

## **A LINGUISTIC REFLECTION OF THE METAPHORICAL MEANING OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA**

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### **Abstract**

Nigeria is known as a country that practices democracy. However, certain occurrences during the 2023 general election season question the authenticity of the country's democratic state. The study, therefore, aimed to investigate speeches made by prominent Nigerian politicians and stakeholders to discover if the country practices true democracy. Data for the study were extracted from ten politically related statements made by political, traditional, and religious leaders towards the 2023 Nigerian general election. The statements were sourced in Nigerian national dailies. The data were subjected to qualitative analysis, using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson as the theoretical leaning. This theory postulates that metaphors exist in every communication event and help the audience to understand what is communicated. Hence, this theory formed the framework for analysing the data to discover the meanings communicated in them. Findings revealed that the statements depicted democracy as a government instituted by the people, a government instituted by a divine force, and the government for the elites. As a result, it is concluded that Nigeria is yet to practice true democracy and, hence, recommendations were made towards encouraging political education and awareness in the country.

**Keywords:** democracy in Nigeria, language use, conceptual metaphor, context.

## **Introduction**

Nigeria is a country with complex leadership history. The country came into existence in 1914 when the colonial leaders, under the administration of Lugard, amalgamated two different protectorates – the North and the South protectorates – into one to form a country currently known as Nigeria. The colonial system of government came into an end in 1960 and ushered in a type of government that allowed the Nigerian citizens to decide who will lead them. Unfortunately, this civilian system of government was short-lived as the country entered under the military rule in 1966 when it experienced its first military coup. However, in 1979, the country returned to civilian leadership in what is known as the 2nd Republic. This government was also short-lived because another military take-over of the country's leadership occurred in 1983. Ever since then, the country was plunged into a dictatorial military rule until 1998 when a general election ushered in the civilian government that is in practice in the country as of today.

Currently, Nigeria is said to be practicing a system of government known as democracy. This type of government is commonly defined as the government of the people by the people and for the people (Nwogu, 2015). In democracy, power is said to belong to the people, who may delegate it to representatives they elected in a free and fair elections (Adeyemi, 2012). Citizens also participate actively in making decisions concerning issues, policies, and laws that affect them directly or indirectly (Adeyemi, 2012). This further means that democracy is a non-discriminatory inclusive government, which is different from the authoritarian type of government that does not allow citizens to contribute towards making policies and government decisions that can affect their lives. In other words, as a democratic country, Nigeria should be a place, where citizens can enjoy the rights and freedom to choose their leaders, who will represent them at all levels of government, through free and fair elections, without occasions of manipulations, threats, coercion, or blackmail. In other words, every Nigerian must be allowed to vote according to his conscience, desire, and ideology.

Certain occurrences that happened in Nigeria during the 2023 election season have questioned the nature of government being practiced in Nigeria. Some stakeholders and leaders have openly disclosed, through statements they made in public, that, Nigeria, power does not belong to the masses. From the statements of these individuals, it can be perceived that Nigerian democracy may be flawed or different from the conventional democracy, which empowers

citizens to elect or sack political office holders. This, therefore, calls for a reflection on what democracy means to Nigerians.

The aim of this study is to conduct a linguistic analysis of statements made by some prominent Nigerians in relation to the country's 2023 general election. Specifically, the study intends to find out how Nigerians perceive democracy to determine if the country is practicing true democracy or not. As a result, the general research question that guides this study is, "What does democracy generally mean to Nigerians?"

### **Language**

Language is a system of communication that was invented by man to enable him interact effectively and efficiently in his community. Korneeva et al. (2019) state that even though there are other means of communication (such as non-verbal signs, gestures, drawings, paintings, and music), language is the best communication medium because it is more effective in transferring meaning. Uwadiogwu (2017) acknowledges that language exists in communities because the members want to interact with it. This can explain why Emezue (2015) holds that language is a "system for making meaning and effecting communication" and also a tool that is "vital to human existence" because it "enables humans to cooperate and interact with one another, to express idea, feelings, wishes, and other things they need to give meaning and expression to" (pp. 1 – 2). In other words, with language, it is easier for human beings to be expressive, cooperate as a group, and live harmoniously.

However, Adegbite (2020) discloses that language is more than a means of communication used by man. According to him, human language is an instrument of thought (since man thinks in language), a representation of behaviour, an instrument of instruction, a vehicle of reason, a means of recording experiences, and a vehicle for revealing experiences. By this explanation, Adegbite (2020) reveals that language can capture the personality, values, culture, attitude, belief, knowledge, and cognition of an individual. It shows that the expressions of an individual can capture how he views the world and how he may react to a certain situation or circumstances. The language a person speaks gives information about what he knows and how he makes sense of reality.

### **Democracy**

Democracy is commonly described as a civilian government, where people come together to take decisions on matters that affect their lives. In

most cases, it is identified as the government of the people by the people for the people (Adagbabiri & Okolie, 2019; Idada & Omoregie, 2017; Dahl, 2023). It is the type of government, where people elect their leaders and assign them the authority to represent and speak for them at different governmental levels (Dahl, 2023; Patarai, 2021). It is the type of government, which invests power on people and gives them freedom to practice their powers. For the sake of this study, democracy is going to be identified as the type of government that invests power on the masses and also gives them the freedom to elect representatives, they can assign a part of the power to speak and represent them.

Scholars, such as Adagbabiri and Okolie (2019) believe that democracy is a theory, which has basic principles. They hold that different countries can practice democracy in different ways, depending on their peculiar circumstances. Idada and Omoregie (2017) disclose that any government that projects the values and cultures of the people and give room for their participation in the government should be regarded as democracy. Nwogu (2015) also explain that democracy is a political system that is uneasy to underpin since it may not give equal freedom to every citizen. He states that in ancient Athens, where democracy started, women and slaves were excluded from participation in government matters. This may explain why Adagbabiri and Okolie (2019) hold each country practices democracy in a way that suits their culture.

However, for any system of government to be regarded as a democracy, it must possess the identified principles or features of democracy. These features include justice, freedom, equity, openness, accountability, and transparency in the government (Adagbabiri & Okolie, 2019). In addition, in representative democracy, which is practiced in Nigeria (Dahl, 2023; Patarai, 2021; Nwogu, 2015; Idada & Omoregie, 2017), citizens can elect their leaders through frequent free and fair elections, which must be devoid of any form of manipulation or coercion (Idada & Omoregie, 2017; Dahl, 2023). In addition to that, the government that is elected into power must be accountable to the people. In other words, democracy is the government of the people by the people and for the people. It does not does not discriminate or exclude any eligible citizen from partaking in the government.

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study is anchored on Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The theory is selected because it can give a better insight into how

language can be used to disclose the perception of a concept in a culture. In other words, this theory provided the basis for analyzing the collected statements made by prominent Nigerians concerning the 2023 elections in order to detect how Nigerians perceive democracy.

The theory of conceptual metaphor was first propounded by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in 1980. The theory was published in their book, *Metaphor We Live By*, in which they revealed that metaphor should only be considered as a form of figurative language, which is used only in literary texts and expressions (Lakoff, 2014; Zhang, 2021). Before Lakoff and Johnson postulated this theory, metaphors were never viewed as thoughts that could influence how people understand concepts or phenomena (Cakir, 2016). Then, metaphors were believed to possess ornamental features, which make it best suited for use in poetry and literature (Rasse et al., 2020; Li, 2010). However, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has disclosed that metaphors perform more functions than literary embellishment. According to CMT, metaphors are found in daily language use. It perceives metaphors as a form of cognitive device that helps people to understand what they do not know by aligning the unknown abstract concept with a concrete known concept (Lakoff, 2014; Zhang, 2021). CMT posits that metaphors help shape how people communicate, act, or think (Lakoff, 2014; Cakir, 2016; Zhang, 2021) because they can make abstract ideas to become concrete through a process called mapping (Li, 2010; Lakoff, 2014; Zhang, 2021). In mapping, the abstract (that is the unknown) is understood by directly comparing it to the concrete. That is, the mind creates a direct connection between the unknown and the known by assuming that the unknown shares the same characteristics as the known, which is a concrete item it can relate to. This enables the mind to interpret the meaning behind a message. Nevertheless, unlike in linguistic metaphors, which are expressed orally or in writing to beautify language and enable easy communication (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 2014; Cakir, 2016; Li, 2010), conceptual metaphors are conceived in the mind to enable comprehension of what is communicated.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the knowledge an individual has helps him to structure his mapping. They identified two domains that are involved in the mapping. These are the target domain (which is the unknown abstract concept) and the source domain (that is, the known concrete concept) (Lakoff, 2014; Zhang, 2021). An individual is said to understand a concept when he unconsciously maps the target domain into the source domain. That is, the individual the unknown concept as sharing the quality of the known concept in

order to understand the information being delivered. A good example can be found in the expressions given below, where the concept of 'romantic relationship' (the abstract/unknown concept) is perceived as a journey.

- a. The love affairs began when he was barely 19.
- b. The relationship ended immediately after she graduated.
- c. They stayed married for 25 years before they divorced.
- d. She broke off the relationship because she could not continue with it.

According to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, an individual will be able to understand the expressions above because he, unconsciously, sees love as a journey. This perception is what will help him understand what it means to begin a relationship (a), end it (b, d), stay together in marriage (c), or break a relationship (d). However, for the individual to be able to align love with journey, he must first have knowledge of what journey means and how it is partaken (Cakir, 2016; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). If he fails to understand that every journey has a beginning and an end, he may not understand why the mentioned romantic relationships started or ended. In other words, the knowledge of the source can help in the perception of the target. CMT does not only help people to understand expressions because it can capture how a concept is perceived by a particular culture (Lakoff, 2014; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). When a speaker makes a statement, he will unconsciously reveal how his culture perceives it. The expressions given above about romantic relationship are good examples of how CMT reveals culture. From those expressions, one can see that the speakers believe that 'romantic relationship is a journey,' which begins and ends somewhere. That way, their cultural values can be detected through their statements. This, in extension, shows that CMT can also be used to analyse the day-to-day conversations of the members of a speech community to determine how a particular concept is perceived in their culture.

In this study, CMT is used to determine how democracy is perceived in Nigeria. It is employed to analyse the expressions of some political, religious, socio-political, and socio-cultural leaders to detect their views about people's freedom to select their political leaders through free and fair elections. The expressions are analysed by mapping the target domain (democracy) into the source domain, which is the concept (or concepts) democracy is aligned with. That way, we were able to perceive how the audiences of those leaders understand their statements as well as the value of the system of government in the Nigerian culture. This helped us to arrive at a conclusion of what democracy is.

**Methodology**

The aim of this study is to investigate how the statements of some Nigerian political, religious, and socio-political leaders to reveal how democracy is perceived in the country. As a result, utterances made by seven (7) prominent Nigerians concerning the 2023 election were collected from mainstream Nigerian newspapers. The newspapers used for this study were Daily Nigerian, Premium Times Nigeria, The Nation, Guardian and People Gazette.

The utterances used in this study were selected through the purposive sampling technique. They were selected for the study because the speakers disclosed their perception of democracy. The data disclosed the speakers’ prediction of the elections, their roles in electing leaders, and their views on the place of the masses during the election. This means that the data will help to answer the general question of the research when analysed.

This study adopts qualitative analysis. It anchors its analysis on the postulation of Lakoff and Johnson Conceptual Metaphor. The data are analysed by presenting the utterance (the source), providing the context of its occurrence, determining ‘what is said’ (based on the meaning of the words that make up the sentence), decoding ‘what is implicated’ (based on the context), and mapping the target (the metaphor). Hence, with this theory, the study is able to determine the meanings of the studied utterances and how Nigerians perceive democracy.

**Results**

Based on the analysis of the data collected for this study, the following findings were made.

**Excerpt 1:** *"To those saying this one is Igbo, that one is Yoruba, the talk of the president in Nigeria is not a talk of the Igbo or Yoruba but the talk of entire Nigeria."*

Linguistic Domain	Particulars
Context	Afenifere declaring support for Peter Obi, a presidential candidate
Speaker	Mr. Adebajo, the leader of Afenifere
‘What is said’	Tribe should not play a role in the election of a president.
‘What is implicated’	Nigerians should elect Peter Obi even if he is not from their tribe.
Source	People
Target	Democracy
Mapping	Democracy is the government of the people.

Table 1: Analysis of Mr. Adebajo’s Statement I (Source: Premium Times 24 Nov. 2022)

Table 1 captures the statement made by Mr. Adebajo, the leader of a Yoruba elitist socio-cultural organisation, Afenifere. In the statement, the speaker discloses that the power to elect the president is with the “entire Nigerians”. So, he encouraged his audience to vote for the candidate endorsed by the association. As a result, the conceptual metaphor mapping shows that his statement identifies democracy as the government of the people.

**Excerpt 2:** *“Peter Obi is the person of Igbo extraction that Afenifere has decided to support and back.”*

Linguistic Domain	Particulars
<b>Context</b>	Afenifere declaring support for Peter Obi, a presidential candidate
<b>Speaker</b>	Mr. Adebajo, the leader of Afenifere
<b>‘What is said’</b>	Peter Obi is the Igbo person Afenifere will support for the election.
<b>‘What is implicated’</b>	Afenifere has not been supporting other Igbo presidential candidates but it has chosen to support Peter Obi.
<b>Source</b>	The elites
<b>Target</b>	Democracy
<b>Mapping</b>	Democracy is the government for the elites.

Table 2: Analysis of Mr. Adebajo’s Statement II (Source: Premium Times 24 Nov. 2022)

Table 2 also captures another statement by the leader of Afenifere while endorsing the organisation’s candidate. However, this time, his statement implicated that Afenifere has the power to determine who will become the next president of Nigeria. This is why the conceptual metaphor mapping captures democracy as the government for the elites



**Excerpt 3:** *Peter Obi is going nowhere as far as God lives.*

Linguistic Domain	Particulars
Context	A prophecy on Peter Obi's presidential ambition
Speaker	Rev. Fr. Mbaka, a priest of the Roman Catholic Church in Nigeria
'What is said'	Peter Obi will not become the president of Nigeria because God is alive.
'What is implicated'	God does not want Peter Obi to become the president.
Source	Divine forces
Target	Democracy
Mapping	Democracy is the government by divine forces.

Table 3: Analysis of Reverend Father Mbaka's Statement (*Source: Daily Post 16 June, 2022*)

Table 3 presented the analysis of a statement made by Rev. Fr. Mbaka, concerning one of the presidential candidates. The speaker implicated that the said candidate cannot win the election because the supernatural forces are against him. In other words, the supernatural forces and not the masses will elect the president. As a result, the conceptual mapping of the statement identifies democracy as the government by divine forces.

**Excerpt 4:** *This current president will be the last APC president, as revealed to me. All the windows opened for this party have been closed."*

Linguistic Domain	Particulars
Context	A prophecy on the presidential election.
Speaker	Rev. Akinbo, the Head Pastor of a Pentecostal Church in Nigeria
'What is said'	President Buhari is the last president APC will produce.
'What is implicated'	God revealed that the current APC presidential candidate will not win the election.
Source	Divine forces
Target	Democracy
Mapping	Democracy is the government by divine forces.

Table 4: Analysis of Rev. Akinbo's Statement (*Source: Guardian Nigeria, 22 Sept. 2022*)

Table 4 presented a statement made by Rev. Akinbo, concerning one of the presidential candidates. His statement implicated that the APC presidential candidate cannot win because the supernatural are against him. In other words, even if the masses vote for him, the decision of the supernatural will prevail. As a result, the conceptual metaphor mapping of his statement captures democracy as the government by divine forces.

**Excerpt 5:** *"We have begged them. If they don't want to vote for us, it is not a fight. Tell them, mama Chukwudi, if you don't want to vote for us, sit down at home. Sit down at home."*

Linguistic Domain	Particulars
Context	A socio-political leader addressing the party's supporters
Speaker	Mr. Akinsanya (MC Oluomo), APC member and leader of the Lagos State NURTW
'What is said'	Those that will not vote for us should not come out to vote.
'What is implicated'	We will not allow the Igbos to vote against the incumbent governor of Lagos State.
Source	The ruling class/elites
Target	Democracy
Mapping	Democracy is the government for the elites.

Table 5: Analysis of Mr. Akinsanya's Statement (Source: People Gazette 16 Mar. 2023)

In Table 5, the statement of Mr. Akinsanya was analysed. His statement implicated that the people of Igbo tribe will not be allowed to vote against the present administration, meaning that they are not free to decide who the next governor of Lagos State will become. This indicates that the ruling party, not the masses, decides who will be elected into office. As a result, the conceptual metaphor mapping captures democracy as the government for the elites.

**Excerpt 6:** "This is the closest time and period an Ibani son is getting to the throne of the governor of Rivers State. Now, who is the man that will decide what will be here and what will not be there. Is it not your son? What project is bigger than that project?"

Linguistic Domain	Particulars
<b>Context</b>	Political campaign at Rivers State
<b>Speaker</b>	Barr. Wike, the executive governor of Rivers State, Nigeria
<b>'What is said'</b>	Governors decide what happens in the state but the citizens have to elect them into office.
<b>'What is implicated'</b>	If the people of Ibani elect their son into office as the governor, they stand to benefit from the state's project.
<b>Source 1</b>	The ruling class/elites
<b>Source 2</b>	The masses
<b>Target</b>	Democracy
<b>Mapping 1</b>	Democracy is the government for the ruling class/elites.
<b>Mapping 2</b>	Democracy is the government of the people.

Table 6: Analysis of Gov. Wike's Statement (*Source: The Nation, 25 Jan. 2023*)

Table 6 presented the analysis of the statement made by Governor Nysom Wike, the governor of Rivers State. This statement implicated that the masses have the power to elect their leaders but they are not in a position to decide what happens in the government. As a result, the statement has two sources and two conceptual metaphor mappings. Here, a source and a mapping captures democracy as the government for the ruling class and the elites while the second source and mapping capture it as the government of the people.

**Excerpt 7:** "PDP has performed in this State and PDP is asking you for your support to continue with the performance. We are not saying we want to perform. We are saying that we will be performing and continue to perform."

Linguistic Domain	Particulars
Context	Political campaign at Rivers State
Speaker	Sir Fubara, the governorship candidate for Rivers State.
'What is said'	PDP is soliciting for votes from the masses.
'What is implicated'	PDP needs to be re-elected into office by the masses.
Source	The masses
Target	Democracy
Mapping	Democracy is the government of the people.

Table 7: Analysis of Sir Fubara's Statement (Source: The Nation 25 Jan. 2023)

Table 7 presented the analysis of the statement made by Sir Fubara, the PDP gubernatorial candidate for Rivers State. His statement implicated that the incumbent government, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), cannot retain power if the masses do not elect him, the candidate, to office. As a result, the conceptual metaphor mapping captures democracy as the government of the people.

**Excerpt 8:** "Oh you people of Nigeria, the election beckons us again, and my followers who are into politics have told me that they will be voting for Atiku. And since they have chosen him, I can't dissociate myself from them. I'm with them. Let's see what God will unfold for us."

Linguistic Domain	Particulars
Context	The endorsement of presidential ambition of Atiku Abubakar
Speaker	Sheikh Dahiru Usman-Bauchi, an Islamic scholar
'What is said'	He will vote for Atiku because some of his followers will.
'What is implicated'	Even though he and his followers will vote for Atiku, it is God that will decide who will win the election.
Source 1	Political elites
Source 2	The divine forces
Target	Democracy
Mapping 1	Democracy is the government for the political elites.
Mapping 2	Democracy is the government by divine forces.

Table 8: Analysis of Sheik Dahiru's Statement (Source: Daily Nigerian, 23 Feb. 2023)

Table 8 captured the analysis of a statement made by an Islamic scholar, Sheikh Dahiru Usman-Bauchi, while endorsing one of the presidential candidates. His statement implicated that he will vote for the candidate chosen by the political elites close to him. In other words, he has to align with his associates. His statement further implicated that the supernatural must endorse their candidate for him to win. This is causing the statement to have political elites and the supernatural as sources. As a result, the conceptual metaphor of the statement has two mappings. One identified democracy as the government of the political elites while the other captures it as the government by the divine forces.

### **Discussion**

The analysis of the statements collected for this study has shown that Nigerians have three basic perceptions about democracy. The first perception, as presented in Tables 1, 6, and 7, describes democracy as the government of the people. This perception reveals that Nigerians, both the ruling class and the governed, understand that in democracy, power resides with the masses. In this case, the speakers appealed to the masses to vote for them or their preferred candidates. The second perception describes democracy as the government of the elites and the ruling class. This view is captured in Tables 2, 5, 6, and 8. There, the speakers made it obvious that the masses will have to abide by the decision of the few while electing their leaders. That is, the masses will have to elect whoever the elites and members of the ruling class chose. The third perception of democracy in Nigeria is found in Tables 3, 4, and 8, where the speakers reveal that the decisions of the citizens cannot choose their leaders because the supernatural is the one to select their leaders. These speakers perceive democracy as government of the supernatural.

According to Adagbabiri and Okolie (2019), democracy is a theory, which has principles that must be adhered to. These principles include justice, freedom, equity, openness, accountability, and transparency in the government. If the notion of Adagbabiri and Okolie should be aligned with the findings of this study, it will be discovered that Nigerians are not allowed the freedom to choose who will lead them. For instance, if Nigerians are made to believe they have to vote for the candidates adopted by the elites, it means they are not in a position to decide who will lead them. This is also the case, where they were told that the supernatural is the force that will select leaders for them. If this is allowed to continue, Nigerians may believe their votes do not

count since their choice of candidates may be different from that of the supernatural.

Another observation made from the research findings is that in Nigerian democracy, the masses are only needed to elect leaders. Election, which is a practice commonly found in representative democracy (Dahl, 2023; Patarai, 2021; Nwogu, 2015; Idada & Omoregie, 2017), is one of the ways citizens participate in the government. This feature is found in Nigerian democracy, where eligible voters elect who will represent them. However, in Tables 5 and 6, the speakers made it obvious that the citizens are only important during election after which the elites and the ruling class take up the task of making decisions, including the ones that affect the masses. This may prevent accountability and transparency in the government.

### **Conclusion**

The perceptions of democracy in Nigeria show that Nigerians do not know the extent of the power given to them by the system of government. It appears they perceive themselves as tools that should be used to elect leaders, who were desired by the elites and the supernatural. This goes contrary to the notion of democracy, which assigns power to the people and guarantees fairness, justice, and equity. In addition, democracy should project the desire of the people and not that of a few individuals or any divine forces. This indicates that Nigeria is yet to practice true democracy. Currently, what is obtainable in Nigeria is not the government of the masses but government of a few.

### **Recommendations**

Based on the findings of this study and the observations made while it was being carried out, the following recommendations are suggested:

1. Political education should be intensified in Nigerian schools. This will expose students to their rights and freedoms in a democratic government.
2. Efforts should be made by the government to enlighten Nigerians on their rights and freedoms in electing their preferred candidates into a political office.
3. Laws should be enacted to discourage manipulations and coercion that characterise Nigerian political space during elections.

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## Appendix

### Links to Source of Data

1. **Afenifere support for Obi, is support for Nigeria – Ayo Adebajo**  
Premium Times Nigeria (24 Nov. 2022)  
<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/ssouth-west/567150-afenifere-support-for-obi-is-support-for-nigeria-ayo-adebanjo.html?tztc=1>.
2. **2023: Peter Obi too stingy, cursed, can never be Nigeria President – Fr. Mbaka**  
Daily Post (16 June, 2022)  
<https://dailypost.ng/2022/06/16/2023-peter-obi-is-too-stingy-can-never-rule-nigeria-fr-mbaka/>
3. **Obi would be president with prayers, active participation in electioneering process – Prophet Akinbo**  
The Guardian Nigeria (22 Sept. 2022)  
<https://guardian.ng/news/obi-would-be-president-with-prayers-active-participation-in-electioneering-process-prophet-akinbo/>
4. **Stay at home if you will not vote APC, MC Oluomo threatens Igbos in Lagos**  
People Gazette (16 Mar. 2023)  
<https://gazettengr.com/stay-at-home-if-you-will-not-vote-apc-mc-oluomo-threatens-igbos-in-lagos/>
5. **We won't campaign for Atiku, Wike insists**  
The Nation (25 Jan. 2023)  
<https://thenationonlineng.net/we-wont-campaign-for-atiku-wike-insists-2/>.
6. **Sheikh Dahiru Bauchi endorses Atiku, directs followers to vote for him**  
Daily Nigerian (23 Feb. 2023)  
<https://dailynigerian.com/sheikh-dahiru-bauchi-endorses/>.