

**Presidential Rhetoric as Correlate of National Integration and Political Participation in  
Nigeria 1999-2023**

**Sulaimon Olukayode OLANREWAJU  
LCU/PG/002432**

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Certification

This is to certify that **Sulaimon Olukayode OLANREWAJU** with matriculation number **LCU/PG/002432** carried out this study titled **“Presidential Rhetoric as Correlate of National Integration and Political Participation in Nigeria 1999-2023”** in the Department of Mass Communication and Media Technology, Faculty of Communication and Information Science, Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo State, for the award of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) Degree in Mass Communication and that this has not been previously submitted.

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Dr. Waheed B. Busari  
(Supervisor)

Date

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Dr. Yemi Oginni  
(Head of the Department)

Date

## **Dedication**

To God Almighty, the giver of life, for the grace to commence and complete this programme.

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## **Acknowledgement**

A dissertation is a long personal journey whose end would be a mirage without a very strong support system. On this journey which started in the spring of 2021, I leaned on the facilities and the libraries of the Lead City University, Ibadan, where the research for this work was domiciled, as well as the library of the African Newspapers of Nigeria Plc, Ibadan, for data collection.

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The sacrifice of members of my family to the execution of this work cannot be quantified. I thank my wife, Odunayo, and our children immensely. I also appreciate the efforts of my parents and siblings.

Though the afore-listed institutions and individuals assisted in the process of this research work, I am solely responsible for any error found in this thesis.

## Abstract

A wide range of research has been carried out on national integration in Nigeria and other parts of the world just as there have been many studies on political rhetoric and citizens' political participation, but there has not been any significant study on the influence of presidential rhetoric on Nigeria's integration and citizens' political participation, especially since the commencement of the Fourth Republic. This study fills the gap. The study investigated the influence of presidential rhetoric on national integration and citizens' political participation severally and jointly in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023. Elaboration Likelihood Model was the theoretical basis of the study, while the explorative sequential research design was adopted for it. The population comprised of residents of six local government areas across Nigeria's six geopolitical zones as well as all the national newspapers in Nigeria. Purposive sampling technique was adopted for the selection of four Key Informant Interviewees and six newspapers for content analysis, while the 300 respondents for the survey were determined through the simple random sampling technique. The study found that the level of national integration and political participation achieved in Nigeria during the study period was directly proportional to the focus and quality of presidential rhetoric. While positive presidential rhetoric resulted in national integration and citizens' political participation, negative presidential rhetoric engendered national disintegration and citizens' political apathy. The study found that for every one-unit increase in the presidential rhetoric variable, there was an increase in peaceful co-existence by an average of 0.115. The study concluded that there is a knowledge gap among the nation's political class about the nexus between presidential rhetoric and national integration on the one hand as well as presidential rhetoric and political participation on the other hand. Therefore, to bridge this gap, there is the need for presidents-elect to undergo training in communication before assumption of office.

Key words: Nigeria, Presidential rhetoric, National integration, Political participation, Citizenship, Election

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## List of Acronyms

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
ELM	Elaboration Likelihood Model
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
NCNC	National Council of Nigerian Citizens
NEPU	Northern Elements Progressive Union
NPC	Northern People's Congress
AG	Action Group
NPN	National Party of Nigeria
UPN	Unity Party of Nigeria
NPP	Nigeria Peoples Party
GNPP	Great Nigeria Peoples Party
PRP	Peoples Redemption Party
NAP	Nigerian Advance Party
SDP	Social Democratic Party
NRC	National Republican Convention
ING	Interim National Government
APP	All People's Party
AD	Alliance for Democracy
ANPP	All Nigeria Peoples Party
ACN	Action Congress of Nigeria
PDP	People's Democratic Party

## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

Nigeria is currently facing the twin challenge of disunity and passive citizenship. Disunity in Nigeria is a manifestation of the lack of integration of the over 250 ethnic groups in the country<sup>1</sup>. From the north to the south, there are agitations for the dismemberment of the country. Boko Haram insurgents in the north are determined to excise a part of the country from the whole and have killed tens of thousands in the process<sup>2</sup>. The Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) is calling for the resuscitation of the rested Biafra Republic<sup>3</sup>. As a result of this, many lives have been lost, just as many government facilities have been destroyed. In the same vein, some Yoruba activists are angling for the establishment of Oduduwa Republic<sup>4</sup>. There is also a high level of religious intolerance;<sup>5</sup> Muslim fundamentalists in the north kill Christians under any guise, Christian bigots in the south east also unleash mayhem on Muslims at the slightest provocation<sup>5</sup>. In various parts of the country, violence against the citizens, manifesting in terrorism, banditry, kidnapping and herders/farmers' clashes, all of which push the country to the brinks, has become a given<sup>6</sup>. During electioneering, ethnic and religious sentiments hit the octave<sup>7</sup>.

The lack of integration, which is tearing the country apart, is traceable to the shoddy manner the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria was contrived and executed in 1914<sup>8</sup>. The style of the amalgamation did not give room for the unification of the ethnically and culturally different peoples of the new country<sup>9</sup>. So, rather than work together as a people, Nigerians work at cross-purposes. This has hampered growth and hindered development. Hence, Nigerians have been, right from the beginning, a people divided along the lines of ethnicity and religion<sup>10</sup>. It is also believed that Nigeria represents the amalgamation of rivals who are pitted

against one another in a bitter contest for political power and economic resources<sup>11</sup>. This is a tradition which the founding fathers of the country handed over to succeeding generations.

Citizen political participation in a democracy serves as a check on those who manage the affairs of the country<sup>12</sup>. When the citizens are uninterested in the affairs of the state, the political class rides roughshod over the people, weakens the social institutions and builds civilian oligarchies. In the pre-independence era, Nigeria's citizens were very active. In 1942, Michael Imoudu led railway workers to negotiate for Cost of Living Allowance<sup>13</sup>. In 1953, Anthony Enahoro moved the motion for the nation's independence<sup>14</sup>. Also in 1953, Funmilayo Ransome Kuti organised a conference in Abeokuta, capital of present day Ogun State, to discuss women welfare<sup>15</sup>. Even the nation's independence was not served on a silver platter; it was granted as a response to the demands and the agitations of Nigerians<sup>16</sup>. The pattern continued post-independence as Nigerians jointly and severally challenged those in government. They kept government officials on their toes, spoke against corrupt practices, demanded good governance from their leaders and performed their civic responsibilities. Notable among Nigerians who took up the task of challenging government when it went off course was the late Chief Gani Fawehinmi. The lawyer was always using the courts to check high-handedness in government. For instance, when the Federal Government expelled student leaders who organised the Ali-Must-Go protest over an increase in tuition fee in 1978, Fawehinmi took up the matter and used the court to ensure victory for the expelled students who were later readmitted<sup>17</sup>. The return to democratic government in 1979 was a result of the citizens' active political participation just as the decision of General Ibrahim Babangida to step aside as the Military President in 1993 was sequel to pressure from the citizens<sup>18</sup>. The hurried transition programme of General Abdulsalami Abubakar in 1998-1999

was also as a result of the activities of the citizens. Similarly, a number of adverse government policies were reversed due to citizens' intervention.

However, a cursory observation shows that the trend has changed lately; the interest of Nigerian citizens in civic and political activities has waned, there is a palpable disconnectedness of Nigerians from their country. Unlike in the past when unfavourable government policies were challenged and resisted, Nigerians no longer do that. In 2012, during the administration of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, Nigerians trooped to the streets to protest fuel subsidy removal, which resulted in the price of premium motor spirit (PMS) rising to N140.00 per litre from N65.00, thus forcing the government to first reduce the pump price to N97.00 and later N87.00<sup>19</sup>. But when the administration of Muhammadu Buhari raised the pump price of PMS to N145.00 per litre barely one year after his assumption of office, there were no protests<sup>20</sup>. The government further increased the price to N165.00 without any protest from Nigerians. The pump price later went to N195.00 per litre officially, and above N200.00 unofficially, yet Nigerians did not protest. Similarly, electricity tariff was upwardly reviewed a number of times despite service delivery being quite disheartening, but Nigerians did not take to the streets to protest<sup>21</sup>. So, the increases stayed.

In the same vein, data from the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) show that voting during an election, which is the hallmark of citizens' political participation, has declined over the years. In the 1999 presidential election, the number of registered voters was 57,938,945 while total number of votes cast was 30,280,052, representing 52.3 per cent voter turnout<sup>22</sup>. In the 2003 presidential election, the number of registered voters was 60,823,022 while the number of votes cast was 42,018,735, representing 69.1 per cent<sup>22</sup>. For the 2007 presidential election, 61,567,036 voters were registered, 35,397,517 participated in the election, representing 57.5 per

cent voter turnout<sup>22</sup>. In the 2011 presidential election, number of registered voters was 73,528,040, number of votes cast was 39,469,484, representing 53.68 per cent<sup>22</sup>. For the 2015 presidential election, number of registered voters was 67,422,005 while the number of votes cast was 29,432,083, representing 43.65 per cent<sup>22</sup>. During the 2019 presidential election, number of registered voters was 82,344,107 while number of votes cast was 28,614,190, representing 34.75 per cent voter turnout<sup>22</sup>. The number of registered voters for the 2023 presidential election was 93,469,008 but only 24,965,218, representing 26.7 per cent, participated in the election<sup>22</sup>.

The data showed that voter apathy has been on the rise since the 2003 presidential election, as voter turnout slid from 69.1 per cent in that year to 57.5 per cent in 2007, 53.68 per cent in 2011, 43.65 per cent in 2015, 34.75 per cent in 2019 and 26.7 per cent in 2023 despite progressive increase in voter registration. What this implies is that poor citizens' political participation is foisting a rule of the minority on the majority in Nigeria. This is contrary to the spirit of democracy. This trend has raised some questions among different sections of the country, which are worth investigating. These questions include: Why are Nigerians becoming more interested in toeing the line of disintegration and disunity rather than working together to build a country that would be home to all? Why are more Nigerians becoming less interested in issues that determine the quality of their lives?

Over the years, the government had tried a number of strategies to achieve integration of the various tribes and groups in the country. It tried brute force as was witnessed during the 30-month civil war and the clampdown on members of the IPOB, but this has not bonded the people. The government has also deployed legislation and policy formulation to bring Nigerians together through the creation of 36 states, the introduction of Federal Character Principle, the adoption of federalism, introduction of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) scheme, Unity Schools,

National Policy on Tertiary Education and the Land Use Act<sup>23</sup>. But none of these seems able to bridge the patent gap among the ethnic nationalities or ensure cohesion in the country. Likewise, in its bid to encourage political participation, the government has employed moral suasion, sensitisation, mobilisation and even coercion by sanctioning those who do not have voter cards as well as those who fail to carry out their civic responsibilities. But all of these have failed to spring many Nigerians out of their apathetic stance towards their country.

Since the different strategies deployed and policies enunciated by the government to integrate the people and spark political participation in them have failed to achieve the envisaged result, could presidential rhetoric have effected national integration and political participation? Could the proper use of Nigerian presidents' rhetoric have changed the tide in favour of the country? Or, on the contrary, has presidential rhetoric contributed to the problem of disunity and poor citizens' political participation that Nigeria is contending with? These are queries that the state of affairs in the country have further thrown up.

Rhetoric is the power of persuasion; it is the art of swaying people from one point of view to another<sup>24</sup>. Rhetoric is also the process of making ideas amenable to people and people amenable to ideas<sup>24</sup>. While rhetoric has been studied for centuries, presidential rhetoric is a recent addition to the family. It is a branch of rhetoric that focuses on presidential speeches and their effects on the society. A president's power derives from three sources: constitutional power as the head of a country, political power as the head of a political party and power to shape public opinion and public discourse as the first citizen<sup>25</sup>. This means that as a communicator, the president does not just pass information but shapes the context of events and prime how issues are viewed by the public. With the power to shape public discourse, the president can set agenda for the society and sway the citizens in a preferred direction. Presidents use this power to rouse citizens against

external aggression as Sir Winston Churchill, former British Prime Minister, did in 1940 during the World War II with the 'We Shall Fight on the Beach' speech which turned the tide in favour of Great Britain; inspire the nationals to aspire to attempt an unprecedented feat as former United States of America President, John F. Kennedy, did with the 'We Choose to go to the Moon' speech that set in motion the process that put the first man on the moon; or bring the people together after a bitter civil war as former Nigeria Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, did in 1970 with the 'Dawn of National Reconciliation' speech, to calm frayed nerves after the 30-month Nigerian civil war<sup>26,27,28</sup>. This, therefore, means that in addition to being the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, the president is also the country's Communicator-in-Chief.

As Communicators-in-Chief, how did the four Nigerian presidents who held sway between May 29, 1999 and May 28, 2023 use their rhetoric? Did they deploy their rhetoric to forge unity or to encourage animosity among the different peoples of the country? Did they set an agenda of cooperation and collaboration or an agenda of competition and division? Did they use their rhetorical power to engender citizens' political participation or to dissuade the people from civil engagements? The Rwandan example has shown that just as rhetoric could instigate neighbours to unleash terror on neighbours, the deployment of the appropriate rhetoric by the leader could facilitate unity, cooperation and political participation<sup>29</sup>. This study, therefore, seeks to investigate how the rhetoric of Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 impacted on Nigeria's integration with respect to patriotism, inter-ethnic cooperation, mutual trust, national cohesion, shared values and tolerance as well as political participation and how these could be managed to put the country on the pathway of unity, progress and national development that would enable each Nigerian national to grow to the maximum potential.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Ideally, a country's nationals form a common front by collaborating to build a virile country, cooperating to birth a strong economy and teaming up to combat common enemies. But it is doubtful if that has been the Nigerian reality in recent times. In Nigeria, national allegiance seems to be heading for the nadir, with cleavages built along cultural, ethnic, class, political and religious leanings. Nigeria is a composition of peoples from diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds lumped together in a forced union by British colonialists in 1914. Prior to independence, the merger was faced with serious challenges borne principally out of mistrust as the different nationalities engaged in a fierce superiority contest. Over a century after its birth, it is doubtful if Nigeria has grown into one country. Thus, Nigeria's narration is a seemingly endless rendition of marginalisation accusations, inter-ethnic and interreligious crises, resource control agitation, restructuring campaigns, land ownership tussles, violent struggles for political power and, lately, apathetic citizens, all of which have driven the peoples further apart. These crises are often fuelled by warped rhetoric of political leaders, even at the highest level in the land, who capitalise on the crevices and the fault lines in the country; the high level of illiteracy of the citizens, socio-economic challenges, religious leanings and ethnicity to instigate the masses to rise against one another for their own selfish interests. There is a preponderance of literature on national integration in Nigeria and other parts of the world. A lot has also been written about political rhetoric and citizens' political participation. No significant work has, however, been done in the area of measuring the influence of presidential rhetoric on Nigeria's integration and citizens' political participation, especially since the commencement of the Fourth Republic. Therefore, this study sought to find out how Nigerian presidents' rhetoric in the Fourth

Republic influenced national integration and citizens' political participation in the country between 1999 and 2023.

### **1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study**

The aim of the study was to investigate the influence of Nigerian presidents' rhetoric on national integration and citizens' political participation between 1999 and 2023.

The specific objectives of the study were to:

- i. analyse Nigerian presidents' rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 in selected newspapers;
- ii. ascertain the extent to which presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 promoted national integration in Nigeria;
- iii. ascertain the extent to which presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 enhanced citizens' political participation;
- iv. ascertain the extent to which presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 influence national integration and political participation jointly in Nigeria.
- v. determine the extent to which presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 promoted peaceful co-existence among the different ethnic groups.
- vi. analyse the extent to which presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 promoted a culture of patriotism among the citizens;

### **1.4 Research Questions**

The research questions for this study were:

1. To what extent did rhetoric of the four Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 affect national integration and political participation in Nigeria?
2. To what extent did the rhetoric of the four Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 promote national integration in Nigeria?
3. To what extent did the rhetoric of the four Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 engender political participation by Nigerian citizens between 1999 and 2023?
4. To what extent did the rhetoric of the four Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 influence national integration and political participation jointly in Nigeria?

### **1.5 Hypotheses**

This study tested the following null hypotheses:

#### **The Null Hypotheses:**

- Ho1** Presidential rhetoric did not significantly influence peaceful co-existence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023.
- Ho2** Presidential rhetoric did not significantly influence citizens' performance of civic responsibilities in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023.

### **1.6 Significance of the Study**

This study is significant for five main reasons. The first is that the study has helped to establish the relationship between presidential rhetoric and national integration as well as citizens'

political participation. An understanding of this relationship will be useful to political actors as it would help in the appropriate use of rhetoric to facilitate integration and political participation among the citizens. Nigerian presidents can use presidential rhetoric to set agenda for national priorities and goals. With the appropriate use of rhetoric, presidents can outline the vision for national integration and political participation. By doing so, they can shape public discourse and set the tone for policy discussions, which can be helpful in achieving these objectives.

Similarly, presidents and policy makers will find the study useful as it will enhance the understanding of the deployment of rhetoric for the purpose of building trust and promoting unity. A president who communicates effectively can inspire citizens to come together and work towards common goals. This is particularly important in times of crisis or conflict when national unity is critical for progress and development.

The study would help the nation's political authorities to understand how rhetoric can be used to mobilise support for key policies and initiatives. By appropriately deploying rhetoric, a president can rally public support and generate momentum for change. In the same vein, policy makers will find the study useful as it will enhance the understanding of both the intended and unintended ends of communication, thereby providing the needed guidance on the appropriate deployment of communication.

In addition, communication and political scholars will find the study useful in exploring further research areas in political rhetoric, national integration and political participation. Finally, the study will help members of the public to sense and probably resist it when political actors decide to set citizens against one another by exploring ethnic and religious differences for personal gains.

### **1.7 Scope of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to investigate the influence of Nigerian presidents' rhetoric on the country's integration and citizens' political participation between 1999 and 2023. This is important because while a lot of work has been done in the area of political rhetoric and national integration as well as political participation, no significant study has been carried out on the influence of presidential rhetoric on national integration and political participation in Nigeria.

Nigeria had four presidents between May 29, 1999 and May 28, 2023. These are Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999 to 2007; Umaru Yar'Adua, 2007 to 2010; Goodluck Jonathan, 2010 to 2015, and Muhammadu Buhari, 2015 to 2023. The rhetoric of these presidents was analysed for this study.

The study covered the whole of Nigeria. The six geo-political zones in the country were used to represent the whole nation. One local government from each of the zones, for the purpose of this study, represented the zone. Therefore, the sample size for this study was the totality of the population of the six selected local governments from the country's six geo-political zones. For the South West geo-political zone, the local government used was Ibadan South West Local Government. For North Central geo-political zone, it was Ilorin West Local Government Area. For North-West, it was Kaduna North Local Government Area. In the North East geo-political zone, it was Yola North Local Government Area. For the South East geo-political zone, it was Owerri Municipal Local Government; and for the South-South geo-political zone, it was Port Harcourt Local Government Area.

### **1.8 Limitation of the Study**

This study has one major limitation, which is the sample size. The country is divided into six geo-political zones with 774 local government areas out of which six, representing one from

each geo-political zone, were considered for this study. The sample would have been more representative if one local government from each of the 36 states had been used for this study since sample size plays a significant role in the precision of an outcome. Limiting the sample size to six was a result of high level of insecurity in the country at the time of this study. However, this limitation did not in any way invalidate the findings of this study.

### **1.9 Operational Definition of Terms**

**Civic Responsibility:** This term refers to the obligations of citizens to their country.

**Culture of Patriotism:** This is a situation in which citizens of a country place premium on issues that have to do with their country. This is when citizens put matters of national interest above matters of personal or regional interest. It is a situation in which citizens make issues that have to do with their country a priority. It is when citizens are willing to defend their country even with their own lives.

**Ethnicity:** This is a state of taking pride in one's tribal origin and subjugating national interests to tribal considerations.

**Illiteracy:** This is a state of having limited or no exposure to formal education which results in the inability to read or write.

**National Cohesion:** This is a situation in which members of different ethnic and religious affiliations in a country, such as Nigeria, are united by the vision of making their country stronger and better.

**National Election:** This is an election into various positions at the state and national levels in a country. Between 1999 and 2023, there were series of national elections such as the presidential

and National Assembly elections as well as the governorship and state houses of assembly elections which held every four years.

**National Integration:** This is the strategy adopted and deployed by the political leadership in Nigeria for the purpose of ensuring cohesion and unity among the various peoples in the country.

**Political Elite:** In this study, this phrase is used to refer to the president, state governors, federal legislators or the chairmen of national political parties in Nigeria.

**Political Participation:** In this study, the term is used to mean the different ways through which citizens partake in politics, governance or protests across the length and breadth of Nigeria.

**Poverty:** This is a state of any citizen not having enough financial resources to meet personal and family needs.

**Presidential Rhetoric:** As used in this study, presidential rhetoric refers to the words, innuendos, gestures, styles, songs, proverbs and other terms used by Nigerian presidents to define the people's reality with a view to persuading them.

**Rhetoric:** In this study, rhetoric refers to the style used by speakers to persuade their listeners.

**Religion:** In this study, this is used to refer to Christianity, Islam or traditional worship as practised by Nigerians.

**Voter Apathy:** This is a state of lack of interest in using the ballot box to determine the emergence of political leadership in Nigeria.

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## **Chapter Two Literature Review**

This chapter features conceptual, theoretical and empirical basis for the entire study. The chapter also highlights literature to support the study. Thus, the chapter covers the following:

2.1. Conceptual Framework

2.2. Theoretical Framework

2.3. Review of Empirical Study

2.4. Conceptual Model

2.5 Summary of Gap in Literature Review

### **2.1 Conceptual Framework**

#### **2.1.1 Presidential Rhetoric**

Presidential rhetoric is the study of how presidents or heads of states use the bully pulpit to shape opinions and persuade members of the public to support a cause or depart from a course<sup>1</sup>. It is a study of how presidents shape the people's reality<sup>2</sup>. It is the study of how presidents use the persuasive powers to get citizens to toe a particular line<sup>2</sup>. It is also about how presidents use speeches to gain public support for a vision<sup>3</sup>. By virtue of the occupied position, whatever presidents talk about becomes a national issue. That means presidents confer status on issues; it also means that presidents can prime the populace concerning certain issues.

When on Sunday, March 29, 2020, President Muhammadu Buhari addressed the nation on Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) and what the government was doing to curb its spread,

the narrative about the disease changed as it gained national traction<sup>4</sup>. COVID-19 then became the major issue discussed across the length and breadth of Nigeria. From that point on, there was hardly anyone in the country who did not know about the disease. Although the disease had been on in other parts of the world since December 2019, with Nigeria recording its first case on February 27, 2020, the people's interest in the disease was minimal<sup>5,6</sup>. But consequent on the presidential address, not only did Nigerians become more conscious of the pandemic, they also started observing hygienic practices in accordance with the message of the president<sup>6</sup>. This speaks to the power of the President to shape national discourse as well as the power to prime issues.

But priming issues or conferring status on discourses is not synonymous with persuading the populace to take a particular path. Shortly after winning the 2011 presidential election, Dr Goodluck Jonathan began the move to put an end to the fuel subsidy regime which was costing the country a fortune<sup>7</sup>. The president spoke about the benefits the country would derive from stopping the subsidy. Others, including the then Minister of Finance and Coordinating Minister of the Economy, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, as well as the Governor of Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Mallam Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, provided the economic basis for ending the regime. But despite all that the president did, the public was not swayed<sup>8</sup>. So, when the government announced the discontinuation of the subsidy regime on January 1, 2012, the people rose against it and the nation was grounded for over a week<sup>9</sup>. The nation knew no respite until the decision was reversed<sup>10</sup>. So, while presidents' communications enjoy prominence and the people pay attention to them, it is not every statement they make that is rhetoric because rhetoric is technical and its deployment requires tact.

Rhetoric was invented in Syracuse, Sicily<sup>11</sup>. Its emergence in the 5BC was a consequence of the need of returning exiles, whose properties had been appropriated during the reign of Thrasybulus, to claim the seized possessions. Since many of the returnees lacked the documentary evidence to substantiate the claim to those assets, they had to resort to oral presentations to convince the jury. Consequently, the expertise of philosophers such as Empedocles, Corax, Tisias and Gorgias was required to coach the claimant on how to make convincing presentations to the court. Corax was especially useful in this respect due to the development of a structure of argument to persuade the jury. The presentation by the claimant was divided into proem, narration, statement of arguments, refutation of opposing arguments, and summary. This is what later developed into rhetoric<sup>11</sup>.

So, rhetoric was designed originally as a tool for persuasion, hence the appropriateness of the definition of the term as the power to discover all available means of persuasion<sup>12</sup>. This definition is in tandem with that which describes it as a speech designed to persuade<sup>13</sup>. It has also been defined as the art of winning the soul by discourse<sup>13</sup>. Rhetoric is also the means of relating reason to imagination for the better moving of the will<sup>13</sup>. In addition, rhetoric is a tool for influencing conduct, it is an acquired competency, a manner of thinking that invents possibilities for persuasion, conviction, action, and judgments. It serves four purposes which are to improve knowledge, satisfy the imagination, appeal to passion, and influence the will<sup>14</sup>. So, the ultimate aim of rhetoric is persuasion.

Language is the tool of rhetoric because of its malleability. Language is socially constructed and is dependent on the meaning attributed to it. Hence, there is a symbiotic relationship between language and its users as the two influence each other<sup>15</sup>. Therefore, a speaker is always on a sojourn to constructing a new world with the intent of persuading the audience to share a

perspective. That is why rhetoric is defined as a way of changing reality, not through the application of direct energy to objects, but as a result of the creation of conversations that change reality through the mediation of thoughts and deeds<sup>16</sup>. So, the essence of rhetoric is to change the reality of the audience from what it came to the communication engagement with to that of the speaker.

But while the mission of the rhetorician is the persuasion of the audience, the decision to either have a shift of conviction or hold on to the original conviction is entirely that of the audience. Persuading an individual is achieved by arousing in the person a willing leaning in the direction of a certain course of action. To achieve persuasion, the speech or the text should, on its own, evoke an arousal. If it achieves that, the persuasion exercise is seen as successful but if the outcome is contrary, then the exercise has failed. The rhetorician must leave the audience with the choice to either be persuaded or remain as it was before the commencement of the communication engagement. Persuasion implies the operation of free choice. Rhetoric becomes coercive rather than persuasive when it depends on the seat of the pants rather than the seat of the intellect<sup>17</sup>. This is because achieving persuasion through rhetoric is an intellectual exercise and must remain so. Rhetoric becomes less of persuasion and more of coercion if the viable alternatives open to the receivers of the communication are limited. The liberty to choose is the key concept of rhetoric; rhetoric begins to wane when choices are arbitrarily eliminated.

While the ideal is that a rhetorician ought to leave the choice of what it makes of a presentation to an audience, in reality, it is doubtful if a rhetorician wants to leave the audience with anything other than a Hobson's choice about the suitability of the offer being made to it. The need to persuade already implies the existence of alternatives. The rhetorician knows this as much as the audience. The existence of alternatives is also suggestive of the need for a choice to be made. It

is, therefore, not in the place of a rhetorician to naturally leave the audience with a choice other than the one being presented to it. Will a politician canvassing for votes draw attention of the electorate to the good qualities of co-contestants so as to give the electorate a choice? Will a lawyer addressing a court point to the edge of the other side so as to give the court a chance to rule against a client? Or will an advertiser comment on the quality of other competing brands with a view to giving the buying public an alternative? Although a rhetorician must respect the right of the audience to choose one way or the other, it is impractical to expect a rhetorician to refrain from attempting to interfere with that right. The need to make the audience think of the speaker's option as the only viable one is what leads to an overload of information about a particular issue. This is why agenda is set. This is why the audience is primed and this is why framing is embraced by speakers. What could be done to mitigate the manipulation of the audience by rhetoricians is to have an enlightened audience. This is the rationale behind media education for citizens.

Rhetoric is also seen as symbolism<sup>18</sup>. Hence, rhetoric is defined as the transformation of language into a symbolic instrument<sup>18</sup>. It is the engagement of two sets of people in an exchange of symbols to achieve an end. Rhetoric is communication whose target is the coordination of social action<sup>13</sup>. For this reason, rhetorical communication is explicitly pragmatic. Its goal is to influence human choices on specific matters that require immediate attention. Rhetoric is the study of the use of language as well as other symbols to shift human activities in a predetermined direction<sup>15</sup>. It is a study which enables people to exercise control over their symbolic activity. It is also the art of linguistically or symbolically creating prominence<sup>18</sup>. It is similarly defined as the study of the deployment of human symbol to influence beliefs, change attitude and moderate or

modify behaviour<sup>18</sup>. Hence, it is said that all human artifacts are linguistic and rhetorical entities because they are human utterances.

What the thoughts presented above fail to show is the essence of the symbolism of rhetoric. What purpose is the symbol created by rhetoric supposed to serve? Is it to reinforce a belief or sway the audience? If rhetoric is the deployment of language as well as other symbols to shift human activities in a predetermined direction, what is the purpose of that shift? Is it not to ensure a change in perspective? If the rationale behind the symbolism that is created by rhetoric is to 'shift' the audience, it is nothing other than persuasion.

While some writers present rhetoric as the creation of reality, others see it as the interpretation of reality. They say the primary function of rhetoric is to interpret meaning to both the speaker and the audience<sup>16</sup>. They argue that meaning is made known through the interpretation of reality. They posit further that rhetoric is the process of revealing meaning, also arguing that rhetoric, as pragmatic communication, is more concerned with the contemporary audiences and specific questions than with universal audiences and general questions<sup>16</sup>. Rhetoric is also described as the discipline which blurs cultural and disciplinary boundaries in order to enable better communication irrespective of the location and the situation<sup>15</sup>. This is probably the basis for the description of rhetoric as the art of reconciling individual and systemic goals and constraints.<sup>19</sup>

Rhetoric is a strategic use of communication, oral or written, to achieve specific goals. But the end to which rhetoric is deployed is determined by the user, who specifies the goal at any point in time. This is why rhetoric is sometimes described as a means of perpetuating error and deceit. However, that may be regarded as a faulty generalisation because rhetoric is also a powerful

instrument which could be deployed by a well-meaning individual to achieve an honest end. So, in reality, rhetoric is not better than a puppet in the hands of a puppeteer.

Although different writers have attempted to define rhetoric differently, one common thread that runs through the definitions is that rhetoric is an attempt by speakers or writers to create a new reality which they want their audience to accept. Therefore, irrespective of the positions held by writers, rhetoric is still very close to the purpose it served when it was conceived in Sicily. But the success or otherwise recorded by those who use rhetoric in their attempt to sway their listeners is a function of their dexterity in the deployment of the strategy. There are three main strategies for deploying rhetoric to achieve an end. The three are ethos, pathos and logos<sup>20</sup>. Every communicator comes into the communication process with a reputation which impacts on the process and either aids or impedes believability. This is ethos<sup>21</sup>. Ethos is the reputation, attribute or characteristics of a speaker that may accelerate or decelerate believability. A speaker who wishes to persuade discrete groups in a country like Nigeria to imbibe national integration or embrace citizen participation will have the reputation either as a help or a hindrance. For someone who has earned the respect of the people over the years and has always kept promises, persuading people to support the vision may not be difficult. But for anyone whose reputation is questionable, achieving persuasion will be a tough job.

A few months after taking over power in a palace coup on August 27, 1985, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida announced a plan to return the country to civil rule by 1990<sup>22</sup>. The administration then went ahead to set up a 17-man Political Bureau with the responsibility to recommend a viable transition programme after interfacing with Nigerians<sup>23</sup>. It also set up a 9-member National Electoral Commission (NEC) to midwife the electoral process<sup>22</sup>. But in 1987, the Military President announced a shift of the handover date from 1990 to 1992<sup>24</sup>. To convince

Nigerians that the administration was serious about the transition programme, the government held a constituent assembly election in 1988<sup>24</sup>. In 1989, the government dissolved the Armed Forces Ruling Council, the highest organ of government, and replaced it with the National Defence and Security Council, a new body made of both military personnel and civilians<sup>22</sup>.

After due diligence, NEC recommended six political associations for registration but the military government refused to recognise the organisations, instead it established two political parties, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC) in December 1989<sup>22</sup>. The government also announced the banning of some categories of politicians, saying it wanted the emergence of a new breed of politicians. In 1991, local government elections were held all over the country<sup>22</sup> while state governorship and national assembly elections were held in 1992<sup>22</sup>. Later that year, the two parties held their primary election, but the military government cancelled it and banned those who participated in the primary elections, including General Sheu Yar'Adua, a former Chief of General Staff<sup>24</sup>. The government later asked the two parties to conduct fresh primary elections. The primaries that were conducted produced Chief Moshood Abiola, a business magnate, as the standard bearer of the SDP, while Alhaji Bashir Tofa, a businessman from Kano State, was elected as the NRC presidential candidate. This set the stage for the presidential election which was slated for June 12, 1993<sup>22</sup>.

Everything seemed set for the election until two nights before the election. On Thursday, June 10, 1993, an Abuja High Court, presided over by Justice Bassey Ikpeme, granted the request of the Association for Better Nigeria (ABN), a special purpose organisation set up deliberately by some people to frustrate the transition programme, and ruled that the presidential election should not hold as scheduled<sup>25</sup>. This is despite the fact that Decree 13 of 1993 had ousted courts' jurisdiction with regard to stopping the transition to civil rule programme<sup>22</sup>. The NEC, however,

went ahead with the election. By June 14, 1993, the state by state announcement of results of the election began with Chief Abiola clearly in the lead<sup>25</sup>. But on June 16, 1993, NEC stopped the release of the election result because the ABN had secured an injunction from another Abuja High Court restraining it from announcing the results<sup>22</sup>. On June 21, 1993, the government announced the annulment of the election through an unsigned statement issued by the office of Nduka Irabor, the Chief Press Secretary to Vice President Augustus Aikhomu<sup>25</sup>.

A few days later, the Military President, Ibrahim Babangida, in an attempt to justify the annulment during a nationwide broadcast, hinged the decision on the excessive use of money for the election by the two presidential candidates as well as the failure of the judiciary to live up to its bidding as the last hope of the common man<sup>22</sup>. The General then announced that the government had decided to reconstitute the National Electoral Commission (NEC), which would organise another presidential election by the end of July so that the August 27, 1993 already set for the handing over of governance to a democratically elected government would not be violated<sup>25</sup>.

Nigerians rejected the offer and the people trooped out in protest, asking the government to announce the SDP candidate as the winner of the election<sup>22</sup>. The pressure was so much that General Babangida had to hurriedly put in place an interim government headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan before bowing out of government on August 27, 1993<sup>22</sup>. The people did not believe that General Babangida would organise an acceptable election because of the perception as someone who could not keep the promise made to the people. This position was hinged on the fact that the administration shifted the transition programme several times yet still aborted the completion of what is generally regarded as the best election ever conducted in Nigeria's electoral history.

This lends credence to the fact that a person's reputation can either facilitate or hinder believability as rhetoric cannot accomplish its purpose wherever believability is an issue. Ethos has three features; *phronesis*, *arête* and *eunoia*.<sup>21</sup>

*Phronesis* is a Greek word which means practical wisdom<sup>21</sup>. It is putting knowledge to work. *Phronesis* does not come just from the acquisition of knowledge but from experience. This is inclusive of particular facts which may be beyond the ken of people who do not have the practical experience. Another characteristic of *phronesis* is virtue<sup>21</sup>. Therefore, knowledge and skills, if devoid of *phronesis*, would always result in unintended and unsatisfactory end. What makes knowledge and skills profitable, not just to the knowledgeable, but the society as a whole, is the inclusion of *phronesis*<sup>21</sup>. Therefore, *phronesis* is the virtue of intelligence, reasonableness and morality. As a consequence, all virtuousness derives from *phronesis*. So, the strength of *phronesis* lies in the fact that wisdom must be deployed deliberately, since this aids the believability of the communication exercise<sup>21</sup>.

*Arête* is the combination of inner excellence and outward excellence<sup>26</sup>. It is a word that refers to the stability of an individual. It is the quality of being consistent privately and publicly. It is not having dual personality, manifesting certain character at one point and a different one at another time. This is why *arête* is regarded as a state of moral excellence. *Arête* is superior to courage, temperance, justice, and other virtues<sup>21</sup>. Imbibing *arête* makes the whole man; it is a quality that prepares the individual for leadership in all spheres of life<sup>26</sup>.

*Eunoia* is the goodwill a speaker evokes that facilitates bonding with the audience and enhances the acceptance of his speech<sup>27</sup>. If the aura a speaker generates is acceptable to the audience, it will be easy for the speech to find acceptance with members of the audience because trust will be

built between the speaker and the audience. But if a speaker's aura is repulsive, pushing the message to the audience will be herculean because persuasion is hindered by distrust.

The character of the rhetorician, which facilitates the persuasion of the audience, is a combination of competence in the subject matter, wisdom, excellence and goodwill. All of these enhance credibility and integrity, which make the message believable. *Pathos*, the Greek word for suffering or experience, is an emotional appeal used by a speaker to persuade the audience<sup>20</sup>. *Pathos* is the ability to get the audience into an emotional frame of mind that makes it less critical of what the speaker says<sup>21</sup>. By successfully putting the audience into an emotional state which makes it less critical of the speech, the speaker has been able to put the audience in a state where it can no longer judge the speech dispassionately, a state which makes it easy to be swayed in favour of the speaker<sup>27</sup>. Emotions are critical in the decision-making process because they have specific causes and effects. Therefore, a speaker must understand the emotions of the audience so that he can explore this knowledge to his advantage while trying to precipitate a shift in perspective.

*Pathos* has three segments; the audience's frame of mind, the variation of emotion among members of the audience as well as the influence of the speaker on the emotions of the audience<sup>27</sup>. The last is regarded as the *raison d'être* of *pathos*. It is emotion that propels people to react to appeals based on the situation they find themselves. Therefore, belief and persuasion are dependent on emotional appeal. The human imagination and will are modulated by emotional appeal. Hence, most decisions are a product of unconscious actions. While the intellect is used in processing complex issues, the decision-making exercise is mainly an emotional one. So, if the rhetorician can get to the heart of the audience's emotion, achieving persuasion becomes a given.

*Pathos* has to do with making emotional connection with the audience<sup>20</sup>. This is different from touching base with the audience or speaking their language; it is touching the audience's core, touching the listener's heart and achieving communion. *Pathos* is making emotional appeal to the listener. It is the heart of the speaker touching the hearts of the listeners. Ideally, the head (intellect) should rule over the heart (emotion), but in reality that is not always the situation. More often than not, the head submits to the heart. This is because passion moves more than reason and love motivates better than facts. This explains why people engage in impulsive purchase. This is also the rationale behind higher sales whenever there is a sales promotion. Sales promotions do not appeal to reason but emotions. So, a successful appeal to emotion will ensure a buy-in by the audience. Hence, it is said that reason is a slave of passion<sup>28</sup>. This is because passion (or emotion) holds the lever to motivating people to action, not reason.

Emotions propel men to review their positions because emotions have specific causes and effects. Having an understanding of the emotions which men display and the effects of those emotions will position a speaker to achieve persuasion. So, *pathos* is working on the emotions of the audience to ensure the acceptance of the speaker's position. A speaker who successfully arrests the emotion of the audience will be able to achieve a shift in the perspective of the audience.

On August 28, 1963, during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, organised by civil rights leaders to press for racial equality in the United States of America, civil rights activist and Baptist Church pastor, Dr Martin Luther King Jr, delivered a speech entitled 'I Have a Dream'<sup>29</sup>. The speech, which stirred King's audience to demand for equality and freedom without resorting to violence, has become one of the most famous speeches in the world. The power of the speech was in the use of *pathos*. King did not speak above his audience; neither was any attempt made to teach the listeners. King appealed to the emotions, which made possible the meeting of the

hearts of both the speaker and the audience. Luther King Jr used the statement, *I have a dream*, eight times in the speech and that resonated with the audience. Luther King Jr spoke about the failure of the system to give effect to the Emancipation Proclamation 100 years after it was pronounced and the audience was able to connect with the speaker. Dr King spoke about their struggles as African-Americans and the people could connect with that. The clergy spoke about a day in the future when his children would not be assessed based on their complexion but their character and the audience could identify with that. So, having connected with the audience emotionally, the speaker was able to move them to action. This was the reason behind the success of not just the speech but the march as the government passed the Civil Rights Act in 1964<sup>29</sup>.

*Logos* is a Greek term which means “the word.” It is also used to refer to logic, the underlying point that makes sense or meaning behind everything else. As a tool of persuasion, it means the deployment of logic to achieve a shift in perspective<sup>16</sup>. Logic is concerned with reasoning to reach scientific certainty<sup>16</sup>. In essence, *logos* is the facts and figures made available to the audience with a view to persuading it to have a mind shift<sup>20</sup>. Persuasion is much easier to achieve when presentation is backed with convincing facts. Although Sophists prefer to refer to *logos* as a discourse, others consider it to be a reasoned discourse<sup>18</sup>. It is a reasoned discourse because it is not just the facts and figures presented that precipitate the shift in perspective; rather it is the supportive argument<sup>18</sup>. It is for this reason that *logos* is considered by some as the most important means of persuasion<sup>19</sup>.

This belief is premised on the assumption that humans are fundamentally reasonable and are capable of making decisions based on what is sensible because logic is concerned with reasoning to reach scientific certainty. *Logos* is considered as something more refined than the capacity to

make a presentation, it is a tool that enables a person to perceive something and communicate same with clarity to others with the deployment of reasoned discourse<sup>20</sup>. With *logos*, a speaker is able to make clear the difference between something that is advantageous and that which is harmful. With the use of *logos*, a presenter is also able to draw a line between the desirable and the detestable. Therefore, *logos* is considered to be critical in the persuasion process. Thus, *logos* is seen as the only legitimate means of persuasion<sup>20</sup>. This submission is based on the fact that *logos* is founded on empirical facts and not mere emotion or impression<sup>20</sup>.

*Logos* is an appeal to reason, not a retreat to emotion or a search for refuge in character. It is a call for dispassionate judgment of issues based on available facts. It is a strategy used in swaying an audience one way or the other through the use of logic, facts and data. As a result of its logicity, *logos* is the speaker's premise. Therefore, *logos* is the best means for a rational speaker to persuade a rational audience<sup>20</sup>. Speakers who deploy *logos* to sway their audiences rely on reasoning to achieve their aim. By employing *logos* to achieve persuasion what a speaker is doing is forcing the audience to reason, think and reflect before coming to a conclusion. The reasoning which *logos* forces audiences to undertake is categorised into two: inductive and deductive<sup>19</sup>.

Inductive reasoning is a progression from particulars to a general<sup>30</sup>. It is also a process through which basic knowledge is transformed to more complex concepts<sup>31</sup>. Many writers believe that it is natural for man to reason inductively<sup>32</sup>. This is hinged on the premise that belief is a product of observation. This is also the foundation for the causal relations theory, which states that effect is the consequence of a cause<sup>33</sup>. Some writers are of the opinion that causal relations are not arrived at by reason but through induction. They also argue further that it might be impossible to determine the actual effect by reasoning about the cause, premising this on the possibility of

multiple effects from a cause because it is only through the observance of occurrences of the causal relation that this might be discovered<sup>33</sup>.

Inductive reasoning is the transition from the known to the unknown, from facts observed to facts unobserved<sup>30</sup>. In the case of inductive reasoning, movement is from human experience to concepts<sup>33</sup>. But human experience is inevitably individual, whereas concepts are universal. An induction can be held to have gone through all particular instances, not as a result of actually enumerating every instance but because the enumeration has been done potentially through the acquisition of the cognition of the rationale behind the particulars being enumerated<sup>33</sup>. However, some writers do not subscribe to the view of inductive reasoning being a progression to generalisation from observation. They are of the view that the first step in the process of induction should be the description of the requirements for producing impeccable facts<sup>32</sup>. This is to be followed by generalisation of axioms from the available facts<sup>32</sup>. Then additional facts should be gathered for the establishments of new axioms. The process is repeated to generate fact-backed new corpus of knowledge<sup>32</sup>. The import of this is that knowledge cannot be built on hunches and feelings but on undeniable facts and research-based axioms. Knowledge progresses in a just scale of ascent, and by successive steps not interrupted or broken, there is a rise from particulars to lesser axioms; and then to middle axioms, one above the other; and last of all to the most general<sup>33</sup>.

There are eight types of inductive reasoning<sup>34</sup>. The first is generalisation. This is arriving at a conclusion about the population from a provided premise by a sample<sup>35</sup>. The next one is statistical syllogism, which is a progression from a generalisation to a conclusion about an individual<sup>34</sup>. There is also simple induction, which is reaching a conclusion about another individual from a premise about a sample group<sup>34</sup>. Analogical inference is the process of

observing the shared properties of two or more samples, and consequently reaching a conclusion that they also share some other similarities<sup>35</sup>. Causal inference is drawing a conclusion about a relationship between two samples as a result of the occurrence of an effect<sup>35</sup>. A prediction is reaching a conclusion about a future based on a past sample<sup>35</sup>. Bayesian inference refers to the change in belief which occurs in the face of new realities<sup>35</sup>. Inductive inference is a prediction based on a set of past observations<sup>34</sup>.

Also, five principles of reasoning on which causation may be established have been identified<sup>32</sup>. The first is the Method Agreement. This is used when there is a case of two or more instances of the phenomenon being investigated having only one circumstance in common, usually the cause or effect of the phenomenon<sup>32</sup>. The second principle, known as the Method of Difference, is a situation in which the phenomenon being investigated occurs, and an instance in which it does not occur, have every circumstance in common with the exception of one, and that one occurring only in the former, the circumstance in which alone the two instances differ is the effect or the cause, or a necessary part of the cause, of the phenomenon<sup>32</sup>. The third principle occurs when there are two or more instances in which the phenomenon occurs having only one circumstance in common, while two or more instances in which it does not occur have nothing in common except the absence of that circumstance<sup>34</sup>. The fourth principle, known as Elimination Process, is a situation in which subduct from any phenomenon such as is known by previous inductions to be the effect of certain antecedents, and the residue of the phenomenon is the effect of the remaining antecedents<sup>34</sup>. The fifth principle occurs in a situation in which a phenomenon varies in any manner whenever another phenomenon varies in some particular manner. This is said to be either a cause or an effect of that phenomenon, or is connected with it through some fact of causation<sup>34</sup>.

There exist two major kinds of induction; induction proper and the inductive syllogism<sup>35</sup>. Induction proper is the process of intuitive discernment which results in abstraction of necessary concepts, definitions, essences, necessary attributes, first principles, natural facts, and moral principles<sup>35</sup>. Inductive syllogism is the process of inference, the process of turning empirical observations into a syllogism and using the syllogism to produce a universal conclusion<sup>35</sup>. The second type of reasoning is deductive reasoning, which is defined as a system of arriving at a particular conclusion from general assumptions<sup>32</sup>. It is a reasoning system that seeks to validate or invalidate a claim or claims. This is what is described as the descending process, a journey from general principles to consequences of such principles<sup>32</sup>. But there are those who believe that deductive reasoning is a priori method, a system in which knowledge is derived from theoretical deduction rather than from observation<sup>34</sup>. It is also argued that it is a process of reasoning from one or more premises to reach a logically certain conclusion<sup>35</sup>. Hence, the conclusion of deductive reasoning is always logical. Deductive reasoning starts with a theory and leads to a new hypothesis. This hypothesis is put to test by confronting it with observations that either lead to a confirmation or a rejection of the hypothesis. While deductive reasoning is going from general to the particular, it reflects the causal relationship between the particular<sup>35</sup>.

Originally, there was a four-step process for deductive reasoning<sup>36</sup>. These are observation and description of the phenomenon, formulation of a hypothesis to explain the causal relationship between the variables, testing the hypothesis by analyzing the results and establishing a theory based on the result<sup>36</sup>. However, this has been modified to a six-step process<sup>35</sup>. The six steps are generation of a theory, which is the starting point; formulating the hypothesis, which is derived from the theory; this step is followed by the data collection stage; the next step is that of analysis

and findings; the fifth step is confirming or rejecting the hypothesis and finally the revision of the theory<sup>35</sup>.

There are four types of deductive argument which are law of detachment, law of contrapositive, hypothetical syllogism and disjunctive syllogism<sup>33</sup>. Law of detachment is the situation in which a conclusion is deduced from a statement and a hypothesis<sup>33</sup>. Law of contrapositive is a conditional reasoning in which the validity of the conclusion is determined by the validity of the hypothesis; if the conclusion is false, the hypothesis is not true<sup>34</sup>. Hypothetical syllogism comes into play when a conclusion is reached through the combination of the hypothesis of one conditional statement with the conclusion of another conditional statement. Disjunctive syllogism is a conclusion with a conditional statement as one of its premises<sup>35</sup>.

Rhetoric rests on five canons, which are invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery<sup>37</sup>. Invention is from the Greek word, *Inventio*, which is defined as the investigation of the possible means by which proofs of an argument could be established<sup>37</sup>. The term is also defined as a systematic search for facts to buttress an argument and the first step in developing an effective argument, thus making it the most important of the canons of rhetoric<sup>39</sup>. Invention is the construction of an argument relevant to the purpose of a discourse. Therefore, the persuasive strength of a discourse or speech lies in its invention<sup>37</sup>.

The sources of invention come from pools of information known as 'topoi' in Greek or loci in Latin<sup>37</sup>. However, it is not enough for a rhetorician to know the topoi or the loci from where to source the invention; there is still the need for a procedure to arrive at the facts on which the arguments will be based. This procedure is known as stasis, which is the system deployed by a speaker to pose questions with a view to clarifying the main issues and persuasive points of a

speech or debate<sup>38</sup>. The advantages of stasis for the rhetorician include being able to simplify thinking about the subject of discussion, helping to reflect on the assumption and values of the audience and guiding towards building an effective argument<sup>38</sup>. Therefore, the strength of invention is in the integrity and breadth of the source, finding credible sources which are respected by the audience is fundamental to achieving persuasion<sup>38</sup>.

The second canon is arrangement, which is how a rhetorician is expected to arrange a speech to achieve persuasion<sup>40</sup>. In Greek and Roman oration, the arrangement of the speech has five segments. The first is *exordium* or introduction, which is where the speaker gives the purpose of the speech. The next one is *narratio*, where the speaker gives an overview of the speech. The speaker then goes to the next segment, which is *partitio*, the outline of the speech. This is followed by *confirmatio*, at this stage the speaker comes up with supporting facts for the arguments. Then comes the *refutatio*, where counter-arguments are refuted. Then finally, the *peroratio*, the conclusion which sums up all the claims brought forward by the speaker. The purpose of the arrangement is to arrest attention of the audience<sup>40</sup>.

To draw almost 100 per cent attention from the audience, the speaker has to adopt a system in arranging the main points of his argument. These are; chronological order, geographical, cause and effect, pro-con, and problem-solution<sup>40</sup>. If a speech has to do with the process of time, going from one point in time to another, it is best to arrange the main points in chronological order to make it easy for the audience to follow. Chronological order becomes useful in biographical communications. For a speech that deals with spatial differences, it is best to adopt the geographical order. Cause-effect is used for speeches that address process; something being the consequence of another. Pro-con is the inverse of cause-effect in that it goes from the consequence to the cause. Problem-solution is a speech arrangement in which the speaker lays

out the problem and later proffers solution<sup>39</sup>. It is arrangement that gives life to speech and writing. The onus is on the speaker to choose the arrangement that is most suitable for the specific communication engagement so as to ‘bring to life’ his expression<sup>39</sup>.

The third is style, which has its root in the Latin term, *ornare*, meaning to equip or supply<sup>38</sup>. Style is what distinguishes a speaker or writer from others. Even when speakers and writers rely on the same loci or *topoi* to source their materials, and use the same pattern of arrangement, they are distinguished by their different styles because style is what makes a man<sup>40</sup>. Style is the distinctive manner a speaker uses to guide his audience through a speech and makes transitions between different items gathered through invention and then structured through arrangement<sup>39</sup>. The deployment of figures of speech can give uniqueness to a speaker’s style. Some of the figures of speech used for this purpose are parallelism, antithesis, alliteration, epistrophe and repetition. The deployment of tropes, which convey the correct meaning of words, such as metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, irony, simile, personification, hyperbole, oxymoron and paradox, is also helpful<sup>39</sup>. The style of a writer goes a long way in defining him because it is the style which determines the choice of words, the preference for arrangement and other things. So, the style is what gives the speech a perspective and enhances its believability or otherwise<sup>39</sup>.

Memory, which is the fourth canon, is the ability to internalise a text and reproduce same with such competence that makes it look natural<sup>40</sup>. This is one of the features that distinguish great speakers from ordinary ones. Memory has two benefits. The first is that internalising a speech increases the confidence level of a speaker. The second is that listening to a speech that seems to come from the heart rather than from a prepared speech or aided by a teleprompter facilitates conviction of the audience<sup>40</sup>. One of the methods adopted by speakers to aid memory is mnemonics, which is derived from the Greek word *Mnemosyne*, referring to the ancient Greek

goddess of memory<sup>37</sup>. Mnemonics is an aid that assists in remembering specific information by using a process, strategy, or technique<sup>37</sup>. It is also described as a technique or device that serves to improve the storage of new information and the recall of such information from the memory. Mnemonic devices are classified into three viz; the loci method, the peg-word method and the keyword method<sup>37</sup>.

There are nine basic mnemonic types which are music, name, expression/word, model, ode/rhyme, note organisation, image, connection, and spelling mnemonics<sup>40</sup>. Music mnemonic is making songs out of pieces of information to ensure easy recall of such information when required to do so. Name mnemonic is making use of the first letter of each word to form a body of information to create a name which will facilitate easy recall of the information. Word mnemonic is arranging the first letter of each word in a group to form a phrase or a word. Model mnemonic is using representation to facilitate the recall of information. Ode or rhyme mnemonic is when a speaker puts the information he wishes to recall in poetry format. Note organisation mnemonic is arranging the speech to be delivered in a manner that will facilitate recall. In this wise, the speaker does not have to follow the laid down mode of arrangement but using one that will be helpful. Image mnemonic is attaching information to be recalled to certain images to enable easy recall. Connection mnemonic is linking the information to be recalled to other information the speaker is already familiar with. Spelling mnemonic is using words, symbols or other means to remember the spelling of certain words<sup>40</sup>.

The last of the canons is delivery<sup>38</sup>. Many writers regard delivery as a performance and counsel that it should be treated as such because it holds the key to the persuasion of the audience<sup>38</sup>. A well-performed speech will make persuasion easy but if the delivery is not well-handled, the possibility of persuading the audience becomes remote<sup>38</sup>. A great delivery could transform an

ordinary idea into a glorious message while a poor delivery could undermine the effect of a well-researched and well-crafted composition. Human voice usually portrays the nature and disposition of the speaker. Following from the foregoing, it is important that the speaker pays attention to six factors that may determine the success or otherwise of his presentation. These are appearance, gesture, positioning, eye contact, articulation and pronunciation<sup>39</sup>. A well-dressed and well-groomed speaker is likely to command the attention of the audience more than a shabbily-looking speaker. Also, communication goes beyond what is said. Therefore, to enhance the delivery, a speaker must employ the right gestures to aid the delivery. A speaker should neither be too distant from the audience nor too close. Therefore, a perfectly positioned speaker has a greater chance of persuading the audience than the one who is improperly positioned. Equally, delivery is made more conversational and will be able to achieve persuasion if the speaker is able to maintain eye contact with the audience. This is why speakers who are able to speak from their hearts without having to rely on written materials or teleprompter achieve a higher level of persuasion than those who do not. Articulation, the ability to get the words out correctly, is also germane to effective message delivery just as being able to pronounce the words correctly shows competence and facilitates a buy-in from the audience<sup>39</sup>.

There are four methods of delivery used by speakers. These are manuscript, memory, impromptu and extemporaneous<sup>40</sup>. A speaker who opts for the use of manuscript for his delivery will have to write out all or almost all of what he has to deliver. An advantage of using the manuscript is that it provides the speaker the opportunity to touch on all that is intended without leaving out anything. The downside is that the speaker may be unable to deploy non-verbal cues as much as desirable because of fixation on the manuscript. Using manuscript for delivery is appropriate for complex arguments which may be difficult to establish as well as formal occasions which require

strict adherence to a particular procedure. A speaker who chooses to speak from memory must have memorised the manuscript. Actors and actresses are able to speak from memory because they have memorised their lines. The edge that speaking from memory has over speaking from manuscript is that it enables the speaker to better engage the audience as he is able to move freely and deploy non-verbal cues.

On the other hand, impromptu speeches are unprepared speeches that are delivered off the cuff. Such speeches require the speaker to rely on residual knowledge about the topic of discussion. Speaking extemporaneously means delivery with the aid of just a list of the main points. Unlike the speaker who relies on the manuscript and has to write out everything, an extemporaneous speaker gets his key points on a note card or even a board and builds on the point. This enables him to interact quite well with the audience.

Whether as a president or peasant, persuading an audience through rhetoric is a product of deliberate plans executed with precision because the audience does not have to believe what the speaker says. Achieving a shift in the audience's perspective after a presentation is not a cinch. The audience has to decide whether to believe and act on the presentation or not. Therefore, presidents who want to achieve a shift in the behaviour of their citizens know that they cannot afford a perfunctory attitude in any communication engagement<sup>40</sup>.

### **2.1.2 Concept of Communication**

Communication is the glue that binds a society together, the oil that lubricates relationships and the engine that moves the society. Communication has been variously defined by scholars. It is defined as the mental process in which a transmitter and a receiver interact for the purpose of exchanging ideas, knowledge, experiences and feelings<sup>41</sup>. It is also defined as a tool used by a

speaker to make others agree with his point of view<sup>41</sup>. Communication is equally described as the process by which people share information, ideas, and feelings, both verbally and nonverbally<sup>41</sup>. In the same vein, communication is explained as the transmission of information, ideas, emotions, skills, or attitudes by a person to another who interprets them and is able to attach meanings to them<sup>42</sup>. It is also seen as a symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired, and transformed. It is similarly described as the process of creating shared meaning<sup>42</sup>. To others, it is the intentional or unintentional transfer of information, ideas, or feelings through the use of symbols, signs, gestures, or language<sup>41</sup>. Communication is also described as a complex, multidimensional process that involves the exchange of information, ideas, feelings, and attitudes between individuals or groups, and the creation of meaning through the interpretation of messages<sup>43</sup>. It is equally described as a process of social interaction through which people create, maintain, and modify shared meanings<sup>42</sup>. From these definitions, it can be deduced that communication is a process of transmitting decipherable information from one person to another for a purpose that varies from the banal to the sublime.

The evolution of communication from orality to electracy signifies that communication has gone through series of transformations over the ages. It has moved from orality, which is the use of speech as a means of communication, through different stages to electracy, which is communication through the instrumentality of electronic technology<sup>44</sup>. Orality was founded on the need for inter-personal communication. The oral tradition did not emerge out of the need for mass communication; it was essentially based on man's need to communicate with those in his immediate environment. Orality has been the primary mode of communication for most of human history, and it still plays an important role in many cultures today.

Oral communication involves the exchange of information, ideas, and feelings through the spoken word. Orality takes many forms such as conversations, speeches, storytelling, and song<sup>45</sup>. Orality is distinguishable from written form of communication by several characteristics. It is often more immediate and spontaneous than written or visual communication. Consequently, speakers can respond to their audience's reactions and adjust their message accordingly. Second, oral communication is usually more interactive and participatory than written or visual communication. Listeners can ask questions, offer feedback, and participate in the conversation<sup>45</sup>. Third, oral communication is more context-dependent than written or visual communication. Speakers and listeners rely on nonverbal cues, such as facial expressions and tone of voice, to convey and interpret meaning<sup>45</sup>.

Orality is used to preserve history, pass down cultural knowledge and build community. It has also been used in many professional contexts such as teaching, counseling, and public speaking. Despite the widespread use of written and visual forms of communication, orality remains an important mode of communication in many contexts today. It is particularly effective in situations where immediate feedback and interaction are necessary, or when nonverbal cues are critical to understanding<sup>45</sup>.

As society advanced, writing was developed to make inter-personal communication better and more impactful. With writing, man was able to replicate and document his thoughts. Hence, letter writing of the Middle Ages started with the equivalent of the oration's exordium, continued with the statement of what was to be proved, and the reasons or proofs as well as the refutation of counter-reasons and the conclusion. The evolution of writing is a complex and fascinating process that has taken place over thousands of years, involving various cultures and writing

systems<sup>6</sup>. Writing is the representation of language in a textual form, and it has played a crucial role in human communication and cultural development<sup>46</sup>.

The earliest form of writing emerged in ancient Sumeria around 4000 BCE, where people used a system of pictographs to represent objects and concepts<sup>46</sup>. This system, known as cuneiform, involved pressing a stylus into soft clay tablets to create wedge-shaped marks. Around 3000 BCE, the Egyptians developed a system of hieroglyphics, which used pictures and symbols to represent words and sounds. Hieroglyphics were written on papyrus, a paper-like material made from reeds, and they were used for religious, administrative, and literary purposes<sup>46</sup>. The Phoenicians, who lived in what is now modern-day Lebanon, developed the first alphabetic writing system around 1200 BCE<sup>46</sup>. This system used a series of symbols to represent individual sounds, which could be combined to form words and sentences. The Phoenician alphabet was adapted by the Greeks, who added vowels to the system and created the first true alphabet. The Roman Empire later adopted the Greek alphabet, and it became the basis for the modern Latin alphabet used in many European languages, including English<sup>46</sup>.

The invention of paper in ancient China around 100 BCE revolutionised the process of writing, making it easier and more accessible<sup>46</sup>. Paper allowed for the creation of books and other written materials, which helped to spread knowledge and ideas throughout the world. The development of printing technology in the 15th century, and the invention of the typewriter in the 19th Century, revolutionised the way that writing was produced and distributed. With digital technology, the mode for the creation, storage and sharing of writing has witnessed further revolution.

The evolution of the printing press was a significant technological advancement in the history of human communication and the dissemination of knowledge<sup>47</sup>. The first printing press was invented in China during the Tang Dynasty in the 7th century; it was made of carved wooden blocks, which were inked and pressed onto paper to produce prints<sup>47</sup>. The movable type of printing press, which is the most widely recognised form of the printing press, was invented in Germany in the 15th century<sup>48</sup>. The press used metal letters that could be rearranged to print different pages, making it much more efficient and flexible than previous printing methods. His invention also used oil-based ink, which produced clearer and sharper prints than the water-based ink used in China.

The printing press revolutionised the production and distribution of books, pamphlets and newspapers, making it possible to produce large quantities of written materials quickly and efficiently<sup>48</sup>. This had a significant impact on society, enabling the spread of knowledge and ideas on a scale that was previously impossible. The printing press played a crucial role in the development of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Scientific Revolution, as it facilitated the dissemination of new ideas and discoveries<sup>47</sup>.

In the 19th Century, steam-powered presses were introduced, which could produce even more printed materials at a faster rate<sup>47</sup>. In the 20th century, the introduction of offset printing, which uses a rubber cylinder to transfer ink onto paper, increased the speed and efficiency of the printing process<sup>47</sup>. Digital printing technology has further transformed the printing industry, enabling the production of customised, on-demand prints with high-quality graphics and text. Digital printing has also made it possible to produce printed materials on a wider variety of surfaces, including textiles, ceramics and metal<sup>48</sup>.

The concept of the telegraph dates back to the early 18th century, but it was not until the mid-19th Century that a practical system was developed<sup>49</sup>. The first working telegraph system was developed in the United States by Samuel Morse and an assistant, Alfred Vail, in the 1830s and 1840s<sup>49</sup>. Morse developed a code that allowed messages to be transmitted over long distances using electrical impulses sent through a wire. This code, known as Morse code, was a simple system of dots and dashes that could be easily transmitted and received.

The first telegraph line was installed in 1844, connecting Washington D.C. and Baltimore, Maryland<sup>49</sup>. The telegraph quickly spread throughout the United States, and by the 1850s, a network of telegraph wires had been installed across the country. The telegraph radically changed long-distance communication, making it possible to transmit messages across vast distances in a matter of seconds. This had a significant impact on commerce, allowing businesses to quickly communicate with each other and coordinate their activities. It also had a major impact on news reporting, enabling news to be transmitted quickly from one location to another, and allowing newspapers to report on events happening in other parts of the world<sup>49</sup>.

The telegraph continued to evolve throughout the 19th Century, with improvements in technology allowing for faster transmission speeds and greater reliability. The invention of the transatlantic telegraph in the 1860s made it possible to transmit messages between Europe and North America, further expanding the reach of the telegraph<sup>49</sup>.

The development of the telephone began in the mid-19th century and was a significant milestone in the history of communication. The telephone was invented by Alexander Graham Bell, who was awarded the first US patent for the telephone in 1876<sup>50</sup>. Bell's invention was based on the principle of transmitting sound by electrical means. The telephone consisted of two parts: a

transmitter, which converted sound into electrical signals, and a receiver, which converted the electrical signals back into sound.

The first telephones were primitive devices that could only transmit sound over short distances<sup>50</sup>. However, improvements in technology soon made it possible to transmit sound over longer distances. In 1877, the first long-distance telephone line between Boston and Somerville, Massachusetts was installed<sup>50</sup>. In the following decades, the telephone rapidly spread throughout the world, becoming an essential means of communication. The development of automatic switching systems in the early 20th century made it possible to connect calls without the need for operators, further improving the speed and efficiency of the telephone system<sup>50</sup>.

The telephone had a profound impact on society, transforming communication and changing the way people interacted with one another<sup>51</sup>. It made it possible for people to communicate over long distances, enabling families and friends to stay in touch even when they were far apart. It also had a major impact on business, enabling companies to communicate with customers and suppliers more efficiently<sup>51</sup>.

The telephone still remains an important means of communication, although it has been largely replaced by newer technologies such as email, instant messaging and video conferencing<sup>51</sup>. Nevertheless, the telephone continues to play a vital role in many aspects of modern life, and its development was a significant milestone in the history of communication.

The culmination of evolution of communication technology was the invention of the internet, which is a global network of interconnected computers that enables people to communicate, share information and access a wide range of services and resources<sup>52</sup>. It has become an essential

part of modern life, changing the way we communicate, work and interact with the world. The evolution of the internet has been a long and complex process, involving many different technologies and innovations. Its origins can be traced back to the 1960s, when the US Department of Defense developed a network called ARPANET<sup>52</sup>. This network was designed to enable researchers and scientists to share information and collaborate on projects, and it used a technology called packet switching to transmit data among computers.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the internet expanded rapidly, with the development of new protocols and standards such as TCP/IP and the Domain Name System (DNS)<sup>53</sup>. These technologies made it possible to connect computers and networks around the world, and they paved the way for the development of new services and applications. In the 1990s, the internet underwent a period of rapid growth and innovation, with the emergence of the World Wide Web (WWW), which enabled people to access and share information using web browsers such as Netscape Navigator and Internet Explorer<sup>52</sup>. This led to a surge in internet usage, with millions of people around the world using the internet to access news, entertainment and a wide range of services.

In the 2000s and 2010s, the internet continued to evolve, with the development of new technologies such as social media, mobile devices, and cloud computing. These technologies have transformed the way the internet is used, enabling people to access information and services on the go, collaborate with others in real-time, and store and share data in the cloud<sup>53</sup>. The internet has become an essential part of modern life, with billions of people around the world using it to communicate, work, learn, and access a wide range of services and resources. Its evolution has been a complex and ongoing process, driven by advances in technology, changing social and economic conditions, and the needs and desires of users.

There are different types of communication based on the medium, the purpose and the audience. The first is verbal communication, which is the use of spoken words to convey a message<sup>53</sup>. It is one of the most common forms of communication and can be used in a variety of contexts. It can be face-to-face or over the phone, it may also be formal or informal depending on the context<sup>53</sup>. Formal verbal communication is usually structured, while informal verbal communication is casual. Verbal communication can also be used to convey different tones and emotions, which can significantly impact the meaning of the message<sup>54</sup>. Effective verbal communication requires good listening skills, clear pronunciation, appropriate tone and pitch as well as the ability to express ideas clearly and concisely. Misunderstandings and miscommunication can occur when there is a lack of clarity or when the message is not delivered correctly<sup>54</sup>.

Conversely, nonverbal communication refers to the exchange of information through body language, facial expressions, tone of voice and other nonverbal cues, rather than through spoken or written words<sup>54</sup>. Nonverbal communication is an essential part of human interaction, and it can convey a wealth of information about a person's feelings, attitudes and intentions. Tools of non-verbal communication include facial expressions, body language, tone of voice, eye contact, proximity and appearance. Nonverbal communication can be intentional or unintentional, and it can significantly impact the meaning of a message. Paying attention to nonverbal cues is critical to understanding the full meaning of a message in non-verbal communication<sup>54</sup>.

Another form is written communication, which involves the use of written words to convey a message<sup>55</sup>. This form of communication can take many different forms, such as emails, letters, memos, reports, manuals, and other forms of written documents. Written communication is often used in formal contexts, such as business or academic settings, and it allows for a more

structured and organised approach to communication. It is also useful when it is necessary to archive the message for future reference or to ensure that all parties involved have a record of the communication<sup>55</sup>. Effective written communication requires clarity and conciseness to aid comprehension. In today's digital age, written communication has become even more prevalent, with the widespread use of email, instant messaging, and social media platforms.

Next is visual communication, which is the use of images, graphics, videos and other visual aids to convey information or messages from one person to another<sup>55</sup>. It is a powerful form of communication that can capture people's attention and make complex information easier to understand. Visual communication takes different forms, including infographics, videos, photographs, presentations and design<sup>55</sup>. Visual communication is an effective way to communicate complex information, as it can make the information more engaging and memorable.

Interpersonal communication, which is the exchange of information and messages between two or more people, is next in line<sup>54</sup>. It is a fundamental aspect of human interaction and occurs in a variety of contexts, from personal relationships to professional settings. It involves both verbal and nonverbal communication, including language, tone, facial expressions and body language<sup>55</sup>. It requires active listening, empathy and the ability to express oneself clearly and effectively. Interpersonal communication can be either formal or informal, depending on the context. Formal interpersonal communication usually follows a more structured approach, while informal interpersonal communication is more casual<sup>54</sup>. Effective interpersonal communication is essential for building and maintaining positive relationships, resolving conflicts, and achieving common goals. It requires active listening, empathy and the ability to express oneself clearly and

respectfully. Interpersonal communication can also be impacted by cultural and societal norms, such as language barriers or differences in communication styles<sup>55</sup>.

Group communication is the exchange of information and messages among three or more people<sup>15</sup>. It involves both verbal and nonverbal communication and is a fundamental aspect of human interaction in various contexts, such as in organisations, social groups and academic settings<sup>15</sup>. Effective group communication requires coordination and collaboration among group members to achieve common goals. It involves active listening, clear and concise expression, and the ability to provide feedback and support to others. Group communication can be either formal or informal, depending on the context<sup>55</sup>. In formal group communication, such as in meetings or presentations, there is often a designated leader or facilitator who sets the agenda, manages the discussion, and ensures that all members have an opportunity to express their opinions and ideas. In informal group communication, such as in social gatherings, communication tends to be more casual and unstructured. Group communication is usually impacted by factors such as group dynamics, cultural and social differences as well as individual personalities and communication styles.

Mass communication towers above all forms of communication. It is the dissemination of information and messages to a large audience through various media channels<sup>56</sup>. It involves the use of technology and mass media platforms such as television, radio, newspapers, magazines, social media, and the internet to transmit messages. The goal of mass communication is to reach a large and diverse audience with a specific message or information<sup>56</sup>. It can be used to inform, entertain, or persuade people, and it plays a significant role in shaping public opinion and attitudes. Mass communication is a powerful tool for connecting people and disseminating

information on a large scale. It plays a critical role in modern society and is an essential component of the media landscape.

Mass communication often involves the use of sophisticated technology and specialised skills such as journalism, broadcasting, and public relations<sup>56</sup>. It requires an understanding of media ethics, audience analysis, and the ability to create content that is engaging and relevant to the intended audience. The impact of mass communication is significant and far-reaching. It can influence political decisions, shape cultural trends, and affect people's behavior and attitudes<sup>56</sup>. Therefore, neutrality and objectivity are critical to mass communication.

Business communication is a specialised form of communication which refers to the exchange of information and ideas within a business or organisation with the aim of achieving common goals<sup>56</sup>. It involves the use of various forms of communication, such as oral, written, visual, and electronic, to convey information and ideas to different stakeholders, such as employees, customers, suppliers, shareholders, and other external parties. Effective business communication is essential for the success of any organisation as it facilitates coordination, collaboration, and decision-making<sup>55</sup>. It helps to create a shared understanding among stakeholders, build relationships, and promote trust and credibility.

Subsets of business communication are, internal communication, which is the exchange of information within an organisation, may be formal or informal and can take various forms, such as meetings, memos, emails, newsletters and intranet. On the other hand, external communication is the exchange of information between an organisation and its external stakeholders, such as customers, suppliers, investors and the general public. It can take various forms, such as advertising, public relations, social media and customer service. Another form is

interpersonal communication, which is the exchange of information between or among individuals within an organisation. It can take various forms, such as face-to-face conversations, phone calls and instant messaging. Lastly is nonverbal communication, the exchange of information without the use of words. It can include gestures, facial expressions, tone of voice, and body language.

Effective business communication requires clarity, conciseness, and relevance. It also requires an understanding of the audience, the purpose of the communication, and the context in which it is being delivered<sup>56</sup>.

In the realm of politics is political communication, which refers to the process of exchanging information and ideas among individuals, groups, and institutions involved in the political system<sup>57</sup>. It involves the use of various forms of communication, such as speeches, debates, advertising, social media, and news media, to convey political messages and influence public opinion. Political communication is essential for the functioning of democratic societies as it allows citizens to express their opinions, participate in political processes, and hold elected officials accountable<sup>57</sup>. It also helps political actors to gain support, build coalitions, and shape public policies.

Key features of political communication include persuasion, which is political communication aiming at persuading individuals to support a particular candidate, party or policy. It uses various techniques, such as emotional appeals, logic, and credibility to influence public opinion. Framing is another political communication method which frames issues in a particular way to influence how individuals perceive and respond to them. It involves highlighting certain aspects of an issue and downplaying others to shape public opinion. Another one is media influence, which is

political communication that is heavily influenced by the media. News media, social media and advertising are key channels for political messages and can have a significant impact on public opinion. The last one is audience segmentation, which targets different audiences with different messages. It involves identifying the interests, values and beliefs of different groups and tailoring messages to resonate with them.

The communication process is made up of nine components. These are the sender, the message, encoding, the medium, receiver, decoding, feedback, noise and context.

The sender is the person or entity who initiates the communication. The sender may also be referred to as the speaker, source, or encoder. The sender creates and sends a message to a receiver with the intention of conveying a specific meaning or idea<sup>42</sup>. The message can be in various forms such as verbal, written, or non-verbal, and can be transmitted through different channels like email, phone, or face-to-face interactions. The sender is very critical in the communication process, as he/she is responsible for initiating and delivering the message, which can influence the effectiveness of the entire communication process<sup>42</sup>. The second component is the message. This is the information or content that the sender intends to convey to the receiver. The message can be in various forms and can be conveyed through different channels<sup>58</sup>. To effectively convey a message, the sender should ensure that the message is clear, concise, and relevant to the receiver's needs and interests. The sender should also use the language, tone and style that are appropriate for the audience. The message can be literal or symbolic, and the meaning of the message may differ from person to person depending on their background, culture and experiences. Therefore, the sender needs to consider the audience's context and perspective while framing the message. The message plays a critical role in the communication

process as it is the content that is being transmitted from the sender to the receiver and as a result, the essence of the process<sup>58</sup>. The effectiveness of communication largely depends on the clarity and relevance of the message to the receiver.

Encoding, referred to as the process of converting the sender's ideas, thoughts, or feelings into a form that can be transmitted to the receiver, comes next. It involves several steps, including message formulation, choosing the appropriate language, selecting the appropriate channel, using appropriate tone and style and packaging the message<sup>58</sup>. Effective encoding requires the sender to consider the audience, context, and purpose of the communication. The fourth is the medium, which refers to the channel or method through which the message is transmitted from the sender to the receiver. The medium can be verbal, nonverbal, written or electronic and can include various forms such as face-to-face interactions, telephone conversations, email, social media or video conferencing<sup>58</sup>. The choice of medium depends on several factors, including the nature of the message, the audience, the purpose of the communication and the context in which the communication is taking place<sup>58</sup>. If the message is urgent, for instance, the sender may choose a medium that allows for immediate feedback, such as a phone call or instant messaging. If the message is complex, the sender may choose a medium that allows for more detailed explanations, such as email or written documents.

Different media have their own strengths and limitations. Face-to-face interactions allow for the exchange of nonverbal cues and immediate feedback, but may not be practical in all situations. Written communication, such as email or text messages, provides a permanent record of the conversation but can lack the personal touch of face-to-face interactions. In addition, the medium can also affect the message's interpretation and effectiveness. For instance, the tone of a message

can be misinterpreted in written communication if the recipient cannot see the sender's facial expressions or hear their tone of voice. The choice of medium is an important consideration in the communication process, as it can affect how the message is perceived and understood by the receiver. The sender should consider the message's nature and the audience's preferences and needs when selecting a medium to ensure effective communication<sup>58</sup>. The idea of "the medium is the message" was introduced in 1964<sup>59</sup>. This suggests that the medium through which a message is conveyed is as important as the message itself. The argument is that the medium shapes and influences the way the message is perceived and understood. The medium is not just a neutral channel through which the message is transmitted, but it also shapes how the message is interpreted and the type of response it attracts<sup>59</sup>.

The fifth in the component is the receiver, who is the person or group of people that receives the message from the sender. The receiver's role is to decode the message and interpret its meaning, and then provide feedback to the sender. The receiver's interpretation of the message is influenced by several factors, including his own experiences, beliefs, attitudes and culture<sup>58</sup>. The receiver's response is also an important aspect of the communication process. Response can be verbal or nonverbal and can indicate whether the message was received, understood, and interpreted as intended. The response can also provide an opportunity for the sender to clarify or adjust the message if necessary. The receiver's response to the message can also provide valuable information to the sender about the effectiveness of the communication. If the receiver's response is not as expected, the sender can use this to modify their message, medium, or encoding to improve communication effectiveness<sup>58</sup>.

Feedback, the sixth component of the communication system, is critical to the process because it allows the sender and receiver to exchange information about the effectiveness of their communication<sup>58</sup>. Feedback occurs when the receiver of a message responds to the sender with information about how they interpreted the message and how they feel about it. This information can help the sender adjust the message, medium, or encoding to improve communication effectiveness. Feedback can be verbal or nonverbal and can take many forms, including questions, comments, and gestures. It can also be immediate or delayed, depending on the context of the communication<sup>58</sup>.

In the communication process, feedback serves several purposes<sup>59</sup>. First, it provides the sender with information about whether the message was received, understood, and interpreted as intended. This information can help the sender adjust the message to better suit the receiver's needs or preferences. Second, feedback can provide the sender with information about the receiver's attitudes, beliefs, and expectations. This information can help the sender tailor their message to better resonate with the receiver. Third, feedback can provide an opportunity for the receiver to ask questions or seek clarification about the message. This can help the receiver better understand the message and prevent misinterpretation or misunderstanding. Fourth, feedback can facilitate the development of relationships between the sender and receiver. By providing feedback, the receiver shows that they are actively engaged in the communication and are invested in the relationship.

In the communication process, noise refers to any interference or disruption that affects the transmission or reception of a message<sup>58</sup>. Noise can occur at any point in the communication process. It can be physical, physiological, semantic or psychological in nature. Physical noise

refers to external factors that can disrupt communication, such as loud music, traffic noise, or poor signal quality. Physiological noise refers to internal factors that can affect communication, such as hearing loss, visual impairment, or illness. Semantic noise refers to any confusion or misunderstanding that arises from the use of language. This can include unfamiliar words, jargon, or cultural differences. Psychological noise refers to any internal distractions or emotional states that can impact communication, such as anxiety, stress or preoccupation. Noise can have a significant impact on the communication process, as it can distort or block the message being transmitted<sup>58</sup>. Effective communication requires the sender to be aware of potential sources of noise and to take steps to minimise their impact. This may involve choosing an appropriate medium, using clear and concise language, or providing additional context to ensure that the message is fully understood.

The last component is the context, which refers to the environment or situation in which communication occurs. The context includes the physical, social, cultural and psychological factors that can influence how the message is encoded, transmitted, and decoded<sup>60</sup>. Understanding the context is critical to effective communication because it can impact the meaning and interpretation of the message. The physical context includes the location and setting in which communication occurs. This can include the physical environment, such as the lighting, temperature, and layout of the space, as well as the presence of other people or distractions. The social context includes the social relationships and roles of the communicators. This can include the status, power, and familiarity of the participants, as well as their cultural and social backgrounds. The cultural context includes the shared beliefs, values and customs of the communicators. This can include language, religion, ethnicity and gender. Understanding cultural differences is essential to effective communication, as these differences can impact the

interpretation of the message. The psychological context includes the emotional and cognitive states of the communicators. This can include factors such as mood, attitude and motivation. The psychological context can impact how the message is encoded, transmitted, and decoded, as well as the level of engagement and attention of the communicators.<sup>60</sup>

There are several ways a communicator can adopt to pass his message across to his audience. These are called models of communication, which are simplified representations of the communication process. There are different models of communication with emphasis on different aspects of the communication process. The first is referred to as the linear model. This communication model is described as a one-way process in which the source sends a message to a receiver through a medium<sup>61</sup>. The model consists of three basic elements: the sender, the message, and the receiver. The sender is the source who initiates the communication and encodes the message. The message is the content that the sender wishes to share with the receiver. The receiver is the person who receives the message and interprets it to understand the meaning. The linear model assumes that communication is a one-way process, meaning that the sender sends the message to the receiver without any feedback or response. The model also assumes that the message is transmitted through a channel, which could be a face-to-face conversation, a phone call, an email, or any other medium. The major weakness of the linear model is its oversimplification of the communication process and its failure to take into cognizance the feedback that often occurs in real-life communication. It also assumes that the message is transmitted accurately, which may not always be the case due to noise, interference, or other factors.

The interactive model of communication is another type. This is a two-way communication model which describes the communication process as an ongoing and dynamic interaction between a source and a receiver. This model emphasises that communication is a continuous process of sending and receiving messages, feedback and responses between two or more entities<sup>61</sup>. While the interactive model is similar to the linear model, the point of departure is that the latter consists of other elements besides the sender, the message and the receiver as it makes room for feedback and the context. In the interactive model, the sender encodes the message and sends it through a channel to the receiver, who decodes the message and sends feedback back to the sender. The feedback can be verbal or nonverbal and can be used to clarify the message, confirm understanding or express emotions<sup>61</sup>.

The interactive model also recognises that communication is influenced by various factors such as cultural background, personal experiences, social context, and communication channels. These factors can affect how the message is perceived and interpreted by the receiver and can impact the effectiveness of communication. One of the strengths of the interactive model is that it acknowledges the active role of both the sender and the receiver in the communication process. It emphasizes the importance of feedback and recognises that communication is a two-way process. It is also useful in situations where communication is more complex or ambiguous, such as in interpersonal communication or in group settings<sup>61</sup>. However, the interactive model has some limitations. It may not be suitable for communication situations where immediate feedback is not possible, such as in written communication. It also does not account for external factors that may impact communication, such as noise or physical barriers<sup>61</sup>. Nonetheless, the interactive model of communication is widely used in various fields, including business, education, and healthcare.

The transactional model is the third type. It is a dynamic and complex model that describes communication as a simultaneous and interactive process between a sender and a receiver<sup>21</sup>. The model presents communication as a transactional process, showing that both the sender and the receiver are simultaneously sending and receiving messages and are constantly exchanging feedback. The model includes several key elements, including the sender, the receiver, the message, feedback, noise and context. In this model, the sender encodes a message and sends it to the receiver, who decodes the message and sends feedback back to the sender<sup>61</sup>. At the same time, the receiver is also sending messages to the sender, and both parties are constantly exchanging feedback and adapting their messages based on the feedback they receive. The model also recognises that communication is influenced by various contextual factors, including cultural background, social status, and personal experiences. These factors can impact how messages are perceived and interpreted by the sender and the receiver and can affect the effectiveness of communication<sup>61</sup>.

One of the strengths of the transactional model is that it acknowledges the complexity and dynamic nature of communication. It emphasises that communication is not just a one-way process but a continuous and ongoing interaction between the sender and the receiver. It also identifies the importance of feedback and the role it plays in shaping the communication process<sup>61</sup>. The transactional model has two major drawbacks. First, it is too complex for simple communication situations. Also, it does not take into account the power dynamics that can exist in communication interactions.

The social media model of communication follows the transactional model. It refers to the way in which communication occurs on social media platforms<sup>62</sup>. It is characterised by its two-way and interactive nature where users can create, share and consume content. Social media

platforms have given individuals the power to generate their own content, which can then be shared with an audience that may be local or global. In the social media model of communication, the sender is typically a user who creates and shares content, such as a post, tweet, or video. The receiver is the audience, who can then engage with the content by liking, commenting, or sharing it. The social media model of communication is often driven by user-generated content, which can be created and shared by anyone with an internet connection<sup>62</sup>.

One of the key features of the social media model of communication is the opportunity users have to engage in real-time conversations with other users. This allows for immediate feedback and can help to create a sense of community among users. Additionally, social media platforms have created new opportunities for businesses to communicate with their customers and build brand awareness<sup>62</sup>. However, the social media model of communication also has its limitations. The lack of face-to-face interaction can make it more difficult to establish trust and build relationships. Additionally, social media platforms have been criticised for their potential to spread misinformation and create echo chambers where individuals are only exposed to content that reinforces their existing beliefs<sup>62</sup>. Despite these limitations, the social media model of communication has become an important part of our daily lives, and its impact on how we communicate and interact with each other continues to evolve.

The Lasswell's model of communication comes last. The Lasswell model, also known as the action model, is a simple and widely recognised model that identifies the key components of communication<sup>63</sup>. According to the model, communication involves answering the following questions: Who, referring to the sender or source of the communication message. It is the person or entity that intends to send the message; says what, referring to the message itself, which is the content of the communication. It includes both the verbal and nonverbal aspects of the message;

to whom, referring to the receiver or audience of the communication message. It is the person or entity for whom the message is intended; in what channel, referring to the medium or channel through which the message is transmitted, such as face-to-face, email, radio, television, et cetera; and with what effect, referring to the impact or outcome of the communication message on the receiver. It is the intended or unintended consequence of the message<sup>23</sup>.

The significance of the model draws from the emphasis it places on the importance of understanding the purpose of communication and its intended effect on the receiver. The model is also important for highlighting the role of the sender in shaping the message and the importance of the channel in determining how the message is perceived. The downside of the model, however, is its simplicity and its failure to take into cognizance the role of feedback and the interactive nature of communication<sup>63</sup>.

Communication performs several functions including, information sharing, persuasion, socialisation, relationship building, emotional expression, coordination and control as well as conflict resolution.<sup>64</sup> Information sharing is one of the primary functions of communication. It involves the exchange of information, ideas, or knowledge between two or more people. Information sharing can occur through various channels, such as verbal communication, written communication and nonverbal communication<sup>64</sup>. Information sharing requires the sender to encode the message in a way that is clear and understandable to the receiver. This may involve using language that is familiar to the receiver, providing context or background information, or using visual aids to support the message. The receiver then decodes the message and interprets its meaning. Information sharing can occur in various contexts and can serve different purposes. In a business context, information sharing can help to facilitate decision-making, problem-solving, and collaboration. In an educational context, information sharing can help to facilitate

learning and understanding. In a social context, information sharing can help to build relationships and establish trust<sup>64</sup>. Information sharing is essential for successful communication and requires both the sender and receiver to be actively engaged in the process. The sender must ensure that the message is clear and understandable, while the receiver must be receptive and attentive to the message. Feedback is also critical to information sharing, as it allows the sender to confirm that the message has been received and understood correctly.

Persuasion is one of the functions of communication that aims to influence the attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors of others<sup>65</sup>. Persuasion is a common goal in various contexts, such as marketing, politics, education, and personal relationships. Persuasion involves a deliberate attempt to change the receiver's attitude or behaviour by presenting information or arguments that support a particular point of view<sup>65</sup>. The sender may use various techniques, such as logical arguments, emotional appeals, social proof or authority to persuade the receiver to adopt a particular belief or take a specific action. Effective persuasion requires the sender to understand the receiver's needs, values and beliefs and to tailor the message accordingly. The sender must also present the message in a way that is credible and persuasive, using evidence and arguments that are relevant and compelling to the receiver. The receiver plays an active role in the process of persuasion, as he evaluates the message and decides whether to accept or reject the sender's argument. The receiver's level of involvement, prior beliefs and knowledge about the topic can influence the response to the persuasive message<sup>65</sup>.

The socialisation function of communication involves the transmission of cultural norms, values, beliefs and behaviors from one generation to another<sup>66</sup>. Socialisation is a lifelong process that begins in childhood and continues throughout adulthood. Effective socialisation requires

communication between individuals and within social groups. Communication helps to reinforce and transmit cultural norms, values and behaviors<sup>66</sup>. It helps individuals to learn how to interact with others, how to behave in different social situations and how to make sense of the world around them. Socialisation occurs through various channels, such as family, peers, schools, religious institutions, media and other social networks. Each channel contributes to shaping an individual's worldview, values and behaviors.

In childhood, socialisation occurs primarily through interaction with parents and other family members. Children learn social norms and behaviors by observing and imitating their parents and caregivers. As children grow older, they begin to interact with peers and other social groups, which further shape their attitudes and beliefs. In adulthood, socialisation continues to occur through various channels, such as work, social networks and the media<sup>66</sup>. Individuals continue to learn and adapt to new social norms and behaviours as they navigate different social contexts.

Relationship building is a function of communication that involves the creation and maintenance of interpersonal connections between individuals. Effective communication is essential for building and sustaining healthy relationships<sup>66</sup>. Relationship building involves various skills, such as active listening, empathy, trust and respect. Effective communication involves mutual understanding and respect for each other's thoughts, feelings, and perspectives<sup>66</sup>. Communication is critical in building and maintaining relationships because it helps individuals to express their needs, desires and expectations as well as to understand those of others. Communication helps to establish trust and strengthen emotional connections between individuals. Communication also helps to resolve conflicts and misunderstandings, which can threaten relationships. It involves the ability to express oneself clearly and assertively while also being open to feedback and

willing to compromise<sup>41</sup>. Relationship building occurs in various contexts, such as personal relationships, work relationships, and professional networking. In each context, effective communication is essential for establishing and maintaining positive connections.

Coordination and control are two related functions of communication that are critical in various contexts, such as organisations, teams and other collaborative efforts<sup>67</sup>. Coordination involves the alignment of activities and resources to achieve a common goal. Effective coordination requires communication between individuals and groups to ensure that everyone is on the same page and working towards the same objective<sup>67</sup>. Communication helps to identify potential conflicts, prioritise tasks, and adjust plans as needed to keep the project on track. Control, on the other hand, involves monitoring and regulating activities to ensure that they are consistent with established standards and expectations<sup>67</sup>. Effective control requires communication to identify deviations from the plan and to take corrective action to address them.

Effective communication is essential for coordination and control to work effectively. It helps to establish clear goals, expectations and guidelines as well as to identify potential obstacles and challenges that may arise. Communication helps individuals to share information, resources and feedback to improve performance and achieve better outcomes. Coordination and control are critical in various contexts, such as business, healthcare and emergency response. In each context, effective communication is essential for ensuring that everyone is working towards the same goal and that activities are consistent with established standards and expectations.

Finally, conflict resolution is a function of communication that involves addressing and resolving disputes between individuals or groups. Effective communication is essential for conflict resolution to work effectively. Conflict can arise in various contexts, such as personal

relationships, work relationships, and social interactions. Conflict can be caused by differences in opinions, values, expectations, and goals. Communication is essential for addressing these differences and finding common ground<sup>68</sup>. Communication involves active listening, empathy, and assertiveness. Active listening involves paying attention to the other person's thoughts, feelings, and perspectives, without judgment or interruption. Empathy involves understanding and acknowledging the other person's emotions and perspectives, even if one disagrees with them. Assertiveness involves expressing one's thoughts, feelings and perspectives clearly and respectfully without attacking or demeaning the other person<sup>68</sup>.

Effective communication also involves using constructive communication techniques, such as reframing, paraphrasing, and summarising. Reframing involves restating the other person's perspective in a more positive or neutral way. Paraphrasing involves summarising the other person's thoughts and feelings to demonstrate understanding. Summarising involves restating the main points of the conversation to ensure that both parties are on the same page. Effective communication is critical for conflict resolution because it helps individuals to understand each other's perspectives and find common ground. Communication can also help to identify the underlying causes of the conflict and develop strategies for addressing them.

### **2.1.3 National Integration**

National integration has been of great interest to scholars for ages because no nation is completely homogeneous in nature<sup>69</sup>. Since most societies are pluralistic with the tendency of close contacts producing strain and hostility, there are needs to bind the distinct parts into a wholesome unit<sup>69</sup>. National integration is a process as well as an end product; it is not just a

means to an end, it is an end in itself because integration is its own process<sup>70</sup>. It is a continuous interaction of diverse groups in a congenial situation. But some writers would rather see it as a condition because the degree of integration is determined by the level of socio-cultural, political or economic boundary that exists in the country<sup>71</sup>.

National integration consists of two elements; social and political integration<sup>72</sup>. No country can lay any claim to wholeness until it has experienced both social and political integration<sup>72</sup>. The result of having both is the establishment of harmonious relationship among all the different structural components of a nation. Integration is a product of the elimination of barriers in the primary group relations and community life of the various ethnic groups in a country<sup>73</sup>. Thus, integration is the outcome of a reduction in, or elimination of, tension and conflicts in a society<sup>73</sup>. National integration obliterates mutual distrust. Therefore, attitudinal change which would remove fears, hatred and suspicion among the members of the society is a condition for national integration<sup>73</sup>.

National integration has to do with state building and nation building<sup>73</sup>. State building occurs when the political elite create new structures aimed at penetrating the society in order to regulate behaviour in it and draw a larger volume of resources from it<sup>73</sup>. Nation building is a focus on the cultural aspect of political development<sup>45</sup>. Achieving national integration has to do with forging new loyalties and identities at the national level at the expense of ethnic or tribal loyalty<sup>73</sup>. There are four stages through which this could be achieved<sup>74</sup>. They are: open or covert resistance to political amalgamation into a common national state; minimal integration which results in passive compliance with the orders of the forced amalgamated government; genuine political integration which precipitates active support for the state in spite of the existence of ethnic or

tribal cohesion and diversity, and finally, the coincidence of political amalgamation and integration with the assimilation of all groups to a common language and culture<sup>74</sup>.

National integration is achieved when there is continuous interaction among members of the dominant cultures and the others as those with intercultural sensitivity begin to transform themselves from the ethnocentric stage to the ethno-relative stage<sup>75</sup>. This is the thrust of the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS)<sup>75</sup>. This model comprises six developmental stages<sup>75</sup>. The first three stages of denial, defense and minimisation are viewed as ethnocentric. Individuals view their own culture as central to reality, and individuals act by avoiding cultural differences through denying its existence, raising defense against the differences and minimising its importance<sup>75</sup>. The next three stages; acceptance, adaptation, and integration are viewed as ethno-relative<sup>75</sup>. During these stages, people experience the culture in the context of other cultures, and can be construed as seeking cultural difference through accepting its importance, adapting a perspective to take it into account, or by integrating the whole concept into a definition of identity<sup>75</sup>. As such, cultural relativism could be promoted as a way of uniting different ethnicities and enhance intermarriages as demonstrable appreciation and coexistence of cultures<sup>76</sup>. This is the willingness to subject personal or group prejudices and preferences to national identity<sup>76</sup>.

Nigeria is still at the first three stages because many of the citizens have not come to embrace the cultures of other ethnic groups. They see those who do not share their ethnic identity as 'others' and treat those who are not of their ethnic group as outsiders. So, they have neither accepted the importance of others' cultures, nor adapted a perspective to take same into account in their undertakings. Therefore, Nigeria in its current state is ethnocentric.

For any country to achieve national integration, a significant number of its citizens must develop some level of identification with the nation that supersedes their identification with ethnic, cultural or religious group, acquire political awareness, share common norms and values and develop attitudes favourable to the display of integrative behaviour among people of different groups<sup>73</sup>. This is cultural relativism. National integration can only thrive in circumstances where there is a deliberate reduction of social classes, resolving identified and identifiable conflicts and articulating the point of convergence among the various peoples to enhance mutual respect and encourage peaceful co-existence.

This is one of the most important functions of the president or head of government because national integration results in national development. Presidents are elected to facilitate development. This is one area that many of the works on integration failed to look at. Political leaders, especially presidents, are agents of change. Because of their positions, their influences and state resources at their disposal, they are best equipped to birth changes with far-reaching impact on the society. While communities and groups may work towards achieving integration, the rate of achieving this could be quickened when the political leaders see it as a mission. A body will continue in its state of rest until it is impacted upon by an external force<sup>77</sup>. Inferring from this, a people will not just embrace integration unless an external force acts upon them. The external force in this case is the political leadership, especially the president. Positive change in the society is facilitated by the leadership. While attitudinal change is critical to achieving integration, such changes are at the behest of the political leadership. The level of orderliness achieved in Nigeria in 1984 when the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) was enforced, did not just happen; it was made possible by the political leadership in place at the time. If a country can

achieve integration, it will record accelerated development<sup>73</sup>. Nigeria has experienced limited development because it has achieved limited national integration<sup>73</sup>.

In historical perspective of national integration in Nigeria, the challenge of integration in the country comes to the fore in the minority question, religious fundamentalism and conflicts, ethnic politics, indigene-settler dialectic, resource control, youth restiveness, militancy and the clamour for a sovereign national conference or conversation about the terms of the nation's continued unification<sup>78</sup>. At the root of all these is the poor handling of the country's amalgamation by the British colonialists and the poor commitment of the political leadership to national integration as evidenced in their rhetoric<sup>79</sup>. British colonialists orchestrated the rivalry among Nigeria's major ethnic groups through their amalgamation policy<sup>80</sup>. The policy weakened the cohesion of the country right from the outset and has remained a grave challenge to its integration because it was not intended to bring the various components of the then emerging country together.

Scholars agree that the *raison d'être* for the merging of the Northern Protectorate of Nigeria with the Southern Protectorate of Nigeria on January 1, 1914 was the need to offset the deficit incurred by the Colonial Office in administering the Northern Protectorate of Nigeria<sup>81</sup>. Until the amalgamation, the Colonial Office supported the Northern Nigeria Protectorate with grants, totaling £250,000 or more each year as the area was only able to generate £4,424 in 1901, which later increased to £274,989 by 1910<sup>82</sup>. On the contrary, the Southern Protectorate had been self-financing right from the beginning as its revenue rose from £361,815 in 1901 to £1,933,235 by 1910<sup>82</sup>. Apart from being financially self-sufficient, the Southern Protectorate of Nigeria contributed the sum of £820,720 to support the North between 1899 and 1912<sup>83</sup>. Therefore, the urge to mitigate the financial burden forced on the Colonial Office by the Northern Protectorate

of Nigeria's poor revenue generation was one of the major reasons for the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914<sup>84</sup>. So, bringing the two separate jurisdictions under one administrative umbrella would not only significantly bring down the cost of running the protectorates, it would also relieve the Colonial Office of the burden of subsidising the Northern Protectorate of Nigeria<sup>83</sup>. The British colonial authorities consequently did not take time to put measures in place to ensure the integration of the peoples; they were only interested in the solvency of the country<sup>85</sup>. The basis of the amalgamation of the two distinct groups to form Nigeria was faulty because it was uneasy to categorise, since it was neither a federal state nor a confederate<sup>86</sup>. This is one of the reasons the country has been difficult to manage. So, Nigeria was a creation of Britain as the peoples of the country were not the same culturally, economically or politically<sup>87</sup>. While the manner of merging the two protectorates by the colonialists might have made it not too easy for the people of the country to integrate, the utterances of the nation's political leaders both before and after independence indicated that they leaned more to their tribes than the country that brought all of them together. Chief Obafemi Awolowo, who was later to become the Premier of Western Region, described Nigeria as a mere geographical expression<sup>88</sup>. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who later became Nigeria's first Prime Minister, had also said that Nigeria existed as one country only on paper<sup>89</sup>. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Leader of the Igbo, also said that the God of Africa had created the Igbo nation to lead the children of Africa from the bondage of the ages<sup>90</sup>. The import of the positions of the leaders of the country at the time was that each of them was more comfortable within his ethnic region than he was in the country. Saying that 'a tribe has a role to lead others from the bondage of the ages' speaks of a superiority complex which does not work well in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society like Nigeria. Saying that 'Nigeria is a mere geographic expression' or that 'Nigeria only exists on paper' speaks of the artificiality of

the country and the disbelief in it. Therefore, choosing to remain in such a structure is contingent on convenience and not conviction. Hence, at various times, the ethnic groups opted to exit the country.

In 1950, Northern delegates to the Constitutional Conference in London threatened to secede from the country unless the Northern Region was allotted 50 per cent of the seats in the central legislature based on the arrangements that existed before the 1914 amalgamation<sup>91</sup>. In 1953, the Western Region also threatened secession over the issue of revenue allocation and the separation of Lagos from the West as Federal Capital<sup>91</sup>. The Eastern Region similarly threatened to break away from Nigeria as a consequence of the controversy that ensued after the 1964 federal elections<sup>91</sup>. Later, not only did the Eastern Region threaten to secede, it also gave vent to the threat, a situation which resulted in the 30-month civil war<sup>91</sup>.

The pre-independence political leaders of Nigeria had greater allegiance to their tribes rather than the country. This is the root of the combustible relationship that has existed among the various ethnic groups since the country's formation. The forced amalgamation as well as the British system of administration promoted ethnic rivalry, suspicion, as well as religious intolerance among the ethnic groups in the country<sup>92</sup>. Thus, Nigerians have been, right from the beginning, a people divided along the lines of ethnicity and religion. The country represents the amalgamation of rivals who are pitted against one another in a bitter contest for political power and economic resources<sup>93</sup>.

One other factor that has escalated the difficulty in integrating the nationalities in the country is the 1954 Macpherson Constitution<sup>91</sup>. The constitution precipitated tribal politics with the formation of political parties along regional lines because it divided the country into three

regions, which made it possible for each region to sponsor its own political party. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) had its base in the North and did not even attempt to contest elections outside the North. The National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) was rooted in the Eastern part of the country, while the Action Group was regarded as a party for the Yoruba people of the West<sup>94</sup>. In addition, all the three parties are products of ethno-cultural associations. The NPC is the successor of Jam'iyar Mutanen Arewa (Association of Peoples of the North), the NCNC from the Igbo State Union, and the AG from Egbe Omo Oduduwa (Society for Oduduwa's Descendants). Hence, the 1954 Macpherson Constitution was the beginning of identity politics in Nigeria<sup>95</sup>.

The parties were so entrenched in their ethnic enclaves that they won elections mainly in their bases. In the 1959 general election, the NPC fielded candidates for all the 170 seats in the North, one candidate in Lagos, one in the West, but none in the East. The NCNC fielded candidates for the three seats in Lagos, 62 seats in the West, 73 in the East and five in the North. The AG fielded candidates for all the three seats in Lagos, all the 62 seats in Western Region, 43 of the seats in Eastern Region and all the 174 seats in the Northern Region<sup>95</sup>. At the end of the election, the NPC won 134 seats, all in the North. The NCNC, which had formed an alliance with the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), won 89 seats - 56 in the East, 21 in the West, two in Lagos and 10 in the North. The AG, together with its allies, won 75 seats: 35 in the West; 1 in Lagos, 25 in the North and 14 in the East<sup>96</sup>. This shows that the political parties were regional in formation and orientation, just like their founders. Consequently, they only championed regional and tribal interests, they had scant interests in national issues unless as they affected their tribes of origin<sup>95</sup>. It was expected that after the country gained independence from the British colonialists the trend would change as the new leaders would work towards

integrating the various peoples of the country to build a united and virile country but that did not turn out to be the case. This was principally a consequence of mutual suspicion among the ethnic groups in the country<sup>97</sup>. The mistrust was heightened by the utterances of the political leaders of the First Republic<sup>97</sup>. The 1962 botched population census exercise is indicative of the failure of political leaders of the time to shed the toga of ethnicity and embrace nationalism<sup>97</sup>.

The political class, having seen the role that huge population played in earlier elections, prepared greatly for the 1962 population census exercise and was prepared to do anything to tilt the outcome of the exercise in their favour<sup>98</sup>. The Southern leaders were particularly interested in having higher population figures so as to be able to upturn the hold of the North on the nation's political power. But the North was not going to let go of its political power without a fight. To guard against being worsted by others in the census exercise, politicians took it upon themselves to mobilise and sensitise their constituents to submit themselves for enumeration during the exercise<sup>98</sup>. Southern politicians wooed their constituents with the promise that amenities distribution and scholarship awards would be hinged on the outcome of the census exercise<sup>99</sup>. The exercise eventually commenced on May 13, 1962, spanning two weeks. By July when the result was ready, it could not be announced because while there was a reasonable rise in the population figures in the North and the West, the Eastern Region reported increases that ranged between 120 and 200 per cent<sup>100</sup>.

This was contrary to the expectation because while giving room for a 5 per cent for the inaccuracy of 1952 and for a possible 2 per cent population increase annually, as recommended by the United Nations Organisation (UNO) for Africa, there was no way the Eastern Region could have experienced such a phenomenal increase in population<sup>100</sup>. Thus, Head of the Census body, J.J. Warren, disputed the figures from the region and described them as inflated<sup>100</sup>. It was

even said that against the backdrop of the increase coming from population of children under the age of five, it was impossible for Nigerian women of child-bearing age to produce the number of children even if they had been pregnant for each of the year under consideration<sup>100</sup>.

The census issue caused serious spat among the parties and politicians with the Federal Government asking for verification, a move that was rejected by Dr Michael Okpara, Premier of the Eastern Region, who insisted that the 12.3million figure recorded for the region should stand<sup>69</sup>. This was followed by a series of assaults by Igbo politicians against the ruling party<sup>97</sup>. The NCNC insisted that the re-enumeration attempt was a plot to increase the figure of the North<sup>73</sup>. The *West Africa Magazine* substantiated the belief that the North was out to manipulate the census figures when it published on December 8, 1962 that while the yet to be announced census showed that the three regions in the South had the upper hand, the North had secretly embarked on re-enumeration<sup>97</sup>. A publication by the Federal Ministry of Information in December 1962 put the population of the North at 22million, that of the East at 12million, and the West's (including the Mid-West) at 10million to put the national population at 42million<sup>101</sup>. Later, the *Daily Times*, relying on information from the Cabinet Office, in one of its editions, put the population of the North at 30million, the East's at 12 million and that of the West (including the Mid-West) at 10million, showing that the national population was 52million<sup>99</sup>. The Federal Government, however, did not deny either of the accounts, thus further fuelling the belief by the Southerners that the North was all out to shoot up its population figures to guarantee its electoral victory in the ensuing elections<sup>99</sup>. Since it was difficult to reach a consensus on the census figure, the Federal Government cancelled the exercise and announced that a new exercise would be conducted between November 5 and 8, 1963<sup>99</sup>. To prevent the recurrence of disputations, the government put some measures in place. One, there would be a verification team of about 6,000

inspectors sent to each region by the other regions. There would be a United Nations Advisory Team to monitor the exercise. Then, enumerators were mandated to count only physically present persons<sup>101</sup>. But in spite of the measures, the announcement of the census results, which showed that the population of the North was more than the whole of the South combined, still generated uproar from across the regions<sup>101</sup>.

Since the result of the census exercise was contested, it was a given that the outcome of the 1964 election would generate rancour. The disagreements over these issues were still raging when the military struck on January 15, 1966, overthrew the civilian administration, killed many prominent politicians and military officers and put an end to the First Republic<sup>102</sup>. The military putsch was led by seven majors in the Nigerian Army; Major Emmanuel Ifeajuna, Brigade Major, 1st Brigade, Lagos; Major Patrick Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu, Chief Instructor, Nigerian Military Training College, Kaduna; Major Tim Onwuategwu, Instructor, Nigerian Military Training College, Kaduna; Major Don Okafor, Co-Federal Guard; Major Chris Anuforo, Reconnaissance Squadron; Major Humphrey Chukwuka, Infantry; and Major Adewale Ademoyega, Infantry<sup>103</sup>.

The casualties of the putsch included Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister; Sir Ahmadu Bello, Premier of Northern Region; Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, Premier of Western Region; and Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, Minister of Finance<sup>103</sup>. The military casualties were Brigadier Zakari Maimalari, Commander of the 2nd Brigade, Apapa, Lagos; Brigadier Samuel Ademulegun, Commander of the 1st Brigade; Colonel Ralph Shodeinde, Deputy Commandant, Nigerian Defence Academy; Colonel Kur Muhammed, Chief of Staff Nigerian Army; Lt. Colonel James Pam, Adjutant General, Nigerian Army; Lt. Colonel Abogi Largema, Commanding Officer 4th Battalion, Ibadan; Lt. Colonel Arthur Unegbe, Quartermaster General;

PC Yohanna Garkawa, PC Haga Lai, Lance Corporal Musa Nimzo, Sgt. Daramola Oyegoke, PC Akpan Anduka and Ahmed Ben Musa<sup>103</sup>.

The January 1966 coup d'état was perpetrated principally by Igbo officers, the victims were majorly non-Igbos, many of the Igbo political office holders were spared by the coup plotters. The major beneficiaries of the putsch appeared to be of Igbo extraction, especially because the then Acting President, Nwafor Orizu, an Igbo man, handed over the reins of power to the General Officer Commanding of the Nigerian Army, Major General J.T.U. Aguiyi Ironsi, another Igbo man, thus the coup was tagged 'The Igbo Coup'<sup>102</sup>. Contrary to the requirement of the subsisting military law, the new Head of State, Major General Aguiyi Ironsi, did not bring the failed coup plotters to trial<sup>102</sup>. They were kept in service with full pay. Some of them were even promoted<sup>102</sup>. This further fuelled the insinuation that the January coup was an 'Igbo Coup'. The administration was also perceived to be favouring southerners, especially Igbos, with sensitive and lucrative appointments. Thus, it was not surprising that there was a countercoup in July of the same year, which was championed by Northern army officers<sup>103</sup>. The July 1966 coup d'état, in which many Army officers of Igbo extraction were killed, was led by Lt. Colonel Murtala Muhammed<sup>103</sup>. Others involved in the coup were Major Theophilus Danjuma, Major Martin Adamu, Major Shittu Alao, Major Baba Usman, Captain Ibrahim Babangida, Captain Muhammadu Buhari, Captain Joseph Garba, Captain Mamman Vatsa, Lt. Sani Abacha, Lt. Walbe, Lt. Duba, Lt. Shelleng, Lt. Abba Kyari, Lt. Baba Usman, Lt. Gado Nasko and Lt. Abdullahi Mohammed. The coup resulted in the massive killing of Igbos in and out of the military<sup>103</sup>. Notable amongst those killed by the coup plotters are the Head of State, Major General JTU Aguiyi Ironsi; Governor of Western Region, Lt. Col. Adekunle Fajuyi; Lt. Col. I.C. Okoro, Major Dennis Okafor, Major P.C. Nzegwu, Major J.K. Obi, Lieutenant E.C.N. Achebe,

Lieutenant Ekedingyo, Lieutenant Ugbe, Lieutenant S.A. Mbadiwe, Lieutenant A.D.C. Egbuna, J.O.C. Ihedigbo, E.B. Orok, I. Ekanem, A.O. Olaniyan, B.Nnamani, A.R.O. Kasaba, F.P. Jasper, H.A. Iloputaife, S.E. Maduabum and J.I. Chukwueke<sup>103</sup>.

The Northern Army officer, who perpetrated the coup plot, later installed Lt. Colonel Yakubu Gowon, the Chief of Army Staff, as the new Head of State, while sidelining Brigadier Babatunde Ogundipe, the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, who was the most senior military officer<sup>103</sup>. The ascension of Gowon to the headship of the country did not go down well with the Military Governor of Eastern State, Lt. Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, who believed that the most senior military officer should have ascended to the position of the Head of State following the killing of the Supreme Commander as Aguiyi Ironsi was known<sup>102</sup>. Ojukwu never really accepted the leadership of Gowon.

In spite of taking over the reins of government, establishing themselves as the authority over the military forces and killing many Igbo officers, it appeared the North had yet to be pacified for the killing of its leaders in the January 1966 as the killings of Igbos in the northern part of the country continued<sup>103</sup>. This resulted in what is now known as the Anti-Igbo pogrom<sup>76</sup>. Many Northerners said of Igbos and southerners as a whole, "The Igbo and their ilk ... are vermin and snakes to trod underfoot...dogs to be killed"<sup>104</sup>. The sentiments were all over the North and this resulted in the killing of between 80,000 and 100,000 Easterners in the North in 1966<sup>104</sup>. The killing got to a head on Thursday, September 29, 1966. On this day, which is called 'The Black Thursday,' Igbo civil servants, traders and civilians were attacked in several places in the North with no fewer than 300 Igbo people being killed in Kano on that day<sup>104</sup>.

Despite the unabated killings, the Federal Government, under the leadership of Colonel Gowon, kept assuring Nigerians that they were free to live in any part of the country<sup>105</sup>. But since the killings did not stop, many Easterners felt unsafe outside their region, so, they returned to the East<sup>77</sup>. Since respite seemed to be long in coming from the government at the centre, the Easterners resolved to take their destiny in their hands as the Military Governor of the region, Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, announced the independence of the region and declared it a sovereign state to be known as the Republic of Biafra on May 30, 1967<sup>106</sup>. The Federal Government declared war on Biafra on July 6, 1967 and thus started the Nigerian Civil War, otherwise known as the Biafra War<sup>106</sup>. The war lasted 30 months with about three million people killed<sup>107</sup>. The war formally ended on January 15, 1970. Towards the end of the war, Ojukwu fled to Cote d'Ivoire. His deputy, General Philip Effiong, signed the paper renouncing the secession<sup>107</sup>.

To give everyone a sense of belonging, General Yakubu Gowon declared at the end of the war that there were no victors and no vanquished<sup>107</sup>. He also embarked on a programme of "Reconciliation, Reconstruction, and Rehabilitation", to heal old wounds and rebuild the destroyed parts of the Eastern Region<sup>107</sup>. However, while there were genuine efforts to rebuild areas that were affected by the war, not much reconciliation was achieved<sup>106</sup>. So, many Nigerians still clung on to their ethnic persuasions. That was the situation till October 1, 1979, when the Second Republic officially took off<sup>106</sup>. The journey to the Second Republic started in September 1975 with the inauguration of the Constitution Drafting Committee by General Murtala Muhammed, the Head of State who took over from General Gowon after the latter was ousted in a coup that took place in July of the same year<sup>106</sup>. The committee, headed by Chief Rotimi Williams, was saddled with the responsibility of drafting a new constitution for the country<sup>106</sup>.

By the time the Committee turned in its report, Muhammed had been assassinated in a failed coup attempt and General Olusegun Obasanjo had taken over as the Head of State<sup>106</sup>. Obasanjo set up a Constituent Assembly with Justice Udo Udoma as the chairman<sup>106</sup>. The Assembly submitted a revised constitution to the government on August 29, 1978 with a recommendation that the country should adopt the United States of America type of presidential system<sup>106</sup>. With the constitution adopted by the military government, the road was clear for the commencement of party politics in preparation for the change of government on October 1, 1979<sup>106</sup>. Party formation in the Second Republic had a semblance of the First Republic as the parties that were registered in 1978 had their roots firmly in the ethnic group of the founders<sup>106</sup>. The National Party of Nigeria (NPN) was an offshoot of the Northern People's Congress (NPC), the Peoples Redemption Party (PRP), led by Alhaji Aminu Kano, was an offspring of the Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) of the First Republic, the Nigeria Peoples Party (NPP), led by Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, was a direct descendant of the NCNC of the First Republic, the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) was formed by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, who had founded the Action Group of the First Republic<sup>107</sup>. The Great Nigeria Peoples Party (GNPP), founded by Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim, who was a Minister in the First Republic, came as a result of a disagreement between himself and Dr Azikiwe during the formation of the NPP<sup>108</sup>.

As a result of the fact that the parties were the First Republic parties by other names, the ethnic groups that had supported the parties' progenitors, also supported the new parties. The Nigerian Advance Party (NAP), founded by Mr Tunji Braithwaite, a Yoruba man, was later registered in 1982<sup>108</sup>. So, the Second Republic parties were primarily vehicles for championing ethnic causes. So, the NPN, GNPP and PRP supported northern causes and won elections mainly in the North<sup>108</sup>. The UPN won elections in the West, while the NPP won elections mainly in the East<sup>108</sup>.

Alhaji Sheu Shagari of the NPN won the presidential election in 1979 and was installed Nigeria's first executive president on October 1, 1979<sup>108</sup>. The 1983 general election marked the beginning of the end of the Second Republic as the elections were marred by allegations of rigging and violence<sup>108</sup>. The allegations orchestrated a number of activities that culminated in the ouster of the civilian administration headed by Alhaji Sheu Shagari through a military coup on December 31, 1983<sup>106</sup>.

Probably because the new military administration had suspended the 1979 constitution, it took no cognisance of its provision on Federal Character as the new Head of State, Major General Muhammadu Buhari, and his deputy, Brigadier Tunde Idiagbon, were both northerners<sup>109</sup>. In addition to that, the Supreme Military Council (SMC), the nation's highest ruling body comprised mainly of northerners<sup>109</sup>. Out of the 16 members of the body, only five were from the South, the remaining 11 members were northerners. Added to this was the alleged high handedness of the administration such as the suppression of the press through the promulgation of Decree 4 of 1984, which criminalised the publication of any article deemed to bring government officials into disrepute<sup>102</sup>. Two journalists, Ndugar Irabor and Tunde Thompson of *The Guardian* newspapers, Lagos were imprisoned for running afoul of the unpopular Decree 4. This turned the media against the government and the final effect was its overthrow in a palace coup led by Major General Ibrahim Babangida, the third man in the hierarchy, on August 27, 1985<sup>109</sup>.

Babangida learnt from the mistake of Buhari and appointed a southerner, Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe, as his deputy<sup>109</sup>. With that, he was able to achieve stability for his administration. Babangida also attempted to wean the political class from the politics of identity by emplacing a two-party system patterned after the American political structure<sup>22</sup>. The two parties, National

Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP), were based on national, not regional competition. The two-party system played down tribal politics as the parties had strong followership across regions<sup>22</sup>. However, the advantage of the innovation was rubbished by the nullification of the June 12, 1993 presidential election, and the failure of General Babangida to handover to the winner, Chief Moshood Abiola, a southerner<sup>24</sup>. When Abiola insisted on claiming his mandate, rather than be installed as president, he was thrown into prison<sup>23</sup>. The nation was thereafter turned into chaos. The real tragedy of the nullification was the return of the country to the era of ethnicity because after a while the agitation for the revalidation of June 12 election became a South West affair as many people in the North were opposed to this, while Easterners could not be bothered either way.

The crisis generated by the nullification of the June 12 election forced General Babangida to 'step aside' on August 27, 1993 and hand over the reins of government to a Yoruba man, Chief Ernest Shonekan, as Head of Interim National Government (ING)<sup>24</sup>. The move was meant to pacify the Yoruba people<sup>24</sup>. But apparently, it was to prepare the stage for the takeover of the country by the military as General Sani Abacha took over the government on November 17, 1993, following a high court ruling which declared the ING illegal<sup>25</sup>. However, the attempt to reduce the agitation for the validation of the June 12 presidential election to an ethnic matter was a major business of the administration. Abacha died in 1998 and was replaced by General Abdulsalami Abubakar, who immediately initiated the process to return the country to civilian rule<sup>81</sup>. To assuage the South West people over the nullification of the June 12 presidential election, the presidency was zoned to the area with General Olusegun Obasanjo of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), and Chief Olu Falae, joint candidate of both the Alliance for

Democracy and the All People's Party (APP) slugging it out<sup>109</sup>. Obasanjo eventually won the presidential election and was inaugurated on May 29, 1999<sup>109</sup>.

#### **2. 1 .4 Citizens' Political Participation**

A state is a political community with sovereign authority over a territory<sup>110</sup>. It is also a political entity with institutions for making and enforcing laws<sup>110</sup>. A state must have a legitimate monopoly over the means of violence within its boundary<sup>111</sup>. However, the legitimacy of a state derives largely from its recognition by other states. Until a state is recognised by other states, it is a non-state<sup>112</sup>. There cannot be a state without citizens since a state is a community<sup>110</sup>. In the same vein, it takes a state to confer citizenship on its individuals<sup>110</sup>. No one can be a citizen without belonging to a state. Consequently, not only do a state and its citizens have a symbiotic relationship, they are also interdependent. Thus, citizenship is the relationship between a state and its community members.

Citizenship is defined as the possession of the virtue of ruling or being ruled<sup>112</sup>. Similarly, it is described as knowing how to rule and being ruled with justice<sup>111</sup>. It is also the state of having the right to participate in and to represent in politics<sup>113</sup>. Similarly, citizenship confers on one the membership of a political community as well as the rights and responsibilities of that membership<sup>112</sup>. Thus, citizenship is the legal connection between an individual and a state that puts certain obligations on the state and foists certain responsibilities on the individual.

Citizenship is the most privileged form of nationality because statelessness (not belonging to any state as a citizen) results in deprivation of legal protection and basic human rights such as access to education, healthcare, property rights and employment.<sup>85</sup> Citizenship speaks of an individual's status as a member of a political community<sup>113</sup>. It also denotes the membership of individuals

with universal rights and obligations in a state<sup>112</sup>. So, citizenship has two parts; belonging to a political community and participating in managing the affairs of that community<sup>113</sup>. A citizen is an engaged member of a political entity<sup>113</sup>.

Citizenship as a concept has its roots in ancient Greece where a distinction was made between men and women as well as aristocrats and the proletariats. In ancient Greece, only the nobles and male property owners were conferred with citizenship<sup>114</sup>. In Greek city-states, the idea of citizenship developed out of the need for residents to protect their cities and members of the city-states<sup>114</sup>. The Greek military formation style required cohesion and commitment by every soldier such that if any of them fell out of line the whole structure could fall apart<sup>114</sup>. It was this sense of each of them having the back of others that birthed the idea of citizenship<sup>114</sup>. The people saw the need to jointly defend their city from external invasion and jointly protect themselves from aggressors. Since women could not take part in the battle and the poor could not afford to buy their own military weapons, they were not regarded as citizens<sup>114</sup>. So, in the Greek city-states, citizens were those who had enough resources to supply their own weapons which would be deployed in the defence of their cities. Part of the benefits of being a Greek citizen was the right to vote<sup>114</sup>. The citizens' obligations included payment of taxes and participation in military service. Later citizenship was extended to male children of nobles<sup>114</sup>.

In ancient Rome, citizenship was the means used to distinguish between freeborn, whose origin could be traced to the city of Rome, and slaves whose territories were conquered by Rome and incorporated into the Roman Empire<sup>115</sup>. While those of Roman descent were regarded as first class citizens, others were regarded as second class citizens<sup>115</sup>. Roman citizenship conferred unique privileges within the empire<sup>114</sup>. First class citizens enjoyed the liberty to own property, were protected by the city, could participate in politics and had the right to sue and be sued<sup>114</sup>.

But second class citizens or conquered people could not participate in Roman politics, though they were allowed to engage in commercial activities as well as marry Roman citizens<sup>114</sup>. In addition, they had the full protection of the Roman law. With its own style of citizenship, Rome was able to build loyalty among its diverse peoples throughout the whole empire<sup>115</sup>.

The issue of citizenship was partly responsible for the renaissance, which took place between the 15th and 16th centuries in Europe<sup>116</sup>. Renaissance was the transition from Middle Ages to modernity. Although the period was principally about cultural, artistic, political and economic rebirth, it was also characterised by people's rejection of being subjects to kings and Lords<sup>116</sup>. They wanted to be treated as free citizens of a city or a nation. The agitation was fuelled by the morphing of cities into nations. As populations grew, cities also grew and many of them combined forces to repel invasion<sup>116</sup>. So, nations were formed and those who contributed to the growth of the cities and nations didn't want to continue to be treated as second class citizens or subjects to monarchs, aristocrats and the nobles<sup>116</sup>. As agitation for republicanism grew, so did the influence of aristocrats and monarchs wane because a republic belongs to the citizens and not a family or dynasty<sup>116</sup>. Invariably, citizenship was no longer tied to a city or a king, but a nation-state. This brought about equality as more concessions were given to those who had earlier been referred to as non-citizens<sup>116</sup>. The transformation of citizenship witnessed during the renaissance laid the foundation for the concept as it is known today.

Every country has its own citizenship laws which stipulate how citizenship can be acquired and lost<sup>117</sup>. Citizenship is acquired through five means; *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*, *jus matrimonii*, naturalisation and economic citizenship<sup>117</sup>. *Jus soli*, meaning right of the soil or birthright citizenship, is derived from the English common law. It means determining a person's citizenship by his place of birth. This is the means through which citizenship is acquired in

countries like the United States of America, Canada, Germany, Chad, Lesotho and Tanzania, among others<sup>118</sup>. *Jus sanguinis*, which means law of blood, is inherited citizenship or descent citizenship. The system, which is derived from Roman law, confers citizenship on a person whose either or both of the parents are citizens of that country. This is the system used by most countries, including Nigeria, to determine citizenship<sup>118</sup>. *Jus matrimonii*, citizenship by marriage, is the opportunity for a person married to a citizen of another country to become the citizen of that country. This is applicable in most countries although while citizenship is conferred on the production of a marriage certificate in some countries, the conferment is contingent on certain conditions in others<sup>118</sup>.

Naturalisation is the process by which the national of a country acquires the citizenship of another country. This is usually accomplished either through a statute or by application. Although the rules guiding naturalisation vary from one country to another, they usually consist of a pledge to obey and uphold that country's laws as well as subscribing to an oath of allegiance<sup>118</sup>. As a way of attracting investment to boost their economies, some countries lure investors with their citizenship. Known as economic or investment citizenship, the beneficiary is expected to make substantial economic contribution to the country. The justification for this type of citizenship by the countries is that since the core of citizenship is participation, the beneficiaries also participate economically in the affairs of the country<sup>118</sup>.

While major scholars have captured the aforementioned categories of citizenship, they seem to have left out citizenship of minors (those who are under 18 years of age). If citizenship is defined as the relationship between a state and its community members and it is also the legal connection between an individual and a state that puts certain obligations on the state and foists certain responsibilities on the individual, it means that the relationship between the state and minors is

one-sided because while the state in most cases performs its own obligations, the minors are unable to carry out their own responsibilities such as payment of taxes, exercising franchise and participating in other activities that bind the state with its citizens. In addition, minors are not allowed to enjoy the full benefits of their citizenship as they are restricted from driving, owning property or even being a director in a company. Consequently, this researcher proposes another form of citizenship, which is *restricted citizenship*. This is the citizenship of minors who, though are members of the state, are not recognised as fully so until they reach the age of maturity and cannot in that sense be said to enjoy or exercise full citizenship.

Citizenship confers three major rights on members of a political community<sup>119</sup>. These are civil rights, political rights and social rights. These rights are usually enshrined in the constitution of each sovereign state<sup>119</sup>. Civil rights are a consequence of one's membership of a political community. They are rights enjoyed by every citizen of a state. These rights guarantee citizens' protection under the law of the state. Civil rights include the right to life, right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, right to freedom of speech, right to own property, right to fair hearing, right to freedom from discrimination and right to freedom of movement<sup>119</sup>.

Political rights are also guaranteed and protected by the laws of the land. They are rights which allow members of a political community to participate in the political process of a state. These include right to vote and be voted for, right to take part in public discourse, right to protest, right to associate with others and the right to assemble<sup>119</sup>. Social rights are those rights which entitle a citizen to a life of dignity irrespective of their financial or economic standing. These include right to education, right to basic health facilities, right to standard of living and housing<sup>119</sup>.

In addition to these rights, the state is saddled with some obligations<sup>118</sup>. The state's major obligation is the preservation of life and property. It also has the responsibility to provide a productivity-enhancing environment for its citizens<sup>118</sup>. The state also has the responsibility of providing an atmosphere that will facilitate social cohesion just as it enables the citizens to engage in wealth creation by ensuring their safety. As a corollary to this, a state has four key responsibilities; maintenance of internal order, military defence and aggression, maintenance of communications infrastructure and economic redistribution<sup>119</sup>.

The glue that binds citizens to the state is political participation<sup>120</sup>. A state cannot function optimally without citizens' political participation<sup>119</sup>. A state can neither maximise its potentialities nor operate at its highest level without citizens' political participation<sup>120</sup>. Therefore, a state's strength, wealth and productivity are proportional to the level of political participation of its citizens in its affairs. But political participation does not only benefit the state, it also profits the citizens because the end product of citizens' political participation is power redistribution. Every effective citizens' political participation results in an improvement in the management of the state and the wellbeing of the people.

Citizen political participation is voluntary<sup>120</sup>. It is the unforced engagement of citizens in the affairs of their country. This may be in form of voting during elections, agenda setting, participation in the formation of public policies, volunteering or protests. It is a means of influencing public policies and government decisions<sup>120</sup>. It is also a means by which the people hold their leaders accountable<sup>118</sup>. It is a process through which the citizens either cede their power to their representatives or withdraw same from them<sup>120</sup>. It is a means through which the citizens show their approval or disapproval of those at the helm of affairs<sup>120</sup>. It is a way of showing that the office of the citizen is the most powerful office in a democracy<sup>120</sup>. Citizen

participation is the spine of democratic governance<sup>120</sup>. It is a principal way for citizens to exercise their civic responsibility in a democracy. It is also an opportunity for citizens to contribute to social, economic and national development<sup>118</sup>.

#### **2.1.4.1 Factors that Determine Political Participation**

Political participation does not happen by happenstance; it is usually precipitated by certain factors which include culture, patron-client politics syndrome, socio-economic status, ethnicity, religious beliefs, level of education and political socialization<sup>121</sup>. Man is moulded by the culture to which he is subjected. Since every man exists within a cultural milieu, every man is therefore a product of culture<sup>120</sup>. Culture is the embodiment of knowledge, beliefs and other abilities appropriated by man to facilitate his effective functioning as a member of a society<sup>120</sup>. The import of this is that without imbibing the prevailing culture, no member of the society can function effectively in that society.

So, culture is acquired. It is also a learned human pattern or model for living. Culture is not inborn; it must be acquired after birth. It is its acquisition that positions an individual for acceptable conducts. It is when culture is imbibed that man learns to conquer his environment. Although culture is not inborn, it can be inherited because culture is made up of patterns relative to behaviour and the products of human action passed on from generation to generation independently of the biological genes. A seeming agglomeration of all of these is the view that culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes members of one group from another<sup>120</sup>. This indicates that while culture gives common identification to members of a group, the same culture is also the distinguishing factor between members of different groups.

Therefore, culture is society or people-specific. Due to its people-specificity, culture impacts political participation.

In traditional African societies, for instance, women are to be heard and not to be seen. President Muhammadu Buhari exemplified this when, in October 2016 while fielding questions from journalists, he said his wife “belongs to my kitchen and my living room and the other room.”<sup>122</sup> This means that while the wife of the United States of America has a role to play in the administration of the nation, the contrary is the case in Nigeria. This culture of keeping women out of the limelight has negatively affected the participation of women in political activities. Compared with England where a woman, Mary Tudor, ascended the throne as far back as 1553,<sup>123</sup> it is clear that while the African culture impedes universal political participation, the English culture encourages it.

Patron-client politics is turning politics into a transactional relationship between political office holders and members of the public<sup>124</sup>. It is a situation in which the political office holder-citizen relationship is reduced into a business relationship to the extent that the citizen is not able to hold the political office holder accountable. It is a situation in which lawmakers, for instance, use constituency projects, rather than law-making to win the support of constituents. This has become quite common in Nigeria as most lawmakers who seek a return to office do not campaign based on the number of bills they were able to sponsor but rather on the number of projects they are able to facilitate to their communities.

This syndrome is similar to vote-buying which is fast becoming the norm in Nigeria. Vote buying is a phenomenon whereby political candidates pay the electorate to vote for them. Some of the civil society groups that monitored the 2015 and 2019 general elections raised the alarm

about how voters were induced with money during the elections<sup>125</sup>. Where patron-client politics syndrome holds sway, political participation cannot be voluntary as citizens' political participation is motivated by pecuniary considerations rather than the desire to contribute to nation building<sup>124</sup>. Socio-economic status of the citizens goes a long way in determining their level of political participation<sup>121</sup>. This is because while prosperity widens horizon and enables the rich to have a cosmopolitan outlook, poverty conditions the thinking of the poor and constrains their ability to generate creative ideas that will get them out of the poverty cycle. Poverty and all its related concerns require so much mental energy that those battling with shortage of funds have less brainpower remaining to devote to other areas of life<sup>126</sup>. In essence, the socio-economic state of the citizens determines their level of political participation. While those who are well-heeled are disposed to getting involved in the political development of their country, the poor are too preoccupied with survival that they do not pay much attention to political participation<sup>121</sup>.

On the other hand, poverty also predisposes the people to succumbing to patron-client politics. This means that while the wealthy or the middle class may be decisive about their political participation, the participation of the poor is dependent on who is funding the process. The level of a citizen's education plays a critical role in the extent of his or her political participation<sup>127</sup>. This is because education increases citizens' access to information and the information enables them to take appropriate actions. This is in tandem with the assumption of the Knowledge Gap Theory, which posits that a strong correlation exists between education and access to public affairs knowledge<sup>128</sup>. The theory also states that the better educated a citizen is, the better his access to the body of existing knowledge and the better positioned to get involved in activities that would advance the cause of the society.

Ethnic considerations play a crucial role in political participation in multi-ethnic countries like Nigeria<sup>121</sup>. The reason for this is that the people do not see themselves as one country. Rather than viewing issues concerning their country from the spectrum of nationalism, they view them from the prism of ethnicity. This usually pitches people against one another and this affects political participation. Ahead of the 2015 governorship election in Lagos State, the Oba of Lagos, His Royal Majesty Oba Rilwan Akiolu, threatened that any Igbo person in Lagos who refused to vote for the All Progressives Congress (APC) candidate, Akinwumi Ambode, would perish in the lagoon<sup>129</sup>. Similarly, while addressing the leadership of the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) in preparation for the 2023 presidential election, candidate of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, urged the northern leaders not to support any Yoruba or Igbo presidential candidate but to support him as their candidate<sup>130</sup>.

Religious bodies provide a veritable platform for mass mobilisation of people especially during emergencies because many people identify with one religious organisation or the other and defer to their religious leaders. But when it comes to political participation, the relationship between religious leaders and their adherents may be counterproductive as most political actors opt to use their religious affiliation for selfish ends rather than deploying same for national interest. After securing the presidential ticket of the APC in 2022 ahead of the election slated for February 25, 2023, Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu, a Muslim from the South West geopolitical zone, picked Senator Kashim Ibrahim Shettima, a Muslim from the North East, as his running mate. Not unexpectedly, the choice raised concerns among Christians who felt that they might be sidelined should the APC candidate win the election. But a group which called itself the Concerned Northern APC Christians Forum caused a sensation by saying at a press conference that it would

mobilise Christians in the North and the rest of the country to vote against Tinubu despite being the candidate of their party<sup>131</sup>.

Political socialisation is the process through which the political culture of the society is inculcated in a member of that society<sup>132</sup>. Consequently, citizens internalise the political values, beliefs and behaviours and come into the understanding of how the political system is organised and managed. This knowledge shapes their perspectives and opinions about the political system and determines the extent of their involvement in the political process.

Political socialisation takes place through social institutions, which serve as agents of political socialisation. These are societal structures responsible for shaping and regulating behaviours of members of a society with a view to ensuring societal sustainability<sup>132</sup>. There are six key agents of political socialization<sup>132</sup>. These are family, school, media, religious bodies and government. The family is the child's first contact with the political system<sup>133</sup>. A child that belongs to an apolitical family may not show any interest in the political system because there is no one to model it to him. On the other hand, a child whose parents show more than a passing interest in the political process is more likely to be interested in the political structure and become an active participant in the political process.

The education system also plays a significant role in igniting or extinguishing citizens' interest in the political system by what they do or fail to do. Between 2007 and 2019, the Federal Government of Nigeria stopped the teaching of History as a subject in secondary schools<sup>134</sup>. The implication of this is that the young minds that enrolled in secondary schools within that period were deprived of the opportunity of getting to know how the society evolved and how the

involvement of citizens shaped that evolution. This will definitely affect the students' involvement in the political process.

The media, as a social institution, mirrors the society and shapes perception. Through its reports, broadcasts, analyses and writings, the media helps the society to form opinions about the political process. The media can deliberately lead the society in a particular direction by priming and drawing attention to certain issues. All of these come to play in shaping the final decision of the citizens about the political process. Before the 2007 general elections in Nigeria, President Olusegun Obasanjo was determined to change the constitution of the country for the purpose of securing a third term in office<sup>135</sup>. But the media brought this to the attention of the society and mobilised the public against the idea.<sup>136</sup> This eventually brought the death knell upon the idea.

Religious bodies also play an important role in the socialisation of the citizens through their doctrines and practices. Religions feed the minds of the citizens with what they believe is right and many of the adherents dogmatically lap up whatever their religious leaders serve them. This largely informs the decisions they take and the path they choose to toe. Members of Jehovah Witnesses, a Christian sect, neither believe in reciting the national anthem nor in getting involved in the political process. This doctrine is taught to members of the church and this forms their political belief. As a result, most members of the sect neither register for voting nor participate in electioneering.

Government's role in political socialisation is quite critical. The government is responsible for making laws, which may engender or hinder political socialisation. The government may also deliberately establish institutions that would facilitate political socialisation or may deliberately create hindrances for political socialisation. On July 25, 1987, the military administration headed

by General Ibrahim Babangida inaugurated the Mass Mobilisation for Self Reliance, Zero Justice, and Economic Recovery (MAMSER) for the purpose of mobilising support for the political transition programme of the government and educating the citizens about the political process<sup>137</sup>. As a result of the enlightening activities of the government agency, by the time the country was to have the presidential election on June 12, 1993, the citizens' political awareness was so high that not only did they move out en masse to discharge their civic duty by casting their votes, they also challenged government's decision to annul the election and foist an unconstitutional interim government on the people.

Citizen political participation comes in six different types<sup>138</sup>. These are the inactive, the voting specialists, the parochial participants, the communalist, the campaigners and the complete activists<sup>139</sup>. The inactive participants are those who do not take part in any political activity<sup>139</sup>. They do not join other citizens to protest against unfavourable government policies, they do not register for vote and they do not take part in election. This apathy can be as a result of many factors ranging from religious beliefs to social orientation and discontentment with the state of the nation.

The voting specialists are those whose only claim to political participation is taking part in elections<sup>139</sup>. They do not participate in the formation of public policies, volunteering or protests. Several factors are responsible for this limited political participation. These could be lack of understanding of the need to participate in other political activities or the thinking that such activities do not produce the expected change.

Parochial political participants are occasional participants<sup>139</sup>. These are citizens who do not attach any seriousness to political activities unless they are motivated or induced by others to

participate. When political parties hold their rallies in Nigeria, they often have to motivate and induce members of the public who are not registered party members to attend such rallies. The political parties and the candidates need the crowd to send a message of relevance and strength to their opponents. So, they are not averse to renting crowds to attend their rallies. At some other times, parochial participants are encouraged to get involved in the process if somebody close to them or someone they respect is involved in the process.

The communalists' interest in political participation is founded in their involvement in community activities. They exercise their franchise during elections but they do not get engaged in campaign. They want the best for their community, so they get involved in the process of electing who they regard as the best candidate for their community<sup>139</sup>. The campaigners are quite active in the electioneering process<sup>139</sup>. They are, more often than not, involved in partisan politics and campaign for candidates of their parties. They are deeply involved in the process of getting the support of members of the public for candidates of political parties. The complete activists are those who are fully involved in all political activities. They are involved in community activities, protests, campaigns and voting<sup>139</sup>.

The categorisation, however, does not take care of political thugs who, though may be involved in organisation of and mobilisation for political activities, may not really participate in the electoral process because they do not usually register to vote. This category of citizens can neither be classified as parochial nor inactive because they are neither parochial nor inactive. Will it be right to describe them as *perverted participants*?

#### 2.1.4.2 Levels of Citizen Participation

There are eight levels of citizen participation in a state but the levels are determined by the government rather than the citizens themselves<sup>140</sup>. These are manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegation and citizen control<sup>140</sup>. Manipulation is regarded as the lowest rung of the ladder of citizen participation because it is an exercise in which citizens are given a placebo to create a sense of involvement in the process of policy making or nation building. It is a strategy deployed by political actors to give the citizens a false sense of participation in the decision-making process.

Following the 2020 #EndSARS crisis in Nigeria, during which some citizens were reportedly brutalised and killed by some security operatives, the Lagos State Government set up a Judicial Panel of Inquiry and Restitution on Lekki Toll Gate Shooting Incident and Cases of Police Brutality<sup>141</sup>. The panel was headed by a retired judge, Doris Okuwobi, while other members included Ebun Adegboruwa, a Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN); Taiwo Lakanu, a retired Deputy Inspector General of Police; Patience Udoh, representing civil society; Segun Awosanya, a human rights activist; Olutoyin Odusanya, Director, Lagos Citizens Mediation Center; and Temitope Majekodunmi, a youth representative<sup>141</sup>.

The panel, which sat for one year, indicted the Nigerian Army and the Nigeria Police of killing and maiming harmless Nigerians at the Lekki Tollgate in its report to the state governor, Babajide Sanwo-Olu<sup>142</sup>. The Lagos State Government then set up a four-man committee comprising Moyosore Onigbanjo, SAN, Attorney-General and Commissioner for Justice; Mr. Segun Dawodu, Commissioner for Youths and Social Development; Mrs. Aramide Adeyooye, Special Adviser, Works and Infrastructure and Mrs. Tolani Oshodi, Permanent Secretary,

Cabinet Office, who were all members of the state executive council to go through the report and come up with a white paper<sup>143</sup>. In the white paper later presented by the committee, the state government disputed all the findings of the judicial panel<sup>144</sup>. It queried the number of deaths reported by the panel and questioned the compensations suggested by the panel. The government also stated in the white paper that it had no power to effect some of the recommendations suggested by the panel<sup>144</sup>. The question then is, if the government already had its facts concerning the issues at stake on the Lekki Tollgate crisis why did it set up a panel made up of members of the public? Was it to give a semblance of involving the citizens in the process of arriving at a predetermined result?

Therapy, the second rung on the ladder of citizens' participation speaks to the arrogance and deception of government clothed in the garb of citizens' engagement. It is an attempt by those in power to engage citizens in certain activities while the focus of the government is actually on 'curing' them of what is perceived as their 'pathology' rather than addressing the situation that created the 'pathology'<sup>140</sup>. On February 14, 2022, the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) in Nigeria embarked on an industrial action to compel the Federal Government to meet its demands, which included renegotiation of the 2009 FGN/ASUU agreement, release of earned allowances for university lecturers, deployment of the University Transparency and Accountability Solution (UTAS) and the release of revitalisation funds for universities<sup>145</sup>.

The Federal Government set up the Nimi Briggs Committee in March 2022 to address the issues raised by ASUU and renegotiate the renegotiated agreement<sup>146</sup>. Three months later, the committee turned in its report, which was a product of collective bargaining, to the government. The government, rather than implement the agreements, hid under the guise of paucity of funds to jettison the report<sup>147</sup>. The government then called on parents to beg ASUU to call off the strike

as it did not have enough resources to meet ASUU's demand<sup>148</sup>. In response to this, the National Parents Teachers Association of Nigeria (NPTAN) appealed to both the government and ASUU to sheathe the sword and allow peace on the various campuses<sup>149</sup>. The association even offered to contribute N10,000 per parent per session to support the funding of the nation's universities<sup>149</sup>. In September 2022, the government approached the National Industrial Court to get an order of the court that would compel the academics to return to work<sup>150</sup>. The Industrial Court, relying on Trade Dispute Act, which prohibits any union to embark on strike over a matter that had been referred to the court, ordered ASUU members to call off the strike while negotiation continued.<sup>151</sup> ASUU was not pleased with this and approached the Appeal Court to seek redress. The appellate court, however, ruled that the lecturers should return to work<sup>152</sup>. While all these were ongoing, the Federal Government had embarked on surreptitious moves to break the ranks of the university lecturers by registering two academic unions; the National Association of Medical and Dental Academics (NAMDA) and the Congress of Nigerian University Academics (CONUA)<sup>153</sup>. The government, while putting up the appearance of engaging members of the public in solving the ASUU strike imbroglio, had devised two different means of cutting the union to size. This is therapy, working surreptitiously to neutralise the power of a contending force while presenting a façade of enlisting citizens' participation in tackling the challenge. Informing citizens of their rights, responsibilities and options is critical to engendering citizen participation<sup>150</sup>. This is because what citizens do is a function of the information at their disposal. More often than not, the information provided by the government is one sided and asymmetric without any form of input or feedback from the citizens. This puts a cap on its usefulness to the citizens and limits citizen participation in such schemes or programmes. Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) are the mainstay of most economies. In Nigeria, SMEs create about

17million jobs and contribute about 48 per cent to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)<sup>154</sup>. To boost the operations of the SMEs and increase their economic activities, the Nigerian government has put in place many intervention funds, including BoI for Women, CBN Real Sector Financing and CBN Creative Industry Financing<sup>155</sup>. But many SMEs claim they cannot access the funds because they have scant information about them and even when they manage to get the information, the process of accessing the loans is cumbersome<sup>155</sup>. They blame the complexity in the process on the failure of the government to carry the major stakeholders along in fashioning the funds<sup>155</sup>. Due to the inability of the government to provide adequate information to the citizens about the availability of these funds, those who need the funds to grow their businesses and invariably the economy cannot access them.

Another level of citizens' participation is consultation. This is when the government engages citizens in the decision-making process<sup>150</sup>. Consultation is a means through which government gets citizens' input in a programme or project meant for them. Consultation is deployed by government agencies and officials as an opportunity to involve citizens in government activities and enlighten communities and groups about government's action plans. It is also used as a means to getting the buy-in of those who would be affected by government decisions. In addition, through the instrumentality of consultation, those in government avail themselves of the practical experiences and the diverse views, knowledge and skills of the citizens. Consultation is beneficial to both the government and the citizens in that it births bonding between them.<sup>150</sup> It also reduces sense of exclusion, enables citizens to own the outcome of government decision, promote community involvement, foster democratic dialogue among citizens and revitalise civic culture.

The next stage in the citizens' participation is placation. This is when a government grants its citizens limited power in a process<sup>150</sup>. A typical example is the governance system in the Nigerian universities. In Nigeria, the governing council is regarded as the highest authority vested with the powers to make decisions on the finance and general management of a public university, including the control of its property and expenditure<sup>156</sup>. It also has the powers to regulate the constitution and conduct of the university<sup>156</sup>. The council membership is drawn from both within and outside the university. The members include Pro-Chancellor (the Chairman), who is from outside the university; the Vice-Chancellor, the Deputy Vice-Chancellors, four members of the University Senate, two persons from the Congregation, one person from the Convocation and four persons representing the Federal Ministry of Education and its various interest<sup>156</sup>. While the governing council seems to have all the powers to do anything and everything to advance the course of the university with a view to creating an atmosphere that engenders scholarship, in reality it cannot truly exercise such powers. For instance, the university council cannot take decision on staff remuneration. That is why whenever there is an issue that has to do with staff emolument, rather than unions in the university being engaged by the governing council, it is the Federal Ministry of Labour and Employment that takes over, thus reducing the governing council to a mere toothless bulldog. The appointment of highly respected individuals to university council or as pro-chancellors, therefore, is nothing but a means of placating them or giving them a false sense of having a power that in the real sense they do not possess.

Partnership in citizens' participation happens when government officials and institutions agree to the redistribution of power between power holders and citizens<sup>140</sup>. This is the stage when the government does not just exercise its powers but does so by carrying along the citizens. At this

point, the government partners with the public to the point of allowing the public to come up with the development of alternatives and the recommendation of solutions to issues. This does not happen naturally, but is often the consequence of protests and campaigns by the citizens. On November 23, 2009, ailing President Umaru Yar'Adua left Nigeria for Saudi Arabia to receive medical attention without transmitting any letter to the National Assembly to inform the law-making body of his absence and by so doing confer on his deputy, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, the power to act as President in line with Section 145 of the Constitution<sup>157</sup>. This left the nation rudderless with a group of people, including the President's wife, Hajia Turai, running the country as they saw fit<sup>157</sup>. This did not go down well with many Nigerians and they took to the streets in protest under the aegis of the Save Nigeria Group (SNG)<sup>157</sup>. The protesters called on the National Assembly to impeach the ailing president so that his deputy could take over the reins of government. After much pressure, the lawmakers came up with the 'Doctrine of Necessity', which enabled them to empower Vice President Jonathan to serve as Acting President<sup>157</sup>. Through this doctrine, the National Assembly, the body vested with the power to make laws for the country, hearkened to the yearnings of the citizens to circumnavigate the constitution to solve a riddle that the drafters of the constitution had not envisaged.

Delegated authority occurs in citizen representation when the government yields some level of control and decision-making authority to citizens<sup>140</sup>. At this level, not only are citizens appointed to boards of public corporations, they are also vested with the powers to manage specific programmes of such corporations. For many years, the oil producing communities had complained of being on the receiving end of oil exploration with their land and waters being polluted with both the government and oil producing companies embarking on tokenism to address the issue. After series of agitations, the Federal Government came up on July 12, 2000

with the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) to generate plans and programmes that would engender development in the area<sup>158</sup>. But that did not assuage the feelings of the citizens because they still felt under-served because they were not part of the decision making process. Then the government established the Niger Delta Ministry on September 10, 2008 to harmonise all government efforts targeted at tackling the multi-varied challenges beleaguering the Niger Delta area such as youth unemployment, infrastructural degradation, environmental pollution and community devastation. But this did not fully satisfy the communities despite the interventions of the ministry. In 2021, President Muhammadu Buhari signed the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) which has provision for the establishment of Host Communities Development Trust (HCDDT)<sup>159</sup>. This is a fund to be set up by oil companies for the benefit of oil-bearing communities. The Act stipulates that an oil company will make an annual contribution which is equal to 3 per cent of its operating expenditure of the preceding financial year into HCDDT which will be administered by a Board of Trustees (BoT). The BoT will comprise members of the host communities of high integrity and professional standing. The BoT will be in charge of the management of the funds and be responsible for the approval and supervision of projects to be funded by the HCDDT<sup>159</sup>. With this arrangement, the power to manage funds allocated to the community has been delegated to the community through some of its members. But the members will not hold office in perpetuity because they have a maximum of two terms of four years each and anyone found wanting could be removed by the community. With this arrangement, the lot of the host communities will be better because they are in charge of managing funds provided by oil companies, they are also ceded the power to determine the projects to be executed as well as the powers to supervise such projects. This, in essence, means that the host communities, and not the

federal, state or local government, have the power to determine the rate and pace of their development.

The last level of citizen participation is citizen control<sup>140</sup>. This is when the government cedes total control of a programme or an institution to the citizens. This includes the power to formulate policies and manage such programmes and institutions<sup>140</sup>. Citizens' political participation can either be citizen-inspired or government-controlled. When it is citizen-inspired, it is the citizens themselves that take the initiative for the participation, whereas when it is government-controlled, the participation is at the instance of the government.

The levels of citizens' participation are government determined. Although that is usually the case, it is not always so. The government has its way in dictating how citizens participate in managing the affairs of the state for as long as the citizens are in agreement with the state and that is for as long as the government gives a semblance of making the concerns of the citizens its concerns. For as long as that is the case, the citizens are not only compliant but also cooperative. But when the state makes it apparent that it does not care about the issues that are paramount to the citizens, they push back and this usually results in a crisis, a revolution or even a forceful change of government.

Mohamed Bouazizi was a poor Tunisian who eked out a living by selling fruits in a wheelbarrow on Tunisian streets<sup>160</sup>. Despite his pitiable state, the police would not let him be; he was harassed and extorted. On December 16, 2010, he borrowed the equivalent of \$200 to stock his mobile shop. The police went after him and confiscated his wares. In frustration, he ran to the governor's office to complain but nobody paid him any attention. Perplexed and depressed, he went away and set himself ablaze in public glare. Although he was rescued, he died due to the

severity of the burns he suffered<sup>160</sup>. His death on January 4, 2011 sparked a series of protests that not only consumed the government of President Ben Ali but also kick-started the phenomenon known as the Arab Spring which brought down the governments of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and Ali Abdullah Saleh of Yemen while precipitating protests and riots in countries such as Algeria, Kuwait, Iraq, Palestine and Saudi Arabia<sup>160</sup>. Therefore, while those who control the levers of power determine the levels of citizen participation, they lose the control when they overstep their bounds by flaunting the power before their deprived citizens.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework / Model**

The main theory for this study was the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), while two supporting theories, the Salad Bowl Theory of Integration and the Participation Theory, were also adopted.

### **2.2.1 Elaboration Likelihood Model**

The Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) is a dual process theory, which is focused on the differences in how human beings process stimuli and the resultant effect in attitudes and behaviour<sup>161</sup>. It was propounded in 1981 as a framework for the basic processes underlying effective persuasive communications<sup>161</sup>. Persuasion is personal, although the process can be initiated by a rhetorician, who may deploy logic, facts, emotion, reputation or even relationship, it cannot be concluded without the consent of the message receiver. For persuasion to take place, the receiver must first have self conviction about the validity of the message. This then means

that every rhetorician must have a design for the message to achieve persuasion<sup>162</sup>. That is the kernel of the theory.

ELM posits that a level of elaboration follows every presentation of information to the receiver or the audience<sup>162</sup>. According to the theory, elaboration means the quantum of effort the receiver utilises to process, evaluate and remember the message before opting to accept or reject it. The theory states that information is not automatically assimilated or internalised but rather, it goes through a process during which the receiver weighs it before taking a decision whether to accept it or reject it<sup>162</sup>. The process of 'elaborating' involves two routes, which reflect the level of effort required to process the information before reaching a decision on it<sup>161</sup>. These can either be high or low elaboration. If the effort required for elaboration is high, then the listener deploys the central route processing, but if it is low, the peripheral route processing is deployed<sup>161</sup>.

This means that rhetoric can be broadly divided into two categories, that which is superficial and that which is deep. Processing a superficial rhetoric does not require much cognition or reasoning. Because the message is superficial, the receiver is casual and flippant about it. The receiver does not attach much importance to it, so deciding one way or the other about it is not tasking. Therefore, the receiver makes use of the peripheral route<sup>161</sup>. For messages processed through the peripheral route, the context is more important than the content. Thus, the moment the context changes, the importance of the message is lost. This is why the persuasion arising from such communication is short-lived<sup>161</sup>.

Although peripheral route processing is often deployed in response to the content, sometimes it is also deployed by people who do not attach much importance to the message or those who do not see any direct benefit they derive from the message. So, they are not motivated to deploy

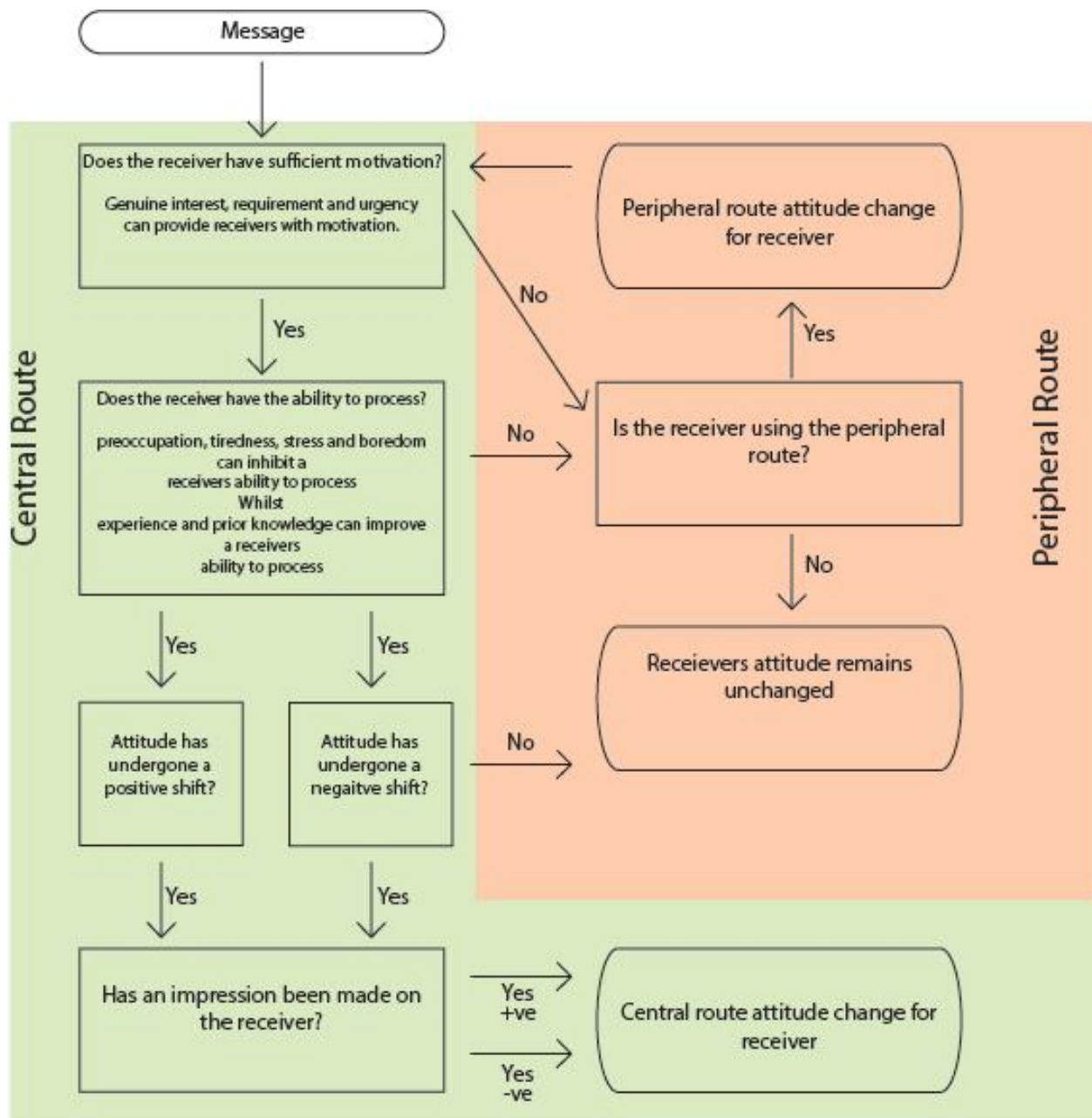
high elaboration effort to process it. Consequently, they resort to peripheral route processing<sup>163</sup>. But for rhetoric that is deep, much cognition is required to process it because it is detailed and tasking. Therefore, the central processing route is deployed. The receiver takes a longer time to process it because of the need to look at the details of the proposition, reflect on the pros and the cons before deciding one way or the other. As a result of the rigour and thorough reflection that precede persuasion, it is relatively more permanent when it is achieved<sup>163</sup>. The difference between peripheral and central routes appears to be context and rationale. While peripheral is more focused on the context of the communication, central is more particular about the rationale behind the communication. When people are allowed to understand the rationale behind an action they are more likely to internalise it and own the decision taken as a result of the exercise<sup>164</sup>.

The theory operates on seven assumptions<sup>161</sup>. The first is the correctness assumption. The assumption is that when motivated, people hold correct attitudes. This speaks to the fact that the attitude of a message receiver to the message is dependent on the quantum of motivation that backs the message<sup>161</sup>. The second is the elaboration continuum assumption. The assumption is that while people are wont to hold correct attitude, their capacity to engage in elaboration as well as situational factors play a role in their evaluation of a message.

The import of this is that while the criticality of motivation in determining attitude cannot be over-emphasised, the receiver's capacity to interpret a message is also vital. So, if the capacity is low the quantum of motivation behind a message would be immaterial<sup>161</sup>.

The third is the multiple role assumption. This states that certain variables can affect persuasion which is the focus of the model. These variables can serve as persuasive arguments and

peripheral cues which may affect argument elaboration. This speaks to the fact that while persuasion is the listener's call, certain factors can either aid or hinder the process<sup>161</sup>. The fourth assumption is the objective-processing assumption. The thrust of this is that the effect of variables on motivation or elaboration can be by inhibiting or enhancing argument analysis<sup>161</sup>.



**Fig 2.1 Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM)<sup>165</sup>**

The fifth is the biased processing assumption. This assumption states that a variable that affects a message in a biased manner will produce a positive or negative in the elaboration process<sup>161</sup>. The sixth is the trade off assumption. This states that when motivation to process information declines, peripheral cues become more important in the persuasion process. In the same vein, when argument analysis increases, peripheral cues become inconsequential in the persuasion process<sup>161</sup>. The seventh is the attitude strength assumption. The thrust of this assumption is that the persuasion that is achieved through the central route processing is more lasting and more resistant to counter-persuasion than the one achieved through peripheral route processing<sup>161</sup>.

There are three factors that influence the choice of processing route that a listener adopts. These are motivation, ability and opportunity<sup>161</sup>.

Motivation: Action or inaction is a function of motivation or lack of it. Motivation is the reason for which a person strives to achieve a goal or embarks on an activity. When people are motivated to go in a direction or take up a task, they give it their all. But motivation is a response to stimuli. So, when rhetoric strikes the right chord in the receiver, it is easy for him to get inspired and devote his energy to elaborating the message<sup>162</sup>. But when the rhetoric does not stimulate him, he is insipid and the urge to subject it to serious elaboration is low, so it is channeled to the peripheral route processing. A listener's interest in a rhetoric may be aroused if the subject of the discourse addresses issues that concern him or issues that can be beneficial to him<sup>162</sup>.

Ability: Another factor that determines the choice of processing route is ability to decipher the message<sup>161</sup>. If a message is beyond the ken of an individual, it is very likely that he would rather channel it through the peripheral route than expend time to try and break it down because he

knows that he lacks the capacity to do that. But for someone who has high cognition, making sense of the message would not pose any problem<sup>162</sup>. Ability may be affected by distraction and familiarity with the subject matter. A distracted person may not be able to give a communication as much attention as it deserves even if he has capacity to handle it and this will affect the processing route that he will opt for. Similarly, when a person feels he is already familiar with the subject matter of a communication, he may not give it as much attention as he ought to and may miss out on a few things<sup>162</sup>.

**Opportunity:** Opportunity refers to the time available to the listener to process the information before making a decision<sup>161</sup>. If the listener has ample time, he may want to subject the communication to elaborate reflection before taking a decision one way or the other. But if the time available to process the communication is short, the listener may opt for peripheral processing route.

### **2.2.1.1 Relevance of Elaboration Likelihood Model to This Study**

Towards the end of his administration, former President Olusegun Obasanjo mooted the idea of Vision 2020, an aspiration to grow the economy to the point of being one of the 20 largest economies in the world<sup>166</sup>. With that vision, the leadership of the country hoped to put Nigeria in the class of leading economies such as the United States of America, Japan, Germany, China, France, the United Kingdom, Brazil, India, South Korea and Indonesia.

Although the late former President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, who succeeded Obasanjo in 2007, came up with his own Seven-Point Agenda, he still believed in Vision 2020 and, in August 2008, set up the National Council on Vision 2020 to provide leadership and direction to achieve the vision by using a bottom-up approach which would ensure ownership by all stakeholders.<sup>166</sup> The

government also set up committees such as the National Steering Committee on Vision 2020, the Stakeholder Development Committee, and the National Technical Working Groups Committee to carry out various functions. After the demise of President Yar'Adua in 2010, the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan continued with the pursuit of the vision<sup>166</sup>. But by Year 2020 not only was Nigeria's economy nowhere near being ranked among the leading 20 economies in the world, no one was even talking about the vision anymore. Nigeria's economy was bogged down by slow growth and rising unemployment, which effectively combined to push almost a half of the population into extreme poverty.

Why did Nigeria fail to realise its Vision 2020, as desirable as it was? Why did Nigeria fail to make the transition into the league of leading economies? The plausible answer is that the rhetoric around the vision was not persuasive enough. The communication was both casual and superficial; the government did not make it sit quite well with the populace. So, the people subjected it to the peripheral processing route. As a result, it was easy for the citizens to shove it aside after a while.

In addition, the motivation to pursue the vision on the side of those saddled with the responsibility was low. The essence of Vision 2020 was to improve the well-being of a category of Nigerians. The Vision's target is the reduction of hunger, poverty, poor healthcare and other similar things by 2020<sup>166</sup>. Thus, the purpose of Vision 2020 was to help the poor, not to help everyone, and that was part of its undoing. As noble as the intention to improve the lot of the common people was, there was nothing in the vision for those who were saddled with the task of its implementation. Those saddled with the responsibility of running the vision were neither hungry nor poor and they had access to good healthcare and good housing. Since they could not see themselves in the purpose of the vision, their buy-in could not be guaranteed and their

motivation to ensure its success was limited. So, their commitment to the realisation of the Vision was quite feeble because they deployed the peripheral route processing. Although they appeared persuaded to pursue the vision, their persuasion was not sustained because the message was superficial to them, so they pursued it perfunctorily.

On the other hand, on May 25, 1961, former president of the United States of America, John F. Kennedy, proposed to the Congress that the United States should commit itself to the task of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to the Earth before 1970<sup>167</sup>. Although President Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963, the vision of landing a man on the moon within a decade was realised because on July 20, 1969, Apollo 11 landed on the moon<sup>167</sup>. The secret behind the success of Kennedy's vision of landing a man on the moon within a decade was his rhetoric. When President Kennedy was explaining the purpose of the vision to put a man on the moon, he said the country was embarking on the project because it would benefit everyone in the country<sup>167</sup>. He said new knowledge would be gained, new rights would be won and they would be won and used for the progress of all people<sup>167</sup>. The former President said further that space science, like nuclear science and all technology, had no conscience of its own but the purpose for which it would be deployed would be determined by man. He added that the USA would only be able to help determine whether space science would be used for good or evil only if it occupied a position of pre-eminence<sup>167</sup>. He said the country was taking a decision to embark on going to the moon project not because it was easy, but because it was hard; because that goal would serve to organise and measure the best of the nation's energies and skills<sup>167</sup>.

Every American citizen could connect to the purpose of the vision. The national pride was aptly expressed; only if the United States occupies a position of pre-eminence can we help decide whether this new ocean will be a sea of peace or a new terrifying theater of war<sup>167</sup>. It also spoke

of the benefit to the individual; they must be won and used for the progress of all people<sup>167</sup>. There is also a call to action, that challenge is one that we are willing to accept, one we are unwilling to postpone, and one we intend to win, and the others, too<sup>167</sup>.

As a result of the rhetoric which takes care of the interest of the generality of USA citizens, the whole nation took the message seriously, subjected it to extensive elaboration and got convinced and persuaded about its importance to them. Therefore, despite the demise of the champion of the vision, it stayed alive and was actually realised within the set time.

The understanding that for a message to strike the appropriate chord in the listener it has to be presented in the appropriate manner led to the development of message design<sup>164</sup>. This is the process of prioritising the key points that the rhetorician wants to pass across to the audience to achieve the desired change in behaviour or position<sup>164</sup>. A message design is developed from a clear outline of what the communication intervention aims to achieve.

As a result, effective rhetoric is deliberate, definite, memorable, audience-specific, inspiring and calls the audience to action. For a communication to impress a listener to the extent of him allotting time to 'elaborate' on it, the rhetorician must have equally spent time on developing it. This is often the case with speeches that are garnished with repetition. If a speaker fails to invest time in developing his speech, there is no guarantee that his listeners would want to invest time to 'elaborate' on it. Most likely, such a speech will be channelled through the peripheral processing route and if persuasion is achieved at all, it would not be lasting.

A speech must be definite about its purpose. A rhetorician must define what he wants to achieve with his rhetoric. Unless he is clear-headed about the purpose of his communication, he cannot persuade his audience because it is only the convinced that can convince others. Therefore,

defining the purpose of the communication is sine qua non to effectively passing it on to the audience. For a listener to contemplate 'elaborating' on a communication, it has to be memorable. If shortly after the communication a listener cannot recollect what was discussed, the rhetorician has failed. So, it is important to embed in the communication elements that will make the communication unforgettable.

Even when addressing a crowd, good communicators know how to make the message specific to each person or groups in the crowd. In the speech delivered by President John F. Kennedy to the Congress on the USA's plan to land a man on the moon within 10 years, though the message was primarily directed at the lawmakers, he inserted sentences that were meant for every citizen. This made it easy for everyone in the country to buy into the President's vision of landing a man on the moon. An uninspiring communication cannot achieve persuasion. If a speech is not tailored towards making the audience to have a new thinking or to see an old issue from a new perspective, it is unlikely that it would register in the mind of the listener. So, to make the audience connect with a speech, it must be able to inspire the audience. Persuasion is not achieved until there is a change in behaviour. Therefore, a rhetoric that will persuade must call the listener to action.

### **2.2.2 Salad Bowl Theory of Integration**

Very few societies are completely homogenous, most are heterogeneous and as a result multicultural<sup>168</sup>. Consequently, many societies face serious competition among the constituting cultures and have had to devise means of integrating the diverse cultures with a view to getting different groups to cooperate on critical foundational issues so that the society can accomplish its

goal of improving life and living for the members<sup>168</sup>. One of the theories that guide the management of a multicultural relationship is the salad bowl theory of integration.

The underpinning philosophy of the salad bowl theory is that people can be incorporated into a system or society without them having to lose their original identity and culture<sup>169</sup>. The theory posits that in a multicultural society, unity is not achieved by forcing homogeneity of culture but by encouraging each of the cultures to retain its flavour and bring its uniqueness into the common pool<sup>169</sup>. It argues that rather than working towards coalescing all cultures into one, it is better to give space to all the cultures so that none would feel dominated by the other, even when there are dominant cultures. The argument of scholars in support of the theory is that just as the ingredients of a salad bowl retain their distinctiveness, the different groups in a society should be allowed to maintain their uniqueness<sup>170</sup>. Thus, the theory advocates the retaining of the independence of ethnic groups, and their co-existence with dominant cultures. The theory is a metaphor for multiculturalism in a society.

Although there is no concurrence on the proponents of the theory, the emergence of the term has been traced to sources such as *The Cultural Geography of the United States* and *Assimilation in American Life*. Nonetheless, the theory has been widely adopted as a template for the integration of different cultural groups in a society. The thrust of the salad bowl theory is that different cultural groups can coexist in a society while maintaining their distinct identities<sup>170</sup>. This is based on the idea that a society is not a homogeneous melting pot, but rather a diverse mixture of many different cultures. The theory emphasises the importance of cultural diversity and the value of maintaining distinct cultural identities within a society. It also encourages mutual respect and

understanding between different cultural groups and acknowledges that while differences can sometimes lead to conflicts, they can also be a source of richness and strength for a society.

In addition, the theory highlights the need for open communication and dialogue between different cultural groups in order to build bridges of understanding and cooperation<sup>171</sup>. It promotes the idea of a society where people from diverse backgrounds can come together, learn from each other and contribute to the cultural, social and economic fabric of a country. It also suggests that society is a dynamic, evolving system, shaped by different cultural and social influences, so that the idea of assimilating the different cultures would be counter-productive and unnecessary<sup>172</sup>. Rather, people should be free to preserve and express their cultural heritage and identity, and still be able to fully participate in the society to which they belong. The salad bowl theory also promotes social cohesion as it emphasises the importance of peaceful coexistence<sup>172</sup>. Therefore, its adoption is crucial to reducing tensions in a multicultural society.

The theory makes room for cultural exchange and learning as individuals are able to maintain their own cultural identities while also interacting with others<sup>173</sup>. This can lead to a more enriching and diverse society. In addition, it reflects the reality of contemporary societies because many societies are diverse and multi-cultural. It is also a more inclusive approach to cultural integration, as it allows for a variety of cultural groups to coexist within a society rather than requiring them to be assimilated into a single, dominant culture<sup>173</sup>. However, the theory does not imply that all the different cultures in a society are completely separate and isolated from one another, but that they can interact, cross-fertilise and enrich each other without being forced to conform to one dominant culture. Scholars' perspectives about the theory are varied. Some believe that it is important for cultural maintenance among different groups in a country

and is also helpful in ensuring their adaptation of and adjustment to life in different societies. Those in support of the theory argue that it values and preserves cultural diversity<sup>174</sup>. They aver that the theory recognises that different cultural groups have their own distinct characteristics and values and it allows them to maintain these characteristics within a society. They also argue that this is a more respectful and inclusive approach than one which requires cultural groups to assimilate into a dominant culture.

Another view is that in a society made of different ethnic, religious and cultural groups the salad bowl theory facilitates respect for diversity and the study of the interactions among these different cultural groups<sup>172</sup>. A school of thought is also of the view that while it is important to embrace cultural diversity and encourage groups to maintain their own identities as advocated by the salad bowl theory, it is important for the different groups in the society to be united by common core values that allow the society to function, and that should be respected by all groups<sup>173</sup>. Some other scholars are of the opinion that adopting the salad bowl concept could result in the balkanisation of a country as the encouragement of different cultures in the same society could pose a threat to the nation's identity because each group could be pushing for different agenda rather than the common one<sup>174</sup>. Between the two options of adopting a melting pot approach and the salad bowl concept, some scholars came up with the middle of the road choice of a semi-multicultural approach, where different groups in the society, though upholding their own distinct cultures and values, are expected to respect the core elements of the society, such as the constitution, democracy and the rule of law<sup>174</sup>.

The salad bowl theory is regarded as a positive concept that acknowledges the importance of cultural diversity and individual identity, rather than forcing them to assimilate. It also does not

deny the issues that come from this diversity, such as prejudice, discrimination and conflict but it encourages dialogues, understanding and mutual respect.

### **2.2.2.1 Relevance of Salad Bowl Theory of Integration to This Study**

Before the military putsch of January 15, 1966, which ended the First Republic and foisted the first military rule on the country, Nigeria could be said to have embraced the Salad Bowl Theory of Integration and operated as a true federal state<sup>175</sup>. The regions were independent and were at liberty to design their own developmental programmes. The regions were strong and took full responsibility for determining their destinies. Each region developed at its pace; each was responsible for generating its own resources, merely paying tax to the centre. No region waited on Lagos, then the Federal Capital, for monthly handouts; none called on the Federal Government to fix any road, furnish any school or equip any hospital. The regions were responsible for determining their own affairs and, by so doing, contributed to the development of the country<sup>175</sup>.

But the coming of Major General Johnson Thomas Umunnakwe Aguiyi-Ironsi as the Head of State put paid to that. Aguiyi-Ironsi, who took over a fragmented country after the coup d'état of January 15, 1966, thought that adopting the Melting Pot Theory of Integration by concentrating powers in the centre would facilitate unity and enhance cooperation among the ethnic groups. So, Aguiyi-Ironsi came up, on May 24, with the Unification Decree 34 of 1966<sup>175</sup>. The Decree abolished the federal structure of the country and concentrated powers at the centre. With the promulgation of the Decree, the regions, and subsequently the states, were deprived of rights to minerals in their states; the Federal Government became the custodian of the country's treasures and resources. Although Colonel Yakubu Gowon (as he was then known), who took over from

Aguiyi-Ironsi after the July 29 coup of 1966 abrogated Decree 34 and promulgated Decree 59 of 1966, which came into effect on September 1, and returned Nigeria to its federal status, nothing really changed<sup>175</sup>. The government at the centre continued to appropriate to itself powers meant for the states.

When the country returned to democratic government in 1979, the same pattern continued, the unitary-like federal structure bequeathed to the country by the military was sustained by the political class and that has remained the pattern<sup>105</sup>. This is one of the reasons for the continued agitation for restructuring and resource control as well as a call for the country's return to regionalism. The unitary-like federalism which does not permit the independence or individuality of each state or ethnic group has robbed the country of the opportunity to experience real development because rather than operate as collaborators to develop the country, the different ethnic groups function as competitors looking for opportunities to game the system and take advantage of others<sup>105</sup>.

In its nation building strides, Nigeria has flouted the underpinning philosophy of the salad bowl theory, which is the retention of the individuality of each culture in the country. This has ceaselessly hunted the country. The theory frowns at the relegation of one culture for another and advocates for an atmosphere that allows each of the component cultures in the society to thrive by growing at its own pace<sup>172</sup>.

Since the adoption of Nigeria's pseudo-federalism, real development has been stalled and national integration has been threatened. Unlike in the First Republic when there was a healthy rivalry among the regions and the cultures to achieve development, now the ethnic groups engage in destructive competition to bring down others so as to have access to the presidency

which confers immense benefit on the ethnic group that produces the candidate. If the country had adhered strictly to the principle of the salad bowl theory, the Nigerian story could have been different.

### **2.2.3 Participation Theory**

The thrust of Participation Theory is the importance of citizen engagement in a democratic process. The theory, which has its roots in fields such as sociology, political science, communication studies and philosophy, submits that the more citizens are involved in the political process, the more likely they are to have a say in the decisions that affect their lives and the more likely they are to support and comply with those decisions<sup>176</sup>. The theory also stresses that participation of individuals and groups in taking decisions that affect their lives would lead to increased social and political empowerment<sup>176</sup>. The theory has been applied in the context of community development, citizen engagement, and democratic governance.

Participation theory posits that individuals who actively participate in making decisions that affect their lives will have a greater sense of ownership and investment in the outcome, leading to greater satisfaction and commitment to the decision<sup>177</sup>. It emphasises the importance of citizen engagement in the political and decision-making process, and argues that this can lead to better and stronger democracy as well as a greater social capital. The theory also stresses the importance of active citizenship as it is seen as a means to increasing political participation and counterbalance the influence of elite groups in the society<sup>177</sup>. The focus of the theory is to propel citizens to engage in the decision-making process as this may lead to greater social capital, better decision, strong democracy and greater citizen empowerment.

Participation can take a number of forms, including voting, joining political parties or interest groups, attending public meetings, participating in protests and contacting elected officials<sup>178</sup>. Participation theorists believe that increasing citizen participation can lead to more responsive and effective government; it may also help in reducing social and political inequalities.

The origins of participation theory can be traced back to the early 20th century with the coming of participatory democracy<sup>179</sup>. However, the development of participation theory, as it is currently known, began to take shape in the 1960s and 1970s when scholars started the articulation of the idea that individuals and communities should have a say in the decisions that affect their lives and that this participation could lead to increased social and political empowerment<sup>179</sup>. This idea gained popularity in the decades that followed. Participation theory is anchored on the assumption that citizens have the capability to understand and engage with political issues<sup>120</sup>. Participation theorists argue that individuals and communities have the ability to make informed decisions about the issues that affect their lives, and that this active engagement in decision-making can lead to increased social and political empowerment. They also state that the citizens have the ability to engage in rational and critical dialogue, and that this dialogue is essential for democratic governance<sup>120</sup>. In the same vein, they contend that individuals have the ability to question and critically examine the world around them, which can lead to their own liberation and empowerment.

The theory also assumes that citizen participation leads to more responsive and effective government<sup>180</sup>. Participation theorists argue that when citizens are involved in the political process, they can hold elected officials accountable, provide feedback on policy proposals and shape the agenda of government. Thus, increased level of participation is seen as a way of

making government more responsive and effective. Another assumption is that citizen participation can reduce social and political inequalities<sup>181</sup>. Participation theorists aver that allowing citizens to participate in the political process can help to reduce social and political inequalities. They also point out that having citizens from marginalised groups participate in the political process would enable such groups to express their views and canvass their perspectives, which would be included in the decision-making process.

Participation theorists also maintain that citizens have an intrinsic interest in politics and civic engagement beyond any immediate self-interest<sup>182</sup>. They argue that individuals have an inherent desire to participate in politics and civic engagement because it allows them to shape the society and decisions that affect their lives. They also argue that people who are actively involved in making decisions that affect their lives will have a greater sense of ownership and investment in the outcome, leading to greater satisfaction and commitment to the decision. It also suggests that the process of participation can help to build social capital and foster a sense of community among participants. Additionally, they stress that involving a diverse group of individuals in decision-making can lead to better decisions, as a variety of perspectives and experiences are taken into account. Participation theorists also hold that actively involving citizens in governance creates stronger democracy and creates trust in the political system.

There are varied perspectives on the relevance of the theory. Scholars in support of the theory argue that when citizens and communities have a say in the decisions that affect their lives, they become more empowered and are able to shape their own futures<sup>183</sup>. This, in effect, results in increased autonomy and self-determination. They also claim that when citizens and communities

are actively engaged in decision-making, the products of such exercise are more likely to be legitimate, effective and germane to the needs of the community.

Pro-participation theorists argue that when individuals and communities are actively engaged in decision-making, government and institutions become more accountable and transparent<sup>153</sup>. In addition, social capital is built with the effect that the citizens are able to trust those in government. This will facilitate cooperation and collaboration between the leaders and the led. Another argument in favour of participation theory is that involving citizens actively in the decision-making process strengthens democratic governance and promotes democratic values such as equality, freedom, and justice<sup>184</sup>. It also births inclusive and responsive governance due to the inclusion of diverse perspectives. This promotes responsive governance and addresses the needs of marginalised groups.

They also state that actively engaging citizens in the political and governance processes promotes community building and development, as people are more likely to take an active role in improving their communities and addressing local issues<sup>184</sup>. On the other hand, the theory has also come under serious criticism. Anti-participation theorists argue that while the theory assumes that citizens have the ability and willingness to participate in the political process, not all citizens have the same level of civic virtue or interest in politics, and that some citizens may lack the resources or socialisation needed to participate effectively<sup>185</sup>. They, therefore, submit that participation cannot bring everyone on board.

In the same vein, they aver that although participation theory assumes that citizen participation can reduce social and political inequalities, the reality is that citizen participation may not always lead to greater equality, as certain groups may be more able or willing to participate than

others<sup>155</sup>. Those opposed to the theory also argue that it places a great emphasis on citizen participation as a means to improving governance and reducing inequalities. However, this emphasis underplays the role of the state and other institutions in shaping the political process and that it may also overlook potential power imbalances between citizens and the state.

Participation theory critics also reason that increased participation alone is insufficient to make government more responsive and effective<sup>186</sup>. They point to the fact that government's responsiveness depends on institutional design and the rules that structure the decision-making process. Also, they note that the assumption that more participation leads to better governance is open to criticism as it assumes that all participation is equal, which may not be the case. They further point out that participation may not always be beneficial or desirable; adding that if citizens participate in a political process that is undemocratic or illegitimate, increased participation may not lead to positive outcomes<sup>186</sup>. They stress also that some forms of participation such as protest or civil disobedience can be seen as disruptive and violent while some other forms, like apathy, could be seen as harmful as well.

### **2.2.3.1 Relevance of Participation Theory to This Study**

The major thrust of participation theory is the need to involve as many citizens of a country as possible in the nation-building process. The theory stresses that the more of the citizens that join in the effort to develop a country, the faster the rate of development would be and the more united the country would also be. So, citizen participation enhances both patriotism and national integration because it would be specious for citizens to work against a process they are involved in<sup>179</sup>.

The theory also states that engaging citizens in the decision-making process is a route to making better decisions, building a stronger democracy and empowering citizens because not only does it make the decision-making process more robust, it also builds confidence in the citizens. In the same vein, the theory establishes that citizen participation leads to a more responsive and effective government<sup>180</sup>. This is principally because with the involvement of citizens in the process, political leaders know that they have no hiding place and have to deliver on their mandate. Consequently, the political leadership becomes more proactive and more effective while incidences of corruption go on a decline<sup>179</sup>. The theory also states that citizens are able to hold their leaders accountable when actively involved in the political process through the provision of feedback. In addition, participation theory avers that citizen engagement can precipitate the reduction of social and political inequalities through the involvement of citizens from marginalised groups in the nation building process<sup>181</sup>.

For Nigeria, a country that has been struggling with citizens' involvement in political and civic engagement for a long time, not only would the understanding and application of participation theory result in raising citizens who are committed to the development of the country, it would also lead to Nigerians from different walks of life working towards national integration with a view to developing the country. Therefore, the theory is relevant to this study.

### **2.3 Review of Empirical Studies**

Nine empirical studies were reviewed for this work. Three of them were by European or American writers, three by African writers and three by Nigerian writers. The works studied were from the three concepts for this work; presidential rhetoric, national integration and citizen

participation. A study examined the appropriateness of the deployment of rhetoric by former Prime Minister of Britain, Mrs Theresa May, to British citizens after becoming the Premier<sup>187</sup>. May's predecessor, David Cameron, had stepped down from office after the people voted to exit European Union, while Cameron, as Prime Minister, had canvassed for Britain's stay in the Union. May had supported the position of Cameron, though her reputation, while she was manning the Home Office, showed that she had been tough on European Union matters. So, May was seen as the best person to manage the situation and steer the country safely out of European Union without destroying the British values and system. But on assumption of office, the new Prime Minister failed to manage the two sides, she tilted to the side of Brexiteers and treated those who wanted the country to remain in EU as the other side. This was evident in her speeches and addresses. So, not only did the Prime Minister raise for herself great opposition among party members, she also built formidable opposition for herself from other party members as well as from members of the public. Her popularity began to wane a few months after assuming office. This culminated in repeated vote of no confidence, which eventually resulted in her exit from office.

Six speeches delivered by Mrs Theresa May to members of the Conservative Party and the British public as well as three keynote speeches on Brexit were analysed by the study to examine how empirical audiences responded to May's efforts to redefine the community and national identity. The study showed that Mrs May's rhetoric was often constructed around an imagined audience of those who wanted Britain to exit European Union, thus excluding pro-Europeans. Consequently, the Prime Minister failed to use her power as Britain's Persuader-in-Chief to unite the people and rally every citizen behind the vision of having a wholesome country after Brexit.

It was then concluded that it is essential for rhetoricians to engage in rhetorical enquiry otherwise known as audience studies so as to understand the right rhetorical strategies to deploy to achieve the purpose of a communication. This is in consonance with the message design concept of the Elaboration Likelihood Model, which states that a message must be deliberately designed to suit an audience so that the essence of the communication could be realised. So, Prime Minister Theresa May did not fail because of her policies or politics but because of her rhetoric which, rather than bringing the people together, polarised them. Although there were elements of rhetoric and citizens participation in the paper, the researcher chose to focus only on rhetoric. If she had paid attention to both elements, the work would have been more robust.

Another study examined how Dr Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first President, made use of rhetoric to achieve his aim as a political leader<sup>188</sup>. Nkrumah led the people of Gold Coast, as the country was then known, to demand for independence from the British colonialists. Citizens of the country, who had been exposed to guided freedom and limited comfort, had become complacent and were not in a hurry to see the colonialists hand over the reins of government to them. It took an inspiring address to the parliament by the leader, who understood the difference between lean freedom and fat slavery to rouse the people out of their slumber to demand that the British authorities allow them to run their affairs. Nkrumah achieved his aim when the legislators voted to ask for independence from British colonialists. That started the process that led to the independence of the country on March 6, 1957.

With the use of MIPVU to identify linguistic metaphors and critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodology for data analysis, the study found out that by using the appropriate metaphor, Nkrumah was able to present colonialism as cruel and evil and was able to convince the House of Commons to support the demand for independence. Nkrumah consciously struck a balance by

realising that if the situation was not well-managed, the agitation for independence could have negative colouration and result in war and deaths. So, Nkrumah also told the House that while requesting for independence, the people would continue to learn from the colonialists so that when independence was eventually gained, the country would be properly managed.

With the right deployment of rhetoric helped by the appropriate use of metaphor, Nkrumah roused the people to ask for independence from the British colonialists but at the same time pledged his allegiance to the colonialists. Consequently, he got what he wanted on both counts; support from his people as well as support from the colonialists for his goal as a political leader. This underscores the fact that when a leader properly deploys his rhetoric, he can achieve his goals. However, the concentration on metaphor is a drawback because it made the focus of the work too narrow. Many elements constitute a good rhetoric; metaphor is just one of them.

A study by three researchers explored the rhetorical choices employed by two Nigerian presidents, Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari for the purpose of achieving their aims<sup>189</sup>. The study, relying on critical discourse analysis as well as content analysis, examined the rhetorical choices of three speeches each of President Jonathan and President Buhari, in their bid to sway people to their sides. The study analysed the lexico-semantic features of the speeches as well as the figurative expressions embedded in them with the aim of finding similarities or differences in the choice of rhetoric employed by the politicians.

The study found out that the two presidents employed pronouns, metaphor, hyperbole and other figures of speech in their rhetoric to whip up emotions with a view to swaying the people to do their bidding. It concluded that the two leaders, just like other Nigerian politicians, deliberately deployed rhetoric manipulatively to hoodwink their audiences and achieve their personal goals

which were at variance with the public good. Though it stated that rhetoric could be used to birth hope, it concentrated more on its selfish use by politicians. As a consequence of this, it falls into the stereotype of misrepresenting rhetoric as a tool of manipulation. Primarily, rhetoric is about persuasion, not manipulation. In addition, the paper failed to show the effect of the pejorative deployment of rhetoric by the leaders on the audience.

A study on the Malaysian integration challenge found that the system of indirect rule employed by the British colonialists in Malaysia laid the foundation for the difficulty being experienced by the country with respect to integration<sup>190</sup>. It also stated that the British Colonial government had different roles for the three ethnic groups in the country; the Malays, Chinese and Indians. With that, the three groups had separate living quarters, career and education. In addition, there were little social contacts among the ethnic groups. This led to prejudices and ethnic identities. Consequently, the ethnic groups became rivals and competitors with every group trying to take advantage of others.

The researchers conducted a survey to find out the effect of age, level of education, ethnocentricity and social distance on national integration. The survey was conducted in six districts in the state of Selangor. Data collected from the 744 respondents were analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics and interpreted using integration model. They found out that age and education had little effect on integration as most people identified more with their ethnic group. It also found out that there was a measure of integration which supported political and economic compromise and cooperation among the ethnic groups. They reported that the country was at Level Three integration while the ideal level of integration for the country should be Level Four, which means that though the people belong to one country, they are not one people.

In their recommendation, the researchers suggested the adoption of the 'One Malaysia' model expounded by the then Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak, as a strategy to move the country's integration index from Level Three to Level Four and to also improve citizens' political participation. The paper stressed that achieving national integration and political participation would be herculean for any country without the president leading the charge through his rhetoric. However, a study found that ethnic nationalism consciously or unconsciously promoted by politicians was responsible for the persistent social-economic conflicts and ethnic crisis in Kenya<sup>191</sup>. Using the content analysis technique, it looked at national integration, cohesion, ethnic conflict and peace transformation in national politics from relevant secondary sources. It found out that the political class deploys class conflict and ethnicity to advance its selfish interest while using the same to pit people against one another, thus making it difficult for the country to achieve national integration. It also found out that ethno-centricism and class conflicts are the major barriers to the realisation of national integration in Kenya. Another of its findings is that achieving national integration is dependent on removing ethnicity and class struggle. It also contends that ethnicity competes with nationalism, adding that nationalism cannot thrive where ethnicity is rife. It then recommended that the government should introduce national integration in the university curriculum while also declaring a national day of integration to bring the issue into the consciousness of the people. In addition, it recommends a deliberate encouragement of inter-ethnic collaboration among the citizens.

Yet another study focused on how inappropriate use of language by political leaders and others could pose a threat to national integration, security and peace<sup>192</sup>. Deploying pragmatic analysis, it examined the speech made by General Muhammadu Buhari before the 2011 presidential election that the country would be ungovernable should he lose the election, the statement made by

President Olusegun Obasanjo describing members of the National Assembly as rogues and armed robbers as well as the statement by Mujahideen Asari Dokubo, leader of the Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Group, ahead of the 2015 presidential election that there would be war in Nigeria if President Goodluck Jonathan was not allowed to complete two terms of eight years.

It concluded that inappropriate use of words could cause tension in the country and put a wedge among the various ethnic groups in the country thereby making it difficult for the country to achieve national integration. It then recommended that training programme should be organised for political office holders on effective use of language. It also suggested that Pragmatics be incorporated into the curriculum for language and communication studies in the country<sup>192</sup>.

A study in Norway examined how the trust of citizens in political leaders affected citizen participation in nation building in the country. It analysed data drawn from two national surveys and found out that though the breadth of participation initiatives is the most effective signal to the public that local politicians have intentions to act in the citizens' best interests, due to trust issues, citizens are not motivated to participate in government initiatives. It also linked the below the expectation level of citizen participation in programmes initiated by government to poor communication. It then concluded that due to the trust issues political leaders had with the citizens as well as the poor handling of communication, citizens participation is mainly protest-related, and not in support of government initiatives to include citizens in decision making<sup>193</sup>.

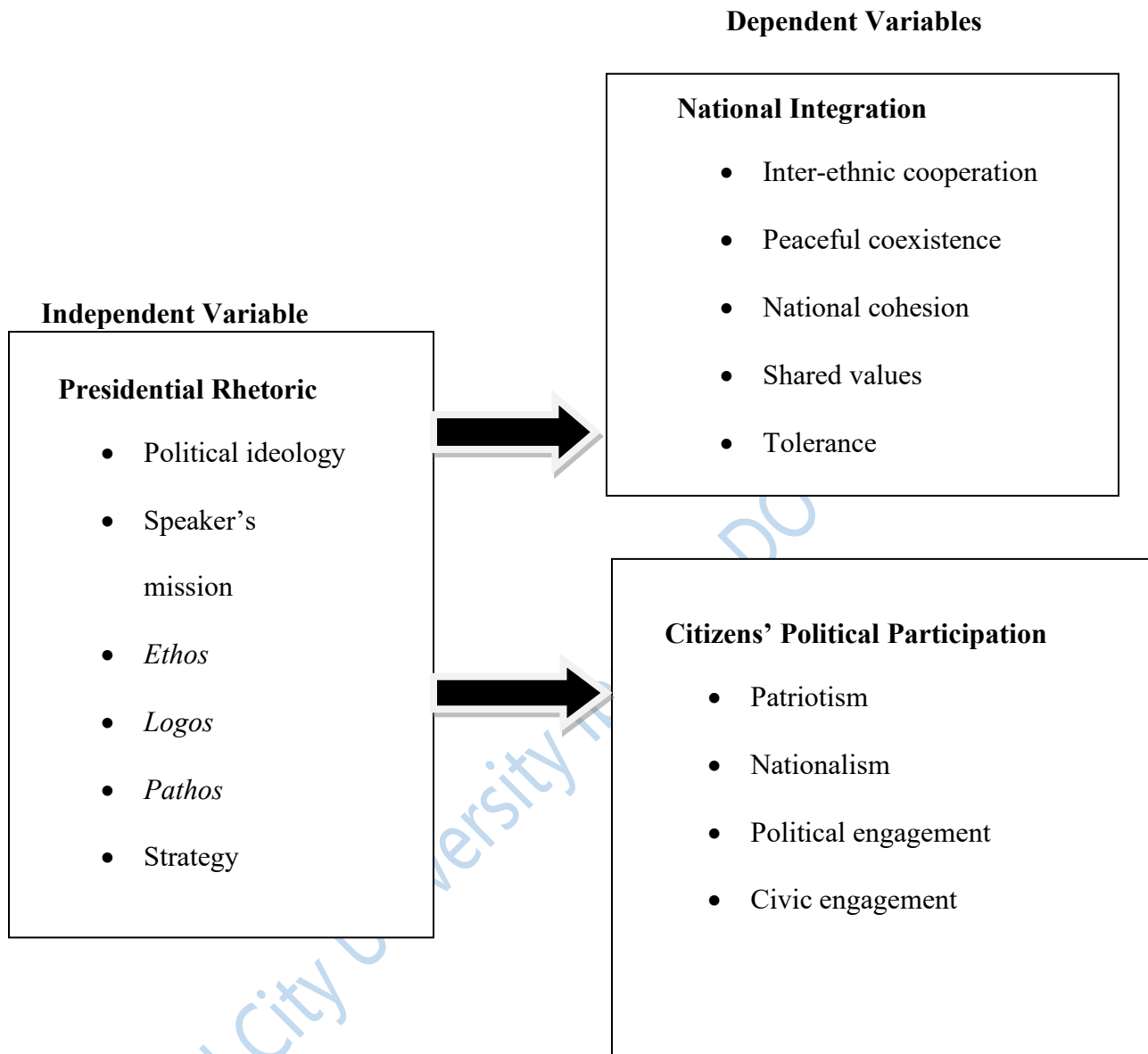
Also, another study examined citizens' participation in the budgetary process in South Africa. The researchers submitted that the budget, being the government's primary economic policy tool, performed two functions; translating planned policy objectives and political commitments into reality based on the state of existing revenue and structuring income sources to raise additional

revenue accordingly. They added that as a result of its importance, citizens should be involved in the process<sup>194</sup>. The researchers made use of the qualitative method for a comparative analysis of participatory approaches between developed economies (the United Kingdom and New Zealand) and developing economies (South Africa, Kenya and Tanzania), while the quantitative method was deployed for analysing indicators derived from four existing indices.

The researchers found out that citizen participation in the budgetary process is a function of the nature of the relationship between political leaders and the citizens. While most participatory models in Africa essentially conform to frameworks that evolved from external donor agencies, the overall political context and frameworks determining access to influence policy frameworks continue to shape budgeting systems, inadvertently determining the developmental curve of any particular country. The researchers submitted that though budgeting remained a strategic responsibility of any government, it would not achieve its aim without the political leaders surrendering to good governance and budget transparency which would not be realistic without citizen participation.

Lastly, a study focused on the determination of the extent to which political parties discouraged citizens' participation in the electoral process through the perpetration of fear of insecurity, adherence of internal democracy principle and engaging in civic education. The researchers adopted the survey research method and administered questionnaire on 400 persons randomly selected out of the 881,890 registered voters in the zone. They found out that low turnout voters in the 2019 general election was partly due to statements made by political parties and their leaders about the state of insecurity in the zone. It was also found out that through their poor internal democracy, the parties dimmed the interest of those who would have gone out to vote in the election just as many did not consider it important because they were not better informed<sup>195</sup>.

## 2.4 Conceptual Model



**Fig 2.2 Conceptual Model for the Study as Developed by the Researcher, 2024**

The conceptual model illustrates the interplay between presidential rhetoric, which is the independent variable, and the two dependent variables; national integration and citizens' political participation. The framework shows how each of the indicators of the independent variable affects the indicators of the dependent variables and the effect of this on the expected outcomes.

The interplay among the indicators will also define the objectives of the research process and provide an inkling about how the relationship helps in arriving at cogent conclusions.

## **2.5 Summary of Gap in Literature Reviewed**

The nine papers reviewed touch on different aspects of this study. The first shows the pejorative use of presidential rhetoric as a former British Prime Minister, Theresa May, deployed her rhetoric to divide the British people along two lines; those who wanted Britain to exit European Union and those who wanted the country to stay in the group. This is an example of presidential rhetoric promoting disintegration rather than integration. But the study was carried out in the United Kingdom. The second paper illustrates how the right deployment of presidential rhetoric could pull a people in the same direction for the purpose of achieving a common goal. The first President of Ghana, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, with the use of presidential rhetoric roused the people of the country, despite their ethnic and religious differences, to work together to achieve independence for the country. However, this study was not conducted in Nigeria.

Although the third study was conducted in Nigeria, it was limiting in its scope as it focused on how politicians used rhetoric to whip up sentiments with a view to swaying the people to vote for them. While the study was about presidential rhetoric, the focus is on using same to win votes, not to drive national integration or citizens' political participation. The next study illustrated how a Prime Minister used the instrumentality of presidential rhetoric to achieve national integration in his country and successfully moved Malaysia's integration index from Level Three to Level Four. The fifth study submitted that political leaders used their rhetoric to create a bulwark for national integration by playing up ethnicity and class conflict to pit the people against one another. However, this study was carried out in Kenya.

The next study was conducted in Nigeria and dwelt on presidential rhetoric but it focused mainly on speeches and statements made before the 2011 and 2015 general elections and their effects on national unity. The seventh study centered on how trust issues and poor communication affected citizen participation in nation building in Norway. The eighth study, which was conducted in South Africa, showed that government programmes and policies would fail to achieve the set objectives without citizens' active participation. The last study, conducted in Nigeria, focused on how politicians discouraged citizens' political participation with their utterances. Although the study established a link between rhetoric and citizens' participation, it excluded presidential rhetoric.

From the review conducted, it is clear that there is a gap in literature on the impact of presidential rhetoric on national integration in Nigeria on the one hand, and the impact of presidential rhetoric on citizens' political participation on the other hand. That is the gap that this study will bridge.

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## **Chapter Three Methodology**

This chapter presents a detailed description of the research methodology that was adopted for the study. There is also an outline of the processes employed to achieve the study objectives. Similarly, there is a discussion of the research instruments, research design, sample and sampling techniques, population of the study, sample size, methods of data collection and method of data analysis.

### **3.1 Research Design**

The study adopted the exploratory sequential research design. This involved the content analysis of newspaper reports at the first phase, while descriptive survey research design was adopted as the second phase. The key informant interview technique was also deployed.

### **3.2 Population of the Study**

The study aimed at covering the whole country, however, the study population comprised residents of only six local government areas spread across the six geo-political zones in the country. In the South West geo-political zone, the local government selected was Ibadan South-West Local Government Area with a population of 283,098. In the North Central geo-political, it was Ilorin West Local Government Area with a population of 364,666. For the North-West, Kaduna North Local Government Area with a population of 364,575 was selected. In the North East geo-political zone, Yola North Local Government Area with a population of 281,435 was selected; in the South East geo-political zone, it was Owerri Municipal Local Government with a population of 127,213; and in the South-South geo-political zone, it was Port Harcourt Local Government Area with a population of 538,558<sup>1</sup>. The total population was 1,959,545.

### 3.3 Sample and Sampling Technique

The sampling process in this study followed the basic steps of defining the population, selecting the sample size and unit, selecting the sampling technique and determining both the sample plan and sample size.

Six newspapers were purposively selected for content analysis. Two of the newspapers were national in spread and four that represented geo-political interests. Therefore, the sample size for the newspapers was six. The survey part of this study involved 50 respondents from a local government from each of the six geo-political zones in Nigeria. Thus, 300 questionnaires were administered but 282 were returned and considered valid for the study. So, the sample size for the survey was 282. The sample size for the key informant interview was four, these are intellectuals; people with considerable knowledge about the role presidential rhetoric could play in shaping the ethnic, religious and citizen participation conversations in the country.

Purposive and random sampling techniques were employed for this study. The selection of newspapers for content analysis and interviewees was done using the purposive sampling technique, while respondents for the survey were determined through the simple random sampling technique.

For content analysis, six newspapers were considered. These are *This Day*, *The Punch*, *Vanguard*, *Nigerian Tribune*, *The Sun* and *Leadership*. The choice of these newspapers is based on their spread and leanings.

1. This Day is an elite newspaper with national appeal.
2. The Punch is the most widely read newspaper in Nigeria.

3. Vanguard is a leading newspaper in Nigeria covering breaking news, politics, sports, Entertainment and the Niger Delta.
4. Nigerian Tribune is the oldest surviving private Nigerian national newspaper that has its roots deep in the South-West.
5. The Sun is a general interest newspaper that identifies more with the South-East people.
6. Leadership is an all-interest newspaper with its roots in the North.

For purposive sampling, subjects were selected based on specific characteristics or qualities, thus eliminating those who failed to meet the criteria, which in this instance are in-depth knowledge of the interplay between presidential rhetoric on the one hand, and national integration and citizens' political participation on the other. Consequently, the key informant interview involved four people who are authorities in matters of presidential rhetoric and nation building. These are:

1. KII-1, a Professor at the Department of Mass Communication, University of Jos.
2. KII-2, a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Mass Communication and Media Technology, Lead City University
3. KII-3, a Senior Lecturer at the Department of English Language, Gombe State University
4. KII-4, a Senior Lecturer at the Mass Communication Dept, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

### **3.4 Description of the Research Instruments**

Three instruments were employed in the process of data collection. They are: Presidential Rhetoric Content Analysis Coding Sheet, a self-designed structured questionnaire known as Presidential Rhetoric as Correlate of National Integration and Political Participation in Nigeria Between 1999 and 2023 (PRCNIPP-2023) and Key Informant Interview Guide.

### 3.4.1 The Presidential Rhetoric Content Analysis Coding Sheet

The coding sheet was used to record the rhetoric of the four presidents extracted in the newspapers adopted for the study. Recording units were used. These were terms, themes, paragraphs and items reported in newspapers as statements or speeches by Nigerian presidents from May 29, 1999 to May 28, 2023 bordering on issues of integration and citizens' participation. The newspaper contents were analysed and coded thus: Favourable, Unfavourable and Neutral

- (a) **Favourable:** This refers to all forms of statements by Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 as reported in newspapers which were supportive of national integration and citizens' political participation.
- (b) **Unfavourable:** This makes reference to statements by Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 as reported in newspapers which were not supportive of national integration and citizens' political participation.
- (c) **Neutral:** This refers to statements by Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 as reported in newspapers which were neither supportive of nor opposed to national integration and citizens' political participation.

(See Appendix I).

### 3.4.2 The Questionnaire: Presidential Rhetoric as Correlate of National Integration and Political Participation in Nigeria Between 1999 and 2023 (PRCNIPPN-2023)

The questionnaire (PRCNIPPN-2023) contained open-ended and close-ended questions. The 4-point Likert scale was deployed to test respondents' agreement or disagreement with statements (See Appendix I). The instrument contained four sections. Section I contained questions on

personal data and characteristics of the respondents. These include age, gender, religion, ethnicity, educational background, marital status and occupation. Section II focused on the rhetoric of Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 with respect to national integration. Since there were four presidents during the study period, this section was sub-divided into four to take a look at selected speeches of each of the presidents on national integration viz;

President Olusegun Obasanjo's rhetoric on national integration (1999-2007)

President Umaru Yar'Adua's rhetoric on national integration (2007-2010)

President Goodluck Jonathan's rhetoric on national integration (2010-2015)

President Muhammadu Buhari's rhetoric on national integration (2015-2023)

Section III focused on the rhetoric of Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 with respect to citizens' political participation. Since there were four presidents during the study period, this section was sub-divided into four to take a look at selected speeches of each of the presidents on citizens' political participation viz;

President Olusegun Obasanjo's rhetoric on citizens' political participation (1999-2007)

President Umaru Yar'Adua's rhetoric on citizens' political participation (2007-2010)

President Goodluck Jonathan's rhetoric on citizens' political participation (2010-2015)

President Muhammadu Buhari's rhetoric on citizens' political participation (2015-2023)

(See Appendix II).

### **3.4.3 The Key Informant Interview (KII) Guide**

The guide contained 16 questions which were followed up with other questions when found necessary. (See Appendix III).

### **3.5 Validity of the Research Instrument**

Validity of a research instrument shows the extent of its compliance with what is being measured<sup>2</sup>. To determine the extent of compliance of the research instrument with the objectives of this study, face validity, construct validity, criterion validity and content validity were carried out. Copies of the instrument were given to the researcher's supervisor and five other experts in the Department of Mass Communication and Media Technology who assisted in determining the validity of the instrument. Corrections that were suggested were duly effected.

### **3.6 Reliability of the Research Instrument**

The reliability of an instrument is in its consistency, stability and repeatability for future studies<sup>2</sup>. Reliability of an instrument also speaks to its immunity to external factors<sup>2</sup>. To determine the reliability of the research instrument deployed for this study, it was pretested on 50 respondents from Ibadan South East Local Government area of Oyo State. The local government was not considered for the actual study. The pilot test was carried out between November 7 and 11, 2022. Responses were collected and given to a computer analyst who tested for reliability. The reliability co-efficient was 0.85 level of significance.

### **3.7 Method of Data Collection**

For content analysis, a total of 126 newspaper items were identified from the selected six newspapers. Twenty four items were from *This Day*, 25 from *The Punch*, 21 from *The Vanguard*, 23 from *Nigerian Tribune*, 19 from *The Sun* and 14 from *Leadership Newspaper*. While 24 of the items were favourable, 58 were neutral and 42 were unfavourable. Of the 24 favourable items, 12 leaned towards national integration while the other 12 leaned towards political participation. Those were the items used for the drafting and design of the questionnaire.

For the survey, copies of the research questionnaire were administered at the selected local government areas by the researcher and five research assistants who were specifically trained on the process of administering questionnaires to respondents. The researcher provided them with the necessary assistance in the administration and return of the questionnaire. The five research assistants were university undergraduates and journalists who were conversant with the areas where they administered the instrument.

**Table 3.1: Instrument Response Rate**

S/N	Research Instruments	Number administered	Number retrieved	Number Validated	Rate of Response
1	Presidential Rhetoric as Correlate of National Integration and Political Participation in Nigeria Between 1999 and 2023 (PRCNIPPN)	300	282	282	94%

**Source:** Field Work, 2023

Table 3.1 presents the quantity of research instrument that was administered, retrieved and validated including the rate of responses. Three instruments; a coding sheet for content analysis, a questionnaire named Presidential Rhetoric as Correlate of National Integration and Political

Participation in Nigeria Between 1999 and 2023 (PRCNIPPN-2023) and a structured interview guide for four rhetoric scholars from different parts of the country were deployed in order to collect data for the study. Three hundred copies of the questionnaire (PRCNIPPN-2023) were distributed to the sampled population, two hundred and eighty two (282) copies were retrieved; they were found valid and useful for analysis. Thus, the analysis was based on returned valid copies and this gave response rate of 94%.

The key informant interviews were conducted personally with the four key informants by the researcher. These took place over a period of two weeks. The interviews were recorded and transcribed by the researcher.

### **3.8 Method of Data Analysis**

Data collected through survey were analysed using simple statistical frequencies and percentages because the study dealt with nominal categories in which data consist of frequency counts, and tabulated in appropriate cells. The chi-square test and the Pearson product moment correlation formula were used to test the relationship between variables. Also, data from the key informant interview was analysed using the constant comparative method, a technique for analysing data with the aim of developing a grounded theory. The essence of deploying this method was to enable the researcher compare and find similarities in the interviewees' responses, explore theoretical dimensions of the emerging category system and search for relationships and common patterns across categories. It also facilitated the simplification and integration of data into a coherent theoretical structure.

### **Endnotes**

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## Chapter Four

### Results and Discussion of Findings

This chapter presents the results and discussion of findings based on the data collected and analysis with respect to the objectives (research questions and hypotheses) of the study. This chapter first shows the presentation and interpretation of data (demographic characteristics of respondents, research questions and hypotheses) and then the discussion of findings.

#### 4.1 Demographic Data Analysis

**Table 4.1: Frequency Distribution of Respondents (N =282)**

Demographic Variable		Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
<b>Gender</b>	Male	148	52.5
	Female	134	47.5
<b>Age</b>	31-40 years	54	19.1
	41-50 years	215	76.4
	51 and Above	13	4.5
<b>Marital Status</b>	Single	80	28.4
	Married	121	42.9
	Divorced	40	14.2
	Separated	26	9.2
	Widowed	15	5.3
<b>Level of Education</b>	Bachelor's degree	138	48.9
	PGDE	39	13.8
	Master's degree	15	5.3
	Secondary School	45	16
	Primary School	30	10.7
	No Formal Education	15	5.3
<b>Religious Persuasion</b>	Christianity	150	53.1
	Islam	100	35.5
	Traditional	32	11.4
<b>Any political affiliation</b>	Yes	75	<b>26.6</b>
	No	207	<b>73.4</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, 2023

Table 4.1 shows the frequency distribution of respondents. From the table, 148 (52.5%) of the respondents were male, while 134 (47.5%) were female. This shows that male respondents were more in this study. This tilts towards the submission of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) that more men than women registered for the 2023 general election<sup>1</sup>. While 49,054,162 (or 52.5 %) of the total registered voters for the election were male, 44,414,846 (or 47.5 %) were female<sup>1</sup>. Majority of the respondents, 215 (76.4%) were within 41-50 years of age, 54 (19.1%) were within 31-40 years, while 13 (4.5%) were 50 years and above. Further, majority of the respondents, 121 (42.9%) were married, 80 (28.4%) were single, 40 (14.2%) were divorced, 26 (9.2%) were separated, while 15 (5.3%) were widowed. This suggests that a major portion of the respondents were married. Most of the respondents, 138 (48.9%) had Bachelor's degree as their highest form of educational attainment, 45 (16%) were secondary school leavers, 39 (13.8%) had PGDE, 30 (10.7%) had primary school education, while 15 (5.3%) had masters degree and no formal education respectively. Further, majority of the respondents 150 (53.1%) were Christians, 100 (35.5%) and Muslims, while 32 (11.4%) were traditional worshippers. Finally, majority 207 (73.4%) had no political affiliation.

## **4.2 Presentation of Data**

### **4.2.1 Analysis of Research Questions**

**Research Question One:** To what extent did rhetoric of the four Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 affect national integration and political participation in Nigeria?

To answer this research question, contents of six Nigerian newspapers which published rhetoric of the presidents during the study period were analysed.

**Table 4.2(a) Selected Rhetoric of President Olusegun Obasanjo (May 29, 1999 - May 28, 2007)**

**Extract 1:** There is no going back on fuel subsidy removal because the country loses too much to it....Those who disturb public peace through their protests will be dealt with in accordance with the laws of the land<sup>2</sup>.

**Extract 2:** I will campaign. This election is a do-or-die affair for me and the PDP. This coming election is a matter of life and death for the PDP and Nigeria<sup>6</sup>.

The tone of the statement in Extract 1 made by President Olusegun Obasanjo, at a time when the nation was on the verge of removing subsidy on Premium Motor Spirit (popularly known as petrol), was both non-conciliatory and dictatorial. While the President might have had a point about the need to drop the subsidy policy, which had become a cesspool of corruption, the choice of words pitted the populace against the President. Rather than appealing to reason and deploying logic to persuade the populace, Obasanjo resorted to force by threatening to deal with those who might be planning to protest the removal of subsidy on PMS.

According to rhetoricians, logic or *logos*, one of the three strategies for deploying rhetoric, is a tool of persuasion that appeals to reason and births a shift in perspective<sup>3</sup>. *Logos* is considered a reasoned discourse because it is the combination of facts and figures as well as the supportive argument which makes persuasion effective<sup>4</sup>. *Logos* is much more than the capacity to make a presentation; it is a tool that enables a speaker to communicate with clarity by deploying

reasoned discourse<sup>5</sup>. With *logos*, a speaker is able to make clear the difference between something that is advantageous and that which is harmful. With the use of *logos*, a speaker is able to draw a line between the desirable and the detestable. Therefore, *logos* is considered critical in the persuasion process. Hence, *logos* is perceived as the only legitimate means of persuasion<sup>5</sup>. *Logos* is an appeal to reason, it is a call for dispassionate judgment of issues based on available facts. It is a strategy used in swaying an audience one way or the other through the use of logic, facts and data. As a result of its logicity, *logos* is the speaker's premise. Therefore, *logos* is the best means for a rational speaker to persuade a rational audience<sup>5</sup>. Speakers who deploy *logos* to sway their audiences rely on reasoning to achieve their aim. By employing *logos* to achieve persuasion what a speaker is doing is forcing the audience to reason, think and reflect before coming to a conclusion.

President Obasanjo should have deployed *logos* to sway Nigerians to his side. The President ought to have presented facts and figures to convince Nigerians that the subsidy policy was a drain on the nation's resources. This probably would have made sense to the people and a compromise could have been reached between the president and the people. But by deploying the inappropriate rhetoric, President Obasanjo roused the people against their fatherland. For over a week, the country was locked down by protesters; movements were restricted, schools were shut, government offices were closed, scheduled events were cancelled and productivity nosedived. The country lost humongous amount of revenue and many citizens were subjected to hardship during the one-week protest. But all of these could have been avoided had the appropriate rhetoric been used by the president. So, the statement by President Obasanjo negatively affected political participation because rather than the people joining hands to develop the country they formed a coalition against it.

President Obasanjo's statement in Extract 2 is a threat to democracy. An election is a civil process of determining the leaders of a country by the vote of qualified citizens<sup>7</sup>. By their choice of leaders, citizens make a decision on the nature of development they would like to experience in their country<sup>8</sup>. So, elections are very important to national development. But the words of President Olusegun Obasanjo ahead of the 2007 general election indicated that an election was a war by other means. The president's statement was a declaration of war which had two major effects on the country. First, it created fear and suspicions in the hearts of many Nigerians, thus threatening national integration because the absence of fears, hatred and suspicion among the members of the society is a condition for national integration<sup>9</sup>. The fear created by the statement scared so many people away from participating in the 2007 elections. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) reported that out of the 61,567,036 voters who registered for the 2007 elections, only 35,397,517, representing 57.5 per cent participated in the presidential election<sup>10</sup>. The trend in that election was different from the 2003 election where out of the 60,823,022 who registered for the election, 42,018,735, representing 69.1 per cent participated in it<sup>10</sup>. As a result of the statement made by President Obasanjo, which created fear in many Nigerians, there was a dip in the number of Nigerians that participated in the 2007 elections.

The other effect of the statement was that it prepped the opposition for war. Therefore, it was not surprising that the Governorship and State Assembly elections held on April 14, 2007 as well as the Presidential and National Assembly elections held on April 21, 2007 were marred with violence and irregularities. The people took the words of the president to heart and made the elections a do-or-die affair. Blood was shed, lives were taken, limbs were broken, buildings were burnt, vehicles were destroyed and the electoral process was disrupted. In Kaduna State, three people were killed by party thugs in the Karaye area of Zaria<sup>11</sup>. In Delta State, many houses were

burnt, six people were killed while 20 people were seriously wounded<sup>11</sup>. In Ondo State, the announcement of Governor Segun Agagu as the winner of the gubernatorial election resulted in protests in many parts of the state. Labour Party supporters took to the streets to protest with many houses and vehicles as well as INEC office being burnt<sup>11</sup>. That was the trend all over the country.

Rhetoric is the art of swaying people from one point of view to another<sup>5</sup>. Rhetoric is also the process of making ideas amenable to people and people amenable to ideas<sup>5</sup>. So, when a president declared that an election was a matter of life and death was he not priming the people to do all they could to win the election even if they had to kill in the process? When a president called for war would it be out of place for the citizens to take up arms? Overall the statement inspired the political class to embrace violence and motivated some of the electorate to opt for apathy.

**Table 4.2(b) Selected Rhetoric of President Umaru Yar'Adua (May 29, 2007 - May 5, 2010)**

**Extract 3:** I, Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, after due consultation with the Council of States and in exercise of the powers conferred upon me by the provisions of Section 175 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, ... hereby grant amnesty and unconditional pardon to all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in the commission of offences associated with militant activities in the Niger Delta<sup>12</sup>.

**Extract 4**

Ethnic politics is dangerous for Nigeria's development<sup>16</sup>.

Long before President Umaru Yar'Adua's assumption of office, the Niger Delta region of the country had been steeped in crises such as kidnapping, illegal bunkering and militancy all of which posed a serious threat to the nation's economy. But with President Umaru Yar'Adua's offer of amnesty, as expressed in Extract 3, which demanded that the militants should surrender their arms in exchange for rehabilitation and financial compensation, militancy and other criminal acts as well as illegal bunkering subsided in the region. In the same vein, crude oil production increased and the country's revenue, which had dwindled as a result of illegal bunkering, rose significantly.

Though President Yar'Adua was the country's Commander-In-Chief, he did not resort to the deployment of his powers as the Commander-In-Chief to solve a perennial problem that had plagued the country for a couple of years. Rather, the Commander-In-Chief deployed his power as the Communicator-In-Chief by using words that would soothe the people and douse the raging tension. The President said he was granting "amnesty and unconditional pardon to all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in the commission of offences associated with militant activities in the Niger Delta." Not only were those people who had taken up arms against the Nigerian state and had perpetrated economic sabotage against the country allowed to walk away without being punished for their crimes against the country, they were also encouraged to abandon their old way and embrace a new one for the good of the nation.

That, really, is the whole essence of presidential rhetoric. It is how presidents shape the people's reality<sup>13</sup>. Presidential rhetoric enables presidents to use their persuasive powers to get citizens to toe a particular line<sup>13</sup>. It also enables them to gain public support for a vision<sup>14</sup>. By deploying words such as 'amnesty and unconditional pardon', President Yar'Adua changed the orientation of people who had seen criminality as a way of life. This explains why rhetoric is a way of

changing reality, not through the application of direct energy to objects, but as a result of the creation of conversations that change reality through the mediation of thoughts and deeds<sup>15</sup>. So, President Yar'Adua comprehended the power of rhetoric to change the reality of the people and used same for the good of the nation.

By his appropriate deployment of rhetoric, not only did President Umaru Yar'Adua save the country from a likely guerilla warfare and persistent economic sabotage, he also reoriented and reformed those who had worked for the downfall of the country to begin to work for its development. This deepened national integration as the Niger Delta region that was clamouring for the balkanisation of the country retreated from that call and joined other Nigerians in the nation building efforts.

In Extract 4, President Yar'Adua expresses his desire for the country to move away from ethnic politics. In a broad sense, ethnicity is the antithesis of nationalism because nationalism cannot thrive where ethnicity flourishes. One of the major challenges Nigerian leaders have faced over the years is choosing between embracing ethnicity and nationalism. More often than not, Nigerian leaders identify with their ethnic groups, thus elevating nepotism and cronyism to the detriment of national integration. Achieving national integration has to do with forging new loyalties and identities at the national level at the expense of ethnic or tribal loyalty<sup>17</sup>. For a country to achieve national integration, a significant number of its citizens must develop some level of identification with the nation that supersedes their identification with ethnic, cultural or religious group, acquire political awareness, share common norms and values and develop attitudes favourable to the display of integrative behaviour among people of different groups<sup>18</sup>.

National integration can only thrive in circumstances where there is a deliberate reduction of social classes, resolving identified and identifiable conflicts and articulating the point of convergence among the various peoples to enhance mutual respect and encourage peaceful co-existence<sup>18</sup>. But dropping ethnicity for national integration will not happen except it is championed by the president. The president is the nation's Marketer-In-Chief. He is also the nation's Promoter-In-Chief. As a result of his position, whatever view he holds will have a far-reaching effect on the people. So, the president does not just pass information but shapes the context of events and prime how issues are viewed by the public. With the power to shape public discourse, the president can set agenda for the society and sway the citizens in a preferred direction<sup>19</sup>. That exactly is what President Yar'Adua did with the statement that ethnicity is dangerous for the country's development. Consequent upon the statement and his personal disposition, ethnicity and ethnic politics didn't get much traction during his tenure. Hence, Nigeria experienced a measure of national integration during his tenure.

**Table 4.2 (c) Selected Rhetoric of President Goodluck Jonathan (May 5, 2010- May 28, 2015)**

**Extract 5:** What happened yesterday was a terrorist act and MEND was just used as a straw;

MEND is not a terrorist group<sup>20</sup>.

**Extract 6:** My ambition is not worth anybody's blood<sup>23</sup>.

To Nigerians' chagrin, President Goodluck Jonathan rose in defence of the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), a group that had claimed responsibility for the

bomb blast which claimed 16 lives during the celebration of the nation's 50th independence anniversary on October 1, 2010, saying the bomb attack was a terrorist act and that MEND was not a terrorist group. This is despite the fact that MEND had taken responsibility for the act and had even warned people ahead of the attack to steer clear of places close to Eagle Square, where the independence anniversary was going to take place.

The president's statement affected national integration because not just did President Jonathan by his utterance reduce the office of the country's president to the level of the spokesperson for a terror group, the statement also divided the country into two groups; a group of the president's kinsmen, who he must defend at all costs, and the rest of the country. As the president, the whole country was Dr Jonathan's constituency. By openly defending MEND, the president presented himself as an ethnic jingoist and not a national leader.

In addition to that, what happened was a crime and the government agencies saddled with the responsibility of handling such matters should have been allowed to do their job and report to the president. But the president did not even give them the benefit of conducting their investigation before jumping into a conclusion. The president was ready to lay the blame of what had happened at the footsteps of other ethnic groups and not his own ethnic group. This portrayed him as a president whose allegiance was first to his ethnic group and not the country which he led. Sequel to Dr Goodluck Jonathan's utterances in defence of people from his ethnic group, ethnicity rose an octave during his five-year tenure and national integration declined. In the same vein, because the president was perceived as someone who was all out to project and protect the interest of his ethnic group, Nigerians became less interested in the affairs of the country. This reflected in the decline in the number of voters that participated in the 2015 election. Available

data showed that the number of registered voters for the 2011 presidential election was 73,528,040, while the number of votes cast was 39,469,484, representing 53.68 per cent<sup>21</sup>. But for the 2015 presidential election, number of registered voters was 67,422,005 while the number of votes cast was 29,432,083, representing 43.65 per cent<sup>22</sup>. So, there was a decline of 10.03 per cent in voter participation just within four years.

Nigerians approached the 2015 elections with trepidation because the major political gladiators were all determined to seize the reins of power by all means possible. They all were threatening to bring down the country should the election not favour them. So, there was tension in the land. This was accentuated by the unearthing of a March 5, 2005 discussion paper issued by the National Intelligence Council of the United States of America titled “Mapping Sub-Saharan Africa’s Future,” which predicted that Nigeria as a corporate entity might splinter along tribal and sectarian lines by 2015<sup>24</sup>.

But while the chaos was raging, President Goodluck Jonathan, who was seeking re-election at the time, kept saying that he would not support any bloodletting or act of brigandage just because he wanted to win the 2015 election. His mantra was “My ambition is not worth anybody’s blood.” This presidential rhetoric went a long way in reining in security operatives and members of the president’s political party since it would be out of place to weep more than the bereaved. The effect of the president’s statement and disposition came to the fore more during the announcement of the election result as he went ahead to concede defeat even when a member of his party was protesting at the collation centre. President Jonathan’s utterance before the election

in 2015 significantly promoted national integration as both the supporters of the president and the then president-elect became bonded.

Rhetoric is the power of persuasion; it is the art of swaying people from one point of view to another <sup>5</sup>. With the deployment of the right rhetoric, President Goodluck Jonathan was able to sway many Nigerian citizens from the point of wanting to bring down the nation if the result of the election was not favourable to them to the point of agreeing to accept the outcome of the election result without resorting to violence or destruction of public facilities. Consequently, he was able to ensure a level of national integration.

**Table 4.2(d): Selected Rhetoric of President Muhammadu Buhari (May 29, 2015- May 28, 2023)**

**Extract 7:** The constituents, for example, that gave me 97% (of the vote) cannot in all honesty be treated on some issues with constituencies that gave me 5%<sup>25</sup>.

**Extract 8:** We have a very young population; our population is estimated to be 196 million in 2018. This is a very conservative one. More than 60 per cent of the population is below 30, a lot of them haven't been to school and they are claiming that Nigeria is an oil producing country, therefore, they should sit and do nothing, and get housing, healthcare, education free<sup>29</sup>.

At his inauguration on May 29, 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari had promised to be fair to everyone in the country. He had said "I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody<sup>26</sup>". But rather than keep faith with his promise, the president said he could not treat those who did not vote for him the same way he would treat those who voted for him during the election. By that statement, the president brought a division into the country. Once elections are over, elected

officials are expected to rise above partisanship and concentrate on nation building. The president should be seen at all times as the one who champions the unity of the country but when the president, by his utterances and conducts, demonstrates that he has preferences for some groups in the country and disdain for others, he polarises the country and sets the people against one another, thus making it difficult to achieve national integration.

Following the statement, agitation for the resurrection of the rested Republic of Biafra became more strident and violent acts of the Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) escalated<sup>27</sup>. IPOB ordered Nigerians in the five southeastern states to stay at home every Monday and every time its leader, Nnamdi Kanu, would appear in court and the people complied because non-compliance was sometimes rewarded with death<sup>27</sup>. This development has had a telling effect on the socio-economic development of the region<sup>27</sup>. In the same vein, IPOB took up arms against the country and military men were dispatched to the area. This resulted in the death of hundreds of Nigerians<sup>27</sup>. But this could have been averted had the president been more circumspect with his rhetoric and had sought to use his rhetoric to bind the Nigerian people together to achieve national integration rather than using his rhetoric to polarise them thus making achieving national integration a herculean task.

Just as the appropriate rhetoric by the leader could facilitate unity, cooperation and political participation, rhetoric could be used to instigate neighbours to unleash terror on neighbours<sup>28</sup>. President Buhari's rhetoric pitted many Nigerians against one another and negatively affected national integration.

In Extract 8, President Muhammadu Buhari made the statement denigrating Nigerian youths at the business forum of Commonwealth Heads of Government in London in April 2018, in response to a question on why he did not sign the African Continental Free Trade Agreement in Rwanda. Already, Nigeria had an image problem which made it difficult for investors to prioritise Nigeria as an investment destination, thus compounding the difficulty young Nigerian graduates seeking employment opportunities faced. Then, the president, who was the father of the nation, went on the world stage to denounce his own citizens and spoke about them in derogatory terms. The statement attracted strong protests from young people on social media and traditional media platforms and further deepened the disaffection in the country. The youth faulted the president's position that many of them were not educated, they said that even if that were the case, it was the president's responsibility to provide access to education for every Nigerian youth.

The statement had a significant effect on national integration and political participation. The statement bifurcated the country, as many of the youth were openly antagonistic to the government because they felt that the government was not working for them. When citizens go against their country, development suffers because development only occurs when all hands are on deck and pulling in the same direction. The development dampened the spirit of many Nigerian youths and made them lose hope in the country. This is one of the factors that resulted in the surge of young Nigerians who are fleeing the country because they do not see a future for them in it<sup>30</sup>. It is also one of the factors that fuelled the #EndSARS protest as well as the "soro soke" agitation<sup>30</sup>. As a result of the youth's disenchantment with the country, they didn't show much interest in the political process. Thus, despite the youth between 18 and 34 years of age having the highest number of registered voters in the 2023 election, which was 37,060,399, not a

significant number of the youth participated in the election as, altogether, only 24,965,218 out of the registered 93,469,008, representing 26.7 per cent, participated in the election. The import of this is that President Muhammadu Buhari's rhetoric had a negative effect on both national integration and political participation during his time in office.

In summary, finding on research question one suggests that presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 negatively affected national integration and political participation in Nigeria based on the analysis of newspaper publications of the rhetoric of the four presidents that were in office during the study period.

**Research Question Two:** To what extent did the rhetoric of the four Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 promote national integration in Nigeria?

**Table 4.3: Extent to which presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 promoted national integration in Nigeria**

S/N	President	Strongly promotes national integration	Mildly promotes national integration	Mildly opposes national integration	Strongly opposes national integration	Mean	S.D	Remarks
1.	President Olusegun Obasanjo	97	70	56	59	2.73	1.14	Mildly promotes national integration
2.	President Umaru Yar'Adua	163	53	38	28	3.24	1.03	Mildly promotes national integration
3.	President Goodluck Jonathan	133	66	47	36	3.05	1.07	Mildly promotes national integration
4.	President Muhammadu Buhari	46	43	64	129	2.02	1.13	Mildly opposes national integration

**Weighted Mean Score ( $\bar{x}$ ) = 2.76 (0.87); General Decision = Mildly promotes national integration**

**Source:** Fieldwork, 2023

**Key:** S.D = Standard Deviation

**\*\*\*Threshold:** mean value of 0.000-1.499 = Strongly opposes national integration; 1.500-2.499 = Mildly opposes national integration; 2.500-3.499 = Mildly promotes national integration; 3.500 to 4.500 = Strongly promotes national integration.

Table 4.3 shows the influence of the presidential rhetoric of four Nigerian presidents during the specified period on the promotion of national integration. The data presented in the table provided the responses to a survey on how strongly each president's rhetoric promoted or opposed national integration. The rating scale of 'strongly opposes national integration (1)' to 'strongly promotes national integration (4)' was used for the study. The mean score ( $\bar{x}$ =2.73) suggested that President Obasanjo's rhetoric was remarked as "Mildly promotes national integration." While there was a significant number of responses indicating strong promotion, there were also notable indications of opposition to national integration in his rhetoric. Also, President Yar'Adua's rhetoric was remarked as "Mildly promotes national integration." The mean score ( $\bar{x}$ =3.24) suggested that his rhetoric received relatively higher scores in promoting national integration compared to the other categories.

President Jonathan's rhetoric was also remarked as "Mildly promotes national integration." The mean score ( $\bar{x}$ =3.05) indicated that his rhetoric was perceived as promoting national integration to a moderate extent. President Buhari's rhetoric was remarked as "Mildly opposes national integration." The mean score ( $\bar{x}$ =2.02) indicated that his rhetoric was perceived as more opposed to national integration compared to the other categories. The table, however, generally revealed Mean Score ( $\bar{x}$ ) = 2.76 (0.87); having general decision of "Mildly promotes national integration".

In summary, finding on research question two suggests that presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 in a general sense mildly promoted national integration in Nigeria based on the

weighted mean scores and categorisation. However, the presence of a standard deviation indicated that there was variability in the responses, suggesting that public perception varied across different segments of the population. This is in agreement with the observation of KII 3, who said that most of Nigerian presidents' speeches rather than pulling Nigerians together seemed to put them apart.

KII-3 said:

“The idea of a nation is that its principal officers are looking out for the common interest and the common good of the nation. So, a principal officer like the President, more than any other officer, is expected, in his actions and in his utterances, to be representing all of the citizenry. A statement that makes a distinction in favour of one segment, does not promote unity and integration.”

**Research Question Three:** To what extent did the rhetoric of the four Nigerian presidents engender political participation by Nigerian citizens between 1999 and 2023?

**Table 4.4: Extent to which presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 promoted political participation in Nigeria**

S/n	President	Strongly promotes	Mildly promotes	Mildly opposes	Strongly opposes	Mean	S.D	Remarks
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		political participat ion	political participat ion	political participat ion	political participat ion			
1.	President Olusegun Obasanjo	90	70	49	73	2.63	1.18	Mildly promotes political participation
2.	President Umaru Yar'Adua	171	74	20	17	3.41	0.87	Mildly promotes political participation
3.	President Goodluck Jonathan	137	69	46	30	3.11	1.03	Mildly promotes political participation
4.	President Muhammadu Buhari	60	45	42	135	2.11	1.22	Mildly opposes political participation
<b>Weighted Mean Score (<math>\bar{x}</math>) = 2.82 (1.08); General Decision = Mildly promotes political participation</b>								

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

Key: S.D = Standard Deviation

\*\*\*Threshold: mean value of 0.000-1.499 = Strongly opposes political participation; 1.500-2.499 = Mildly opposes political participation; 2.500-3.499 = Mildly promotes political participation; 3.500 to 4.500 = Strongly promotes political participation.

Table 4.4 shows the extent to which presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 promoted political participation in Nigeria. The data presented in the table explored the impact of the rhetoric of four Nigerian presidents on political participation by citizens during the specified period. The rating scale of 'strongly opposes political participation (1)' to 'strongly promotes political participation (4)' was used for the study.

President Obasanjo's rhetoric mean score ( $\bar{x}$  = 2.63) was remarked as "Mildly promotes political participation." There was a notable number of responses indicating strong promotion of political participation, there were also indications of opposition to political participation in his rhetoric.

President Yar'Adua's rhetoric was remarked as "Mildly promotes political participation." The mean score ( $\bar{x}= 3.41$ ) suggested that his rhetoric was perceived as more conducive to political participation compared to the other presidents. On the other hand, President Jonathan's rhetoric was also remarked as "Mildly promotes political participation." The mean score ( $\bar{x}= 3.11$ ) indicates that his rhetoric was perceived as moderately encouraging political participation. Equally, President Buhari's rhetoric was remarked as "Mildly opposes political participation." The mean score ( $\bar{x}= 2.11$ ) suggested that his rhetoric was perceived as more opposed to political participation compared to the other presidents.

In summary, the table indicated that based on the weighted mean scores and categorisation, the rhetoric of the four Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 generally mildly promoted political participation among Nigerian citizens (Mean Score ( $\bar{x}$ ) = 2.82 (1.08)). However, the extent of promotion or opposition varied among the individual presidents. This is in tandem with the view of KII-4, who observed that:

“The words of the president go a long way in either stirring people to believe in the country or not. Whether the citizens are committed to the ideals of a country or not is traceable to the disposition of the leaders, especially their utterances and how they make those utterances. The people are able to decipher whether the leaders mean what they say or not. So, if they are unable to see genuineness in their utterances, they do not take those utterances seriously and that would affect what they do with what their leaders say. Therefore, leaders need to know that with respect to evoking the feeling of patriotism and political participation in the citizens, the emotion that goes with the word is as important as the spoken word.”

**Research Question Four:** To what extent did the presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 influence national integration and political participation jointly in Nigeria?

**Table 4.5a: Model Summary for Influence of Presidential Rhetoric Jointly on National Integration and Political Participation in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023**

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.996 <sup>a</sup>	.992	.992	.72440

a. Predictors: (Constant), President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua, President Jonathan, President Buhari

**Table 4.5b: ANOVA for Influence of Presidential Rhetoric Jointly on National Integration and Political Participation in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023**

ANOVA <sup>a</sup>						
Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	18114.024	4	4528.506	8629.826	.000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	145.356	277	.525		
	Total	18259.379	281			

a. Dependent variables: National Integration and Political Participation

b. Predictors: (Constant), President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua, President Jonathan, President Buhari

The model summary and ANOVA of multiple regression analysis for the influence of presidential rhetoric jointly on national integration and political participation in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023 are shown in Table 4.5a and Table 4.5b. The tables showed that the F- value, the p-value was 0.000 (F= 8629.826, P<0.05). The F-test was therefore statistically significant and it

can be concluded that presidential rhetoric jointly and significantly influenced national integration and political participation in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023.

The model summary in table 4.5b showed the R<sup>2</sup> value of 0.992, which implied that the 99.2% variation in national integration and political participation (dependent variable) could be explained by the independent variable (presidential rhetoric). The remaining 0.8% was explained by other factors outside the model and the error term. Hence, presidential rhetoric had a significant impact collectively on the dependent variables (national integration and political participation).

**Table 4.5c: Coefficients of Multiple Regression Analysis for Influence of Presidential Rhetoric Jointly on National Integration and Political Participation in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023**

Coefficients						
Model		Un-standardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.380	.179		2.118	.035
	President Obasanjo	.913	.049	.378	18.572	.000
	President Yar'Adua	.227	.059	.076	3.875	.000
	President Jonathan	.804	.067	.296	11.960	.000
	President Buhari	-.640	.036	.285	17.615	.000

a. Dependent Variables: National Integration and Political Participation

The coefficients of multiple regression analysis for presidential rhetoric joint influence on national integration and political participation in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023 revealed the beta coefficient ( $\beta$ ) and t- values for President Obasanjo (Beta = .378; t = 18.572; Significance

= .000), President Yar'Adua (Beta = .076;  $t = 3.875$ ; Significance = .000), President Jonathan (Beta = .296;  $t = 11.960$ ; Significance = .000), President Buhari (Beta = .285;  $t = 17615$ ; Significance = .000), which were all significant at  $P < 0.05$ . These results implied that presidential rhetoric (President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua, President Jonathan and President Buhari) explained the variance in national integration and political participation in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023.

Further, from Table 4.5c, President Obasanjo's variable (B value) was 0.913. The positive coefficient suggested that every one-unit increase in President Obasanjo's rhetoric variable would lead to an increase in both national integration and political participation by 0.913 units. This coefficient was also statistically significant ( $p = 0.000$ ). For President Yar'Adua, the coefficient for variable (B) was 0.227. The positive value of B also implied that a unit increase in President Yar'Adua's rhetoric variable would lead to an increase of 0.227 units in national integration and political participation. This coefficient was statistically significant ( $p = 0.000$ ). Similarly, for President Jonathan, the coefficient for this variable was 0.804. This implied that a one-unit increase in President Jonathan's rhetoric variable would lead to an increase of 0.804 units in both national integration and political participation. This coefficient was also statistically significant ( $p = 0.000$ ). President Buhari showed a negative but significant relationship. The coefficient for this variable was -0.640. A unit increase in President Buhari's rhetoric variable would lead to a decrease of 0.640 units in national integration and political participation. This coefficient ( $p = 0.000$ ) was statistically significant.

Hence, the positive and statistically significant coefficients for President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua and President Jonathan suggested that their rhetoric was associated with an increase in

both national integration and political participation. The negative coefficient for President Buhari suggested a decrease in both national integration and political participation.

In summary, the findings indicated that presidential rhetoric influenced national integration and political participation jointly in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023.

#### 4.2.2 Testing of Hypotheses

**Ho<sub>1</sub>** Presidential rhetoric did not significantly influence peaceful co-existence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023.

**Table 4.6a: Model Summary for Presidential Rhetoric Influence on Peaceful Co-existence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023**

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.994 <sup>a</sup>	.989	.988	.43997

a. Predictors: (Constant), President Buhari, President Yar'Adua, President Obasanjo, President Jonathan

**Table 4.6b: ANOVA for Presidential Rhetoric Influence on Peaceful Co-existence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023**

ANOVA <sup>a</sup>						
Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	4651.870	4	1162.967	6007.919	.000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	53.620	277	.194		
	Total	4705.489	281			

a. Dependent Variable: Peaceful Co-existence

b. Predictors: (Constant), President Buhari, President Yar'Adua, President Obasanjo, President Jonathan

Tables 4.6a and 4.6b showed the model summary and ANOVA of multiple regression analysis for the influence of presidential rhetoric (President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua, President Jonathan and President Buhari) on peaceful co-existence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023. The table showed that the F- value, the p-value is 0.000 (F= 6007.919, P<0.05) which was much less than 0.05 and highly significant since p-value=0.000 at 95% confidence level. The F-test was statistically significant and rejected the null hypothesis and it can be concluded that presidential rhetoric significantly influenced peaceful co-existence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023, which means that the regression model was a good fit of the data. The model summary showed the R<sup>2</sup> value of 0.989 which implied that 98.9% variation in peaceful coexistence (dependent variable) could be explained by the independent variable (presidential rhetoric). The remaining 1.1% was explained by other factors outside the model and the error term. An R<sup>2</sup> value greater than 0.5 means that the model was effective enough to determine the relationship. In this case, the value is 0.989, which was also good. Hence, this suggests that the predictors (President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua, President Jonathan and President Buhari) collectively had a significant impact on the dependent variable (peaceful co-existence). The model was able to explain a substantial amount of the variance in the dependent variable, as indicated by the high F-ratio and its statistical significance.

**Table 4.7: Coefficients of Multiple Regression Analysis for Presidential Rhetoric Influence on Peaceful Co-existence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023**

Model		Un-standardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.118	.109		-1.086	.278
	President Obasanjo	.532	.030	.434	17.808	.000
	President Yar'Adua	.142	.036	.094	3.981	.000
	President Jonathan	.361	.041	.262	8.841	.000
	President Buhari	-.277	.022	.243	12.570	.000

Table 4.7 showed the coefficients of multiple regression analysis for presidential rhetoric influence on peaceful co-existence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023. The table revealed that the beta coefficient ( $\beta$ ) and t- values for President Obasanjo (Beta = .434; t = 17.808; Significance = .000), President Yar'Adua (Beta = .094; t = 3.981; Significance = .000), President Jonathan (Beta = .262; t = 8.841; Significance = .000), President Buhari (Beta = .243; t = 12.570; Significance = .000), which were all significant at  $P < 0.05$ . These results implied that presidential rhetoric (President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua, President Jonathan and President Buhari) explained the variance in peaceful co-existence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023 and therefore needed in the model.

In terms of the type of relationship (whether positive or negative), the coefficient for President Obasanjo's variable was 0.532. The positive coefficient suggested that for every one-unit increase in President Obasanjo's rhetoric variable, the predicted value of the dependent variable (peaceful co-existence) increased by 0.532 units. This coefficient was statistically significant ( $p = 0.000$ ) with a high t-value of 17.808. For President Yar'Adua, the coefficient for variable was 0.142. Similar to that of President Obasanjo, a one-unit increase in President Yar'Adua's rhetoric

variable was associated with a predicted increase of 0.142 units in peaceful co-existence. This coefficient was statistically significant ( $p = 0.000$ ) with a t-value of 3.981. Similarly, for President Jonathan, the coefficient for this variable was 0.361. This implied that a one-unit increase in President Jonathan's rhetoric variable was associated with a predicted increase of 0.361 units in peaceful co-existence. This coefficient was statistically significant ( $p = 0.000$ ) with a t-value of 8.841.

President Buhari showed a negative but significant relationship. The coefficient for this variable was -0.277. A one-unit increase in President Buhari's rhetoric variable would lead to a decrease of 0.277 units in peaceful co-existence. This coefficient was statistically significant ( $p = 0.000$ ) with a t-value of 12.570. Therefore, the positive and statistically significant coefficients for President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua, and President Jonathan suggested that their rhetoric was associated with an increase in peaceful co-existence. The negative coefficient for President Buhari suggested a decrease in peaceful co-existence associated with his rhetoric.

**H<sub>02</sub>** Presidential rhetoric did not significantly influence citizens' performance of civic responsibilities in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023

**Table 4.8a: Model Summary for Presidential Rhetoric Influence on Citizens' Performance of Civic Responsibilities in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023**

**Model Summary**

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.994 <sup>a</sup>	.988	.988	.44296

a. Predictors: (Constant) President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua President Jonathan, President Buhari

**Table 4.8b: ANOVA for Presidential Rhetoric Influence on Citizens' Performance of Civic Responsibilities in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023**

ANOVA <sup>a</sup>						
Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	4409.751	4	1102.438	5618.503	.000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	54.352	277	.196		
	Total	4464.103	281			

a. Dependent Variable: Performance of Civic Responsibilities

b. Predictors: (Constant), President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua President Jonathan, President Buhari

Table 4.8a and Table 4.8b showed the model summary and ANOVA of multiple regression analysis for the influence of presidential rhetoric (President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua, President Jonathan and President Buhari) on citizens' performance of civic responsibilities in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023. The table showed that the F- value, the p-value was 0.000 (F= 5618.503, P<0.05) which was much less than 0.05 and highly significant since p-value is at 95% confidence level. The F-test was statistically significant and therefore rejects the null hypothesis and it can be concluded that presidential rhetoric significantly influenced citizens' performance of civic responsibilities in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023.

The model summary showed the  $R^2$  value of 0.988 which implied that 98.8% variation in performance of civic responsibilities (dependent variable) could be explained by the independent variables (presidential rhetoric). The remaining 1.2% was explained by other factors outside the model and the error term. Hence, this suggested that the predictors' (President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua President Jonathan and President Buhari) rhetoric collectively had a significant impact on the dependent variable (performance of civic responsibilities).

**Table 4.8c: Coefficients of Multiple Regression Analysis for Presidential Rhetoric Influence on National Integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023**

Model		Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.498	.110		4.542	.000
	President Obasanjo	.381	.030	.320	12.684	.000
	President Yar'Adua	.085	.036	.058	2.383	.018
	President Jonathan	.443	.041	.330	10.778	.000
	President Buhari	-.363	.022	.326	16.321	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Performance of Civic Responsibilities

Table 4.8c showed the coefficients of multiple regression analysis for presidential rhetoric influence on citizens' performance of civic responsibilities in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023. The table revealed the beta coefficient ( $\beta$ ) and t- values for President Obasanjo (Beta = .320; t = 12.684; Significance = .000), President Yar'Adua (Beta = .058; t = 2.323; Significance = .018), President Goodluck (Beta = .330; t = 10.778; Significance = .000), President Buhari (Beta = .326; t = 16.321; Significance = .000) which were all significant at  $P < 0.05$ . These results implied that

presidential rhetoric (President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua, President Jonathan and President Buhari) explained the variance in citizens' performance of civic responsibilities in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023 and was therefore needed in the model.

In terms of the type of relationship (whether positive or negative) the coefficient for President Obasanjo's variable is 0.381. The positive coefficient suggested that every one-unit increase in President Obasanjo's rhetoric variable would lead to an increase in citizens' performance of civic responsibilities by 0.381 units. This coefficient was statistically significant ( $p = 0.000$ ). For President Yar'Adua, the coefficient for variable (B) was 0.085. The positive value of B also implied that a unit increase in President Yar'Adua's rhetoric variable would lead to an increase of 0.085 units in citizens' performance of civic responsibilities. This coefficient was statistically significant ( $p = 0.018$ ). Similarly, for President Jonathan, the coefficient for this variable was 0.443. This implied that a one-unit increase in President Jonathan's rhetoric variable would lead to an increase of 0.443 units in citizens' performance of civic responsibilities. This coefficient was statistically significant ( $p = 0.000$ ).

President Buhari's rhetoric showed a negative but significant relationship. The coefficient for this variable was -0.363. A unit increase in President Buhari's rhetoric variable would lead to a decrease of 0.363 units in citizens' performance of civic responsibilities. This coefficient was statistically significant ( $p = 0.000$ ). Overall, the positive and statistically significant coefficients for President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua, and President Jonathan suggested that their rhetoric was associated with an increase in citizens' performance of civic responsibilities. The negative coefficient for President Buhari suggested a decrease in citizens' performance of civic responsibilities associated with his rhetoric.

### 4.3 Discussion of Findings

This research investigated the influence of presidential rhetoric on national integration and citizens' political participation in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023. Discussion of the findings presents the results of the research and relates them with previous studies by other researchers to gauge differences or similarities. In this study, four research questions were answered and two hypotheses were tested.

Findings from Research Question One showed that presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 negatively affected Nigerian citizens. So much was the effect that the citizens' interest in national integration and political participation went down. Findings from the newspaper extracts used for this study showed that presidential rhetoric served as the regulator of citizens' conduct during the study period. When former President Olusegun Obasanjo declared that there was no going back on fuel subsidy removal and that those who protested the government's decision would be dealt with, the civil society organisations, members of the Nigeria Labour Congress and other citizens reacted negatively by embarking on a week-long protest that shut down the whole country. Schools, government offices, hospitals, banks and other organisations were all shut down. This resulted in huge losses for both the country and the citizens. The statement negatively impacted citizens' political participation as the president, through his utterance, shut down the opportunity for citizens' participation and engagement.

On the other hand, when President Umaru Yar'Adua granted amnesty and unconditional pardon to all persons who had directly or indirectly participated in the commission of offences associated with militancy in the Niger Delta region, criminality in the region declined substantially. This impacted the nation's economy appreciably as crude oil production in the

region increased significantly and the country's revenue rose considerably. This shows that more often than not presidential rhetoric determines the action of the citizens.

However, due to the largely inappropriate deployment of rhetoric by Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023, presidential rhetoric negatively impacted the citizens generally. Presidential rhetoric in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023 drove Nigerian citizens into the extreme situation of declining interest in national integration and citizens' political participation. So, presidential rhetoric in Nigeria during the study period negatively affected national integration and political participation. This is evident in the reduction in the number of registered voters who actually participated in the electoral process as well as increasing restlessness in the country.

Findings from Research Question Two showed that the presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 generally mildly promoted national integration in Nigeria with the mean score ( $\bar{x}$ ) at 2.76. However, Presidents Obasanjo, Yar'Adua and Jonathan's rhetoric mildly promoted national integration with a mean score of 2.73, 3.24 and 3.05 respectively, while President Buhari's rhetoric was perceived as more opposed to national integration compared to the other categories with a mean score ( $\bar{x}$ ) of 2.02. This finding can be related to former Prime Minister of Britain, Mrs Theresa May's rhetoric, which was often constructed around an imagined audience of those who wanted Britain to exit European Union, thus excluding pro-Europeans. Consequently, the Prime Minister failed to use her power as Britain's Communicator-in-Chief to unite the people and rally every citizen behind the vision of having a wholesome country after Brexit<sup>31</sup>. This is in consonance with the message design concept of the Elaboration Likelihood Model, which states that a message must be deliberately designed to suit an audience so that the essence of the communication could be realised.

The finding tallies with the findings of a survey, which found out that in 2021, Nigeria had become more divided along ethnic, socio-economic, political and religious lines, than it was four years earlier<sup>32</sup>. The survey submitted that 65 percent of Nigerians were of the belief that the country was much more divided compared to only 12 percent who said the country was much more united, and 23 percent who believed that the country had stayed the same.

However, that President Buhari's rhetoric was perceived to be more opposed to national integration compared to other presidents' rhetoric could be a trust issue. Some of the statements credited to President Buhari could have pitted some Nigerians against him to the extent that no matter what he said, he would be regarded as a leader who was opposed to national integration. One of the three major factors that determine the level of persuasion in a communication process is ethos, which speaks about the reputation of the speaker<sup>33</sup>. The reputation of the speaker determines his credibility. This is a major factor in his believability or otherwise. This also determines whether he is able to persuade his audience or not. Ethos is not about what a speaker promises to do but what he has already done and what he is already noted for. Thus, the message of a speaker with a dented reputation will be taken with a pinch of salt and his effort to persuade will fall flat. Therefore, a leader who has a trust issue will fail to achieve persuasion because his rhetoric will not be acceptable to his audience. That might likely have been the challenge of President Buhari, who was perceived by many Nigerians, especially those from the southern part, as being biased against the South. So, for a leader to earn the trust of his followers, he must ensure that his reputation is not tarnished by any means.

Findings from Research Question Three showed that the rhetoric of the four Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 mildly engendered political participation by Nigerian citizens (Mean

Score ( $\bar{x}$ ) = 2.82). President Obasanjo, Yar'Adua and Jonathan's rhetoric mildly engendered political participation with the mean scores being 2.63, 3.41 and 3.11 respectively, while President Buhari's rhetoric was perceived as more opposed to political participation compared to the other categories ( $\bar{x}$ =2.02). The finding can be related to a study on the right deployment of rhetoric accompanied with the appropriate use of metaphor by Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first President, which roused the people to ask for independence from British colonialists<sup>34</sup>. Nkrumah, who was seen as the leader of the people of Ghana even before independence, built a strong narrative around the need for the people to demand independence. This became a vision for every Ghanaian<sup>34</sup>. Therefore, the citizens rallied behind this vision and it became accomplished in due course.

However, the reverse appears the case in Nigeria where the presidents from 1999 to 2023 failed to rouse the citizens to embrace political participation. This means the Nigerian leaders, unlike Nkrumah, failed to spark enough interest in the citizens to seek political participation. The failure could be traced to the inappropriate use of words. This is the thrust of the Elaboration Likelihood Model<sup>35</sup>. The model stresses that for persuasion to be achieved, motivation (the rationale behind the objective, in this case political participation), ability (the capacity of the audience to properly interpret the message) and opportunity (the time available to the listener to process the information) must be ascertained<sup>35</sup>.

Persuasion does not happen willy-nilly, it must be made to happen. This is largely determined by the speaker and his own level of persuasion about the subject matter. He must also know his audience well enough to be sure that the audience has the capacity to understand his communication and that the communication will stimulate the audience into thinking and inspire them into action. While there is no doubt about Kwame Nkrumah's level of conviction about the

need for his country to seek independence and his capacity to pass this across to his compatriots in a comprehensible manner which stimulated them into thinking and inspired them into action, the handling of the issue of citizens' political participation by Nigerian leaders leaves much to be desired. They hardly made the matter important enough to arouse the interest of the populace in it or inspire them into action. However, in accordance to ELM, motivating a listener enough to devote time to reflect on a communication and act based on it will require the speaker to be so determined to achieve persuasion that he himself will devote time to developing the speech and make deliberate plans to deliver it to achieve maximum result. This presupposes that speeches that achieve persuasion cannot be casually made or casually delivered. If a speaker is casual about a speech that is determined to effect a change in attitude he will be unsuccessful in the enterprise. This explains why great speeches are often garnished with repetition. So, while it is obvious that Nkrumah devoted time to prepare his speeches, it is doubtful that Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 were that purposeful in the preparation and delivery of their speeches.

Similarly, the method of pursuing political participation by Nigerian leaders is contrary to the spirit and letter of the Participation Theory<sup>36</sup>. The theory stresses that individuals who actively participate in making decisions that affect their lives will have a greater sense of ownership and investment in the outcome, leading to greater satisfaction and commitment to the decision<sup>5</sup>. Therefore, the theory emphasises the importance of citizen engagement in the political and decision-making process. But this is hardly the case in Nigeria. This probably explains why citizens are not motivated to get involved in political participation as evidenced in the reduction in the number of people that participated in every election cycle since 2007.

Findings from Research Question Four revealed that presidential rhetoric influenced both national integration and citizens' political participation in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023 ( $F=8629.826$ ,  $P<0.05$ ). The beta coefficient ( $\beta$ ) and t- values for President Obasanjo (Beta = .378;  $t = 18.572$ ; Significance = .000), President Yar'Adua (Beta = .076;  $t = 3.875$ ; Significance = .000), President Goodluck Jonathan (Beta = .296;  $t = 11.960$ ; Significance = .000), President Buhari (Beta = .285;  $t = 17615$ ; Significance = .000), which are all significant at  $P<0.05$ , show that presidential rhetoric (President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua, President Jonathan and President Buhari) explained the variance in national integration and political participation in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023.

In a related study<sup>37</sup>, where the focal country had a challenge of national integration and political participation, the then Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak, adopted the 'One Malaysia Model' to rally the whole country behind the idea of national integration and political participation. The Prime Minister himself led the campaign for an integrated Malaysia. This became 'the Malaysian Vision' that every citizen worked towards. Since whatever the head of government champions becomes a national discourse, the people of the country began to take the matter seriously and within a short period of time, Malaysia's integration index moved from Level Three to Level Four. With the success recorded in national integration, the citizens became more interested in political participation. This implies that achieving integration in a country would be herculean without the president championing the cause and this must be anchored on a national creed, vision or goal<sup>37</sup>.

However, for a president to champion the cause of having an integrated country he must be grounded in the deployment of *logos*, a component of rhetoric<sup>38</sup>. *Logos*, a Greek word, is used to refer to logic, the underlying point that makes sense or meaning behind everything else. *Logos* is

the deployment of logic, facts and data to sway an audience. For a president to achieve a shift in thinking or behaviour of those he leads, he must lean on logic and provide them with facts and data that will facilitate a change in orientation. If a people have lived for a long time as adversaries, though they belong to the same country, they begin to believe that it is best for them to maintain the status quo. For a leader to demolish the wall that separates the people, he must advance a superior argument that would make the people see the need for them to abandon what they had been used to and embrace the new way of living. This will require the provision of facts and figures that will question the earlier belief. Until that is done, it will be difficult to persuade the people to change. The failure of Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 to achieve national integration and political participation is rooted in their inability to provide convincing arguments to make the citizens opt for national integration and political participation. For over 24 years, there were no catch phrases or statements that could intensely stimulate national integration or political participation.

Findings from Hypothesis One (Ho1) revealed a significant presidential rhetoric influence on peaceful co-existence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023 ( $F= 6007.919$ ,  $P<0.05$ ) which is much less than 0.05 and highly significant since p-value ( $0.000 < 0.05$ ) is at 95% confidence level. The positive coefficient (B) for presidents Obasanjo, YarAdua and Jonathan (B=0.532, 0.142 and 0.361) respectively suggests that for every one-unit increase in the rhetoric variable of Presidents Obasanjo, YarAdua, Jonathan, there will be an increase in peaceful co-existence by 0.532, 0.142 and 0.361 units respectively. The negative value of B (-0.277) for president Buhari rhetoric indicates that one-unit increase in President Buhari's rhetoric variable will lead to a decrease of 0.277 units in peaceful co-existence.

The findings can be related to a study that found out that the inappropriate use of words by the political class, especially the presidents, could cause tension in the country and put a wedge between the various ethnic groups in the country thereby making it difficult for the country to achieve peaceful co-existence and national integration<sup>39</sup>.

Similarly, findings from Hypothesis Two (Ho2) revealed a significant presidential rhetoric influence on citizens' performance of civic responsibilities in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023 ( $F= 5618.503$ ,  $P<0.05$ ). The positive coefficient (B) for presidents Obasanjo, Yar'Adua, Jonathan (B=0.381, 0.085 and 0.443) respectively suggests that for every one-unit increase in the rhetoric variable of Presidents Obasanjo, Yar'Adua and Jonathan, there will be an increase in citizens' performance of civic responsibilities by 0.381, 0.085 and 0.443. The negative value of B (-0.363) for President Buhari's rhetoric indicates that one-unit increase in President Buhari's rhetoric variable will lead to a decrease of 0.363 units in citizens' performance of civic responsibilities. The findings can be supported with a study that found out that the dexterous deployment of rhetoric by a president facilitates the realisation of his goals<sup>40</sup> but when political leaders deliberately deploy their rhetoric to manipulate or hoodwink their audiences, though such political leaders may achieve their personal goals, the outcome is always at variance with the public good with communal and national development being the casualty<sup>40</sup>.

All the findings indicate that presidential rhetoric influenced national integration and political participation in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023 jointly and individually.

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## Chapter Five Conclusion

This study set out to weigh the impact of presidential rhetoric on national integration and political participation in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023. Summary of the findings of this study,

the conclusion drawn from the findings, recommendations, contributions to knowledge and suggested areas for further research are presented in this chapter.

## **5.1 Summary of Findings**

The study found that presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 mildly affected national integration in Nigeria. However, public perception varied across different segments of the population. While the rhetoric of Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo, Umaru Yar'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan was considered as tilting towards mildly promoting national integration, President Muhammadu Buhari's rhetoric was considered as mildly opposing national integration. Therefore, though presidential rhetoric mildly promoted national integration during the study period, it was not the same over the period as the rhetoric during the last eight years of the study period was considered as mildly opposing national integration.

The study also showed that the rhetoric of the four Nigerian presidents between 1999 and 2023 mildly promoted political participation among Nigerian citizens, although there was no uniformity of scale for the four presidents. While Presidents Obasanjo, Yar'Adua and Jonathan's rhetoric was rated as mildly promoting political participation, that of President Buhari was rated as mildly opposing political participation. Thus, although the country achieved mild political participation during the study period, there was a variance in the level of contributions of the presidents that held sway during the period.

In addition, the study found out that presidential rhetoric had a significant impact on both national integration and political participation between 1999 and 2023 and that the rhetoric of each of Presidents Obasanjo, Yar'Adua, Jonathan and Buhari impacted on the two dependent

variables, although with variations. Resulting from the variations, a unit increase in President Obasanjo's rhetoric variable would result in an increase in both national integration and political participation by 0.913 units. Similarly, a unit increase in President Yar'Adua's rhetoric variable would produce an increase of 0.227 units in national integration and political participation. For President Jonathan, a unit increase in his rhetoric variable would lead to an increase of 0.804 units in both national integration and political participation. However, for President Buhari, a unit increase in his rhetoric variable would lead to a decrease of 0.640 units in national integration and political participation.

The study further found that presidential rhetoric between 1999 and 2023 in Nigeria had a significant influence on peaceful co-existence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023. This is evident from the fact that for every one-unit increase in the rhetoric variable of Presidents Obasanjo, YarAdua and Jonathan, there would be an increase in peaceful co-existence by 0.532, 0.142 and 0.361 units respectively. On the other hand, for every one-unit increase in President Buhari's rhetoric variable there would be a decrease of 0.277 units in peaceful co-existence.

The study also found a significant presidential rhetoric influence on citizens' performance of civic responsibilities in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023. This is due to the fact that every one-unit increase in the rhetoric variable of Presidents Obasanjo, Yar'Adua and Jonathan would result in an increase in citizens' performance of civic responsibilities by 0.381, 0.085 and 0.443 respectively. Contrariwise, a one-unit increase in President Buhari's rhetoric variable would lead to a decrease of 0.363 units in citizens' performance of civic responsibilities.

The study also found out that rhetoric must have a focus to be effective. The focus for a nation is the vision. However, the presidents from 1999 to 2023 did not develop a national vision around

which they could build their rhetoric. This explains why it was difficult for any of them to achieve national integration or political participation. While former President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, was able to come up with what looked like the Ghanaian Dream and the then Prime Minister of Malaysia, Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak, introduced the 'One Malaysia Model' to motivate the people towards political participation and national integration respectively, Nigerian leaders during the study period did not carve either a National Vision or a Nigerian Dream for the people. The divisive tendencies in the country could be traced to the lack of a dream to which Nigerians can all aspire. The agitation for the resuscitation of Biafra, the Niger Delta crisis, the demand for Yoruba Nation and many of the communal crises in the country are not mainly because of ethnic or religious differences, they are a result of the absence of a National Dream. The absence of a National Dream means there is nothing that pulls the people to the nation; there is no national agenda that is greater than their tribal or religious affiliation. Since nature abhors vacuum, since there is no National Dream, Nigerians have resorted to ethnic or religious dreams. So, instead of being driven by a National Dream to which all Nigerians can subscribe, different groups are agitating for different visions with which they identify. This produced agitators who choose to give vent to a local vision that has been able to arrest their attention. This is why integration has become quite difficult in the country. The antidote to regional or religious agitation is a definite and definitive Nigerian Dream. The absence of a Nigerian Dream presupposes that there is no specific goal that all Nigerians are working towards. This is why Nigerians are not working towards the achievement of the goal of achieving national integration or political participation.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

This study has shown that the rising disenchantment of Nigerians with Nigeria is traceable to the wrong deployment of presidential rhetoric. More often than not, rather than being a glue that binds the different peoples of Nigeria together, presidential rhetoric was used during the study period as a wedge that put people apart. Instead of being deployed as a tool to mobilise Nigerians towards nation building activities, presidential rhetoric was used to instigate Nigerians against their fatherland. This study has shown that presidential rhetoric plays a major role in determining the level of integration in a country. Findings of the study also indicate that political participation in a country is largely a function of presidential rhetoric. This shows that not only do national integration and political participation respond to presidential rhetoric, but it is also evident that the level of national integration and political participation achieved in a country is directly proportional to the focus and quality of presidential rhetoric at that material time. While positive presidential rhetoric results in national integration and citizens' political participation, negative presidential rhetoric engenders national disintegration and citizens' political apathy.

Mathematically, this can be put thus:  $PR \propto NI \& PP$

Where PR is Presidential Rhetoric;

NI is National Integration; and

PP is Political Participation.

Similarly, the casualness of Nigerian presidents to their rhetoric made them incoherent, the citizens indifferent and the nation in-cohesive. The thrust of the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) is that persuasion in a communication engagement is not a given, rather it is a function of the efforts invested in the exercise by the speaker. If a speaker is too casual about the exercise, he fails to go into great extent to get the audience to shift from its original position. Since the

speaker does not put his heart in the communication exercise, the receiver does not also take time to process, evaluate and internalise the message. So, persuasion does not happen. Due to the casualness of Nigerian presidents to their rhetoric during the study period, their words were not strong enough to inspire either a desire for national integration or a quest for political participation in the people. In addition to that, the presidents seemed not to understand the weight of their words. Consequently, they were carefree with their use of words which was injurious to the health of both the nation and the nationals. Since the presidents were casual about their rhetoric on national integration and political participation, the citizens were carefree about the issue of national integration and political participation. Therefore, presidential rhetoric even when targeted at achieving national integration and political participation failed to do so because of the lackadaisical attitude of the presidents. This is represented mathematically thus:

$$aPR \propto dNI \& sPP$$

Where aPR is attitude attached to Presidential Rhetoric;

dNI is depth of national integration; and

sPP is the strength of political participation

National integration is achieved when there is a decline in mutual distrust, fears, hatred and suspicion among citizens irrespective of their tribal, religious or political affiliation. During the first 24 years of Nigeria's Fourth Republic, there was an upsurge in mutual distrust, strife, suspicion and insecurity, all of which can be traced to the kind of rhetoric deployed by the presidents. In the same vein, rather than Nigerian citizens contributing to national development,

which is the hallmark of political participation, many Nigerians over the period of twenty four years that this study covered grew both apolitical and apathetical. This is also traceable to the rhetoric of the presidents during the study period. The gum that binds citizens to the state is political participation. But when the citizens of a country choose to deny their country of their talents and abilities, the country is robbed of greatness. That appears to be the situation in Nigeria where many citizens are either fleeing abroad or cannot be bothered about the country because the presidents have failed to create hope for them through their rhetoric.

Mathematically, this can be put thus: **NI(P+U)+PP(NL+PC)=ND**

Where

NI stands for National Integration;

P stands for Peace;

U stands for Unity;

PP stands for Political Participation;

NL stands for National Love;

PC stands for Personal Commitment; and

ND stands for National Development.

Therefore, the summation of the three submissions is that as a consequence of a dearth of positive deployment of presidential rhetoric, Nigeria did not significantly experience either national integration or political participation, both of which are sine qua non to national development in the twenty four years that the study covered. In other words, the level of

development attained in a country is directly proportional to the quality of the presidential rhetoric deployed in the country. This can be put mathematically thus:  $QPR(NI+PP) = ND$

Where QPR stands for Quality of Presidential Rhetoric;

NI stands for National Integration;

PP stands for Political Participation; and

ND stands for National Development.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

1. Drawing from the findings of this study which shows the enormity of the power of presidential rhetoric on the wellness of the country and the wellbeing of the citizens, it is obvious that there is a knowledge gap among the nation's political class about the nexus between presidential rhetoric and national integration on the one hand as well as presidential rhetoric and political participation on the other hand. Therefore, to bridge this gap, there is the need for every Nigerian president-elect to undergo training in communication before assumption of office. This will prepare the individual to use his words to inspire the citizenry to work together rather than using his words to instigate citizens against one another. This training will make him see the need to be careful about how he uses his words.

2. It is also important that professional bodies such as the Nigerian Institute of Public Relations (NIPR) and similar bodies be empowered to assess the statements made by the president on a quarterly basis and communicate the impact of these to the president. The essence of this is to make the president pay serious attention to his utterances and rhetoric. Knowing that his

speeches are being assessed by people who are not beholden to him is likely going to make the president refrain from deploying incendiary rhetoric.

3. To achieve national integration and political participation, there is the need for the country to come up with a national vision which will become the aspiration of all Nigerians. A national vision will be superior to any ethnic agenda or factional agitation because it will paint the picture of a beautiful future which all Nigerians can jointly work towards. The national vision will answer the question of what kind of country the people want to build and the role of everyone in the process. With the vision of the country etched into presidential rhetoric, it becomes easy for Nigerians to work towards national integration and become active citizens.

#### **5.4 Contribution to Knowledge**

This study has contributed to knowledge in the following ways.

The study has shown that the rhetoric of a president affects the conduct of the citizens. The rhetoric of a president can be a stimulant to the citizens and stir up the spirit of patriotism in them. On the other hand, a presidential rhetoric can cause citizens to rise up in arms against other citizens or embark on violent protests that would threaten the foundation of a country. This study has established that citizens' conduct is modulated by presidential rhetoric.

The study has also established that what the citizens do with a presidential rhetoric is determined by how the communication is couched and presented. Citizens, more often than not, do not on their own think for the leaders. A leader who trivialises a serious matter will harvest indifference from the populace. The study established that for citizens to take a matter seriously, the leaders have to attach seriousness to its conception and presentation. Leaders have to be intentional and

deliberate with their communication. This is because communication determines the wellness of the people and the wellbeing of the state.

Another contribution to knowledge is that with their words, presidents are the determinants of the level of national integration and political participation in their country. The study states that the rhetoric of a president is powerful enough to make citizens friends or foes. The rhetoric of a president is powerful enough to build up a country or pull down the same. It also shows that the words of a president are weighty enough to make a citizen stake his all for his country or trade his citizenship for a pie.

Yet another contribution is that national development flies on the wings of national integration and political participation. The study established that while it is the wish of every country to be great, without the leaders, especially the president, working on bringing the citizenry together by deploying the rhetoric that would make them live together harmoniously and pull together in the same direction, development will be a mirage.

### **5.5 Suggested Areas of Further Research**

Presidential rhetoric is critical to national integration. National integration cannot be achieved without the presidential rhetoric being driven towards achieving national integration. However, as vital as presidential rhetoric is to national integration, it would be presumptuous to assume that presidential rhetoric is the sole determinant of national integration. To clear all doubts, studies should be conducted to determine other factors that determine national integration besides presidential rhetoric.

Similarly, while it is indubitable that presidential rhetoric determines level of political participation, it is doubtful that it is the only factor. Researchers will do well to probe into this

area so as to avail the country of the whole picture behind the dwindling interest of Nigerians in nation building.

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## Appendices

### APPENDIX I

#### Presidential Rhetoric as Correlate of National Integration and Political Participation

#### Content Analysis Coding Sheet

#### Manifest Content

Newspaper	Total no. of items	Favourable	%	Unfavourable	%	Neutral	%
The Guardian	24	4	16.7	11	45.9	9	37.5
The Punch	25	5	20	13	52	7	28
Tribune	23	6	26.1	11	47.8	6	26.1
Vanguard	21	4	19	9	43	8	38
Leadership	14	2	14.3	8	57.1	4	28.6
The Sun	19	4	21.1	9	47.4	6	31.5
<b>Total</b>	126	25	117.2	61	293.2	40	189.7

### Appendix II

Department of Mass Communication and Media Technology  
Lead City University, Ibadan

### Questionnaire

**Presidential Rhetoric as Correlate of National Integration and Political Participation in  
Nigeria (1999- 2023)**

Dear respondent,

This questionnaire is intended to gather information on the influence of presidential utterances on national integration and citizens' political participation in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023. Any information provided will only be used for academic purposes and you are assured of utmost confidentiality. Thank you.

**Section A: Demographic Information**

Please fill or tick the options applicable to you.

- (1) Gender Male (  ) Female (  )
- (2) Age (please state).....
- (3) Occupation.....
- (4) Level of Education
  - (a) No Formal Education
  - (b) Primary School
  - (c) Secondary School
  - (d) Post Secondary School (Please specify).....
- (5) Marital Status:
  - (a) Single (  ) (b) Married (  )
  - (c) Separated (  ) (d) Divorced (  )
  - (e) Widowed (  ) (f) Cohabiting (  )
- (6) Religious persuasion:
  - (a) Christianity (  ) (b) Islam (  ) (c) Traditional Religion (  )
  - Others (specify) -----
- (7) Any political affiliation? (a) Yes (b) No
- (8) Geo-political zone -----
- (9) State of origin -----
  
- (10) State of residence-----
- (11) Local government of residence-----

**Section B: Influence of Presidential Rhetoric on National Integration Between 1999 and 2023**

Kindly go through the following statements carefully and indicate the degree to which you think they engender national unity.

	<b>President Olusegun Obasanjo 1999-2007</b>	<b>Strongly promotes national integration</b>	<b>Mildly promotes national integration</b>	<b>Mildly opposes national integration</b>	<b>Strongly opposes national integration</b>
1	<p>After the adoption of Sharia Law by some Northern states, President Obasanjo said in May 2002:</p> <p><b>Sharia is not a new thing and it's not a thing to be afraid of. What we need is justice.</b></p>				
2	<p>After a crisis between members of the Odua Peoples Congress and Northerners in Lagos in October 2000, President Obasanjo said:</p> <p><b>Law enforcement agencies are hereby ordered to arrest and prosecute any person who claims or presents himself as a member of the OPC and similar organisations, all of which are hereby declared illegal, unacceptable and a serious threat to the peace and security of Nigeria.</b></p>				
3	<p>On May 29, 2002 as the country marked the third anniversary of the Fourth Republic, President Obasanjo said:</p> <p><b>It is a sad commentary on our conduct that Nigerians live more in fear of violence than excitement at the opportunity to</b></p>				

	<b>exercise a choice in who governs them.</b>				
	<b>President Umaru Yar'Adua 2007-2010</b>				
4.	While speaking on how he planned to stem the rise of religious crises in the country shortly after his inauguration in 2007, President Yar' Adua said: <b>We will work towards ensuring religious harmony as well as peaceful co-existence of the various religious groups in the country by strengthening the Interreligious Council which the Sultan of Sokoto and the President of the Christian Association of Nigeria co-chair.</b>				
5.	In his response to the allegation of Southernisation of Civil Service in 2009, President Yar'Adua said: <b>Ethnic politics is dangerous for Nigeria's development.</b>				
6.	While announcing his intention to implement the recommendations of the Electoral Reform Panel in 2007, President Yar'Adua said: <b>Not even the President will put himself above the law.</b>				
	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan 2010-2015</b>				
7.	Ahead of the general election, President Jonathan said in January 2015 that: <b>My ambition is not worth anybody's blood.</b>				
8.	After the Movement for the				

	<p>Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), a Niger Delta militant group, had claimed responsibility for the bomb blast that happened on October 1, 2010 in Abuja, President Goodluck Jonathan said:</p> <p><b>What happened yesterday was a terrorist act and MEND was just used as a straw; MEND is not a terrorist group.</b></p>				
9.	<p>Speaking against the background of Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria, President Jonathan said in March 2013 that:</p> <p><b>We must do everything in our powers to ensure that religion is neither misused nor abused to justify violence. Our young people must be shielded from teachings which will take them down the path of violence and hatred.</b></p>				
	<p><b>President Muhammadu Buhari 2015-2022</b></p>				
10	<p>After series of attacks that left scores of people dead in Benue State, President Buhari said in January 2018:</p> <p><b>Your Excellency, the governor, and all the leaders here, I am appealing to you to try to restrain your people... I ask you in the name of God to accommodate your country men. You can also be assured that I am just as worried, and concerned with the situation.</b></p>				
11	<p>To justify his sidelining of</p>				

	<p>South East in his appointments, President Buhari said during an interview in July 2015:</p> <p><b>The constituents, for example, that gave me 97% [of the vote] cannot in all honesty be treated on some issues with constituencies that gave me 5%.</b></p>				
12	<p>Speaking against the background of ethnic tension during a visit to Lafia in Nasarawa State in 2022, President Buhari said:</p> <p><b>I am urging all Nigerians to always tolerate each other, embrace one another and work towards the peace, unity and development of the country. We must entrench ethnic and religious tolerance so as to achieve a common goal of making our country save and great.</b></p>				

**SECTION C: Influence of Presidential Rhetoric on Citizens' Political Participation Between 1999 and 2022**

Kindly go through the following statements carefully and indicate the degree to which you think they influence citizens' political participation.

<b>President Olusegun Obasanjo 1999-2007</b>	<b>Strongly Encourages citizen participation</b>	<b>Mildly encourages citizen participation</b>	<b>Mildly discourages citizen participation</b>	<b>Strongly Discourages citizen participation</b>
--	--	--	---	---

1	<p>During the electioneering for 2007 elections, President Obasanjo said:  <b>2007 election is a do-or-die affair.</b></p>				
2	<p>When the Nigeria Labour Congress threatened to embark on nationwide strike and protests following the removal of fuel subsidy in 2004, President Obasanjo said:  <b>There is no going back on fuel subsidy removal because the country loses too much to it....Those who disturb public peace through their protests will be dealt with in accordance with the laws of the land.</b></p>				
3	<p>At the inauguration of the National Political Reform Conference on February 21, 2005 in Abuja, President Obasanjo said:  <b>History has presented us with the opportunity to reassess, refocus, redefine and redesign our political landscape in a direction that would strengthen the bonds of unity, enhance the process of democratic consolidation, strengthen the structures so as to solidify those values that promote democracy, good governance and good neighbourliness; and open boundless opportunities for all Nigerians to be and to feel that they are part of the evolving political</b></p>				

	<b>process and socio-economic advancement.</b>				
	<b>President Umaru Yar'Adua 2007-2010</b>				
4	<p>Speaking about his commitment to establishing a credible electoral system in the country, President Yar'Adua said in September 2007:</p> <p><b>I sincerely believe that we need to conduct our elections and affairs in accordance to the ideals of democracy.</b></p>				
5	<p>At his inauguration on May 29, 2007, President Yar' Adua said:</p> <p><b>I ask you to set aside negative attitudes, and concentrate all our energies on getting to our common destination. All hands must be on deck.</b></p>				
6	<p>To restore peace to the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, which had been enmeshed in militancy and criminality, President Yar'Adua on June 25, 2009, said:</p> <p><b>I, Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, after due consultation with the council of States and in exercise of the powers conferred upon me by the provisions of Section 175 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, ... hereby grant amnesty and</b></p>				

	<p><b>unconditional pardon to all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in the commission of offences associated with militant activities in the Niger Delta. The pardon shall take effect upon the surrender and handing over of all equipment, weapons, arms and ammunition and execution of the renunciation of Militancy Forms specified in the schedule hereto.</b></p>				
	<p><b>President Goodluck Jonathan 2010-2015</b></p>				
7	<p>At the inauguration of the 2014 National Conference, President Jonathan said:  <b>Dear Compatriots, my administration is convening this National Conference today because we believe that we must assume responsibility for ensuring that the long-running national debate on the best way forward for our country is not in vain.</b></p>				
8	<p>During the Bring Back Our Girl protest in May 2014, President Jonathan said:  <b>Government believes that we all must come together to fight terrorism and that protests should be directed at the terrorists</b></p>				

	<b>and not at the government.</b>				
9	<p>At a meeting with some Nigerian professionals in the United States in August 2014, ahead of the 2015 general election, President Jonathan said:</p> <p><b>The issue of credible elections must be institutionalised in Nigeria. Our electoral processes were not very good or credible when we came into office, but as I promised, we've been working very hard to change things and ensure that our elections are more credible, that every legitimate vote counts and that results are acceptable to the electorate."</b></p>				
	<b>President Muhammadu Buhari 2015-2022</b>				
10	<p>While speaking at the Commonwealth Business Forum in Westminster in April 2018, President Buhari said:</p> <p><b>More than 60 per cent of the population is below 30, a lot of them haven't been to school and they are claiming that Nigeria is an oil producing country, therefore, they should sit and do nothing, and get housing, healthcare, education free.</b></p>				
11	<p>After a meeting with the All Progressives Congress (APC) governors in August 2022, President</p>				

	<p>Buhari said:  <b>I want Nigerians to know that we respect them, and for us to show that we will allow them to vote who they want.</b></p>				
12	<p>After the #EndSARS protest in 2020, President Buhari in a national broadcast said:  <b>I would like to appeal to protesters to note and take advantage of the various well-thought-out initiatives of this administration designed to make their lives better and more meaningful, and resist the temptation of being used by some subversive elements to cause chaos with the aim of truncating our nascent democracy. For you to do otherwise will amount to undermining national security and the law and order situation. Under no circumstances will this be tolerated.</b></p>				

### APPENDIX III

#### Presidential Rhetoric as Correlate of National Integration and Political Participation Key

#### Informant Interview Guide

- (a) Introduction of the interviewee (basic personal facts)

1. How do you see the statement made by former President Olusegun Obasanjo that Sharia was not a new thing and non-Muslims should not be afraid of it with respect to achieving religious tolerance in the country?
2. President Obasanjo, after a crisis between members of the Odua Peoples Congress and Northerners in Lagos, ordered the arrest and prosecution of OPC members and similar organisations. Did that action in any way help the country to achieve peaceful co-existence of the citizens?
3. When President Obasanjo said the '2007 election is a do-or-die affair', how did that affect the country's political stability?
4. At the inauguration of the National Political Reform Conference on February 21, 2005 in Abuja, when President Obasanjo said this is an opportunity for all Nigerians to be and to feel that they are part of the evolving political process and socio-economic advancement, did that spur nationalism and the urge to participate in nation building activities in Nigerians?
5. How did the statement by President Obasanjo that there was no going back on fuel subsidy removal and that those who disturbed public peace through their protests would be dealt with make Nigerians feel about their country?
6. How did the statement by President Yar'Adua that his government would work towards ensuring religious harmony as well as peaceful co-existence of the various religious groups in the country affect religious tolerance in Nigeria?

7. President Yar'Adua, in one of his statements described ethnic politics as being dangerous for Nigeria's development. How would that statement have affected ethnicity in the country?
8. What effect did President Yar'Adua's statement on amnesty to militants affect the unity of the nation?
9. What was the effect of President Yar'Adua's statement on the need to conduct elections and affairs in accordance to the ideals of democracy have on citizens' political participation?
10. How did the call by President Yar'Adua on Nigerians to set aside negative attitudes, and concentrate energies on getting to a common destination affect citizens' political participation?
11. What impact did President Jonathan's 'My ambition is not worth anyone's blood' have on electoral violence?
12. What effect did President Jonathan's defence of MEND even after the group had claimed responsibility for the bomb blast that happened on October 1, 2010 in Abuja, have on the unity of the different ethnic groups in the country?
13. When President Jonathan urged Nigerians to ensure that religion is neither misused nor abused to justify violence, how did it affect religious tolerance?
14. What effect did the statement by President Jonathan that protesters should direct their protest at terrorists and not the government have on citizens' political participation?
15. How did President Jonathan's statement at the inauguration of the 2014 National Conference that the people must assume responsibility for ensuring that the long-running

national debate on the best way forward for our country is not in vain affect citizens' political participation?

16. What effect did the statement by President Buhari to Benue State people after scores of the citizens had been killed by herdsmen that they should accommodate their fellow countrymen affect unity and stability in the country?
17. What effect did the statement by President Buhari that he could not treat those who didn't vote for him equally with those who voted for him have on the nation's unity?
18. How did President Buhari's call on Nigerians to tolerate one another and work towards the peace, unity and development of the country affect inter-ethnic relations in the country?
19. How did President Buhari's description of Nigerian youths as lazy affect civic engagement by the youth?
20. How did the threat by President Buhari during his national broadcast after the #EndSARS saga affect civic engagement?

## Bio-data

### A. Personal Data

Name: **OLANREWAJU, Sulaimon Olukayode**

Address: House 6, Road 6A, Ire Akari Estate, Oluyole, Ibadan, Oyo State

E mail: lanresulaimon123@gmail.com

Phone No: +2348055001708

Date of Birth: September 27, 1966

Place of Birth: Ibadan, Oyo State

Nationality: Nigerian

Next of Kin: Mrs Odunayo Olanrewaju

House 6, Road 6A, Ire Akari Estate, Oluyole, Ibadan, Oyo State

Tel: 08053829609

### B. Education Background

#### 1. Educational Institutions Attended with Date

- (a) Victory Primary School, Ibadan
- |                                  |           |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
| First School Leaving Certificate | 1972-1978 |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
- (b) Itele High School, Itele Ijebu, Ogun State
- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| West African Secondary School Certificate | 1978-1983 |
|---|-----------|
- (c) University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Oyo State.
- |  |           |
|--|-----------|
| B. Ed. Educational Mgt/ Language and Communication Art | 1993-1997 |
|--|-----------|

(d) Pan Atlantic University, Ibeju Lekki, Lagos State

M.Sc. Media and Communication Studies

2008- 2009

(e) Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo State

Ph.D. Mass Communication & Media Technology

In-view

### **C. Work Experience:**

November 15, 2023 till Date

#### **Oyo State Government**

Special Adviser (Media) to Oyo State Governor

- Incorporate state goals and policies into target messaging o resonate with particular audiences.
- Regularly engaging His Excellency to ensure an alignment between policies and messaging

May 29, 2023 till Date

#### **Oyo State Government**

Chief Press Secretary to Oyo State Governor

- Coordinate daily media operations of the Governor
- Relate with the Chief of Staff to align media activities with state goals and objectives

January 1, 2020 till May 29, 2023

#### **Nigerian Tribune**

Snr. Manager, Business Development and Strategy

- Generate ideas for new products
- Come up with strategies to improve current businesses
- Generate ideas to improve the bottom line
- Facilitate training for new and old staff members

July 1, 2014 till May 29, 2023

#### **Nigerian Tribune**

Group Business Editor

- Generate Business story ideas
- Investigate story ideas
- Conduct first grade interviews
- Assign reporters to cover assignments
- Liaise with the News Desk on story ideas
- Supervise the production of Business pages
- Liaise with financial institutions and regulators
- Liaise with communications companies and regulators
- Generate advert revenue for the company

May 2011 to June 30, 2014

## **Nigerian Tribune**

Deputy Editor in charge of Features Desk

- Generate Features story ideas
- Investigate story ideas
- Conduct first grade interviews
- Assign reporters to cover assignments
- Liaise with the News Desk on story ideas
- Supervise the production of Features pages
- Represent the Editor as directed by him

November 2010 to May 2011

## **Nigerian Tribune**

Deputy Editor, Politics Desk, Headquarters

- Generate Politics story ideas
- Conduct first grade interviews
- Assign reporters to cover assignments
- Liaise with Group Politics Editor in Abuja on story ideas
- Liaise with the News Desk on story ideas
- Supervise the production of Politics pages
- Represent the Editor as directed by him.

May 2010 to November 2010

## **Nigerian Tribune**

Editor, Early Edition

- Generate story ideas for the newspaper
- Liaise with correspondents to get stories
- Supervise the production of the newspaper

March 2008 to April 2009

## **Nigerian Tribune**

Lagos Bureau Chief

- Coordinate the affairs of the company in Lagos
- Represent the company's interests in Lagos
- Conduct first grade interviews
- Generate stories for the newspaper in Lagos

June 2007 to November 2010

## **Nigerian Tribune**

Education Editor

- Generate Education story ideas
- Assign reporters to cover assignments
- Liaise with the News Desk on story ideas
- Supervise the production of Education pages

July 2006 to June 2007

## **Nigerian Tribune**

Assistant Editor on Business Desk

- Generate Business story ideas
- Liaise with the Group Business Editor in Lagos on Business stories
- Assign reporters to cover assignments
- Liaise with the News Desk on story ideas
- Supervise the production of Business pages

March 2006 to July 2006

**Nigerian Tribune**

Acting Business Editor

- Generate Business story ideas
- Conduct first grade interviews
- Assign reporters to cover assignments
- Liaise with the News Desk on story ideas
- Supervise the production of Business pages

August 2001 to March 2006

**Nigerian Tribune**

Assistant Business Editor

- Generate Business story ideas
- Cover Business assignments
- Write Business analyses and features
- Participate in the production of Business pages

August 1999 to August 2001

**Nigerian Tribune**

Reporter (Business)

- Generate Business story ideas
- Cover Business assignments
- Write Business analyses and features
- Participate in the production of Business pages

**D. Awards**

Winner, Nigerian Media Merit Award for Culture and Tradition	2012
Winner, Nigerian Media Merit Award for Energy Reporter of the Year	2014
Winner, Nigeria Media Merit Award for Brands and Marketing	2015
Winner, Nigeria Media Merit Award for Telecommunications	2017
Winner, Highest Revenue Earner for ANN Plc (Nigerian Tribune)	2017
Winner, Best Staff Across All Categories ANN Plc	2017
Winner, Nigeria Media Merit Award for Brands and Marketing	2018

## **E. Membership of Academic Professional Bodies**

1. Member, Nigeria Union of Journalists
2. Fellow, Institute of Management Specialists (IMS)
3. Fellow, Institute of Information Management, Africa (IIM)
4. Associate Member, National Institute of Marketing of Nigeria (NIMN)

## **F. Publications**

### **1. Contribution to Books:**

(i) **Sulaimon Olanrewaju** & Waheed Bayonle Busari, (2023), Analysis of Effect of Goodluck Jonathan's 2015 Concession Rhetoric on Ethno-Political Conflicts in Nigeria in W.B. Busari and A.A. Amedu (2023), **Mass Communication and Media Technology Postgraduates Seminar Proceedings**, Vol 1 pp 47-61.

### **2. Journal**

(ii) **Sulaimon Olanrewaju** (2017), *Globalization, Alterity and the Local: Reconstructing and Deconstructing Africanity*, **Journal of Policy and Development Studies**, 11(1), 2017, 33-40.

(iii) **Sulaimon Olanrewaju**, (2017) *Nigerian Fashion Designers and Challenges of Intellectual Property Rights Protection*, **Nasarawa Journal of Multimedia and Communication Studies**, 1(1), 2017, 61-72.

## **Referees**

### **Prof. L. A. Abioye**

Dean, Faculty of Communication and Information Science

Lead City University Ibadan,

Oyo State.

### **Dr Ikechukwu Obiaya,**

Dean, School of Media and Communication

Pan-Atlantic University,

Ibeju-Lekki,

Lagos State.

### The University Compliance Certification

This is to certify that this thesis by Sulaimon Olukayode OLANREWaju with Matriculation Number LCU/PG/002432 in the Department of Mass Communication and Media Technology, Faculty of Communication and Information Science, Lead City University, Ibadan, is in full compliance with the approved University format and style.

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Signature

Date

Lead City University Ibadan DO NOT COPY