave for a readily available and reliable flow of information, from not just sources but authoritative sources (Schudson, 2003). He further asserts that this is a role which government agencies and officials are eager to perform by making information available on a regular basis in a form that is easily digestible (Schudson, 2003: 134). This, Christians et al argue, lead to journalism serving as a conduit for information that are far from evenly accessible to all.

While the expectation that the media should provide information of reasonable quality has a more practical than philosophical or normative underpinnings, it is hardly less important in modern thinking about media standards than the principles of freedom or diversity (McQuail, 1994: 145). Therefore, the monitorial role of the media is unlikely to fail completely because this is a role the journalism profession has learned to do best (Christians et al, 2009: 157). This is evident in the media's self-acclaimed role as disseminators of information to the public.

In performing the facilitative role, the media promote dialogue among their readers and viewers through communication that engages them and in which they actively participate (Christians et al, 2009: 158). *Daily Trust*, one of the selected newspapers in this study, foregrounds this role in its coverage of certain issues like health through genres such as; 'letters' and 'opinions'. Christians et al argue that the facilitative role is rooted in and aims to promote deliberative democracy ¹⁴(2009). They further argue that the deliberation facilitated by the press frames the democratic process in normative terms as interactive dialogues in which citizens engage one another on both practical matters and social vision (Christians et al, 2009: 159). The facilitative role is a response to the fact that human lives are culturally complex and loaded with multiple interpretations, therefore, the fundamental challenge for the media in their facilitative role is to help citizens gain their own voices and collaborate (Christians et al, 2009: 176).

The normative media roles- monitorial and facilitative- are particularly important to this study because they allow for an understanding and assessment of the selected newspapers' prioritization of sources and news content. The monitorial role offers an insight into the role the media perceives as its calling. The facilitative role enables an understanding of how the media values the thoughts and opinions of the public and how it serves as a forum through which the public express themselves and engage one another.

3. 5. Conclusion

This chapter has presented a discussion of the theoretical background of the study. It situated the research within the broad field of cultural studies placing emphasis on the centrality of representation. The chapter explored the field of representation by connecting it to Foucault's understandings of discourse, and Gramsci's notion of hegemony. This provided an insight into how certain ideas or concepts are produced as discourses and how these discourses

¹⁴ Deliberative democracy has at its core the Habermasian concept of the public sphere. The public sphere fashioned by Habermas, is a sphere of mediation between civil society and the state in which the public is recognized as a bearer of public opinion (Habermas, 1974).

become 'truths' and are consented to. The chapter also discussed Christians et al's (2009) normative theory of the media to understand how the perceived role of the media in the society influences representation of certain events in the media.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

4. Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodologies, methods, data selection and sampling procedures, which inform this study. Situated within the qualitative approach to research, this study principally draws on Fairclough's (1995) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework, following a preliminary thematic content analysis. The choice of CDA as the primary research method is to investigate and tease out contesting discourses and relations of power that are embedded within the representations of the polio eradication controversy in *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section discusses and defends the choice of a qualitative research methodology. The second section discusses thematic content analysis. The third section discusses CDA as a text-based research method. The fourth section discusses the data selection and sampling procedure employed in the study.

4.1. Qualitative Research Approach/Tradition

There are several discussions and debates that surround the choice of research methodologies (Lindlof, 1995; Silverman, 2001; Snape & Spencer, 2003). The basis of these debates is the tendency for philosophical issues and technical issues to be treated simultaneously and occasionally confused (Bryman, 1984: 75). The philosophical issues relate to questions of epistemology, which is concerned with the appropriate foundation for studying or learning about the social world (Bryman, 1984; Snape & Spencer, 2003). The technical issues are concerned with the appropriateness of methods of research in relation to one another, therefore, the term "methodology" refers to an epistemological position of research while the term "method" refers to a technique used to gather data (Bryman, 1984). There are two major methodologies- qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. The qualitative and quantitative research methodologies should not be seen as opposing approaches to research, rather the choice of either of them should be seen as complementary approaches appropriate to the research question (Silverman, 2001; Snape & Spencer, 2003; Malterud, 2001; Janowski & Wester, 1991). According to Tuchman (1991), while the argument of choice of methodologies' dependence on the research question is valid, the most significant work on news is qualitative. This study therefore adopts the qualitative research methodology in the selection and analysis of data.

Qualitative research involves the systematic collection, organisation, and interpretation of textual material derived from talk or observation by providing a means of accessing unquantifiable facts about the actual people researchers observe and talk to or people represented by their personal traces (such as letters, photographs, newspaper accounts, diaries and so on (Berg, 1998; Malterud 2001). Thus qualitative researchers seek to preserve the form and content of human behaviour and to analyse its qualities, rather than subject it to mathematical or other formal transformations (Lindlof, 1995: 21). In the case of this study, I aim at accessing facts about the representation of the polio eradication controversy between North East Nigeria and the Federal government through examining newspaper accounts.

There have been several arguments by proponents of the quantitative research approach against qualitative research as a methodology, based on its perceived inability to cater for concepts such as, generalisation, validity and reliability (Bryman, 1984; Janowski & Wester, 1991; Lindlof, 1995; Silverman, 2001). Addressing the issue of generalisation, Babbie and Mouton (2001) argue that the main concern of qualitative research is to understand social action in terms of its specific context rather than attempting to generalize to some theoretical populations (2001: 270). While the issue of validity is appropriate whatever one's theoretical orientation or use of quantitative or qualitative data, applying it to qualitative research is difficult because a world with multiple constructed realities does not allow the researcher to identify any single representation as the criterion for accurate measurement (Lindlof, 1995; Silverman, 2001). Thus questions of validity become the question of how far the researcher's constructions are grounded in the constructions of those that were studied (Flick, 1998: 225). Silverman (2001) argues that issues of reliability, particularly in textual analysis, now arise only through the categories used to analyse each text as it is important that the categories used should be used in a standardized way so that any other researcher would categorize it in the same way (2001: 229). In lieu of these debates, the issues of reliability and validity in this study lie in my arguments of the findings and the categorisation of data.

4.2. Thematic Content Analysis

Content analysis as a research method is popular in mass media research because it provides an efficient way to investigate the content of the media (Wimmer and Dominick, 1987: 165). George (1959) argues that most writers on content analysis have made quantification a component of their definitions of content analysis, therefore presenting the qualitative approach as being something other than content analysis. Content analysis is typically

defined as a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Berelson, 1952: 18). George (1959) however, distinguishes between two approaches to content analysis- quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative content analysis is concerned with the frequency of occurrence of given content features, while the qualitative content analysis is focused on making inferences from content to non-content variables (George, 1959: 9). This study applies the qualitative content analysis as a prelude to the critical discourse analysis by narrowing down the sample population to those relevant to the research goals.

Qualitative content analysis is one of the numerous research methods used to analyse text data (Hsieh and Shannon, 2007: 111). According to Berelson (1952), qualitative content analysis contains a higher ratio of inferential statements than quantitative analysis. Hsieh and Shannon (2007) define qualitative content analysis as “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of identifying themes and patterns” (2007: 111). Qualitative content analysis involves: some indicator or class of indicators that can be identified in the message sequence; some state or process in the individuals producing or receiving the message; and some dependency between them (Osgood, 1959: 36). Hsieh and Shannon (2007) argue that the success of a content analysis depends on the coding process. The coding process in content analysis is to organize large quantities of texts into much fewer content categories (Weber cited in Hsieh and Shannon 2007: 121). This study therefore applies a thematic content analysis of *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers’ articles on polio eradication to make inferences that would help narrow down the samples for the critical discourse analysis.

4.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) emerges out of “a critical theory of language as a form of social practice” (Janks, 1997: 329). CDA provides theories and methods which can be used for the study of the relations between discourses, social and cultural developments in different social domains (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 60). Van Dijk (1995) argues that adequate CDA requires good theories of the role of discourse in the enactment and reproduction of social dominance and resistance (1995: 19). In line with this argument, as discussed in Chapter Three, Foucault’s theory of discourse not only informs this study but also Fairclough’s definition of discourse that views language as an element of social life which is closely interconnected with other elements” (2003: 3). The aim of CDA is to shed light on the linguistic-dimension of social and cultural phenomena and processes of change

(Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 61). In CDA, while discourse constitutes the social world, it is also constituted by other social practices. Thus, discourse is said to be in a dialectical relationship with other social dimensions (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002).

Fairclough's model of CDA has been described as the most elaborate, ambitious and most useful attempt to theorize CDA. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) describe it as a combination of three traditions of discourse analysis; detailed textual analysis within linguistics, macro-sociological analysis of social practice and the micro-sociological interpretative tradition within sociology where everyday life is treated as the product of people's actions in which they follow a set of shared "common sense" rules and procedures (2002: 65-66). This model of CDA, according to Fairclough,

[...] aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1995: 132-133).

The model of CDA developed by Fairclough includes three interconnected dimensions; the text, discourse practice and the socio-cultural practice. Janks (1997) describes this model as providing "multiple points of analytic entry". The socio-cultural practice dimension is described as "analysis of the social and cultural goings-on which the communicative event is part of" (Fairclough, 1995: 57). The discourse practice involves both the production and consumption of the text. The textual dimension of this model focuses on the linguistic features and organization of "concrete instances of discourse" (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 448).

4.3.1. Textual Dimension

For Fairclough, the analysis of a text covers the traditional forms of linguistic analysis, the analysis of textual organization and the overall structure of the text (Fairclough, 1995: 57). Hence, textual analysis covers both meanings and forms. The text is argued to have three functions; ideational which deals with specific representations of social practice; interpersonal which deals with the constructions of identities and social relations; and textual which deals with the construction of the relationship between writer and reader; textual analysis is also characterized by sensitivity to absences as well as presences (Fairclough, 1995: 58). Thus, textual analysis ought to examine the traditional forms of linguistic analysis

in relation to their direct or indirect involvement in reproducing or resisting the systems of ideology and social power (Richardson, 2007: 39). By detailed discourse analysis of the linguistic characteristics of a text using particular tools, it is possible to cast light on how discourses are activated textually and arrive at, and provide backup for, a particular interpretation (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 83).

4.3.1.1. Linguistic Tools

Lexical Analysis

The lexical choices in a text have always been seen as very crucial in the construction of meaning because they mark off socially and ideologically distinct areas of experience and therefore have a categorizing function (Thetela, 2001: 354). In analysing media texts, naming and reference, and predication are often the foci of the lexical analysis (Richardson, 2007). The way that people are named and socially constructed in news discourse defines how the actions of those represented are to be judged or evaluated (Richardson, 2007; Chiluya, 2012). The manner in which social actors are named identifies not only the group(s) that they are associated with, it also signals the relationship between the namer and the named (Richardson, 2007: 49). Especially relevant to the analysis of news texts is the choice of words used to represent more directly the values and characteristics of social actors (Richardson, 2007: 52). Thus naming in the news reflects language in action, with values and attitudes encoded in it (Chiluya, 2012: 96). The lexical analysis of *Punch* and *Daily Trust* articles is to tease out the hidden societal values and attitudes within their representations of the polio eradication controversy.

Transitivity

Transitivity is the foundation of representation because it has the facility to analyse the same event in different ways, which is of great interest in newspaper analysis (Fowler, 1991: 71). Transitivity describes the relationships between participants and the roles they play in the processes described in reporting (Richardson, 2007: 54). Transitivity also investigates the types of processes which are encoded in clauses and the types of participants involved in them (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough (1992) identifies relational processes, action processes, event processes and mental processes as the main process types in English. A transitivity analysis is important because it gives “insight into assumptions and strategies which may not be explicit” (Fairclough, 1992).

Modality

Modality has been described as the counterpart of transitivity that ‘refers to judgements, comments, and attitudes in text and talk made explicit or implicit by the linguistic stance of the speaker or writer (Fowler, 1991; Richardson, 2007). It also extends to the writer/speaker’s attitude towards the situation or event described by a sentence’ (Simpson, 1993: 47). Therefore modality is a major dimension of discourse where the signification of reality and the enactment of social relations intersect (Fairclough, 1992). Analysing the modality of the text allows for an understanding of the potential political/social effects that the modal choices in the text seek to achieve (Richardson, 2007).

Presupposition

Presuppositions are propositions that are taken by the producer of the text as already established (Fairclough, 1992: 120). Speakers or writers usually design their messages according to the assumption that the audience already have a degree of knowledge of what is being communicated (Chiluwa, 2012: 59). Analysing presuppositions within the text is to establish if they are used sincerely or manipulatively and how they contribute to the ideological positioning of the text (Fairclough, 1992).

Rhetorical Tropes

Because journalists are unable to provide reports of events that are entirely true and objective, they employ rhetorical strategies that are aimed at persuading others to adopt their points of view (Richardson, 2007: 65). Richardson (2007) identifies five rhetorical tropes that are useful to the analysis of newspaper discourse: hyperbole, metaphor, metonymy, neologism and pun - the most common being metaphors. According to Fairclough (1992), metaphors structure the way we think, and the way we act, and our systems of knowledge and belief.

In addition to these linguistic tools, I applied narrative and argumentation analytic strategies/models because “the narrative and argumentation enable holistic analysis of media texts” (Prinsloo 2009).

4.3.1.2. Argumentation/ Rhetoric

Rhetoric is a social, intellectual, verbal activity that serves to persuade by justifying or refuting an opinion, consisting of a constellation of statements and directed towards obtaining the approbation of an audience (van Eemeren et al, 1987). There are several approaches in the field of rhetoric as an analytic tool (van Eemeren et al, 1987; Richardson, 2007). Richardson

(2007) drawing on Aristotle's theory of rhetoric, identifies three varieties of rhetoric- forensic, epideictic, and deliberative. The forensic rhetoric is concerned with using the past to condemn or defend an action. The epideictic rhetoric is concerned with praising or censuring someone based on present actions. The deliberative rhetoric focuses on the future and weighs the pros and cons of an action – usually political (Richardson, 2007: 157). Richardson (2007) further argues that identifying the modes of persuasion are the first step in analysis. There are three modes of persuasion developed by Aristotle- ethos, pathos and logos. Ethos is persuasion through the arguer's character, pathos is persuasion through an appeal to emotions, and logos is persuasion through the logic and structure¹⁵ of the argument. Prinsloo (2009) argues that when one analyses texts as rhetoric, one seeks to identify how experiences are constructed and positioned. In analysing media texts, Silverstone (1999) argues that:

To examine the texts of media rhetorically is to examine how meanings are made and arranged, plausibly, pleasingly and persuasively. It is to explore the relationship between the familiar and the new; to decipher textual strategy. But it is also to investigate the audience; to find out where and how it is placed in the text; to understand how the common places relate to common sense; how novelty is constructed on familiar bases; and how tricks are turned and clichés mobilised in shifts of taste and style (Silverstone, 1999: 38).

The choice of rhetoric, particularly Aristotle's theory of rhetoric as an analytic tool in this study, served as the framework for the analysis of the editorial genre in *Punch* and *Daily Trust*.

4.3.1.3. Narrative

Narrative alongside language is one of the main processes of culture shared by all societies (Fiske, 1987). Narrative theories are structuralist theories that study the devices, laws and conventions that govern the organisation of a story into sequence (Branston and Stafford, 1996; Prinsloo, 2009). The choice of narrative theories as an analytic tool is based on Bell's (1994) argument that news stories are narratives with a structure, direction, and viewpoint. Similarly, Branston and Stafford (1996) argue that the media constructs meaning through narratives. The analysis of the news articles as narratives drew on Todorov, Propp and Levi Strauss' theories of narrative to add depth to the analysis.

¹⁵ There are two major structures of argumentation- inductive and deductive. Deductive arguments allow assertions to be made, and conclusions are drawn based on these assertions. Inductive arguments allow a general conclusion to be drawn from specific cases (Richardson, 2007).

Todorov's theory is the "simplest way of explaining a narrative structure" (Wigston, 2001: 154). This theory describes all narratives as beginning with an equilibrium which is disrupted by an event, which leads to a series of events to achieve a new status of equilibrium (Fiske, 1987; Branston and Stafford, 1996; Wigston, 2001). Fiske (1987) argues that Todorov's theory is particularly useful for its ability to explain news stories and to model news as a social narrative of the conflict between the existing social order and disruptive forces. He further argues that this theory is useful in identifying the ideological positioning of the narrative. This is clear in the selection of events that are considered to be disruptive of a state of equilibrium or the events that restore a specific equilibrium, and the description of what constitutes a state of equilibrium (Fiske, 1987: 139). Therefore, the use of Todorov's model in this study provided the framework for understanding the sequence of events that surround the polio eradication controversy in *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers.

Propp's theory is the "extreme example" of narrative theories (Fiske, 1987: 135). His theory enables analysis based on the functions and roles of the characters (social actors) within a narrative. Propp compiled thirty two narrative functions that he divided into six major sections: preparation, complication, transference, struggle, return, and recognition (Fiske, 1987; Wigston, 2001). He also identified eight character functions- hero, donor, helper, princess, dispatcher, villain, and false hero (Fiske, 1987; Branston and Stafford, 1996; Wigston, 2001). This model not only focuses on the social conflict, it also gives a human dimension to the conflict by enabling the construction and positioning of actors in the news stories. The use of Propp's narrative and character functions in this study allowed for an insight into how the actors and their roles within *Punch* and *Daily Trust's* representations were constructed and positioned.

Levi-Strauss' theory recognises myth as a narrative that serves as an anxiety- reducing mechanism, which deals with irresolvable contradictions in a culture by depending on simple and recognisable meanings to reinforce or challenge understandings (Fiske, 1987; Wigston, 2001). Wigston (2001) argues that we make sense of concepts and ideas by contrasting them with their opposites. These contradictions are expressed in opposition to ensure an easy transfer of meanings. Levi-Strauss' model of binary oppositions enables a deeper analysis to spot the ideological positioning of the narrative. According to Branston and Stafford (1996), Levi-Strauss was interested in the deeper arrangement of themes. The use of Levi-Strauss' model of binary oppositions in this study allowed for an understanding of how certain ideas

and concepts were expressed in opposition to other ideas and concepts in *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers' representations of the polio eradication controversy.

4.3.2. *Discourse Practice*

Fairclough (1995) views the discourse practice dimension as the link between the socio-cultural and the textual. The discourse practice dimension of Fairclough's model of CDA relies on the argument that discourse is something that is produced, circulated, distributed, and consumed in society (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 448). Some of these discourse practices have an institutional character such as the editorial procedures of producing media texts and others are discourse practices in a narrower sense, such as the "decoding" of the text by the reader (Fairclough, 1995: 59). However, because of the scope of this study, I limited the analysis to the media texts alone. Approaching analysis at this stage means that, in analysing vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structures, attention must also be given to speech acts, coherence and intertextuality - three aspects that link a text to its context (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 449). It is at this stage that the analysis shifts from being mere textual analysis to being discourse analysis (Richardson, 2007: 39). Within this dimension, this study is concerned with the positioning of the social actors involved in the polio eradication controversy, the newspapers' prioritization of news sources, and the contesting discourses (intertextuality) involved in *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers' representations of the controversy.

4.3.3. *Sociocultural Practice*

The socio-cultural practice dimension is described as "analysis of the social and cultural goings-on which the communicative event is part of" (Fairclough, 1995: 57). Analysis at this level may occur at different levels of abstraction from the particular event; it may involve its more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within, or the yet wider frame of the society and the culture (Fairclough, 1995: 62). At this level of analysis, this study focuses on the existing political and social (unequal) relations of power between the North-East and the Federal government, and how the texts under study sustain or fight these relations.

Fairclough's model of CDA is useful because it approaches discourse as a process in which social practices influence texts via shaping the context and mode of production and the texts in turn shape the viewpoints of those who read or consume (Richardson, 2007: 37). Janks (1997) argues that CDA enables the analysis to focus on the text, the specific linguistic selections, their positioning, sequence and their layout while at the same time, recognizing

the historical background to understand that these choices are tied to conditions of possibility (1997: 329).

4.4. Data Selection and Sampling Procedure

A time frame of one year, January to December 2013, was selected for this study. This is significant because of the crisis that led to the death of nine health workers during an immunization round in February 2013 (Anwar, 2013; Adeyemi & Ehikioya, 2013; Adetayo & Olorok, 2013; Muhammad, 2013; Okafor, 2013). In selecting the articles for analysis, stories that did not have polio eradication as their foci were excluded. Genres such as, features, columns, opinions, and letters were excluded. This is because some of these genres were present in one paper and absent in the other, and, in cases where they were present in both papers, they were not relevant to the thematic distribution of this study. However, the choice of news and editorial is. While news stories are often viewed as objective and without bias, the editorials represent the newspapers' opinions about the issue, and it was the only genre, apart from hard news, that was present in both newspapers. In analysing the selected newspapers (*Daily Trust* and *Punch*), news stories from *Weekly Trust* and *Sunday Trust* are recognised as part of *Daily Trust*. This is to make allowance for the coverage of news stories about events and activities that occur during the weekend, and also because *Punch* newspaper publishes all through the week.

A total of sixty-five articles had polio eradication as their foci (30 from *Daily Trust* and 35 from *Punch*). From these news articles that had polio eradication as the crux, I selected those that focused on the issue of polio eradication in Northern Nigeria. Based on this criterion, a total of forty-four articles (24 from *Punch* and 20 from *Daily Trust*) formed the sample population for this study. The genre of news articles selected for this study are editorials and news stories. Both newspapers have one editorial each. This left a total of forty-two news stories to analyse. To reduce the number of news stories for critical discourse analysis, I conducted a content analysis to separate them into themes. I identified the following themes: **Blame versus Commitment to progress; Condemnation versus Commendation; and Compensation versus Punishment**¹⁶. These themes give an insight into the representation of the polio eradication controversy in *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers. From the identified themes, the number of articles that made up the study population was twenty-nine (14 from *Punch* and 15 from *Daily Trust*).

¹⁶ These themes will be discussed in the following chapter.

Table 1: Thematic distribution of articles in *Daily Trust* and *Punch* newspapers.

	Blame versus Commitment to Progress	Condemnation versus Commendation	Compensation versus punishment
<i>Daily Trust</i>	7	4	4
<i>Punch</i>	7	2	5
Total	14	6	9

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined and discussed the research design of this study. Hinged on the qualitative research methodology, I discussed the two methods that this study adopts - the thematic content analysis and critical discourse analysis, including the textual analytic tools. I also gave a detailed description of the process of data selection (in this case, news) and sampling procedure. This chapter also highlighted the categories for the thematic content analysis. The categories and the findings of the thematic content analysis are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

Data Analysis and Discussion- Thematic Content Analysis and Discourse Analysis of News Stories

5. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine how *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers sustain existing hegemonic processes (biases, stereotypes or prejudices) in their representations of the struggle between the Federal Government and Northern Nigeria over the ongoing polio eradication initiative. To achieve this purpose, I examine the positioning of participants as sources and subjects, and also how various discourses embedded in these representations contest and cooperate. The next two chapters therefore present and discuss the findings. This chapter focuses on the presentation and discussion of findings from the thematic content analysis and critical discourse analysis of the news stories, while the following chapter discusses the findings of the editorial analysis. This chapter is divided into three sections, according to the themes highlighted in chapter four: **blame versus commitment to progress; condemnation versus commendation; and compensation versus punishment**. Each section begins with a detailed discussion of the three themes and progresses into a detailed critical discourse analysis.

5.1. Blame versus Commitment to Progress

This theme is central to this study because it encapsulates the struggle between the Federal Government and Northern Nigeria on polio eradication, and the steps being taken to ensure that polio is eradicated completely. In this theme, I situate news stories in both newspapers that blame others or give reasons for the resurgence of the polio virus in contrast to the stories that show the efforts and commitments being made to achieve the total eradication of polio. For instance, *Punch*'s article titled: **“Yobe, Borno account for 50% polio cases- Panel”** suggests that Yobe and Borno states are to blame for the resurgence of the polio virus. Thus it is representative of the blame strand of the theme. In contrast, *Daily Trust*'s article with the headline, **“We are committed to polio eradication- Wada”** suggests that rather than give reasons for the resurgence of polio, the government is making efforts and is committed to the total eradication polio. Both newspapers have 14 articles that fall within this category/theme (7 from *Daily Trust* and 7 from *Punch*). However, *Punch* has more articles that lay blame than *Daily Trust*. Of its seven articles, *Punch* has five that lay blame and two that express commitment to progress, while *Daily Trust* has five that show commitment to progress and

two that lay blame. For the critical discourse analysis, two news stories are selected from this theme and are discussed below (one from *Daily Trust* and one from *Punch*).

“1,000 polio cases caused by don’s misinformation- Minister”

This article was published by *Punch* on the 22nd of April, 2012. The nine paragraph news article is a report on the response of the Minister of State for Health to recent media reports about the recantation of anti-polio vaccination activist, Professor Haruna Kaita, an Ahmadu Bello University “**don whose previous utterances allegedly stirred up the anti-polio controversy**” (Punch, 22 April, 2013). Because of its focus on polio eradication, the article is centred on a health discourse. Although the article has a relatively low degree of interdiscursivity, it employs a high degree of manifest intertextuality as it combines several texts such as: previous utterances of the anti-vaccination activist Professor; media reports of his recantation; and the Minister’s speech. While it is mainly a discussion about polio vaccine rejections and the resurgence of the polio virus, it also includes a brief discussion on the progress made in polio eradication efforts. The article is structured as a narrative and speaks to the blame aspect of the theme.

By attributing the choice of words in the headline, “**1,000 polio cases caused by don’s misinformation-Minister**” to the Minister, the newspaper distances itself from the blame-game/finger-pointing that has trailed the resurgence of polio and vaccine rejections. This is in line with Richardson’s (2007: 48) argument that “words used to communicate the message(s) of a text frame the story in direct and unavoidable ways”. This choice is foregrounded in the main story, which is almost entirely the Minister’s comments/speech. The story develops from the minister’s response/reaction, thereby presupposing that the reader/audience have a certain degree of knowledge about the anti-polio vaccination activist Professor, his previous utterances and recantation. “**Pate was reacting to a newspaper report that an Ahmadu Bello University don, Prof Haruna Kaita, whose previous utterances allegedly stirred up the anti-polio controversy, had recanted**” (Punch, 22 April, 2013).

The first paragraph describes the Minister’s shock at the high number of children that have been paralysed by polio due to vaccine rejections:

“Minister of State for Health, Dr Muhammad Pate, has expressed shock that more than 1,000 children have been paralysed by the wild polio virus largely due to the rejection of immunisation in the northern part of the country”
(Punch, 22 April, 2013).

The next five paragraphs describe in detail the Minister’s response to the anti-polio vaccination activist’s recantation. On the one hand, the minister is described as happy that the Professor has recanted, while on the other hand, the Minister blames him (the Professor) for the paralysis of children caused by vaccine rejections. In the report, the Minister is quoted as saying: **“While this development is certainly welcome, we note with sadness that more than 1,000 children have been paralysed by wild polio virus largely due to rejection”** (Punch, 22 April, 2013). The last three paragraphs focus on the Minister’s comments on the progress of polio eradication in the country. He is quoted as saying: **“Nigeria is making progress in spite of the recent challenges; so far in 2013, there has been no new case of polio in the entire North West geo-political zone”** (Punch, 22 April, 2013).

“Journalists do not write articles but write stories” thus, news is modelled as a social narrative of a conflict between social order and disruptive forces (Fiske, 1987; Bell, 1994). I analyse the text as a narrative using Todorov’s and Propp’s narrative theories. Todorov’s narrative model allows for the identification of the events that both newspapers have selected as states of equilibrium, disruption, the recognition of this disruption and the actions being taken to restore the equilibrium. Applying Todorov’s approach to *Punch*’s article, the initial state of equilibrium is inferred because, news stories often report only on the disruption (Fiske, 1987). The disruption in the text is the initial utterance of prominent anti-polio vaccine activist, Prof Kaita which led to vaccine rejections and subsequent paralysis of 1,000 children. This rejection is recognised when a prominent anti-polio vaccine activist, Prof Kaita recants. The minister after recognising this disruption takes action by addressing the media in response to Prof Kaita’s recantation. The following table summarises Todorov’s model applied to the article.

Table 2: Todorov’s model applied to 1,000 polio cases caused by don’s misinformation-Minister.

Todorov’s Model	Application to Punch’s Article
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equilibrium (inferred) • Disruption 	<p>Smooth sailing of immunization campaigns</p> <p>Previous utterance of Prof Kaita that led to vaccine rejections and paralysis of 1,000 children.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition 	Prof Kaita recants his previous utterances.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Action 	The minister reacts by speaking to the media.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re-equilibrium (implied) 	Total eradication of polio

While Propp’s model of narrative functions is similar to Todorov’s, his character functions allow one to assign the actors in the text varying roles and functions. Applying Propp’s character functions, the article positions the parents of the 1,000 paralysed children as victims who unknowingly help the villain (anti-polio vaccine activists) by being deceived/influenced to reject polio vaccines. Furthermore, the Minister is constructed as the hero who recognises and exposes the false hero (Prof Kaita). Professor Kaita is revealed as the false hero by recanting his earlier claims about the polio vaccines.

Applying a transitivity analysis, allows for an interrogation of the roles played by the major actors in the text. There are two major participants in the article- the minister and the Professor. The minister is constructed actively with mainly verbal processes because he is responding to Prof Kaita’s recantation. He is described as the subject of acts characterised by verbs such as: “**told**”, “**said**”, “**urged**”. He is also constructed with a relational process. He is further described with relational processes characterised by verb phrases such as: “**has expressed shock**”, “**was reacting**”. By constructing the Minister with these processes, the article foregrounds his role as hero. Prof Kaita is passively constructed as the object of the minister’s actions thus emphasising his role as false hero.

From the minister’s use of the pronoun “**we**”, the article constructs a set of binary opposition, in which pro-polio vaccine activists are constructed in opposition to anti-polio vaccine activists. Anti-polio vaccine activists are “**misguided**” and “**allegedly stirred up the anti-polio controversy**”. They are also constructed as responsible for the “**rejection of immunisation**” and subsequent resurgence of polio in “**the northern part of the country**”. By contrast, Pro-polio vaccine activists are enlightened people who are peaceful supporters of polio campaigns and are responsible for the successful eradication of polio in the other parts of the country. The following table identifies the way both categories are constructed in the article.

Table 3: Binary oppositions in “1,000 polio cases caused by don’s misinformation-Minister”

Pro-polio Vaccine Activists	Anti-polio Vaccine Activists
“we”	They
Other parts of the country (east, west, south)	“northern part of the country”
Peaceful supporters of polio campaigns	“allegedly stirred up the anti-polio controversy”
Informed/enlightened	“misguided”
Acceptance of immunisation	“rejection of immunisation”

“Polio: Kaduna govt goes hunting for missing kids”

In contrast to *Punch*'s, this article focuses on the commitment to progress aspect of the theme. It was published by *Daily Trust* on the 6th of July, 2013. It is a thirteen paragraph piece that reports on the efforts being made to ensure total eradication of polio. Like *Punch*'s, it is structured as a narrative, however, it has a higher degree of interdiscursivity. It combines strands of health, religious, war and economic discourses. In addition, it also reveals traces of manifest intertextuality, drawing from other texts such as: reports about two children who were absent during a previous immunisation exercise and the speeches of the Deputy Governor and the Traditional Ruler. The article steers the discussion away from the negativity that has trailed vaccine rejections, the resurgence of polio and the killing of the health workers. Instead, it focuses the discussion on the positive steps being taken to ensure total polio eradication. To achieve this, the article describes how the Kaduna State Government, led by the Deputy Governor, embark on a search and immunise mission for children who were absent from previous immunisation exercises.

The first two paragraphs summarise the essence of the entire article. **“Kaduna state government is hunting, discovering and administering polio vaccine on children in the state, who skipped the last routine exercise in Southern Kaduna, in an effort to eradicate the crippling virus”** (Daily Trust, 6 July, 2013). The next five paragraphs give details about the hunt for the missing kids. The next five paragraphs describe the Deputy Governor's visit to the palace of the community's traditional leader. It also includes excerpts of the speeches made by the deputy governor and the traditional ruler during the visit. The last two paragraphs discuss the people's responses to the immunization exercise of the deputy governor. **“He was impressed with the total response of the Fulani to the routine immunization in the local government area...”** (Daily Trust, 6 July, 2013). It concludes by giving details of the local government council chairman's testimony on the progress of polio eradication, and the council's pledge of support to ensure the total eradication of polio. **“Chairman of Zangon-Kataf Local Government, Christopher Haruna testified that efforts to totally eradicate the dreaded polio disease in all nooks and crannies of the local government and the state were yielding positive results. He pledged the council's readiness to continually lend support to government on polio issues by organizing the people to regularly avail their children for vaccination”** (Daily Trust, 6 April, 2013).

Because the article is a discussion on polio eradication, it is, like *Punch*'s, centred on a health discourse. However, it draws on several other discourses to achieve its intent, which is to prove that the government is taking steps to ensure polio eradication, rather than blame polio resurgence on actions and people. The health discourse is articulated in the first part of the headline: **“Polio: Kaduna govt goes hunting for missing kids”**. This suggests that the focus of the discussion is on polio, and the efforts that the government is making to ensure its total eradication even if it means ‘hunting’ down the kids like a hunter would an animal. Furthermore, by describing the kids as “missing”, the article presents the parents as neglectful thus exposing the kids to the danger of the polio virus. By doing this, the article validates the government’s actions as warranted and necessary to ensure the total eradication of polio.

By further describing polio eradication efforts as a battle, the article draws on a war discourse. This is expressed in the following sentence: **“As the battle for the total eradication of polio in Kaduna State becomes more serious, state government officials have launched an intensified manhunt for children who missed the last immunization.”** (Daily Trust, 6 July, 2013). This is also articulated in the following phrases and sentences: **“intensified manhunt”**, **“[...] lead the search into some huts [...] to find the children”**, **“the mission was simply to search and rescue the two children who missed being immunised”** (Daily Trust, 6 July, 2013). By using words and phrases normally associated with war and security, the article emphasises the seriousness of polio eradication efforts in Northern Nigeria. It also presents the missing children as prisoners of war who are captured by the anti-polio vaccine activists thus constructing the parents of the children as ‘enemies’ of the government.

By comparing the search for the children to the biblical parable of leaving the **“99 sheep in search for one missing sheep”**, the article draws on a religious discourse of Christianity thereby portraying the deputy governor and his entourage as the saviours who left everything and everyone else in search of that one long lost ‘sinner’. In validating their role as saviours, the article also draws on an economic discourse of class and status. This is expressed in the following sentence: **“Bajoga left his comfort zone to trek long distances [...] to identify these two children for the sake of polio eradication”** (Daily Trust, 6 July, 2013). This suggests that the deputy governor belongs to an upper economic class, but in order to ensure complete eradication of polio, he stoops low by **“trekking through bushy farmlands and muddy footpaths”** (Daily Trust, 6 July, 2013).

Applying Todorov’s narrative model, the initial state of equilibrium, like *Punch*’s is also inferred and is identified as the success of immunisation exercises in Kaduna state. The disruption occurs when two children are absent during a routine immunisation exercise. This disruption is recognised by the deputy governor in his capacity as the chairman of the state taskforce on polio eradication and strengthening routine immunisation. After recognising this disruption, the deputy governor takes action by leading a search and rescue team to find the children and administer polio vaccines to them and any others that have not been vaccinated. The search is successful as the children are found and vaccinated thereby establishing a re-equilibrium of smooth sailing immunisation exercises.

Table 4: Todorov’s narrative model applied to Polio: Kaduna govt goes hunting for missing kids.

Todorov’s Model	Application to Daily Trust Article
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equilibrium (Inferred) • Disruption • Recognition • Action • Re-equilibrium 	<p>Successful polio immunisation exercises.</p> <p>Two Children miss immunisation exercises</p> <p>The deputy governor and the state taskforce on polio eradication and strengthening routine immunisation become aware that two children missed an immunisation exercise.</p> <p>The deputy governor leads a search and rescue team to find the children and administer polio vaccines to them.</p> <p>The vaccines are administered successfully and polio immunisation exercises continue smoothly.</p>

Applying Propp’s narrative model as well as a transitivity analysis to the article allows one to identify the major participants, the relationships between them and the roles they play in the processes described in reporting” (Richardson, 2007: 54). The Deputy Governor is constructed actively with material processes, in which he engages in activities characterised by verb phrases such as: **“braved a cloudy weather”**, **“trekked long distance”**. He is further constructed with verbal phrases, especially when he gives his speech at the traditional leader’s palace. These are expressed in the following verbs: **“told”**, **“said”**, **“briefed”**, **“emphasized”** and **“appealed”**. These processes foreground his role as the hero who embarks on a quest to **“search and rescue the two children who missed being immunised”**. The traditional ruler of the community, Malam Nuhu Bature is constructed as the hero’s helper who assists the hero in his quest by **“expressing his chieftdom’s readiness to partner with the state government to rid the entire state of polio”** (Daily Trust, 6 July, 2013). The chairman of the local government council (Christopher Haruna) is represented as a donor who supplies the hero (deputy governor) with the magical agent of **“continual support to the government by organizing the people to regularly avail their children for vaccination”** (Daily Trust, 6 July, 2013). They are both constructed with verbal processes in reaction to the Deputy Governor’s actions. They are attributed with verbs such as: **“expressed”**, **“testified”**, **“said”**, and **“pledged”**. In addition, the children and members of the community are passively constructed with mainly relational processes and as objects of the actions of the deputy governor, the traditional ruler and the local government chairman.

From its representation of the various actors and their roles in the article, varying sets of binary oppositions are constructed. Broadly, the article constructs the government as binary opposite to the people of Zangon-Kataf community. Here, the government is constructed as healthy saviours and wealthy philanthropists who stoop to the sick, poor nobodies’ level by **“trekking through bushy farmlands and muddy footpaths”** to ensure that polio is completely eradicated. The following table shows how binary oppositions are constructed in the article.

Table 5: Binary oppositions in “polio: Kaduna govt goes hunting for missing kids”

Government	Zangon-Kataf Community
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Active</u></p> <p>“hunting, discovering and administering polio vaccine”</p> <p>“have launched and intensified manhunt”</p> <p>“thronged the peaceful rural farming communities”</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Passive</u></p> <p>“were found and had polio vaccine administered on them”</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Caring/Concerned</u></p> <p>“concerned top government officials”</p> <p>Dumped “99 sheep in search for one missing sheep”</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Neglectful</u></p> <p>“missing children” in need of “rescue”</p> <p>“missed the last immunization”</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Courageous</u></p> <p>“braved a cloudy weather”</p> <p>“left his comfort zone”</p> <p>“trekked long distance”</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Cowardly</u></p> <p>Stayed within their comfort zones</p> <p>Stayed put</p>
<u>Hunter</u>	<u>Hunted</u>

5.2. Condemnation versus Commendation

This theme is different from the previous theme because it is centred on the reactions to the killing of the health workers caused by vaccine refusals and its subsequent effect on polio eradication efforts. It describes the reactions to the resurgence of polio, refusal of vaccines, the killings of the health workers in protest of administration of polio vaccination, and the remedial efforts at total eradication. By placing commendation in contrast to condemnation, I intend to balance the negativity that has trailed the killing of the health workers. Therefore, I place those articles that express bleakness in polio eradication efforts after the killing of the health workers in contrast to those articles that express hope and success after the killings.

For instance, *Daily Trust*'s article entitled: "**Polio resurgence, a national embarrassment-Minister**" suggests that the Minister's reaction was condemning the resurgence of polio by labelling it as a "national embarrassment". In contrast, *Punch*'s article, "**Kaduna immunises 3.4m children against polio-official**" commends the Kaduna State Government for its effort at polio eradication and the people's contributions and compliance. *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers have six articles (2 from *Punch* and 4 from *Daily Trust*) within this category/theme. Both newspapers are evened out in this theme, *Punch* has one article each within each strand, while *Daily Trust* has two articles each. Two of these articles were selected for the critical discourse analysis (one from *Punch* and one from *Daily Trust*).

"Jonathan fumes as gunmen kill nine health workers in Kano"

This article was published by *Punch* newspapers on the 9th of February, 2013. The fifteen paragraph piece is a report on the authorities' reactions to the killing of health workers by anti-polio vaccination activists. It is focused on the condemnation strand of the theme. The article is structured as a narrative and is a combination of health, religious and social discourses. It further combines various texts to achieve its intent/purpose. It draws on other texts such as: the president's statement by his Special Adviser on Media and Publicity; the National Primary Health Care Development Agency executive director's commentary on the killing of the vaccinators; BBC's account of events.

The article begins with President Jonathan's reaction to the killings of the polio vaccinators. "**President Goodluck Jonathan has condemned the killing of nine health workers by gunmen in Kano on Friday**" (*Punch*, 9 February, 2013). This reaction is spread across the first four paragraphs. The next paragraph briefly describes the Executive Director, National Primary Health Care Development Agency's, response/reaction to the killing of the health workers/vaccinators. The next three paragraphs begin a description of BBC's account of the events that led to the killing of the health workers. "**The nine female polio vaccinators were killed in two shootings at health centres in Kano, the police told the BBC**" (*Punch*, 9 February, 2013). In the next three paragraphs, the authors digress to briefly discuss the opposition to polio by Muslims and how that led to the killing of the vaccinators. "**Some Nigerian Muslim leaders have previously opposed polio vaccination, claiming it could cause infertility [...] Such opposition is a major reason why Nigeria is one of just three countries where polio is still endemic**" (*Punch*, 9 February, 2013). The last four paragraphs continue the description of BBC's account of the actual event of the killing of the

vaccinators. **“Some Kano residents told the BBC’s Yusuf Yakassi [...] a health official confirmed to the BBC [...] Witnesses in Hotoro told the BBC...”** (Punch, 9 February, 2013).

The article has a high degree of interdiscursivity. It is a combination of elements from health, security, religious, and social (class) discourses. The article principally draws on a security discourse. This is evident throughout the article, from the headline to the content. By drawing on this discourse, the article describes the killing of the vaccinators and the reaction of the president to the killings. **“President Goodluck Jonathan has condemned the killing of nine health workers by gunmen in Kano on Friday”** (Punch, 9 February, 2013). This discourse is also apparent in the following sentences attributed to the President: **“He said he would continue to increase efforts aimed at apprehending terrorists”** (Punch, 9 February, 2013). The article thus shows how armed violence affects every sphere of the society including polio eradication efforts. Furthermore by attributing the account of the events to the BBC, the article could be drawing on a social discourse of class/status, in which the west is constructed as superior and having the answers to everything including having a detailed report of the attacks on the vaccinators. By doing this, the article foregrounds the ‘west is superior, Africa is inferior’ notion. Although the attacks happened in Nigeria, the authors, rather than find out the true situation of things, rely on the BBC’s coverage. This is apparent in the following phrases: **“the police told BBC”, “Some Kano residents told the BBC”, “A health official confirmed to BBC”, “Witnesses in Hotoro told the BBC”**. However, the use of BBC’s account of events could also be due to lack of resources in the Nigerian media.

The brief detail of the opposition to vaccines by Muslim leaders alludes to certain elements of a religious discourse. This is expressed in the following sentences: **“Some Nigerian Muslim leaders have previously opposed polio vaccination, claiming it could cause infertility [...] a controversial Islamic cleric spoke out against the polio vaccination campaign telling people that new cases of polio were caused by contaminated medicine. Such opposition is a major reason why Nigeria is one of just three countries where polio is still endemic.”** (Punch, 9 February, 2013). The tone of the above sentences in the text presents the Muslim’s beliefs about vaccination as unfounded and ridiculous. The health discourse is strongly expressed when the article discusses the dangers of opposition to polio eradication and the current polio situation in the world. This is evident in the following sentence: **“Such opposition is a major reason why Nigeria is one of just three countries where polio is still endemic”** (Punch, 9 February, 2013). By doing this, the

author emphasises the importance and urgency of changing the people’s perceptions towards polio vaccines in order to ensure that polio is eradicated completely from Nigeria and the world at large.

Applying Todorov’s narrative model of analysis, the initial state of equilibrium is inferred and the later state of re-equilibrium is implied. The initial state of equilibrium is the successful polio eradication campaigns. The disruption is the killing of the vaccinators. This disruption is recognized by the authorities and spurs an act of condemnation by the President and other government officials, and the action of increasing security “**around health workers across the country**” (Punch, 9 February, 2013). The following table summarises application of Todorov’s narrative model to the article.

Table 6: Table showing application of Todorov’s narrative model to “Jonathan fumes as gunmen kill nine health workers in Kano”

Todorov’s Model	Application to Punch Article
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equilibrium (Inferred) 	Successful polio eradication campaigns.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disruption 	Nine Polio vaccinators are killed.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition 	The President and other government officials recognise and condemn the killings.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Action 	The President orders increased security around health workers.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re-equilibrium (Implied) 	Total eradication of polio.

Applying Propp’s narrative model to the article, positions the actors within the article with varying and overlapping roles at different points in the article. The President is positioned as the hero who plans action against the villain. However, the president does not contend with only one villain, as the article constructs several villains. In the first instance, he is constructed as planning to “**intensify efforts to eradicate polio in the country**”, in which polio is constructed as the villain. Elsewhere, he is constructed as planning an action of

“**continuing to increase efforts aimed at apprehending terrorists**”, here; the terrorists are constructed as the villain. The President’s Special Adviser and the Executive Director of the National Primary Health Care Development Agency are positioned as helpers to the hero. Their roles as helpers are foregrounded in the following phrases and sentences: “**In a statement by his Special Adviser on Media and Publicity, Dr Reuben Abati [...] Reacting to the incident, the Executive Director, National Primary Health Care Development Agency, Dr Ado Muhammad said...**” (Punch, 9 February, 2013).

The dead vaccinators are positioned as members of the family who have been harmed by the villain. The villains in this scenario are the gunmen who kill the vaccinators. Health workers generally are positioned as members of the family who suffer a lack/misfortune of insecurity. This lack/misfortune is expressed in the sentence: “[...] **this is the first time polio vaccinators have been attacked in the country**”. The government recognises this need, and the President in this instance, acts as the dispatcher who commands the hero to correct the lack. This is evident in the following sentence: “**Jonathan also ordered that security be increased around health workers across the country**”.

“Some Nigerian Muslim leaders” are constructed as another group of villains who make an attempt at reconnaissance. In this case, the Muslim leaders get information about their enemy, polio vaccination which they employ to justify their rejections and their opposition to polio vaccination. This is articulated in the following sentence: “**Some Nigerian Muslim leaders have previously opposed polio vaccination, claiming it could cause infertility**”. The controversial Islamic cleric who spoke against polio vaccinations is also constructed as the villain who tries to deceive the victim to get possession of him or his belongings. The victims in this case are the people to whom he spoke about the contaminated vaccines. These constructions are expressed in the following sentence: “**On Thursday, a controversial Islamic cleric spoke out against the polio vaccination campaign, telling people that new cases of polio were caused by contaminated medicine**”.

As stated earlier, applying a transitivity analysis allows one to interrogate the roles played by the major actors identified in the story. The major participants identified in the story are the President; the anti-polio vaccination enthusiasts (the Muslim leaders, the gunmen and the controversial Islamic cleric); Dr Ado Muhammad; and the vaccinators. The President is actively constructed with mainly verbal processes. This is because the President’s reaction to the killing of the health workers was expressed in a statement that was read by his

Special Adviser. His processes are characterised by the following verbs and verb phrases: “**has condemned**”, “**promised**”, “**said**”, and “**ordered**”. Dr Ado Muhammad who also reacts to the killing is also actively constructed with verbal processes. He is described as engaged in the act of speaking evident in the attribution of the verb “**said**” to him. The anti-polio vaccination activists are constructed as active agents with both material and verbal processes. The gunmen are represented with action verbs such as: “**targeted**” and “**approached**”, while the Muslim leaders and the controversial Islamic cleric are characterised with speech verbs and verb phrases such as: “**have previously opposed**” and “**spoke out**”. The polio vaccinators are constructed passively as the object of the anti-polio vaccine activists’ processes. They are constructed with only material processes. They “**were killed**”, “**were shot dead**”, “**have been attacked**”.

From the transitivity analysis, the article constructs a pair of binary oppositions, in which pro-polio vaccination is constructed as an opposite of anti-polio vaccination. The pro-polio vaccination strand is represented by the “**President Goodluck Jonathan**”, “**Dr Ado Muhammad**”, and the “**polio vaccinators**”, who are also constructed as heroes. The anti-polio vaccination strand is represented by “**gunmen**”, “**terrorists**”, “**Some Nigerian Muslim leaders**” and “**a controversial Islamic cleric**”, who are positioned as villains. The following table shows how the binary oppositions are constructed in the article.

Table 7: Table showing binary oppositions in “Jonathan fumes as gunmen kill nine health workers in Kano”.

Pro-polio Vaccination	Anti-polio Vaccination
<u>Hero</u> “President Goodluck Jonathan” “Polio Vaccinators”	<u>Villain</u> “gunmen/terrorists” “Some Nigerian Muslim Leaders”
“has condemned the killing of nine health workers”	In support of the killing of health workers
“Would intensify efforts to eradicate polio”	Doing everything to ensure non-eradication of polio
“would continue to increase efforts aimed at apprehending terrorists”	Terrorists who continue to “target” and “attack”

“GATES FOUNDATION COMMENDS WAMAKKO ON POLIO”

This article offers a silver lining in the ‘bleak future’ of polio eradication efforts especially after the killings of the health workers. Therefore, it is representative of the commendation aspect of the theme. It was published by *Daily Trust* on the 14th of November, 2013. It is a two paragraph piece that informs about the commendation of the Sokoto state government on its efforts to ensure the total eradication of polio. The article comes off as praises showered on a good child by the mother, in which the Gates Foundation is the mother and Governor Wamakko is the good son. The lead captures this point succinctly: “**The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has commended Governor Aliyu Wamakko of Sokoto State for maintaining the state’s polio-free status**”. Although the article seems very brief on the surface, it has a relatively high degree of interdiscursivity. It combines health, political and economic discourses. The health discourse is the most pronounced, while the political and economic discourses are inconspicuous and almost non-existent at first glance. In contrast to the high level of interdiscursivity, the article has a relatively low degree of intertextuality, drawing only on the Special Assistant to the Governor’s statement.

Because the essence of the article is polio, it draws on certain elements of a health discourse of polio eradication. This is articulated in the following phrases: “**polio-free status**”, “**polio**” and “**polio eradication initiative**”. The article also combines elements of political and economic discourses. By reporting on that aspect of polio eradication, in which the Gates Foundation commends the Governor, the article draws on an economic discourse, in which a wealthy person (Bill Gates) commends his ‘servant’ (Governor Wamakko) for “**maintaining a polio-free status**”. This also reveals some traces of a political discourse, in which the west is constructed as superior to and saviour of third world countries/Africa.

Applying a transitivity analysis to the text, the article constructs three major participants: Gates Foundation, Governor Wamakko, and Special Assistant on Press Affairs, Dangusau. The Gates Foundation is constructed with mainly verbal processes. The foundation “**has commended**”, “**thanked**” and “**called on**”. By attributing such processes to the foundation, it is constructed as an active agent of ‘commending’ the Governor. Dangusau is also constructed with mainly verbal processes. His role is described with the verb “**said**”. By doing this, he is positioned as an active agent of the act of informing the press and the public about the commendation by the Gates Foundation. Governor Wamakko is constructed passively as both the subject of discussion and the object of the “**commendation**”.

Applying Todorov’s narrative model of analysis to the article, the states of initial equilibrium, the disruption, recognition and action are all inferred. This is because the article entirely focuses on the state of re-equilibrium. The initial state of equilibrium is the success of earlier polio eradication campaigns. The disruption is the resurgence of polio due to vaccine rejections. The Bill Gates Foundation recognises this disruption and partners with Northern States like Sokoto to ensure total polio eradication. They take action by launching a polio eradication initiative in the state. The state achieves a polio-free status and maintains it to achieve a state of re-equilibrium. The table below summarises the application of Todorov’s narrative model to the article.

Table 8: Table showing application of Todorov’s model to “Gates Foundation commends Wamakko on polio”

Todorov’s Model	Application to Daily Trust Article
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equilibrium (Inferred) 	Success of early polio eradication initiatives.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disruption (Inferred) 	Resurgence of polio virus due to vaccine rejections.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition (Inferred) 	Gates Foundation partners with Sokoto state government.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Action (Inferred) 	Polio eradication Initiative.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re-equilibrium 	Achievement and maintenance of polio-free status.

Applying Propp’s character functions to the article, the Gates Foundation is positioned as father of the princess and dispatcher; Governor Wamakko is positioned as hero; Dangusau and the state health teams and stakeholders are positioned as helpers of the hero; polio is positioned as villain. Although implied, the hero (Wamakko) engages the villain (polio) in direct combat and the villain is defeated. The initial lack (polio resurgence) is set right (eradication). By commending Governor Wamakko on “**maintaining the state’s polio-free status**”, the Gates Foundation recognises the hero, thereby foregrounding its role as the

father of the princess. The Foundation is further positioned as the dispatcher who gives the hero a request when it “**called on the state to do everything possible to maintain its polio-free status**”. In the following clause, “[...] **the foundation thanked the governor, all the state health teams and stakeholders involved in the polio eradication [...]**”, the state health teams and stakeholders are constructed as the hero’s (Governor Wamakko) helpers. Dangusau is also constructed as a helper to the hero because he is the one who releases a statement to the press informing them of the Gates Foundation’s commendation.

The article constructs two intertwined sets of binary opposition. On the one hand, the west is a binary opposite of Africa/third world countries. On the other hand, the rich is constructed as a binary opposite of the poor. The “Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation” is positioned as the west and the rich who are seen as ‘saviours’ and ‘philanthropists’ who intend to save ‘dying’ and ‘poor’ Africa from the clutches of polio virus. “Governor Wamakko of Sokoto state” is positioned as a representative of Africa (Nigeria) who needs the approval and commendation of the west to ‘survive’. The following table shows how the binary oppositions within the text are constructed.

Table 9: Table showing binary oppositions constructed in “Gates Foundation commends Wamakko on polio”.

West	Africa
<u>Rich</u> ‘saviour’ ‘philanthropists’	<u>Poor</u> ‘sinners in need of saving’
“has commended”	Received commendation
“thanked the governor”	Worthy of thanks
“called on the state to do everything possible to maintain its polio-free status”	Not doing enough to maintain polio-free status

5.3. *Compensation versus Punishment*

This theme refers to the actions taken by the government, both Federal and State, to ensure the compliance of the people with the administration of polio vaccines and the total eradication of polio. It portrays the government as adopting a ‘carrot and stick’ approach to ensuring full compliance. It includes news stories about the government compensating the families of the killed nine health workers and enticing parents to immunise their children. *Daily Trust*’s headlines, **“FG donates 10m to families of slain polio workers”** and **“Government entices parents to allow polio immunisation”** attest to the carrot approach. It also includes stories about the government punishing those who refuse to vaccinate their children and people who instigate these refusals. An example of the stick approach is *Punch*’s headline, **“Preach against immunisation, risk 10-year jail term”**. Together, the newspapers have nine news stories within this category (4 from *Daily Trust* and 5 from *Punch*). However, *Punch* has more stories that centre on punishment than *Daily Trust*. All of *Punch*’s articles focus on the punishment strand, while *Daily Trust* has three articles that are compensation-based and one that is punishment centred. A total of two news stories were selected for the critical discourse analysis (one from *Punch* and one from *Daily Trust*).

“120 arrested for refusing polio vaccine in Niger”

This article was published by *Punch* on the 18th of September 2013. The eleven paragraph piece is a report on the arrest of 120 people who oppose polio vaccination. It structured as a narrative and has a high degree of interdiscursivity, in which the intersection of health, politics, religion and crime/punishment is articulated. In contrast to the high degree of interdiscursivity, it has quite a low level of intertextuality, referring only to the government’s previous threats/pronouncements and the disclosure of the arrest of 120 people. The article begins by referring to the Government’s previous threat of jailing people who oppose vaccination. **“Barely one week after Niger State Government threatened to jail anybody who refused to allow polio vaccine to be administered on his or her child, 120 persons have been arrested for contravening the directive”** (Punch, 18 September, 2013). By doing this, the author presents the foundation upon which the arrest of 120 people is laid. The next paragraph describes the context/situation, in which the arrest was disclosed to the press. The other nine paragraphs give specifics of the speech made by the Director of the State Primary Health Care Development Agency, Dr Shehu Yabagi, in reference to the arrest of the anti-polio vaccine activists.

The article reveals a contestation between health, religious, political, law and crime discourses. The main focus of the text is on the clash of health, law and crime discourses. The use of both discourses shows how the desperation of the Government to ensure the total polio eradication causes criminalization of vaccine refusal. This is articulated in the following sentence: **“He said the agency would work hard to ensure that polio was eradicated in the state and by extension, the whole country through advocacy and enforcement of the various laws enacted by the state government”** (Punch, 18 September, 2013). Also, by using words and phrases associated with law and crime, the article emphasises the seriousness of polio vaccine rejections. The crime discourse is expressed in the following sentence: **“Yabagi said some of the suspects had already been arraigned before various courts in the state, while some of them had been convicted”** (Punch, 18 September, 2013).

Furthermore, by threatening to make it a criminal offence for clerics to preach against polio vaccines, the article reveals a contestation between health, religion and crime discourses. This is articulated in the following sentence: **“Yabagi said the state government had also sent another bill to the state assembly to make it a criminal offence for any cleric that preached against the acceptance of the polio vaccines in the state”** (Punch, 18 September, 2013). The article also reveals cooperation between political, religious and health discourses. This is articulated in the following sentence: **“The director said traditional rulers and religious leaders had been mobilised to educate their subjects and members on the advantages of the vaccine”** (Punch, 18 September, 2013). By doing so, the author displays an understanding of the importance of religion and politics in influencing health decisions.

There are three major participants involved in the reporting process of this article: Government represented by Yabagi and anti-polio vaccination activists. Yabagi is constructed with mostly verbal processes characterised by verbs/verb phrases such as: **“disclosed”**, **“pointed out”**, **“said”**, **“also commended”**. These processes position him as an active agent involved in the arrest and subsequent disclosure of the 120 people. The anti-polio activists are constructed with mainly relational processes. They are described as in a state of being characterised by verb phrases such as: **“were arrested”**, **“had already been arraigned”** and **“had been convicted”**. These processes further construct them passively as objects of a police arrest and court arraignments and convictions.

A narrative analysis is especially important to this article because of its structure. Therefore I carry out a narrative analysis using Todorov and Propp’s narrative models. Applying Todorov’s narrative theory, the initial state of equilibrium, disruption, recognition and re-equilibrium are inferred. This is because the article focuses on the state of action. The initial equilibrium is the successful implementation of polio eradication initiatives. The disruption is the rejection of vaccines on religious grounds. The recognition occurs when there is a resurgence of polio virus. The government takes action by criminalizing opposition to vaccines to achieve a re-equilibrium of total polio eradication. Todorov’s model as applied to the article is summarised in the following table:

Table 10: Table showing Todorov’s model applied to “120 arrested for refusing polio vaccine in Niger”.

Todorov’s Model	Application to Punch Article
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equilibrium 	Successful implementation polio eradication campaign/initiative.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disruption 	Rejection of polio vaccines.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition 	Resurgence of Polio Virus.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Action 	Criminalization of polio vaccine opposition.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re-Equilibrium 	Total polio eradication.

Applying Propp’s character functions to the article, the government is positioned a dispatcher and father of the princess; Yabagi and the State Primary Health Care Development Agency are positioned as the hero; the Anti-polio vaccine activists are positioned as the villain. The Niger state government can be constructed on the one hand, as the dispatcher who sends the hero on a quest to “**ensure that polio is eradicated in the state and by extension, the whole country**”. On the other hand, the government is constructed as the

king, father of the princess, who punishes the villain by “**arresting 120 persons**” for opposing polio vaccination. Yabagi and his agency are constructed as the hero who engages the villain (anti-polio vaccine activists) in a direct combat to ensure total eradication of polio. This role is articulated in the following sentences: “[...] **the agency sought to enforce the law that forbids the rejection of the polio vaccine [...] the agency had embarked on the cross-border immunisation exercise to halt any further transmission of the disease**” (Punch, 18 September, 2013). The article further positions the traditional rulers and religious leaders as helper to the hero. This role is validated in the sentence: “[...] **traditional rulers and religious leaders had been mobilised to educate their subjects and members on the advantages of the vaccine**” (Punch, 18 September, 2013).

The article constructs a good versus bad binary opposition, in which anti-polio Vaccination activists are bad while the pro-polio Vaccine activists were good. The Anti-polio vaccination activism strand is constructed as the recipient of actions taken by pro-polio vaccine activists to ensure that polio is eradicated completely. The Anti-polio vaccine activists are “**persons**” who “**had consistently opposed the polio vaccine**” and have been threatened to be jailed by the government for “**refusing to allow polio vaccines to be administered on his or her child**”. They are further constructed as “**been arrested... arraigned... convicted**” by the government. In contrast, the pro-polio vaccine activists are constructed as advocates in support of the polio vaccine and consequent polio eradication.

Table 11: Table showing binary oppositions in “120 arrested for refusing polio vaccine in Niger”

Good	Bad
<u>Pro-polio Vaccination Activist</u> “mobilised to educate”	Anti-polio Vaccination Activist
Carried out the arrest	“have been arrested”
Support the polio vaccine and ensure that polio is completely eradicated	“had consistently opposed the polio vaccine”
Not arraigned	“had already been arraigned”
Not guilty	“had been convicted”
Advocated for the acceptance of polio vaccines	“preached against the acceptance of polio vaccines”

“Govt Entices Parents to Allow Polio Immunisation”

This article was published by *Daily Trust* on the 19th of November, 2013. The five paragraph piece is a report on activities that the government engages in to “**entice parents**” to accept polio vaccination. Like *Punch*’s it is structured as a narrative, however, its level of interdiscursivity is relatively low. It is a combination of health, economic and corruption discourses. It also has a low degree of intertextuality. The essence of the article is captured in the first paragraph, which also serves as the lead: “**Officials of Illela Local Government Area of Sokoto State have succumbed to demands by locals to construct a road in the area and obliged other requests to allow their children to be immunised against polio**” (Daily Trust, 19 November, 2013). The other four paragraphs give details of the inducements offered to parents to ensure that their children are immunised and the action-plan of the government to accomplish total polio eradication.

As stated earlier, the level of interdiscursivity is low compared to the level of interdiscursivity in *Punch*’s article. Drawing from elements of health and economic discourses, the article reveals how an economic discourse of trade by barter has seeped into a health discourse on polio eradication. This is evident in the first four paragraphs of the article, which give details about what parents were asking for in exchange for the immunisation of their kids. They request for: “**a road**”, “**money**”, “**free medical care**” and “**grains**”. The government’s desperation to ensure polio eradication becomes obvious in its willingness and readiness to grant these requests. This is articulated in the following sentences: “**Chairman of the local government, Alhaji, Garba Sabon-Gari, yesterday told [...] that following the construction of the road, parents allowed all eligible children in the area to be immunised. The chairman also said he had spent over N500, 000 in the past two months as inducements to parents to allow their children to be immunised**” (Daily Trust, 19 November, 2013). The article further reveals traces of corruption, where the parents expect to be bribed with monetary and other gifts before their children are protected against a killer disease like polio.

There are two major participants identified within the article: the Local Government and the people/parents. The Local Government is constructed with relational, material and verbal processes. For instance, they are described with the following verbs: “**have succumbed**”, “**obliged**”, “**has constructed**”, “**told**”, “**said**”, “**had spent**”, “**cited**” and “**added**”. Through these processes they are actively constructed as agents of the act of

“enticing”. The people/parents are constructed passively as the object of the government’s action of “enticing”. However, they are also constructed as agents of the action of “**allowing their children to be immunised**”.

Applying Todorov’s model, the initial states of equilibrium, disruption, recognition and re-equilibrium are also inferred. This is because, like *Punch*’s the article focuses on the action aspect of the narrative. The initial state of equilibrium is the continuous rejection of polio vaccine. The disruption occurs when the people of Illela local government area start demanding incentives for the immunisation of their children. The government recognises this disruption and sees it as a silver lining. The government then takes action by obliging these demands to achieve a re-equilibrium of total polio eradication. The table below summarises the application of Todorov’s model to the article.

Table 12: Table showing Todorov’s model applied to “Govt Entices Parents to Allow Polio Immunisation”

Todorov’s Model	Application to the Article
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equilibrium 	Continuous rejection of polio vaccines.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disruption 	People of Illela demand incentives for the immunisation of their children.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition 	Government sees these demands as a silver lining.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Action 	Government obliges these demands.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re-equilibrium 	Total eradication of polio

Applying Propp’s character and narrative functions to the article, the government is positioned as the hero who embarks on a quest to set right the lack of the family member, in this case, the parents are members of the family who lack “**a road**”, need “**money and free medical care**” and “**grains**”. The demands made by the people in exchange for the immunisation of their children can also be constructed as a difficult task set before the hero.

The government, by “succumbing and obliging these demands”, accomplishes this difficult task.

The article like *Punch*’s constructs Pro-polio vaccination as a binary opposite of Anti-polio vaccination. The Pro-polio vaccination strand represented by the Local Government Council, “**have succumbed to demands**”, “**obliged other requests**” made by and paid inducements to the people (anti-polio vaccination category) to allow their children be immunised against polio.

Table 13: Table showing binary opposition constructions in “Govt Entices Parents to Allow Polio Immunisation”

Pro-Polio Vaccination	Anti-Polio Vaccination
“have succumbed to demands”	Made demands
“obliged other requests”	Made other requests
Paid inducements to allow children accept polio vaccines	Requested and received inducements to allow children be immunised
Local Government Council	People/parents

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the preliminary thematic content analysis and the subsequent critical discourse analysis of the news stories. The purpose of the preliminary thematic content analysis was to narrow down the sample population for the critical discourse analysis. From these categories, a total of six news articles were selected. While both newspapers employ varying degrees of interdiscursivity, there is a predominant contestation of religious and health discourses- this is apparent in the rejection of vaccines based on Islamic beliefs. In addition, there is an undertone of a child abuse discourse where both newspapers appear to argue that the right of the child to good health is ignored through the parents’ refusals of preventive vaccine immunisation. This discourse is strongly articulated in *Daily Trust*’s article: “**Government entices parents to allow polio immunisation**”, where the parents use their children’s right to good health/life as bait to get rewards from the government. In relation to Christians et al’s (2009) normative theories of the media, I approached the study based on the hypothesis that *Daily Trust* was far more facilitative in its news presentation. While I argue that this is still the case, based on the choice of news genres selected for analysis, both newspapers emphasise and foreground the monitorial role of the

press. This is evident in the newspapers' choice of government officials as sources, and providers of the news content in some cases.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION- EDITORIALS

6. Introduction

As stated in the previous chapter, this chapter presents and discusses the analysis of the editorials of *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers. By applying Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis, I tease out those hidden aspects where existing hegemonic processes such as biases, prejudices and stereotypes in the newspapers' representations of the polio eradication initiative crisis. I analyse the editorials because unlike news articles that are 'objective', the editorials represent the news organisation's opinion/stance on specific issues. To achieve this, I examine the rhetoric strategies employed to gain insight into the structure and flow of the arguments, after which I identify and discuss the discourses embedded within the editorials. I also show how these discourses are used to achieve the intents of the editorials. Both editorials combine elements of health, religious, political, security and economic discourses thus articulating the news discourse in an innovative way.

6.1. Editorial Analysis

6.1.1. Punch Editorial Analysis

Punch's editorial was published on the 22nd of February, 2013. It is titled: **Terrorism and Slain Health workers**. The nine paragraphed piece is one of several worldwide reactions to the killing of nine health workers during an immunisation exercise in Kano state. The author(s) believe that the killings were the handiwork of non-state armed group – Boko Haram, therefore, they attempt to spur the government to take a definite stand against and get rid of 'terrorism', subsequently creating a better and safer atmosphere for the total eradication of the polio virus (*Punch* 22 February, 2013). The editorial is primarily reliant on the use of logic/proof as a form of argument. This is evidenced in the use of statistical figures as proofs to back up opinions/thoughts. This is buttressed by Richardson's (2007) argument that "we are more likely to be convinced by an argument supported by evidence and reasoning". However, it also draws on deference to authorities believed to be credible sources, and appeals to the audience's emotions by describing certain events in details to create outrage in the audience.

The article starts off as an invective on the government's poor handling of violence in the country especially in North-Eastern Nigeria:

“The failure of the Federal Government to decisively tackle the Boko Haram group is taking a heavy toll on the country [...] schooling and health care delivery are being handicapped. The recent murder of nine health workers [...] and underscores the enormity of the national crisis the government’s indecisiveness has fostered” (*Punch* 22 February, 2013).

The editorial also condemns the killing of the health workers by describing it as **“heinous”**. It also plays on the audience’s emotions by giving details of the attack and attributing the attack to Boko Haram (a non-state armed group that uses violence to achieve its aims), even though nobody claimed responsibility for the attack. **“[...] Boko Haram militants riding in tricycles, in two separate attacks, targeted the female polio vaccinators, gunning them down while on duty”** (*Punch* 22 February, 2013). The editorial uses a symptomatic argument to illustrate the killing of health workers in Nigeria as part of a wider trend of such events in other countries with ties to terrorist groups. **“The killing is consistent with the pattern of targeted killings against vaccinators by Islamist terrorists in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen and, lately, in northern Mali, from where *al Qaeda* terrorists were recently dislodged from its key cities”** (*Punch* 22 February, 2013). The editorial also criticises the religious beliefs of those who reject the polio vaccines by stating: **“According to the perverse and patently irrational writ of the Islamists, immunisation is a ‘ploy’ by western interests to sterilise women and reduce the population of Muslims worldwide”** (*Punch* 22 February, 2013).

The editorial also warns of the dangers of the in-eradication of polio due to the killings of health workers. This argument is backed up by statistics of polio cases in endemic countries including Nigeria. **“Nigeria is just one of only three countries where polio is still endemic [...] there were 121 cases of polio reported here in 2012, [...]”**; **“At least 10 northern states, with 209 local government areas, recorded new polio cases in 2012.”** (*Punch* 22 February, 2013). To further create an outrage in the audience/reader, the editorial gives details of the gruesome murder of three North Korean Doctors in a North Eastern state. **“[...] two had their throats slit, one was beheaded”** (*Punch* 22 February, 2013). To show the seriousness of the in-eradication of polio in Nigeria and the subsequent effect on global polio eradication, the editorial quotes the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (an organisation committed to the eradication of polio): **“[...] declares Nigeria to be ‘one of the most entrenched reservoirs of wild polio virus in the world. It is the only country with ongoing transmissions of all three serotypes”** (*Punch* 22 February, 2013).

The editorial, in the last few paragraphs shifts the focus back to the government and its role in combating terrorism and eradicating polio. It urges the government to “**treat terrorism as the cancer that it is and mobilise all resources to confront it**” (*Punch* 22 February, 2013). The editorial also foregrounds the role of the western countries as ‘saviours’ by chastising the government for refusing the United States’ offer of help. “[...] **the federal authorities oppose the group being labelled a Foreign Terrorist Group by the United States State Department to pave the way for full deployment of the US resources against the murderous group**” (*Punch* 22 February, 2013). The editorial also encourages the government to “**align strongly with other countries and emulate Western nations and others...**” The editorial concludes by asking the government to “**provide extraordinary security for health workers**”; to step up the immunisation programme by having “**local governments and traditional institutions fully involved in the sensitization of the populace**”.

The *Punch* editorial has a high degree of interdiscursivity and is one of a series of texts that are centred on polio resurgence and eradication discussions and terrorism in Northern Nigeria discussions. It shows how the latter has affected every sphere of society and how it has particularly resulted in the in eradication of polio. The editorial employs a high degree of manifest intertextuality as it combines several texts to achieve its intent. It draws on texts such as: news stories on the killing of vaccinators in Pakistan, Yemen, and Afghanistan; news stories on the killing of medical expatriates working in Northern Nigeria hospitals; news stories about the kidnap of a French engineer; and it includes elements of a speech made by Bill and Melinda Gates foundation on polio eradication. Principally drawing on a discourse of security, particularly terrorism, the editorial creatively and in a complex manner combines elements of other discourses such as; health, religion, politics, economics, and education.

By broadly drawing on a security discourse, the editorial shows how terrorism unchecked, affects every sphere of the society with specific emphasis on its role in polio eradication and prevention of other childhood diseases. This is evident in the tone of the editorial, which expresses anger towards the killing of nine immunisation workers in Kano. They describe the killing as “**heinous**” and “**a cowardly attack on defenceless people**”. By attributing the killings of the health workers to Muslim perceptions of polio immunisation as a western propaganda, the editorial foregrounds the negative role of Islam in the emergence of terrorism therefore drawing on a religious discourse. This is expressed in the sentence:

“According to the perverse and patently irrational writ of the Islamists, immunisation is a ploy by western interests to sterilise women and reduce the population of Muslims worldwide”.

The editorial further draws on elements of health discourse by discussing the effects of the killings on worldwide eradication of polio. This is expressed in the following sentence: **“The killings may cause a setback to polio eradication as, globally [...]”**. Traces of health discourse are also evident in the editorial’s metaphorical comparison of terrorism and cancer; **“[...] treat terrorism as the cancer that it is [...]”**. They are also apparent in the editorial’s description of the statistics of polio resurgence in Northern Nigeria and the world. **“There were 121 cases of polio reported here, in 2012, while there were 58 cases in Pakistan and 37 in Afghanistan [...] At least 10 Northern states, with 209 local government areas, recorded new polio cases in 2012”**. The use of certain elements of health discourse allows for an understanding of the seriousness of the polio virus and efforts made at eradication. Also, by likening terrorism to cancer, which is a deadly disease, the editorial foregrounds the seriousness of terrorism and the urgency of its abolishment.

By discussing the economic effects of the killings of the health workers and terrorism, the editorial reveals elements of economic discourse. In discussing these effects of terrorism and polio in eradication on the economy, the editorial also draws on elements of educational discourse. **“With the economy of the North down by 60 percent [...] poverty averaging 71 percent in the North and illiteracy over 70 percent and rising [...]”**. The editorial uses these elements of economic and educational discourses to serve as a warning to the government that it must act urgently to ensure that terrorism is combated which would lead to a safer environment for polio eradication, and subsequently produce healthy and educated members of the society who would join in lifting up the economy of the North and Nigeria as a whole. By criticising the Governments on its attitude towards terrorism the editorial includes evidence of a political discourse. The editorial describes the Federal government’s attitude as **“tepid”** and the Northern State Governments as **“refusing to treat terrorism as a cancer”**. The editorial uses this to express anger and disappointment towards the Federal Government’s seemingly lukewarm attitude towards terrorism, incapability to control the Northern states and its hesitation towards aligning with **“western nations”**.

Applying Propp’s character and narrative functions as well as a transitivity analysis to the editorial, the Government, anti-polio vaccination activists, Health workers, other/western

countries and *Punch* are identified as the major participants involved in the editorial discourse process. *Punch* is actively constructed as the dispatcher who recognises the misfortune of terrorism in the country and sends the hero on a quest to “**tackle the menace**” of terrorism through the verbal process of the written word. The Government is constructed as the hero who has been selected to engage in a struggle with the villain to ensure peace and safety that would lead to the total eradication of polio. This is apparent when the editorial ‘orders’ the government to “**treat attacks on health workers as a double tragedy**”, “**mobilise all resources to confront it**”, “**provide extra security for health workers**”, “**raise awareness and encourage local people**”. The government is constructed passively as the object of *Punch*’s editorial intent/purpose.

By describing them as “**defenceless people**”, the editorial passively constructs the health workers as objects of a “**cowardly attack**” by positioning them as the member of the family who has been harmed by the villain and on whose behalf the hero embarks on his quest. The anti-polio vaccination activists are constructed actively with material processes as the agent of “**vicious assaults**” on the society. They are positioned as the villain who causes a disruption by campaigning against polio vaccination and killing the health workers during their vaccination rounds. Their role as villains is apparent by the editorial’s description of them as “**Islamist terrorists**”, “**Boko Haram terrorist group**” and “**Boko Haram Militants**” who “**murder nine health workers**” and “**continue to kill vaccinators**”. The editorial constructs other/western nations on the one hand as the donor who provides the hero with a magic agent of “**full deployment of the US resources**” to restore an equilibrium of peace and safety. On the other hand, they are constructed as the helper who aids the hero in his quest. This is foregrounded by the editorial’s call for the government to “**align strongly with other countries and emulate western nations and others like Algeria and Saudi Arabia [...]**”.

The editorial constructs varying and interwoven sets of binary oppositions. Terrorism is constructed as a binary opposite of Peace/order, in which terrorism is described as “**taking a heavy toll on the country**” by “causing loss of lives, a tattered economy in the North-East, and handicapping schooling and health care delivery”. Islam is implicitly constructed as a binary opposite to other religion(s). Therefore, Muslims are “**Islamist terrorists**” who shaped by a “**perverse and patently irrational writ**” and a “**warped theory**” on polio vaccination, “**target**” and “**continue to kill**” health workers. Consequently, other religion(s) are peace lovers who shaped by logically sound and rational laws, respect and protect health

workers. The editorial also constructs Northern Nigeria as a binary opposite of Southern Nigeria, where the North is poor and unhealthy with a tattered economy and resurgence of polio virus because of terrorist activities. Therefore by implication, the South is rich and healthy with a booming economy and successful health programmes which is a product of the peace that reigns there. The following table shows how these binary oppositions are constructed within the editorial.

Table: Table showing construction of binary oppositions in *Punch's* editorial.

Terrorism	Peace/Order
“taking a heavy toll on the country”	Lifts the country up.
“Causing loss of lives”	Respecting the sanctity of life
Islam	Other religions
“Islamist terrorists”	Peace lovers
“perverse and irrational writ”	Sound rational laws
“warped theory”	Logically sound
“target and continue to kill”	Respect and protect
Northern Nigeria	Southern Nigeria
Poor	Rich
Unhealthy	Healthy
Tattered economy	Booming economy
Resurgence of polio virus	Successful health programmes
War torn	Peaceful

6.1.2. *Daily Trust* Editorial Analysis

Daily Trust's editorial was also published on the 22nd of February, 2013. It is titled: **Brutal killing of polio immunization workers**. The eight paragraphed article is another reaction to the killing of nine health workers during an immunisation exercise in Kano state. The editorial is part of a series of texts that emerge from discussions on polio eradication on the one hand, and insecurity in the country, especially in the North on the other. It also shows the shift from discussions on either polio eradication or insecurity to the combination of both, particularly regarding the killing of polio immunisation health workers. The author(s) criticise anti-polio vaccination activists and urge the government to increase awareness on the

importance of polio eradication, to take action against anti-immunisation activists, and to compensate the families of the killed health workers. While the editorial appeals to the audience's emotions to achieve its intent, it also like *Punch*, uses logic/proof.

The editorial begins by identifying the killing of the nine health workers as part of the crises that currently plague the Nigerian society clearly expressing disgust at the killing of the health workers and the role societal decay played in the killings: **“The killing of nine health workers [...] marked a new low in the irresponsibility that has become the lot of our society in recent times”** (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013). It further gives details of the attacks on the health workers. **“Gunmen targeted health workers nearly all of them women, as they were preparing to set out for their rounds of polio immunization [...]”** (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013). The shock of the killing of the health workers is apparent in the editorial's description of the attack as; **“[...] the very first time in our history that health workers, have been targeted by gunmen [...]”** (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013).

The editorial writer although appalled by the attack, refrains from identifying/describing any perpetrators. However, it blames the attack on the resistance to and rejection of polio vaccines in the north based on religious beliefs. The newspaper states that:

“even though the attackers have not been identified, it is fairly easy to see what the motive for the attacks could be. In many parts of Northern Nigeria, there is resistance to administration of the oral polio vaccine. This misguided and ill-informed stance has been fuelled by claims of some people [...] that the vaccine contains an anti-fertility agent that is meant to reduce the population of Muslim lands [...]”(Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013).

The editorial is also quick to acknowledge the fact that the Federal and state governments, as well as an Islamic organisation, have dismissed the claims of polio vaccines containing anti-fertility agents. **“[...] claims that have been comprehensively dismissed by the federal and state government health authorities and the Jama'tu Nasril Islam”** (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013). The editorial warns the audience of the dangers of advocating against the administration of polio vaccines. This is done by describing the arrest and prosecution of two journalists who were accused of inciting the killings of the nine health workers. **“In the wake of the Kano killing of health workers, the police arrested and are prosecuting a reporter and programme presenter of Wazobia radio who the authorities have charged to court for alleged incitement because of a programme they broadcast only hours before the attack”** (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013).

The editorial emphasizes the dangers of polio by describing it as **“a debilitating disease that could cause life-long paralysis especially in children less than five years of age”** (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013). It further describes Northern Nigeria as the haven of the crippled in the society. According to the newspaper; **“no one can deny that the Northern part of the country has the preponderance of such cruelly crippled persons, all of it attributable to the existence in the region of the wild polio virus”** (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013). The editorial uses a deductive argument¹⁷ to foreground the role of Northern Nigeria in creating crippled citizens of Nigeria. According to the newspaper, because polio campaigns in Southern Nigeria have been smooth, it is safe to conclude that majority of cripples especially those who beg for alms (in both Southern and Northern Nigeria) come from Northern Nigeria. **“A cursory survey of the streets of Nigerian cities such as Lagos and Kano reveals that a disproportionate number of the persons crippled by polio and resort to begging for their livelihood, come from the region”¹⁸** (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013). This argument is based on the rejections of vaccines, and the claims that polio vaccines contain anti-fertility agents. The editorial further urges Northern Nigeria to take polio eradication seriously if it is to achieve a high level of eradication like Southern Nigeria. **“The fact that far fewer persons from Southern Nigeria get stricken by polio due to the smooth nature of polio vaccination campaigns there is sufficient warning that the North must take this matter very seriously”** (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013).

The editorial also attempts to rebut claims that the polio vaccines reduce fertility. This is achieved by pre-empting the questions being raised. The newspaper states:

“They ask, for example, why government and international donors pay so much attention to polio when it is less of a killer than malaria, typhoid and HIV [...] the authorities are paying attention to those problems too, and much more money is actually being spent on malaria and HIV than polio. The difference is that there is no viable treatment for polio once it cripples a victim; the best treatment is prevention” (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013).

The editorial further challenges people to grab the chance of eradicating polio completely so that attention can be shifted to other diseases and issues that need to be addressed. **“Here also is a chance to wipe this disease off the face of the earth. This chance should be grabbed now so that the nation has one less debilitating disease to contend with”** (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013).

¹⁷ (Richardson, 2007:).

¹⁸ Northern Nigeria.

The editorial concludes by addressing the government and other sources of authority, asking them to enlighten people on the importance of total polio eradication. **“The authorities should continue [...] the essential task of enlightening people on the importance of seeing to the success of wiping polio off the surface of the earth”** (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013). The editorial also encourages the government to deal with advocates of anti-polio vaccination and eradication. According to the newspaper, **“[...] if the efforts are continually sabotaged by misguided elements even if they pretend to be enlightened themselves, it is now time to deal firmly with such people”** (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013). Lastly, the editorial asks the authorities to **“draw up a plan to compensate the families of the slain women...”** (Daily Trust, 22 February, 2013).

The editorial, like *Punch*'s has a high degree of interdiscursivity and manifest intertextuality. To achieve its intent, it combines elements of health, religious, political, security, and economic discourses. It also draws on other texts such as: reference to previous claims by certain people that the polio vaccine had anti-fertility agents; the dismissal of these claims by the Federal Government and Islamic groups; previous reports about the arrest of journalists accused of inciting the killings; and reference to the actual killing of the health workers. Principally drawing on health and security discourses, the editorial also, creatively and complexly, combines elements of other discourses of religion, politics and economics.

By drawing on elements of health discourse, *Daily Trust* foregrounds the importance of the roles played by health workers in respect to the seriousness of polio as a disease and the government's intent to totally eradicate the virus. This is articulated in sentences such as: **“polio is a debilitating disease that could cause life-long paralysis especially in children less than five years of age.”** By also drawing on certain elements of religious discourse, the editorial gives reasons for the attacks particularly the perception of polio vaccination as a western propaganda to reduce Muslim populations. Elements of religious discourse are expressed in the following sentence: **“[...] including some clerics, that the vaccine contains an anti-fertility agent that is meant to reduce the population of Muslim lands [...]”**

The editorial's use of political discourse is evident in the editorial's comparison of the North and the South further legitimating the belief that the South is better than the North. By doing this, the editorial acknowledges the existing animosity between the North and the South. This is evident in the sentence: **“the fact that fewer persons from Southern Nigeria get stricken by polio due to the smooth nature of polio campaigns there is sufficient**

warning that the North must take this matter very seriously". Traces of security discourse are also apparent in the editorial, in which the editorial discusses the seriousness of the killings of the health workers and also to draw attention to the fact that the problem of insecurity has infiltrated the health sector. This is evident in phrases such as; "**The killing of nine health workers**" "**The attacks were launched**", "**the attackers**", and "**targeted by gunmen**". Although not as pronounced as the other discourses present in the editorial, there is evidence of economic discourse, in which poor is constructed in contrast to rich. This is articulated in the editorial's description of people crippled by polio as "**resorting to begging for their livelihood**". By doing this, the editorial invariably identifies people crippled by polio as a burden on the country's economy.

Applying a transitivity analysis in addition to Propp's character and narrative functions, the editorial further identifies three major participants around whom the discussion is centred: the anti-polio vaccination activists, the authorities and the health workers. The anti-polio vaccination activists are constructed as the villain. Their role as villain is foregrounded by the names ascribed to them. They are described as "**gunmen**", "**cynics**", and "**misguided elements**" who frustrate every effort to ensure total eradication of polio. They are constructed as using speech by "**advancing reasons**" to propagate their agenda of vaccine rejection, and as taking action by "**targeting health workers**" to safeguard their beliefs. The health workers are constructed as the hero who embarks on a quest to administer anti-polio vaccines "**as part of a last-ditch effort to wipe out the polio virus from the face of the earth**". Their role as hero is legitimated in the editorial's description of them as "**women who laid down their lives in the service of the nation**". The editorial also constructs the authorities as the dispatcher who sends the health workers on the immunisation exercise as a "**very important public work**" on the one hand, and as the Father of the princess who has the ability to reward the hero and punish the villain on the other by asking the government to "**punish anyone who sabotages public health programs**" and "**draw up a plan to compensate the families of the slain health workers**". Therefore, the anti-polio vaccination activists are constructed as actively responsible for the in-eradication of the polio virus, while the health workers and the authorities are constructed as objects of the anti-vaccination activists' actions of "**sabotaging**".

The editorial like *Punch*'s constructs varying and intertwined sets of binary oppositions. Anti-polio vaccination is constructed as binary opposite of pro-polio vaccination. The anti-polio vaccination strand is described as resistance to polio vaccinations, while the

pro-polio strand is supportive of polio vaccinations. The editorial also constructs Islam in opposition to other religion(s), and Northern Nigeria as a binary opposite of Southern Nigeria. Through the use of elements of security discourse, the editorial constructs saboteurs and Supporters as binary opposites, where the Saboteurs are legitimated as enemies of public health programmes and Supporters are friends of public health programmes. In addition, poor is constructed as a binary opposite of rich.

6.2. Conclusion

Although *Punch*'s editorial attempts to challenge the government to take a stand against terrorism to ensure the total eradication of polio virus, it can be interpreted as an angry outburst against people, especially Muslims, who believe that immunisation is bad. Thus failing to take into consideration the role that religion plays in "conditioning the attitudes of many Northern Nigerians" (Obadare, 2005: 279). It also automatically assumes that any form of violence in Northern Nigeria is the handiwork of non-state armed group-Boko Haram, by attributing the killing of the health workers to them and ignoring the fact that nobody claimed responsibility for the attack. This can only serve to fuel the animosity between Boko Haram and the media, which the former claimed was the reason for the attacks on the media in 2012 (*Premium Times*, 2012). The editorial also presents the government as incompetent and incapable of taking action without the 'assistance' of western countries, further fuelling the distrust of the West and its allies (i.e. Federal Government) "especially in the wake of the global anti-terrorism campaign that trailed the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States of America" (Obadare, 2005; Yahya, 2007; Cooke and Tahir, 2012).

Before reading *Daily Trust*'s editorial, one is inclined to assume that it would be sympathetic towards the people of Northern Nigeria, because it is situated in Northern Nigeria. However, like other Nigerian newspapers, it is critical of anti-polio vaccination activists. Its editorial can be seen as a struggle, in which it does not want to offend the Federal Government on the one hand, and the Northerners on the other hand. This is understandable because the newspaper has been on the receiving end of the cross fire between the government and non-state armed group, Boko Haram. facing attacks from Boko Haram on one hand and facing accusations, suspicions and attacks from the government on the other hand. While it blames the attacks on the religious beliefs and perceptions of the anti-polio vaccination activists, it also makes an attempt to douse potential tension by attributing the dismissal of these perceptions not only to the Federal Government, but to a

well-respected Islamic organisation- the Jama'atu Nasril Islam. Through the editorial's praise and encouragement for the Federal Government's effort at ensuring total polio eradication, it implicitly pitches its tent on the side of the government, further fuelling already existing Northern distrust of the Federal Government.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

The primary purpose of this study was to examine how contesting discourses and already existing hegemonic processes were embedded and sustained in *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers' representations of the polio eradication initiative controversy. The study also aimed at establishing whether there was a difference in both newspapers representations based on their locations within the North and South divide of the Nigerian society (*Punch* is based in the South, while *Daily Trust* is based in the North). The study, situated within the broad cultural studies tradition was theoretical informed by conceptions of representation, discourse, hegemony and normative theories of the media.

I approached the study based on the hypothesis that the location of the newspapers determined their positioning in the polio eradication initiative struggle between the Federal Government and Northern Nigeria (I believed that *Punch*'s reports were pro-government, while *Daily Trust* was pro-northern Nigeria). Further analysis, however, revealed that this was not the case. Although *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers are based in the South and North respectively, by emphasising the negativity of the North's vaccine refusals and the killings of the health workers, they both contribute to the North and South animosity in their representations.

The analysis also reveals that, while both newspapers employ varying degrees of interdiscursivity, there is a major contestation between health and religious discourses. This is made apparent by their consistent reference to polio vaccine rejections as being informed by the Islamic beliefs of the Northerners. Furthermore, in trying to establish the presence and absence (Fairclough, 1995) of the actors involved in the polio eradication controversy within the analysed news articles, it became evident that both newspapers only sourced government officials and other sources of authority. This confirms Schudson's (2003) argument that to maintain the regularity of news, journalists crave for readily available source of information from authoritative sources. By doing this, they pitch their tents on the government's side, and the eagerness of government agencies and officials to perform the role of sources (Schudson, 2003: 134) does not help matters. Therefore, the Northerners and Muslims are positioned as anti-polio vaccination activists who are not to be heard, but only talked about by the media.

Thus foregrounding Christians et al's (2009) argument that journalism as a conduit for information is far from evenly accessible to all.

In addition, an analysis of the editorials has shown that both newspapers sustain the North and South dichotomy in their editorials. *Daily Trust* articulates this divide by describing how healthy and well-off the South is due to the success of polio eradication in the South compared to the 'un seriousness' of the North. *Punch* acknowledges this divide by describing and giving statistics of how bad the North is because it is home to terrorists thus implying that the South is good because it is peaceful. Furthermore, by blaming vaccine rejections on the resultant killing of health workers, the editorials fail to acknowledge the fact that these attitudes and events that surround the in eradication of polio in Nigeria could be shaped by other factors. These events are argued to also be shaped by past incidents of malpractice in vaccine delivery; distrust of the Federal Government especially after the transition to civil rule; and the anti-terrorist campaign launched after the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States (Obadare, 2005; Yahya, 2007; Cooke & Tahir, 2012).

In sustaining hegemonic processes in their representations, I argue that *Punch* and *Daily Trust* newspapers are ignorant of the intricacies involved in the exploration of the realities of Northern Nigeria. In lieu of this, there are other possible areas of further inquiry. For instance, it could be useful to do a reception analysis on Northern Nigerians' perceptions of media representations of their realities in the Nigerian society.

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Appendix 1

Terrorism and slain health workers

FEBRUARY 22, 2013 BY PUNCH EDITORIAL BOARD

THE failure of the Federal Government to decisively tackle the Boko Haram terrorist group is taking a heavy toll on the country. Not only are hundreds of lives lost and the economy of the North-East region in tatters, schooling and health care delivery are being handicapped. The recent murder of nine health workers threatens global efforts to eradicate polio and underscores the enormity of the national crisis the government's indecisiveness has fostered. But the war against preventable childhood diseases must not falter in the face of the vicious assault by terrorists.

The killing of the nine immunisation workers in Kano was particularly heinous. Outraged Nigerians and rights groups across the world have already condemned such a cowardly attack on defenceless people. The consequences are dire indeed. Reports said that Boko Haram militants riding in tricycles, in two separate attacks, targeted the female polio vaccinators, gunning them down while on duty. The killing is consistent with the pattern of targeted killings against vaccinators by Islamist terrorists in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen and, lately, in northern Mali, from where *al Qaeda* terrorists were recently dislodged from its key cities. According to the perverse and patently irrational writ of the Islamists, immunisation is a "ploy" by Western interests to sterilise women and reduce the population of Muslims worldwide. Despite irrefutable proof of the falsehood of this warped theory, Islamist terrorists in terror-ravaged states continue to kill vaccinators, just as they target women rights and pro-girl child education activists worldwide.

The killings may cause a setback to polio eradication as, globally, Nigeria is just one of only three countries where polio is still endemic, the other two being Pakistan and Afghanistan. There were 121 cases of polio reported here in 2012, while there were 58 cases in Pakistan

and 37 in Afghanistan. Earlier, terrorists stormed the living quarters of some expatriates working with the Potiskum General Hospital, Yobe State, and slaughtered three North Korean doctors; while two had their throats slit, one was beheaded. In December, a French engineer was kidnapped when gunmen raided the site of a wind power project in Rimi town, 25 kilometres from Katsina.

Terrorism is particularly bad for health care delivery in the northern states where Boko Haram has killed more than 2,000 persons since 2010, according to Human Rights Watch estimates. The northern states must link up with the Federal Government to tackle this menace. At least, 10 northern states, with 209 local government areas, recorded new polio cases in 2012. In Yobe State, for instance, inadequate health care delivery facilities are exacerbated by an acute shortage of skilled personnel – doctors, pharmacists, radiologists – prompting the state government to recruit this cadre from North Korea and elsewhere. The deliberate targeting of these expatriates will keep them away and worsen the plight of the North-West and North-East zones that already have the worst poverty and health care statistics among the nation's six geopolitical zones.

The Global Polio Eradication Initiative funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and others declares Nigeria to be “one of the most entrenched reservoirs of wild polio virus in the world. It is the only country with ongoing transmission of all three serotypes.” It added that Northern Nigeria was the main source of polio infections in West Africa. The government should therefore treat attacks on health workers as the “double tragedy” that the World Health Organisation and the United Nations Children Education Fund call them.

We should drop our tepid attitude and the refusal of northern state governments and their elite to treat terrorism as the cancer that it is and mobilise all resources to confront it. Boko Haram has, time and time again, boasted of its strong links to *al Qaeda*, *el Shabaab* of Somalia and the most virulent terror group today, *al Qaeda* in the Islamic Maghrib. Interventionist French forces recently found training camps in Mali, where hundreds of Boko Haram gunmen were being trained. Yet, the federal authorities oppose the group being labelled a Foreign Terrorist Group by the United States State Department to pave the way for full deployment of the US resources against the murderous group.

With the economy of the North down by over 60 per cent, according to the northern states' chapters of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria, poverty averaging 71 per cent in the North and illiteracy over 70 per cent and rising, it is time to act more decisively. The spread of polio and other communicable diseases has to be contained by providing extraordinary security for health workers. The immunisation programme should not flag, but should be

stepped up with local governments and traditional institutions fully involved in the sensitisation of the populace.

States should do more to raise awareness and encourage the local people to cooperate with the security agencies to fish out and flush out terrorists and their sympathisers hiding among them.

Terrorism has become a global problem and our government should align strongly with other countries and emulate Western nations and others like Algeria and Saudi Arabia who have a zero tolerance policy towards terrorism.

Appendix 2

Daily Trust

Category: Editorial

Published on Friday, 22 February 2013 05:00

The killing of nine health workers in two separate but clearly coordinated attacks in Kano City on February 8 marked a new low in irresponsibility that has become the lot of our society in recent times. Gunmen targeted health workers nearly all of them women, as they were preparing to set out for their rounds of polio immunization as part of a last-ditch effort to wipe out the polio virus from the face of the earth.

The attacks were launched at two locations in the city, Hotoro and Unguwa Uku. No one has as yet claimed responsibility for this dastardly act, the very first time in our history that health workers have been targeted by gunmen as they were carrying out a very important public health work.

Even though the attackers have not been identified, it is fairly easy to see what the motive for the attacks could be. In many parts of Northern Nigeria, there is resistance to administration of the oral polio vaccine. This misguided and ill-informed stance has been fuelled by claims of some people, including some clerics, that the vaccine contains an anti-fertility agent that is meant to reduce the population of Muslim lands, claims that have been comprehensively dismissed by the federal and state government health authorities and the Jama'atu Nasril Islam.

In the wake of the Kano killing of health workers, the police arrested and are prosecuting a reporter and a program presenter of Wazobia Radio who the authorities have charged to court for alleged incitement because of a program they broadcast only hours before the attack.

The effort to make polio only the second disease in human history to be completely eradicated, after smallpox, is a very laudable one that has received the support of the Nigerian government and also of responsible traditional and religious authorities. Polio is a debilitating disease that could cause life-long paralysis especially in children less than five years of age. No one can deny that the Northern part of the country has the preponderance of such cruelly crippled persons, all of it attributable to the existence in the region of the wild polio virus.

A cursory survey of the streets of Nigerian cities such as Lagos and Kano reveals that a disproportionate number of the persons crippled by polio, and who resort to begging for their livelihood, come from the region. The fact that far fewer persons from Southern Nigeria get stricken by polio due to the smooth nature of polio vaccination campaigns there is sufficient warning that the North must take this matter very seriously.

Instead, there are persons who, despite overwhelming evidence that roundly debunks their stand, still indulge in inciting vulnerable people to reject vaccination for their children with false claims that it reduces fertility of anyone at a time when our population is still growing at more than 3% annually. Some of the reasons advanced by the cynics may sound plausible on the face of it, but only on the face of it. They ask, for example, why government and international donors pay so much attention to polio when it is less of a killer than malaria, typhoid and HIV. The truth is that the authorities are paying attention to those problems too, and much more money is actually being spent on malaria and HIV treatment than on polio. The difference is that there is no viable treatment for polio once it cripples a victim; the best treatment is prevention. Here also is a chance to wipe this disease off the face of the Earth. This chance should be grabbed now so that the nation has one less debilitating disease to contend with.

The authorities should continue, with the help of traditional and enlightened religious authorities, the essential task of enlightening people on the importance of seeing to the success of wiping polio off the face of the earth. Yet, if the efforts are continually sabotaged by misguided elements even if they pretend to be enlightened themselves, it is now time to deal firmly with such people. There are adequate laws in place to punish anyone who sabotages public health programs for their own nefarious ends. It is such cruelly misguided activity that ultimately led to the killing of the nine polio vaccination workers. The authorities should draw up a plan to compensate the families of the slain women who laid down their lives in the service of nation.

Appendix 3

Jonathan fumes as gunmen kill nine health workers in kano

FEBRUARY 9, 2013 BY OLALEKAN ADETAYO AND FRIDAY OLOKOR, ABUJA
WITH AGENCY REPORT

President Goodluck Jonathan has condemned the killing of nine health workers by gunmen in Kano on Friday.

In a statement by his Special Adviser on Media and Publicity, Dr. Reuben Abati, the President promised that the death would not be in vain as his government would intensify efforts to eradicate polio in the country.

He said he would continue to increase efforts aimed at apprehending terrorists.

Jonathan also ordered that security be increased around health workers across the country.

Reacting to the incident, the Executive Director, National Primary Health Care Development Agency, Dr. Ado Muhammad said, "It is unfortunate and tragic that health workers in the course of their duties were killed. We sympathise with the Kano State Government and the families of the departed. We are still awaiting findings on the incident, but it is too early to conclude that it was polio campaign related."

The nine female polio vaccinators were killed in two shootings at health centres in Kano, the police told the *BBC*.

In the first attack in Kano, the polio vaccinators were shot dead by gunmen who rode a tricycle.

Thirty minutes later, gunmen targeted a clinic outside Kano city as the vaccinators prepared to start work.

Some Nigerian Muslim leaders have previously opposed polio vaccination, claiming it could cause infertility.

On Thursday, a controversial Islamic cleric spoke out against the polio vaccination campaign, telling people that new cases of polio were caused by contaminated medicine.

Such opposition is a major reason why Nigeria is one of just three countries where polio is still endemic.

But this is believed to be the first time polio vaccinators have been attacked in the country.

Some Kano residents told the *BBC*'s Yusuf Yakasai in the city that other people injured in the first attack had been taken to a hospital.

A health official confirmed to the BBC that those killed in the second attack in Hotoro were female health workers – there were earlier reports that people waiting at the clinic may have been among those shot.

Witnesses in Hotoro told the BBC that the gunmen also approached the health centre in a tricycle.

Appendix 4

‘Preach against polio immunisation, risk 10-year jail term’- news

SEPTEMBER 6, 2013 BY ENYIOHA OPARA, MINNA

THE Niger State Government has gone tough with those avoiding polio immunisation or trying to stop children from being immunised against Polio, a major child killer disease.

The state government has, therefore, amended the Niger State Health Care Development Agency law to provide for 10 years jail term or N100,000 fine for any cleric found guilty of preaching against the immunisation of children.

The Attorney-General and Commissioner for Justice in the state, Alhaji Abdullahi Bawa Wuse, who disclosed this at a post Executive Council media briefing in Minna on Thursday, also said the amended law had provided for a six-month imprisonment or N50,000 fine for anyone, who refused to be immunised or disallowed his ward from being vaccinated.

He said checkpoints were to be set up in strategic locations in the 25 local government areas of the state, where children being brought into the state would be immunised, notwithstanding whether or not they had been vaccinated from their former residence or not.

According to him, the Chief Judge of the state will be urged to designate a Chief Magistrate’s Court, each in the 25 LGAs, which would serve as ‘Mobile Courts’ to try those that might disobey the amended law.

The measures taken by the state government, Wuse said, were to ensure compliance with the polio eradication policy of the state government, adding that it was targeted at achieving 100 per cent coverage of the immunisation campaign.

He also disclosed that the state government, under its Industrial Park Development Agency law, which had just been sent to the House of Assembly for passage, it would now be illegal for investors to establish factories and industries in residential areas of the state.

Appendix 5

Kano killings won't hinder polio fight – Task force- news

FEBRUARY 22, 2013 BY FRIDAY OLOKOR, ABUJA

Stakeholders in the fight to eradicate polio on Thursday had a marathon meeting in Abuja with the Presidential Task Force on Polio Eradication and the World Health Organisation. They expressed their resolve and commitment to ensuring that the disease is totally eradicated from the country in 2013 despite the killing of nine vaccinators in Kano and a similar incident in Borno State.

Also, at the meeting were families of polio vaccinators who were killed in Kano.

The chairman of PTFPE and Minister of State for Health, Dr. Muhammad Pate; Regional Director of WHO, Louis Sambo; and Executive Director of the National Primary Health Care Development Agency, Dr. Ado Muhammad, stated this after a meeting on the security threats in Abuja.

The minister said, “The President has shown strong commitment to finish the work of eradicating polio in Nigeria and the Federal government has condoled the families and the states where such unfortunate incidents happened and we have come as a task force to discuss and identify a way forward.

“We will continue to talk and explain to our people the importance of getting our children immunised, the protection that is needed for our health workers that are out there doing very good work and to continue to encourage our health workers not to be cowed into submitting to the effort of those who attack the health workers.

“We know it is not easy, but we have to realize that if we do not do anything, more children will be paralysed and even die from preventable causes. It is unfortunate.”

Sambo assured the people that the WHO and other partners in the polio eradication would remain committed to ensuring that polio was totally eradicated in Nigeria in 2013.

He said, “Nigeria remains the only polio endemic country in our region and WHO and other polio eradication partners are very committed to work and support the effort government and people of Nigeria to stop the circulation of polio virus in the country.”

Appendix 6

Nigeria’s polio cases rise by 60%’

JUNE 20, 2013 BY FRIDAY OLOKOR, ABUJA

The World Health Organisation and United Nations Children Fund on Wednesday linked the 60 per cent rise in polio cases in Nigeria to the activities of Boko Haram in Borno and Yobe states.

The UN organs however acknowledged the efforts of the Federal Government towards eradicating the disease in the country by 2015.

A statement by UNICEF’s Communication Specialist (Media and External Relations) in Nigeria, Mr. Geoffrey Njoku, quoted the Country Team directors of both agencies as expressing optimism that the Federal Government would meet the deadline to eradicate polio in the country.

He said, “To date, Nigeria has reported a 50 per cent decline in the number of cases, with 25 cases in nine states, compared to 54 cases in 10 states for the same period in 2012.

“It is important to highlight that more than 60 per cent of the cases this year are from the security compromised areas of Borno and Yobe with limited access to children for vaccination.

“As outlined by the most recent report of the global Independent Monitoring Board for polio eradication, Nigeria’s polio programme has surged forward and is making progress.”

“This is coupled with a substantive investment and efforts to improve routine immunisation, with the development of a new routine immunisation framework and the Save One Million Lives Initiative lead by the Government of Nigeria.”

Appendix 7

Three journalists arrested for polio vaccine killings

FEBRUARY 12, 2013 BY AGENCY REPORTER

Three Nigerian journalists have been arrested for allegedly inciting violence against polio workers, *Reuters* reported.

On Friday, gunmen in Kano State killed nine people, who had been giving patients the polio vaccine. The arrested journalists are accused of inspiring the attacks.

The journalists had said on *Wazobia FM* on Wednesday that immunisation against polio was anti-Islam and part of a Western conspiracy to cause infertility, Kano Police Chief Ibrahim Idris, told *Reuters*.

The killing of the vaccinators is a major setback in Nigeria’s fight against polio. “The killing of polio vaccinators in Kano State is a dastardly act that must be condemned by all,” he told *All Africa*.

Appendix 8

Insecurity can trigger polio explosion — NMA

FEBRUARY 17, 2013 BY LEKE BAIYEWU

The Nigeria Medical Association has warned that with the spate of insecurity in the country, there may be an explosion of polio virus.

It said the nation still has the highest number of polio cases in the world and insecurity could compound the problem.

The NMA President, Dr. Osahon Enabulele, who spoke to our correspondent in an interview, argued that there was no scientific evidence to prove that immunisation against polio could cause infertility.

He added that there was a need to increase health education by the government.

He noted that Nigeria, Pakistan and Afghanistan were the only countries that still had a “despicable level,” which attracted world attention in the global effort to eradicate polio.

Enabulele said, “The fact is that insecurity will certainly lead to an explosion in the number of polio cases within and outside the country. As of 2012, it was globally reported that Nigeria had about 121 cases of polio, which was the highest among the three struggling countries battling with polio.

“It was predicted that by 2013, there would be an increased global push to ensure that the number is substantially reduced or eradicated.

“But with what has happened now, it is clear and evident that if nothing is done to guarantee the safety of health workers who vaccinate children, certainly it will lead to an explosion. It will blossom the number of polio cases not only in areas that are threatened but in the whole country.”

While explaining that polio could be transmitted orally, he said it was easy for people to spread the scourge rapidly because Nigeria was a “highly mobile country” where people travelled from place to place.

He added that since the nation’s borders were porous, there could be inter-country transfer of the scourge.

He called on the security agencies to deploy more personnel in health facilities, saying that health workers were now targets of terrorists, adding that provision of adequate security was the only way to ensure continuous health care service.

Although Enabule admitted that health workers had an ethical obligation to continually render service, he said government also had the obligation to guarantee their security and safety.

The NMA boss said, “Recent developments have thrown spanners in the wheel of the works of health care system in the North; not only in the North but in the entire country. It is clear it could be a cascading event and what affects the North will directly or indirectly affect the South.”

Appendix 9

Kaduna immunises 3.4m children against polio – Official

DECEMBER 19, 2013 BY NAN

A total of 3.4 million children were immunised against polio in Kaduna State during the exercise concluded on Dec.17, an official of the state Primary Health Care Agency, said on Wednesday.

Alhaji Hamza Ikara, the Health Education Officer of the agency, told the News Agency of Nigeria in Kaduna that the figure represented 80 per cent of the targeted population.

He said the exercise, conducted in the 23 local governments areas, was a “great success”, adding that the state would be polio free in the coming years.

“The state has been free from polio infections in the past 12 months; we hope to continue working hard to record more success,” Ikara said.

He said that the state could have achieved 100 per cent target if not for the non-compliance and resistance by some beneficiaries.

Ikara , however, commended women groups, youth groups, development partners, religious and traditional rulers for their contributions to the success of the exercise in the state.

“Some of our development partners like the WHO and UNICEF supported us by conducting 31 health camps in the state and mostly in the high risk local government areas,” he said.

Appendix 10

Insecurity hinders polio eradication – Rotary

JULY 30, 2013 BY SHARON OREMICHEN

Rotary International says the security challenges and the emergency rule in the three Northern states are frustrating the fight against polio in the country.

The organisation also expressed disappointment that “Nigeria is one of the three countries in the world still battling with the polio.”

The group’s President-elect, Mr. Gary Huang, said this on Monday at the inauguration of Jonathan Majiyagbe House in Lagos.

He said, “Rotary and PolioPlus Partners had contributed \$164m toward ending polio in Nigeria.

“To date, Nigeria had registered just 35 polio cases in 2013 from the thousands in 1988, when the initiative begun.

“Despite the progress, the programme in Nigeria faces operational challenges of which insecurity and the current state of emergency in some areas in the North had resulted in recurrence of the disease in districts that had been polio free in 2012.”

He added, “Nigeria, Afghanistan and Pakistan are the only countries in the world that are still polio-endemic. Until active transmission of the wild polio virus occurs in the endemic countries, every other nation remains at risk from the imported cases that could cause sudden polio outbreaks.”

Chairman, Nigeria National PolioPlus Committee and Rotary International member, Busuyi Onabolu, said there was the need for all tiers of government to be committed to fighting the disease.

Appendix 11

Jonathan promises polio-free nation

MARCH 15, 2013 BY OLALEKAN ADETAYO, ABUJA

President Goodluck Jonathan on Thursday said he was committed to ensuring that he did not hand over a nation laden with records of poliomyelitis to the next administration at the end of his tenure.

He said his administration would therefore redouble its efforts aimed at achieving zero-polio case before the end of the tenure of the present administration in 2015.

The President made the promise while receiving a delegation of Rotary International, led by the Chairman of the Rotary Foundation Trustees, Mr. Wilfrid Wilkinson, at the Presidential Villa, Abuja.

“I promise you that we will continue to do our best because I do not want to hand over polio to the next administration,” he said.

Jonathan also pledged that all necessary actions and works that would be taken by his administration would be done in collaboration with its development partners and other stakeholders.

The efforts, he added, would be made to overcome the challenges of ignorance, misinformation and security as well as the cultural and religious inhibitions that are recurrently hindering mass immunisation against poliomyelitis in parts of the country.

Appendix 12

120 arrested for refusing polio vaccine in Niger

SEPTEMBER 18, 2013 BY ENYIOHA OPARA, MINNA

BARELY one week after Niger State Government threatened to jail anybody who refused to allow polio vaccine to be administered on his or her child, 120 persons have been arrested for contravening the directive.

The Director of the State Primary Health Care Development Agency, Dr. Shehu Yabagi, who disclosed this to newsmen in Minna on Tuesday, said among the arrested persons were those who had consistently opposed the polio vaccine immunisation exercise in the state.

He pointed out that the persons were arrested at various locations in the state by the police as the agency sought to enforce the law that forbids rejection of the polio vaccine.

Yabagi said some of the suspects had already been arraigned before various courts in the state, while some of them had been convicted.

“Some have even paid fine for their action,” he said.

He said the agency would continue to work hard to ensure that polio was eradicated in the state and by extension, the whole country through advocacy and enforcement of the various laws enacted by the state government.

Yabagi said the state government had also sent another bill to the state assembly to make it a criminal offence for any cleric that preached against the acceptance of the polio vaccines in the state.

Any preacher who violates the law, Yabagi said, would be jailed or pay huge fine.

The director said traditional rulers and religious leaders had been mobilised to educate their subjects and members on the advantages of the vaccine.

He also disclosed that the agency had embarked on the cross-border immunisation exercise in a bid to halt any further transmission of the disease.

He also commended various organisations for their cooperation and assistance to the agency that led to the success recorded in the state.

Appendix 13

Yobe, Borno account for 50% polio cases –Panel

AUGUST 2, 2013 BY FRIDAY OLOKOR, ABUJA

A presidential committee, set up to map out measures to deal with the scourge of polio, has listed Yobe and Borno states as constituting 50 per cent of reported cases of polio in Nigeria.

Chairman of Nigeria National Polio plus Committee, Mr. Abdulrahman Funsho, stated this during a press briefing on Wednesday in Abuja while unveiling the International President of Rotary Club, Mr. Gary Huang, a Chinese national, based in Taiwan.

He attributed the setback in achieving earlier targets of polio eradication in Nigeria to non-compliance because of different traditional beliefs and cultural factors, which, he said, were also fuelled by a few individuals and groups as a result of ignorance.

Funsho said, “A total of \$325m has been contributed by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, with an additional \$1.4bn to bridge the funding gap needed to eradicate polio globally.”

According to him, with more funding accruing to the committee to fight the scourge, the government was on course as a result of the new strategic plan it had put in place to see the end of polio in Nigeria by 2014.

He said, “Currently, there is a strategic plan that has been put in place and that strategic plan envisages that by the end of 2014, we will see the end of the last polio cases.

“There are local challenges that we have, which have become a big challenge to the polio eradication initiative: areas where you have non-compliance because of different beliefs and taboos and these are fuelled by a few individuals and groups, partly out of ignorance.”

Appendix 14

1,000 polio cases caused by don’s misinformation – Minister

APRIL 22, 2013 BY AGENCY REPORTER

Minister of State for Health, Dr. Muhammad Pate, has expressed shock that more than 1,000 children have been paralysed by the wild polio virus largely due to the rejection of immunisation in the northern part of the country.

Pate was reacting to a newspaper report that an Ahmadu Bello University don, Prof Haruna Kaita, whose previous utterances allegedly stirred up the anti-polio controversy, had recanted.

The minister told the *New Agency of Nigeria* in Abuja on Sunday that Kaita's decision was a welcome development.

He said, "We are glad that the professor from ABU, whose previous utterances were associated with the misguided anti-polio controversy, has finally come out to straighten the facts from his perspective.

"While this development is certainly welcome, we note with sadness that more than 1,000 children have been paralysed by wild polio virus largely due to the rejection."

The minister urged the professor to conclude his presentation by clearing the doubts he had raised through his utterances and circulated video.

Pate said in spite of the recent challenges on polio eradication, the country had not recorded any case of Type 2 or Type 3 polio virus in the last six months, adding that no new case had also been recorded in the North West geo-political zone.

The minister said, "Nigeria is making progress in spite of the recent challenges; so far in 2013, there has been no new case of polio in the entire North West geo-political zone.

"For almost six months now, we have not seen Type 3 or Type 2 polio viruses, a significant first in our quest to interrupt transmission."

Appendix 15

Vaccinators' killing: FG to sanction radio station

FEBRUARY 21, 2013 BY OLALEKAN ADETAYO, ABUJA

The Federal Government has commenced moves to sanction a radio station whose presenters were accused of inciting people against polio immunisation, which led to the recent killing of seven health workers and three others in Kano State.

Minister of Health, Prof. Onyebuchi Chukwu, stated this while briefing State House correspondents on the outcome of the weekly Federal Executive Council meeting presided over by President Goodluck Jonathan.

Chukwu was joined at the briefing by the Special Adviser to the President on Media and Publicity, Dr. Reuben Abati.

The minister had earlier briefed the council on the achievements and challenges of his ministry in 2012.

The minister said he had already written to his counterpart in the Ministry of Information on the need for the regulatory body in charge of broadcast media in the country to sanction the station.

He said, "Investigations are ongoing on the killing of health workers in Kano. It is true that there are people, through communication in mass media, who actually instigated the public against accepting polio immunisation.

"Both the Federal Government and the Kano State Government are doing something on it.

"Take the issue of people using the mass media. The mass media is regulated. Broadcast media is under the control of the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission.

"Not only has Kano State Government written to that commission, the Minister of Health has written to the Minister of Information.

"We think that station ought to be sanctioned. The NBC should do its work. Mass media platforms are not supposed to be used to air seditious materials.

"For the individuals concerned, the security agencies are working. Of course, they have to go according to the laws of the country but I can assure you that action is being taken."

Chukwu added that his ministry was working with security agencies to see how security could be provided for, not only the health workers, but also for those who come to receive immunisation.

He said while 122 new cases of polio were recorded in the country last year, no single case has so far been recorded in 2013.

He said the ministry also succeeded in reducing the counterfeit and fake drugs prevalent rate to 18.2 per cent by December 2012.

He added that the ministry had succeeded in achieving 7.5 per cent health insurance cover for Nigerians during the period under review.

On maternal and child health, he said, the ministry achieved 26 per cent increase in terms of total antenatal attendance.

He identified the challenges faced by the ministry in 2012 to include those of tropical diseases comprising river blindness and leprosy among others.

Appendix 16

NBC suspends radio programme over vaccinators' death

FEBRUARY 16, 2013 BY OKECHUKWU NNODIM, ABUJA

Following the recent killing of nine polio workers in Kano State, the National Broadcasting Commission, on Friday, suspended a radio programme, *Sandar Girma*, being aired by *Wazobia FM*, Kano.

The commission also advised the management of the media outfit to suspend the journalist anchoring the programme until issues relating to the killing of the workers are resolved.

The NBC, in a statement, said the suspension was as a result of a number of violations of the provisions of its code by the presenter.

It said, "The NBC today (Friday) placed a suspension order on the programme, *Sandar Girma*, on *Wazobia FM* in Kano, while investigations continue.

"The commission has also advised the station to suspend the participation of the presenter of the programme, in any programme in the station until the issues are resolved."

The police had on Sunday arrested the presenter, Mr. Fagge and his colleague, Mubarak Sani, for allegedly conniving with the former director of the Kano Films and Censorship Board, Mr. Abubakar Rabo, to air a programme that seeks to defame the polio campaign in the state and for disparaging the district head of Tarauni.

The police had also stated that the programme instigated the public against the polio programme, which led to the attack on and killing of the nine polio workers.

Meanwhile, the NBC explained that the suspension was in line with social objectives of broadcasting in Nigeria.

It said its aim was to impartially disseminate news and opinions in a manner that would encourage meaningful and articulate dialogue and discussion of issues of public interest, while promoting values and norms, which foster the well-being and cooperation of the various segments of the society.

The commission warned other broadcasting organisations not to misuse the opportunity of the freedom of expression.

It said it would not hesitate to sanction errant organisations, who contravene what the broadcasting code prescribes.

It said, “The commission also wishes to remind broadcasting organisations that the code requires that they exercise freedom of expression as agents of society, not for personal or sectional rights, privileges and needs of their own or of their proprietors, relatives, friends or supporters.”

Appendix 17

10 polio workers shot dead in Kano: ...It’s an act of cowardice – Pate ...We’re trailing the gunmen -IG

Category: Cover stories

Published on Saturday, 09 February 2013 05:00

Written by Lawan Danjuma Adamu & Haruna Gimba Yaya, Kano

At least nine women and a man who were vaccinating children against polio have been shot dead in another major violence after the January attack on the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero.

Gunmen yesterday shot dead nine female polio workers and a male official in two separate morning attacks in Kano city.

The killings came hours before the arrival of the Inspector General of Police Mohammed Dahiru Abubakar and Minister of Police Affairs Capt. Caleb Olabode, in the state for condolence over the attack on the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero and to inspect projects

at the Police Academy in Wudil. The twin attacks, which were the first of their kind on health officials in the state, happened about one hour apart at Filin Cashew area of Unguwa Uku and Hotoron Haye at eastern by-pass. A woman and a man were killed while four other persons were injured in the first attack that took place around 9am at a clinic in the Filin Cashew area, residents said, adding that the assailants drove to the area in a tricycle, popularly called A Daidata Sahu. The victims, some of them students of Kano State School of Hygiene, were preparing for the day's vaccination, when they came under fire. After gunning them down, they locked them up inside the building and attempted to set it ablaze, said eyewitnesses. The fire was said to have been put out by one of the survivors. Also, Weekly Trust learnt that another female victim who was shot in the head later died at the hospital while receiving treatment. Seven other women were killed in another attack on another clinic about five kilometres away by six gunmen driving a tricycle. At Haye, eyewitnesses said the gunmen arrived at the three bedroom local dispensary and opened fire with women packed inside collecting vaccination materials. Residents said the attackers were seen jubilating while fleeing the scene. "The victims were either shot in the head or neck," said a neighbour who visited the scene immediately after the attack. The areas were cordoned off by security agents after the attack. Many residents were said to have fled their homes immediately after the attack before returning later. Blood, papers and vaccine coolers littered one of the rooms, our correspondent reports. In October last year, gunmen killed two policemen escorting polio workers during a vaccination outing. Yesterday's attack, which was the first on vaccination officials, happened when health officials in the state were preparing for a mop-up exercise to round off a four-day polio vaccination campaign. There are fears already in Kano following yesterday's attack that officials may refuse deployment on vaccination for fear of attacks, which could hamper the progress recorded in fighting the disease. Kano State has been an endemic polio state, since 2003 when the then state government suspended vaccination against the scourge for 13 months, citing health concerns. Last year, the state recorded 17 polio cases, out of 121 cases reported in Nigeria.

Confirming the attack, spokesperson of the Kano Police Command, ASP Musa Magaji Majia, said nine women were killed in the two attacks, adding that the gunmen fled the areas before the arrival of security men. Meanwhile, IG Abubakar has commended the Kano State government and people for the support and cooperation they were giving security agencies in their effort to curtail insecurity in the state. He said the police are happy with the level of understanding and cooperation between the state government and his men, and therefore appealed to the people to keep cooperating with the police. Answering question on the health workers killed yesterday by unidentified gunmen, Abubakar said police are working towards apprehending the perpetrators. He emphasized that despite the incident, the state is still safe and assured people that with their continuous support and prayer, the insecurity would be overcome. Earlier, Minister of Police Affairs, Capt. Caleb Olubode said they were in the state to commiserate with government and people of the state over the recent attack on the entourage of Emir of Kano and also to inspect the ongoing project at the Police Academy in Wudil. Olubode also condoled the families of those who had lost their lives during the attack. While praying for the repose of the souls of those killed, the minister called on the people to also pray for peace to return to the state. In his speech, the state governor who spoke through his deputy, Abdullahi Umar Ganduje, thanked them for the visit and tasked the police to be dynamic in their approaches to issues.

Also reacting to the attacks yesterday, Minister of State for Health and Chairman, Presidential Task Force on Polio Eradication, Dr. Muhammad Ali Pate, was disturbed by this dastardly act of cowardice that has not spared the very people who have paid the ultimate price because of their commitment to humanity and love of their profession. “Our hearts go out to the families, friends and colleagues of these brave women killed today (yesterday); we also commiserate with the families of those non-health workers who also lost their lives. Our nation mourns the demise of these nine women who toiled night and day to ensure that our children receive vaccines that would protect them from polio, measles, tetanus, diphtheria and pertussis,” Pate said in a statement by his spokesman Tashikalmah Hallah. He said the attack was an affront to “our culture and civility, we first and foremost

recognize the human tragedy it represents. Nevertheless, we are encouraged by words from the frontline workers who have re-stated their resolve to remain undeterred by today's violence. These nine health workers and those injured are our heroes in the fight against maternal and child mortality in the country. "It is my belief that our security men and women will launch a large-scale investigation to unearth the proximal and remote causes of these incidents with a view to ensuring that no stone is left unturned in the bid to apprehend the perpetrators of this heinous crime."

Appendix 18

NO POLIO IN SOKOTO FOR 18 MONTHS –WAMAKKO

Category: News

Published on Monday, 16 December 2013 05:00

Written by Rakiya A.Muhammad, Sokoto

Hits: 503

No polio case was recorded in Sokoto State in the past one and a half years. Governor Aliyu Wamakko disclosed this at the flag-off of the last round of 2013 polio immunisation exercise held at Tureta Local Government Area of the state.

Wamakko attributed this to what he noted as the commitment of the state government and other relevant stakeholders.

The governor who was represented by the state Commissioner for Health, Alhaji Ahmed Aliyu, said the state government would not relent in efforts at ensuring that polio is wiped out of Sokoto. He added that various measures have been taken to address non-compliance and missed children.

The governor reiterated calls to parents to allow their children to be immunised against polio and other child killer diseases. He assured that his administration would continue to introduce programmes aimed at boosting healthcare services.

Sultan of Sokoto, Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar III who was represented by the district head of Bodinga, Alhaji Bello Abdurrauf, urged all traditional and religious leaders to ensure that people in their domains are enlightened on the need to accept the vaccine to eradicate polio.

The chairman, Tureta Local Government Area, Alhaji Bello Ibrahim Dan Sarki, said the council would ensure that all eligible children in the area are immunised, saying the council has purchased drugs worth N10 million.

Appendix 19

GOVT ENTICES PARENTS TO ALLOW POLIO IMMUNISATION

Category: News}

Published on Tuesday, 19 November 2013 05:00

Written by Rakiya A. Muhammad, Sokoto

Officials of Illela Local Government Area of Sokoto State have succumbed to demands by locals to construct a road in the area and obliged other requests to allow their children to be immunised against polio.

In response to the demand, the council has constructed a one kilometre road worth over N6 million to link the Nizzamiya-Gada road-Nasarawa in Illela town. Chairman of the local government, Alhaji Garba Sabon-Gari, yesterday told newsmen monitoring the 10th round of the polio immunisation exercise for 2013 at the council that following the construction of the road, parents allowed all eligible children in the area to be immunised.

The chairman also said he had spent over N 500,000 in the past two months as inducements to parents to allow their children to be immunised. He cited a woman who allowed her children to be immunised after receiving N10,000 in addition to a promise of free medical care for her children by the local government anytime they fall sick.

The council chairman said there was also a request of grains by another villager before allowing her children to be immunised.

He added that the council has constituted a 60-man committee on polio eradication which he said would adequately mobilise parents on the need to allow their children to be immunised against polio and other child killer diseases.

Appendix 20

FAMILIES OF 10 SLAIN POLIO WORKERS GET N30M LIFELINE IN KANO

Category: News

Published on Friday, 15 November 2013 05:00

Written by Ismail Mudashir, Kano

The Federal Government yesterday donated N3 million to each family of the 10 polio workers who were killed in February this year during an immunisation exercise in Kano.

Presenting cheques to the bereaved families at Government House in Kano on behalf of the federal government, Governor Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso said the donation was to augment what the state government and businessman Alhaji Aliko Dangote had given them shortly after the incident.

The governor in a statement by his media aide, Halilu Dantiye, praised the slain health workers, describing them as patriots who sacrificed their lives trying to protect communities in the state from polio. He assured that the attack on the health workers would not stop the government from its anti-polio campaigns, appealing to all well-meaning citizens of the state to join hands with government to rid the state of the disease and other preventable diseases. The governor enjoined them to take solace in the fact that their bread winners died in the

service of humanity. He said the financial assistance given to them was not a compensation but consolation, urging them to make the best use of it. On the recent discovery of polio cases in some local government areas of the state, Kwankwaso attributed it to the laxity of some health officials and traditional rulers handling routine immunization, promising that his administration would do everything possible to reverse the trend.

Appendix 21

GATES FOUNDATION COMMENDS WAMAKKO ON POLIO

Category: News

Published on Thursday, 14 November 2013 05:00

Written by Abubakar Auwal, Sokoto

The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has commended Governor Aliyu Wamakko of Sokoto State for maintaining the state's polio-free status.

A statement by the Special Assistant to Wamakko on Press Affairs, Malam Abubakar Dangusau, said the commendation was contained in a letter to the governor by the foundation. According to the statement, the foundation thanked the governor, all the state health teams and stakeholders involved in the polio eradication initiative of the state. It called on the state to do everything possible to maintain its polio-free status.

Appendix 22

'WHY FIGHT AGAINST POLIO IS DIFFICULT'

Category: News

Published on Monday, 07 October 2013 06:00

Written by Rakiya A.Muhammad, Sokoto

Upsurge of anti oral polio vaccine activities by some religious scholars and academics as well as security challenges in Northern Nigeria are the major factors hampering the fight against polio eradication in the country.

National Immunization Officer at the World Health Organization, Sokoto Office, Aliyu Argungu disclosed this in his paper presented at a roundtable on Polio Eradication Initiative (PEI) in Sokoto State. Speaking specifically on Sokoto, Argungu noted persistent non acceptance of vaccine, especially in local government areas of Sokoto North, Sokoto South, Wamakko and Kware and low political commitment and participation of some local government chairmen among others as factors hampering the fight. Argungu however noted with joy that polio cases reduced from over 1000 in 2005 to 48 cases in 2013.

He added that establishment of polio emergency operation centre in Sokoto and regular planning and coordination of PEI activities with state and partner agencies were part of the success story in the state.

Appendix 23

WADA TASKS STAKEHOLDERS ON POLIO

Category: News

Published on Thursday, 26 September 2013 06:00

Written by Usman A. Bello, Lokoja

Kogi State Governor Idris Wada has said that polio eradication in the North is a task that must be accomplished by stakeholders from the region.

Wada stated this during the third quarter meeting of the Committee of Northern Traditional Rulers on Polio in Lokoja. He said immunization in the north has not improved much, expressing hope that the involvement of traditional rulers in the fight will change the situation. Earlier, representative of the National Health Care Development Agency Dr. Emmanuel Odo said the meeting was aimed at boosting primary health care in the region. In his speech, chairmen of the group Alhaji Usman Elkanemi, the Shehu of Bama in Bornu State said the committee's primary focus is on routine immunization/ polio eradication. He said it is important for the committee to meet quarterly to identify challenges in the eradication of polio.

Appendix 24

BAUCHI TO SANCTION HEALTH WORKERS OVER POLIO

Category: News

Published on Tuesday, 17 September 2013 06:00

Written by Ahmed Mohammed, Bauchi

The Bauchi State government has threatened to sanction any health worker who does not take the fight against polio seriously.

Governor Isa Yuguda, who spoke at a meeting with the media said, "The state government remains committed to the Polio Eradication Initiative (PEI) and Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI) activities. We achieved modest increase in routine immunization coverage from 46 per cent in 2012 to 77 per cent in June, 2013. We will intensify efforts to not only reach but surpass the optimal coverage of 80 per cent". The meeting was organized by the state Primary Health Care Development Agency in conjunction with the state chapter of Journalists Against Polio (JAP). The governor called on the media to intensify dissemination of information on anti-oral polio vaccine. Yuguda, who was represented by his deputy, Alhaji Sagir Aminu Saleh, said the state would honour health workers who perform well.

Appendix 25

‘KATSINA HAS ERADICATED POLIO’

Category: News

Published on Friday, 09 August 2013 06:00

Written by Yusha’u A Ibrahim, Katsina

The Emir of Katsina, Alhaji Abdulmumini Kabir Usman, has confirmed total eradication of polio in the state, saying, “I am proud to inform you that we have succeeded in eradicating polio disease from Katsina.”

Alhaji Abdulmumini, while delivering his Sallah message, said Katsina is now free of polio. The emir thanked the government and the people of Katsina for their support and cooperation to the crusade against polio, noting that without their contributions, nothing could have been achieved.

“I am appealing to the government at all levels to evolve preventive measures against polio. We, the traditional leaders will continue to support the routine immunization at all levels,” he said.

He called on all Nigerians to pray for the restoration of peace and harmony in the country, adding, “We are not unaware of the killings and destruction of property in some parts of the country.”

The emir urged people of the state to be vigilant at all times and report any unusual movement of persons or group of persons to the appropriate security agencies.

Appendix 26

‘How Shettima is freeing Borno from polio’

Category: News

Published on Saturday, 26 October 2013 05:00

Written by Hamza Idris, Maiduguri

Borno state governor, Kashim Shettima has disclosed that efforts towards polio eradication in the state are yielding great results.

State commissioner for Health, Dr. Salma Anas Kolo made the disclosure in a message she e-mailed to reporters in commemoration of the World Polio Day held yesterday. “Governor Shettima has shown commitment through personal involvement in awareness creation, advocacy and sensitization of community and religious leaders and also personal dialogues and resolved non-compliance issues amongst parents”, the statement said. “He allocated adequate resources, particularly funds on a regular basis from the state and LGAs to tackle polio campaigns, logistics, improve quality performance, strengthen routine immunization, capacity building of health workers and supported involvement of community leaders as well as information dissemination” the commissioner said. She said the state government contributes almost 80 percent of the funds expended on polio eradication, since the inception of the current administration, adding that government has

ensured universal involvement of community and religious leaders in the fight against polio with adequate financial backup. Dr. Kolo added that “Governor Shettima also linked performance indicators of council chairmen with polio eradication efforts in their respective LGAs which no doubt made them far more committed to the fight against polio in Borno State”, Kolo said.

Appendix 27

Polio resurgence, a national embarrassment—Minister

Category: News

Published on Saturday, 24 August 2013 05:00

Written by Nazifi Dawud Khalid, Kano

inShare

The Minister of Health, Professor Onyebuchi Chukwu has described the recent resurgence of the deadly polio virus as an embarrassment to Nigeria and vowed that the government will intensify efforts to change the situation.

Chukwu made the remarks yesterday in Kaduna during a one-day advocacy meeting with the Interim Management Officers (IMOs) of the 44 LGAs of neighbouring Kano state. The minister, represented by Professor Abdussalam Nasidi, said the meeting will provide “an opportunity to identify loopholes and areas hindering the smooth running of the polio vaccination exercise before the deadline of December 2013, which was set as target for the campaign.

In his remarks, Dr. Abdullahi Umar Ganduje, the Kano state Deputy Governor who is also the Chairman of the Kano State Taskforce Committee on Polio Eradication, said the prevalence of polio virus in Kano indicates that “there is a missing link in the efforts to wipe out the disease from the state.

Appendix 28

Polio: Kaduna govt goes hunting for missing kids

Category: News

Published on Saturday, 06 July 2013 06:00

Written by Sunday Isuwa, Kaduna

Kaduna State government is hunting, discovering and administering polio vaccine on children in the state, who skipped the last routine exercise in southern Kaduna, in an effort to eradicate the crippling virus.

As the battle for the total eradication of Polio in Kaduna State becomes more serious, state government officials have launched and intensified manhunt for children who missed the last immunization.

Weekly Trust gathered that the incidence of two missing children in Zangon-Kataf community recently compelled the Kaduna state deputy governor, Ambassador Nuhu Audu Bajoga to lead the search into some huts in southern Kaduna to find the children and have them immunized.

Acting on this mindset, a team of concerned top government officials, comprising the deputy governor, who doubles as chairman, State Task Force on Polio Eradication and Strengthening Routine Immunization, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Health, his counterpart in the Deputy Governor's office, Chairman of Zangon-Kataf Council among others and accompanied by polio officials, braved a cloudy weather to invade some targeted huts. These huts were located in Ungwan Aya and Madauchi in the local government area and the mission was simply to search and rescue the two children who missed being immunised

The targeted hamlets domiciled a little over 200 kilometres from Kaduna city, became public cynosure by the sheer number of top government officials' who thronged the peaceful rural farming communities just for the sake of polio immunization and eradication. Bajoga explained that the main reason for the visit to the communities was to determine whether the two children in the community who 'missed out' during the earlier immunization had been recovered and rightly immunized. He said this move became necessary to forestall any re-emergence of the dreaded polio virus in not only the local government area, but its subsequent spread to other parts of the state. Likening the mission to the Biblical analogy of dumping 99 sheep in search for one missing sheep, Bajoga left his comfort zone to trek long distances, through bushy farmlands and muddy footpaths to identify these two children for the sake of polio eradication. The state government mission was fruitful, as the two missing children were not only found, but had polio vaccine administered on them. Thereafter, the entourage proceeded to the palace of the leader of the community, the Agwam Bajju, Malam Nuhu Bature in Zonkwa, where they briefed him on their mission to his domain. Bajoga told the traditional ruler that "we are here today because there was a case of two missing children during the last routine polio vaccination. As the committee saddled with the responsibility of ensuring total eradication of polio in the state, we have decided to come back to ensure that these two children are located and properly vaccinated alongside others." Bajoga said the state government was looking for the children because it is only in Nigeria, Pakistan and Afghanistan in the whole world that the white-polio virus is still available, adding that government has spent so much money on polio eradication and "so, we must always go round to insist that the routine polio exercise is complete." The Agwam Bajju, Malam Nuhu Bature expressed his chieftdom's readiness to partner with the state government to rid the entire state of polio. He said he was particularly happy that the deputy governor took it upon himself to personally do on-the-spot assessment to determine the success of the programme.

“I want to sincerely thank the state government for engaging in this inspection to free our communities and the state of the polio virus. I want to assure the government of our chiefdom’s support to rid the state of polio,” Bature said. Earlier at Madauchi, during an interaction with members of the community, the deputy governor emphasized the need for the people to be patient and respond positively to government’s call to key into the polio programme for a total eradication of the virus. He appealed to the people not to nurse any negative disposition towards the programme or assume that government was disturbing them. At a Fulani family compound at Ungwan Aya, Bajoga trekked long distance to supervise the administering of the polio vaccine on Fulani children in the community and to assess their response to the programme. He was impressed with the total response of the Fulani to the routine immunization in the local government area, but was quick to insist that parents must submit to their immunization for posterity. Chairman of Zangon-Kataf Local Government, Christopher Haruna testified that efforts to totally eradicate the dreaded polio disease in all nooks and crannies of the local government and the state were yielding positive results. He pledged the council’s readiness to continually lend support to government on polio issues by organizing the people to regularly avail their children for vaccination.

Appendix 29

FG donates 10m to families of slain polio workers

Category: News

Published on Saturday, 16 February 2013 01:57

Written by Lawan Danjuma Adamu, Kano

The Federal Government has donated N1million each to families of 10 polio workers killed in Kano last week.

The donation was announced by the Minister of State for Health, Dr. Mohammed Ali Pate, who led a Federal Government delegation to the state on Thursday to condole the families of the victims of the attack. The minister said the decision to visit the state over the incident was arrived at the Federal Executive Council meeting in Abuja on Wednesday. He said families of each of the deceased will be given N1million, while survivors will receive N200, 000. Pate, who was accompanied on the visit by the Director General, National Primary Health Care Development Agency, Dr. Ado Muhammad, the Emir of Argungu Alhaji Isma’ila Mera, Emir of Dass Alhaji Usman Bilyaminu and other traditional rulers, described the killing of the health workers as “unfortunate” and sad, vowing that the attack will not deter the country

from its resolve to eradicate polio. The minister also called on security agencies to provide adequate protection to health workers.

For his part, Kano State Governor Rabi’u Musa Kwankwaso, represented by his deputy, Abdullahi Umar Ganduje, said the attack was “most unfortunate” as it came at a time when the campaign for polio eradication was at its highest peak. Ganduje, who disclosed that the state government and Dangote Foundation had donated N500, 000 each to family members of each deceased in addition to N250, 000 each to all the injured, stressed that the state government will do everything possible, in collaboration with other states, to wipe out polio in the country before the end of 2013.

Appendix 30

We are committed to polio eradication – Wada

Category: News

Published on Sunday, 22 September 2013 05:00

Written by Usman A. Bello, Lokoja

Kogi State governor, Idris Wada, has restated his government’s commitment to eradication of polio and other child-killer diseases in the state.

Wada stated this at the weekend during the 3rd quarter meeting with chairmen of local government councils, traditional and religious leaders, as well as stakeholders on polio eradication, routine immunization and primary health care in the state. The governor, who was represented by his deputy, Yomi Awoniyi, said the state had since 2009 remained polio free, adding that government was concerned about permanently eradicating all child-killer diseases in the state.

Appendix 31

Insecurity impeded fight against polio, says Kwankwaso

Category: News

Published on Sunday, 07 July 2013 05:00

Written by Nazifi Dawud Khalid, Kano

Kano State Governor Rabi’u Musa Kwankwaso has expressed determination of his government to end the deadly polio virus, saying insecurity hampered initial efforts to fight the disease.

A statement by his spokesperson Halilu Ibrahim Dantiye said the governor spoke Thursday during a video conference on “strengthening the tripartite partnership on routine immunization in Kano state, between the state government, Bill and Melinda Gates

Foundation and Dangote Foundation” at the Government House, Kano. “The issue of security is a big challenge in hitting our target but a lot has been achieved in the last few months, because we never had anything to worry in Kano”, Kwankwaso said, adding, “We shall continue to work with the security agencies and all our friends in the state to ensure Kano is properly secured so that all these good programmes and projects can continue”. He said the state government was “working with all the stakeholders to mobilize people to accept the (polio) vaccines through various initiatives such as Kwankwasiyya medical outreach services and improvement of cold chain where all the zonal cold stores were refurbished”. Similarly, the Co-Chair, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Mr. Bill Gates revealed that “renewed efforts to improve immunization campaign quality are showing positive results” and urged all stakeholders to intensify the polio eradication drive.