

Framing Leadership and Identity: A Critical Discourse Analysis of French and Selected African Leaders in RFI Headlines

Matthew Damilare Adekunle

*Bamidele Olumilua University of Education, Science and Technology,
Ikere-Ekiti.*

adekunle.matthew@bouesti.edu.ng,
<https://orcid.org/0009-0000-2403-9514>
+2347037857567

and

Modupe Beatrice Adeyinka (Ph.D.)

*Federal College of Education,
Osiele, Abeokuta.*

mbadeyinka@fce-abeokuta.edu.ng,
+2348038300187

Abstract

This study examines how political leadership is linguistically constructed in French-language headlines published by RFI between September and December 2025. While existing research has identified asymmetries in global media representations of Western and African political actors, limited attention has been paid to how such differences are realised at the level of headline discourse within a single international broadcaster.

The study compares how Emmanuel Macron and selected African leaders are represented within a single international broadcaster. This level of analysis remains underexplored in existing research. A corpus of forty purposively sampled headlines is analysed to identify patterns in agency attribution, transitivity, modality, and crisis-related framing.

The findings show systematic differences in the linguistic construction of leadership. Macron is predominantly represented as an individualised and active agent performing deliberate actions, whereas African leaders are more frequently represented within institutional, collective, or crisis-related contexts, where agency is more distributed or backgrounded.

These patterns indicate that headline-level linguistic choices contribute to differentiated representations of political authority and contextual stability, highlighting how micro-level discourse structures can reflect broader asymmetries in international news coverage.

Keywords: *political leadership, identity, RFI, agency, media framing, news headlines*

Introduction

In contemporary digital news environments, political communication is increasingly shaped by condensed textual formats circulating rapidly across mobile platforms and algorithmically curated feeds. Among these, headlines are particularly influential, functioning not only as summaries but as primary interpretive frames that shape audience understanding of political events and actors at first glance (Tandoc, Thomas, & Bishop, 2021; Bennett & Pfetsch, 2018). Their brevity

necessitates selective representation, foregrounding certain aspects of events while omitting others.

Framing theory explains how this selectivity operates in news discourse by emphasising specific elements of reality, including actors, actions, and evaluative cues (Entman, 1993; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Chadwick, 2017). In headlines, this process is intensified by space constraints, requiring journalists to compress complex events into short textual forms through strategic linguistic choices. Thus, agency attribution, transitivity, and modality become central to representations of political leadership (Bednarek & Caple, 2017; Machin & Mayr, 2023; Richardson, 2017).

These linguistic choices are not neutral but are shaped by broader patterns in global news production. Studies in international communication show that African political leaders are more often associated with instability or crisis-related events, while Western leaders are more frequently represented as active decision-makers engaged in policy or strategic action (Waisbord & Mellado, 2014; Thussu, 2018; Wasserman, 2020). Such differences are reproduced through routine discursive practices, including agency assignment, actor foregrounding, and event framing (van Leeuwen, 2007; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Media discourse in African contexts also reflects ideological contestation and reinforces structural power relations (Muringa & Adjin-Tettey, 2025). Despite extensive research on media framing and global representation, few studies have examined how a single international broadcaster constructs political leadership across Western and African contexts at the headline level within the same temporal frame.

This study addresses that gap by examining how Radio France Internationale constructs political leadership in French-language headlines published between September and December 2025. Comparing representations of Emmanuel Macron and selected African leaders, it analyses agency attribution, transitivity, modality, and crisis framing to identify how linguistic choices shape representations of political authority and contextual stability.

Research Objectives

In order to operationalise the study within a Critical Discourse Analysis framework, the following objectives guide the analysis.

1. To examine how political leadership is constructed in RFI headlines through linguistic features such as agency, transitivity, and syntactic structure.

2. To compare the representation of Emmanuel Macron and selected African political leaders in terms of agency allocation, process types, and voice (active/passive).
3. To analyse how modality and lexical choices contribute to the framing of authority, responsibility, and crisis in the two corpora.
4. To interpret how these linguistic patterns shape differentiated constructions of political identity and leadership within a geopolitical context.

Literature review

Headlines as sites of meaning and ideological construction

Headlines are central to news discourse as condensed textual forms that both summarise and shape the interpretation of events. Though brief, they are ideologically dense because they foreground particular actors, actions, and perspectives while omitting others (van Dijk, 1988; Bednarek & Caple, 2017). Rather than merely reporting events, headlines actively construct meaning by guiding readers' first impressions of political reality (Dor, 2003; Carvalho, 2008). Recent studies confirm that headlines are strategic sites of ideological negotiation. Haimed (2024), for example, demonstrates how newspaper headlines in the US, UK, China, and Russia framed the US withdrawal from Afghanistan and the Taliban takeover according to competing geopolitical interests. Similarly, Sharifah Nadia et al. (2025) show that Malaysian news headlines on social media licensing employed evaluative language, metaphor, and actor representation to reinforce dominant governmental narratives.

Discourse scholars argue that headlines perform ideological work through lexical selection, syntactic structure, and emphasis, shaping perceptions of power, legitimacy, and responsibility (Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991). In digital news environments, where audiences often engage primarily with headlines, these compressed forms play an even greater role in framing political meaning (KhosraviNik, 2017). Omoke (2025) further demonstrates how metaphorical framings in Kenyan newspaper headlines construct politics as war, governance as illness, and protest as disruption, reinforcing elite-centred narratives.

Framing evaluation, and agency in leadership representation

Research on media framing provides insight into how such representations are constructed. Framing theory explains how media texts select and emphasise particular aspects of events to promote specific interpretations (Entman, 1993; Chong & Druckman, 2007). In political news,

these choices shape audience understanding of actors, actions, and legitimacy (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2019). Bust, Whyte, and Olivier (2023), for instance, show that South African media framed National Health Insurance policy through neoliberal, biopolitical, and corruption discourses, influencing public trust and policy legitimacy.

To explain how such representations are linguistically realised, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is particularly useful. CDA emphasises that grammatical structures are not neutral but construct social meaning and power relations (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Within CDA, transitivity analysis reveals how agency is distributed across actors (Halliday, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Studies show that transitivity patterns can foreground some actors as decisive agents while backgrounding others through passive or relational constructions (Machin & Mayr, 2023; van Leeuwen, 2008). Recent studies reinforce this insight. Ikuelogbon, Idowu, and Aloba (2025) reveal how hate comments during Nigeria's 2023 presidential election used transitivity and derogatory labelling to deepen ideological polarisation, while Elewa (2025) demonstrates how Arabic media discourse constrains the agency of "majorities" through negative collocational and grammatical patterns.

Media representation, geopolitical context, and identity construction

Media representations of political actors are shaped by broader institutional and geopolitical contexts. Studies in international communication show that global news often reflects existing power relations, influencing how regions and leaders are portrayed (Thussu, 2018). Western leaders are more often represented through narratives of stability and strategic action, whereas African leaders are frequently associated with crisis and governance challenges (Wasserman, 2020). Recent studies support this pattern. Muringa and Adjin-Tettey (2025) show that South African media framed Ramaphosa as economically stable while portraying Dlamini-Zuma as ideologically threatening. Similarly, Haimed (2024) demonstrates how global powers' headlines framed the Taliban takeover in line with national interests.

Social Identity Theory further explains how repeated linguistic patterns contribute to distinctions between "in-groups" and "out-groups" (Tajfel, 1978; Turner et al., 1987). In media discourse, this often appears through positive self-representation and problem-oriented representations of others (van Dijk, 2006; van Leeuwen, 2008). Despite these insights, few studies have examined how a single international broadcaster represents Western and African political leaders within the same temporal frame at the level of headlines.

This study addresses that gap by combining framing theory and Critical Discourse Analysis to examine how leadership is constructed in headlines published by Radio France Internationale, with a comparative focus on Emmanuel Macron and selected African leaders.

Theoretical framework

This study is grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its primary analytical framework. CDA is concerned with how language functions as a form of social practice through which power relations, ideologies, and social inequalities are produced and reproduced in discourse (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Rather than treating language as neutral, CDA assumes that linguistic choices such as vocabulary selection, grammatical structure, and thematic emphasis contribute to the construction of social reality in specific ideological directions.

Historically, CDA emerged in the late twentieth century through the work of scholars such as Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun A. van Dijk, building on earlier traditions in critical linguistics. Its central principles include the view that discourse is socially constitutive, that power relations are embedded in language, and that analysis should reveal how seemingly neutral texts contribute to the maintenance of social structures and hierarchies. In media discourse, this means examining how news texts construct representations of actors, assign responsibility, and frame events in ways that may reflect broader institutional or geopolitical dynamics.

Within CDA, this study adopts Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model as an organising framework. The model distinguishes between textual analysis (linguistic features such as vocabulary, grammar, and syntactic structure), discursive practice (processes of production and interpretation within institutional settings), and social practice (broader socio-political and ideological contexts in which discourse is embedded) (Fairclough, 1992, 1995). The textual level is prioritised in this study because headlines are highly condensed linguistic forms in which meaning is primarily constructed through grammatical choices such as agency assignment, voice, and modality. The discursive level is reflected in the role of Radio France Internationale (RFI) as an international media institution shaping news production, while the social level provides the geopolitical context within which patterns of representation are interpreted.

Complementing Fairclough's macro-structural approach, Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) provides the micro-linguistic tools for analysing how meaning is constructed at the clause level. Central to this study is Halliday's transitivity system, which explains how processes, participants, and circumstances encode actions, events, and states in discourse

(Halliday, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Through transitivity analysis, headlines are examined in terms of how agency is assigned or suppressed through material, relational, verbal, and mental processes.

In addition, Halliday's concept of modality is used to analyse how degrees of certainty, obligation, and authority are linguistically expressed. Modal choices and evaluative verbs are treated as linguistic resources through which headlines construct levels of commitment and stance. Together, transitivity and modality enable a systematic link between grammatical form and ideological meaning.

By integrating Fairclough's macro-level framework with Halliday's micro-linguistic tools, this study examines how headline discourse constructs political actors at the level of grammar while simultaneously situating them within broader ideological and geopolitical contexts. This combined approach allows for a detailed analysis of how linguistic choices in RFI headlines contribute to patterned representations of leadership, agency, and institutional power.

Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative research design grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how political leadership is constructed in news headlines. The approach focuses on the close linguistic analysis of textual features such as agency, transitivity, modality, and syntactic structure, supported by simple frequency counts to identify recurring patterns.

Data source and corpus selection

The data for this study were drawn from Radio France Internationale (RFI), an international news broadcaster publishing French-language news content. The study focuses specifically on headlines published on RFI's official website between September and December 2025.

The overall population consists of RFI headlines published during this period that reference political leaders. From this population, a sample of 40 headlines was selected using purposive sampling. This sampling strategy was used to ensure that only headlines directly referring to identifiable political leaders in contexts of governance, elections, diplomacy, or crisis were included.

The corpus is divided into two groups:

- i. 20 headlines referring to Emmanuel Macron
- ii. 20 headlines referring to African political leaders

The African sample includes leaders from multiple countries to reflect regional diversity. These include figures such as Félix Tshisekedi, Alassane Ouattara, Paul Biya, and Bassirou Diomaye Faye, among others. In total, the African subset represents multiple national contexts rather than a single country case.

The selection ensures functional comparability by focusing on headlines where leaders are referenced in relation to political action, decision-making, or institutional processes.

Analytical procedure

The analysis was conducted through a systematic examination of each headline based on key linguistic features derived from CDA and Systemic Functional Linguistics.

Each headline was analysed according to the following criteria:

- i. Agency and subject position: whether the political leader appears as the grammatical subject or whether agency is assigned to institutions, groups, or events
- ii. Process type (transitivity): classification of verbs into material (action), relational (state), or verbal (speech-related) processes
- iii. Syntactic voice: whether the headline is constructed in active or passive form
- iv. Modality: the presence of strong, neutral, or mitigated expressions indicating certainty, obligation, or stance
- v. Crisis-related language: identification of explicit terms associated with instability (e.g., coup, conflict, emergency)
- vi. Lexical emphasis: presence of evaluative or strategic terms related to authority, governance, or power

Rather than relying on abstract classification categories, the analysis involved direct classification of linguistic features within each headline, followed by comparison of patterns across the two groups. Frequency counts were used to support the qualitative analysis by indicating how often specific features appeared within each subset. These counts do not constitute statistical testing but serve to highlight observable tendencies in representation. Furthermore, the analysis is primarily conducted at the textual level, in line with Fairclough's CDA framework, with particular emphasis on grammatical structure and lexical choice. However, the interpretation of findings considers the broader institutional context of RFI and the geopolitical positioning of the actors represented.

Data analysis and presentation

This section presents the linguistic analysis of the dataset, focusing on how political leadership is constructed in headline discourse. The dataset consists of 40 French-language headlines published by Radio France Internationale (RFI) between September and December 2025, comprising 20 headlines referring to Emmanuel Macron and 20 referring to selected African political leaders.

Each headline was examined based on clearly defined linguistic features:

- i. subject position (who appears as the grammatical subject),
- ii. process type (type of action or state expressed by the verb),
- iii. syntactic voice (active or passive),
- iv. lexical choices (including crisis-related terms and indicators of power), and
- v. modality (degree of certainty or authority expressed).

The results are presented in Table 1 and analysed below.

Table 1: Comparative linguistic features in RFI headlines (Macron versus African leaders)

Analytical variable	Category	Macron (n=20)	African leaders (n=20)
Agency realization (subject position)	Named the leader as the subject	19 (95%)	9 (45%)
	Institutional/collective subject	0 (0%)	7 (35%)
	Event/passive/state subject	1 (5%)	4 (20%)
Process Type (Transitivity)	Material processes	11 (55%)	9 (45%)
	Verbal processes	8 (40%)	6 (30%)
	Relational/passive processes	1 (5%)	5 (25%)

Syntactic voice	Active	20 (100%)	14 (70%)
	Passive	0 (0%)	6 (30%)
Crisis lexicon presence	Present	1 (5%)	9 (45%)
	Absent	19 (95%)	11 (55%)
Lexical indicators of power and capacity	Financial quantification	2 (10%)	0 (0%)
	Strategic military reference	3 (15%)	0 (0%)
	Crisis-linked military terms	0 (0%)	6 (30%)
Modality and authority projection	Strong/assertive	9 (45%)	4 (20%)
	Mitigated/reportive	3 (15%)	8 (40%)
	Neutral/implicit	8 (40%)	8 (40%)

Presentation

Agency and subject positioning

Agency is primarily realised through subject position, since the grammatical subject typically encodes the main actor in a clause. As shown in Table 1, there is a clear contrast between the two corpora.

In the Macron dataset, 19 out of 20 headlines (95%) position the president as the grammatical subject. This is evident in examples such as « Emmanuel Macron menace la Chine de droits de douane sur ses produits » (*Emmanuel Macron threatens China with tariffs on its products*), « Emmanuel Macron appelle Xi Jinping à œuvrer à la fin de la guerre en Ukraine », and « Emmanuel Macron défend la souveraineté européenne face aux tensions commerciales mondiales ». In each

case, Macron occupies the initial subject position and is directly linked to an action-oriented verb (menace, appelle, défend). Even when contextual elements precede the clause (e.g., « En visite en Chine, Emmanuel Macron plaide... »), the subject remains clearly individualised and foregrounded.

In the African dataset, subject roles are more varied. While some headlines foreground named leaders—for example, « le président Bassirou Diomaye Faye signe un décret pour réorganiser la primature » and « Félix Tshisekedi réclame la reconnaissance des génocides... »—others shift agency to collective or institutional actors. This is visible in « un collectif exige la libération du président déchu Mohamed Bazoum » and « des militaires annoncent... démettre de ses fonctions le président Talon », where the acting subjects are a collective group and the military, respectively. Event-centered constructions also occur, such as « les premiers résultats provisoires donnent Ouattara vainqueur » and « quatre généraux condamnés à de la prison ferme... », where the subject refers to outcomes rather than clearly acting individuals. In these cases, leaders appear as affected participants rather than primary agents.

Overall, the Macron corpus consistently centres agency on a single named actor, whereas the African corpus distributes agency across individuals, institutions, and events.

Process type (transitivity)

Transitivity concerns how actions, events, and states are represented through verb processes. Table 1 indicates that both corpora use material, verbal, and relational processes, but with different distributions.

In the Macron dataset, material processes are slightly dominant (11/20; 55%) and consistently present the president as the initiator of action. This is evident in « Emmanuel Macron menace la Chine... », « Emmanuel Macron propose... l'appui de la France... », and « Emmanuel Macron défend la souveraineté européenne... », where verbs such as menace, propose, and défend encode direct, goal-oriented action.

Verbal processes (8/20; 40%) also occur frequently, as in « Emmanuel Macron appelle Xi Jinping... », « Macron évoque une reprise du dialogue... », and « déclare Emmanuel Macron ». Although realised through speech, these still position Macron as an active source of the process. Relational processes are minimal (1/20; 5%), indicating that Macron is rarely represented in terms of states or outcomes independent of action.

In the African dataset, material processes remain present (9/20; 45%), for example « le président Bassirou Diomaye Faye signe un décret... » and « Tshisekedi et Kagame signent un accord de paix ». However, this pattern is less consistent.

Verbal processes account for 6 cases (30%), as in « assure le président Talon... » and « le capitaine Traoré... vante son bilan sécuritaire ».

A key difference lies in the higher proportion of relational and passive-like constructions (5/20; 25%), including « Paul Biya a prêté serment... », « quatre généraux condamnés à de la prison ferme... », and « Mohamed Bazoum... détenu depuis juillet 2023 ». These structures emphasise states or outcomes rather than ongoing action, and the initiating agent is not always specified.

Thus, while both corpora include action-oriented representation, the Macron headlines maintain a stronger alignment between the leader and material processes, whereas the African headlines more frequently combine action with state-oriented representations.

Syntactic voice and responsibility allocation

Syntactic voice affects how responsibility is distributed within a clause. Active constructions present the subject as acting, while passive constructions foreground the affected participant and may omit the agent.

All Macron headlines (20/20; 100%) are constructed in the active voice. This is evident in « Emmanuel Macron menace la Chine... », « Emmanuel Macron annonce une aide internationale... », and « Emmanuel Macron promet un renforcement des capacités militaires... », where the subject is directly linked to an action verb. Across the dataset, Macron does not appear as the subject of a passive construction.

Even in reportive structures, the syntax remains active. For example, « Guerre en Ukraine: le plan de paix n'est "pas finalisé", selon Emmanuel Macron » attributes the evaluation to Macron, while « ..., déclare Emmanuel Macron » maintains him as the source of the statement.

In the African dataset, 14 headlines (70%) are active, such as « le président Bassirou Diomaye Faye signe un décret... » and « Tshisekedi et Kagame signent un accord de paix ». However, 6 headlines (30%) use passive or reduced passive structures.

Examples include « quatre généraux condamnés à de la prison ferme... », where the sentencing authority is not specified, « Mohamed Bazoum... détenu depuis juillet 2023 », which foregrounds a resulting state, and « un proche de l'ex-président... nommé procureur de la République », where emphasis is placed on the outcome rather than the appointing authority.

These constructions shift attention from the agent to the result or affected participant. Compared to the Macron corpus—where responsibility is consistently explicit—the African corpus shows greater variation, with some structures leaving agency implicit.

Crisis lexicon presence

Crisis-related lexical items refer to words explicitly denoting instability or political disruption, such as *coup d'État*, *mutins*, *détenu*, *condamnés*, *urgence*, and *génocides*.

In the Macron dataset, such terms are largely absent (19/20; 95%). Most headlines focus on diplomacy, policy, or institutional action, as in « Emmanuel Macron défend la souveraineté européenne... », « Emmanuel Macron appelle à une réforme des institutions européennes », and « Emmanuel Macron réaffirme le rôle central de la France... ».

Only one headline references a crisis context: « Guerre en Ukraine: le plan de paix n'est "pas finalisé", selon Emmanuel Macron ». Here, *guerre* appears in the background framing, while the clause itself focuses on the status of a peace plan rather than describing Macron as embedded in crisis.

In contrast, crisis-related terms appear in 9 out of 20 African headlines (45%) and are often central to the clause. Examples include « tentative de coup d'État au Bénin » (*attempted coup in Benin*), « coup d'État en Guinée-Bissau », and « deux hauts gradés retenus par les mutins ». Other instances include « Mohamed Bazoum... détenu depuis juillet 2023 », « quatre généraux condamnés... », « la reconnaissance des génocides... », and « la CEDEAO se déclare en état d'urgence ».

In these cases, crisis vocabulary forms part of the main informational content rather than background context. Overall, crisis markers are both more frequent and more structurally integrated in the African corpus.

Lexical indicators of power and capacity

This category captures lexical items associated with economic strength, strategic capability, and institutional power.

In the Macron corpus, financial quantification appears in 2 headlines (10%), such as « ...avec 4,2 milliards d'euros » (*with €4.2 billion*) and « ...plus d'1,5 milliard d'euros ». These numerical expressions function as concrete indicators of economic capacity.

Strategic military references occur in 3 headlines (15%), including « Macron annonce un nouveau service national volontaire "purement militaire" » and « Emmanuel Macron promet un

renforcement des capacités militaires françaises en 2026 ». In these cases, military terminology is linked to planning and institutional development.

In the African dataset, there are no instances of financial quantification or comparable strategic capacity framing. Instead, military-related vocabulary appears in 6 headlines (30%), but primarily in crisis contexts, such as « tentative de coup d'État », « deux hauts gradés retenus par les mutins », and « coup d'État en Guinée-Bissau ».

Thus, while both corpora include references to power-related domains, the Macron dataset frames them in terms of capacity and planning, whereas the African dataset associates similar vocabulary with instability.

Modality and authority projection

Modality indicates degrees of certainty, obligation, or reported stance. Table 1 shows variation in how actions are presented across the two corpora.

In the Macron dataset, strong or assertive modality appears in 9 headlines (45%), as in « Emmanuel Macron menace la Chine... », « Emmanuel Macron promet un renforcement... », and « Emmanuel Macron défend la souveraineté européenne... ». Verbs such as menace, promet, and défend present actions as direct and authoritative.

Mitigated or reportive modality appears in 3 cases (15%), for example, « ...selon Emmanuel Macron », which introduces reported rather than direct assertion. Neutral constructions account for 8 headlines (40%).

In the African dataset, strong modality appears in 4 headlines (20%), including « le président Talon assure que la situation est sous contrôle » and « le capitaine Traoré... vante son bilan sécuritaire ». However, mitigated or reportive forms are more frequent (8/20; 40%), as in « un collectif exige... » and « des réactions contrastées... », where information is presented through reported positions or collective perspectives.

Neutral constructions also account for 8 headlines (40%), such as « Paul Biya a prêté serment... » and « les premiers résultats donnent Ouattara vainqueur ».

Overall, the Macron corpus more frequently presents actions through assertive formulations, while the African corpus shows a higher proportion of reportive or mediated expressions.

Discussion of the findings

The analysis shows that differences in headline construction are not random stylistic variations but systematic linguistic choices shaping representations of political leadership within the same media institution. At the textual level, subject positions, process types, and voice reveal that the Macron corpus consistently encodes a single named actor as the grammatical centre of action, while the African corpus distributes agency across institutions, collective actors, and event-based constructions. In Hallidayan terms, the Macron headlines show a stable alignment between Actor and Process, whereas African headlines more often decouple action from a clearly identifiable initiating subject.

From a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective, this pattern is ideologically significant because subject position is not merely grammatical but representational. Fairclough (1995) argues that recurring linguistic structures normalise particular representations. The concentration of agency in a named individual in the Macron dataset (95%) constructs leadership as individualised and action-oriented. By contrast, the African dataset presents a more heterogeneous configuration in which leaders appear alongside collective actors (“un collectif exige...”) and outcome-based constructions (“quatre généraux condamnés...”). This redistributes agency across institutional and event structures, reducing the consistency with which individual leaders are foregrounded. Similar ideological positioning is evident in recent studies: Ikuelogbon, Idowu, and Aloba (2025) show how discourse structures in online political comments during Nigeria’s 2023 election reinforced exclusion and opposition.

These findings align with research showing that headlines foreground some actors while backgrounding others (Fowler, 1991; van Dijk, 1988). However, this study extends that insight by demonstrating systematic foregrounding within a single broadcaster across comparable contexts. In line with Bednarek and Caple (2017), headlines are not neutral summaries but compressed sites of meaning. This also supports Haimed’s (2024) finding that headline structures reflect ideological and geopolitical priorities.

Transitivity patterns reinforce this distinction. Both corpora contain material and verbal processes, but Macron headlines maintain a stronger link between the named leader and material processes of action. Verbs such as *menace*, *défend*, and *announce* position the subject as the initiator of goal-directed activity. In contrast, the African corpus contains more relational and passive-like constructions focusing on states or outcomes (*condamnés*, *détenu*, *nommé*). As Machin and Mayr

(2023) and van Leeuwen (2008) note, passivisation and nominalisation can background agency. Elewa (2025) similarly demonstrates how Arabic media discourse constrains agency through negated verbs and negative collocations. Importantly, this study does not claim African leaders are excluded from agency, only that agency is less consistently anchored to a single actor.

Syntactic voice contributes to this pattern. The Macron corpus is entirely active (100%), explicitly linking actions to subjects. The African corpus includes 30% passive constructions, where agents are omitted or backgrounded. As Fairclough (1995) notes, such structures can shift attention from responsibility to outcomes.

The clearest divergence appears in lexical framing. Crisis-related vocabulary occurs in 45% of African headlines compared to 5% in the Macron corpus. Terms such as *coup d'État*, *mutins*, *détenu*, and *urgence* often form the headline's core content, whereas Macron-related headlines emphasise diplomacy, institutional action, and policy. This resonates with studies showing that African political contexts are often associated with crisis narratives (Bunce & Franks, 2017; Nothias, 2018; Wasserman, 2020). Omoke (2025) similarly finds that Kenyan headlines frame politics through metaphors of war and disruption.

At the level of modality, the Macron corpus contains more assertive formulations (45%), with verbs such as *promet* and *défend* encoding authority, while the African corpus contains more mitigated or reportive structures (40%). Together, these micro-linguistic choices—subject position, transitivity, voice, lexical selection, and modality—produce differentiated representations of leadership. Within Fairclough's three-dimensional model, these textual patterns reflect recurring editorial practices and broader geopolitical representations. In line with Tajfel (1978), van Dijk (2006), and Muringa and Adjin-Tettey (2025), such patterns may subtly construct some actors as competent and authoritative, while situating others within crisis-associated contexts. Overall, the findings support CDA's central premise that grammatical and lexical choices are not neutral but systematically construct social meaning.

Conclusion

This study examined how political leadership is constructed in RFI headlines through patterns of agency, transitivity, syntactic voice, modality, and lexical selection. Based on a corpus of 40 headlines, the analysis identifies consistent structural differences in how leadership is grammatically encoded across the two datasets.

The Macron corpus is characterised by a stable configuration in which the named leader occupies subject position (95%) and is systematically linked to active material and verbal processes. This produces a recurrent subject–process alignment in which action is explicitly attributed to a single, identifiable actor. In contrast, the African corpus displays a more heterogeneous structure, where agency is distributed across named leaders, institutional actors, and event-based constructions. This distribution is accompanied by a higher proportion of passive forms (30%) and crisis-related lexical items (45%), indicating that leadership is more frequently embedded within outcome-oriented or context-driven structures.

These findings demonstrate that variation in leadership representation operates at the level of grammatical organisation rather than overt evaluation. The study therefore shows that subject positioning, process type, and lexical framing function as systematic resources for structuring visibility, responsibility, and contextual emphasis in headline discourse.

Contribution to knowledge

This study advances Critical Discourse Analysis by operationalising headline-level analysis through a defined coding matrix integrating subject position (agency), transitivity (process type), syntactic voice, modality, and lexical framing. These categories are applied systematically to a controlled corpus, allowing direct comparison within a single media institution.

Empirically, the study demonstrates that differences in leadership representation are realised through recurrent grammatical configurations, specifically, the consistent alignment of subject position with material processes in one dataset, and a more variable distribution involving passive constructions and crisis-linked vocabulary in the other. This shows how micro-linguistic features structure the visibility and attribution of action across comparable news contexts.

Methodologically, the study establishes a replicable procedure for headline analysis by combining qualitative CDA with explicit feature-based coding and frequency mapping. This enables transparent cross-corpus comparison while preserving fine-grained linguistic analysis, addressing the relative lack of systematic, headline-focused approaches in CDA research.

Limitation of the study

This study is limited by the scale and scope of its dataset. The analysis is based on a purposive sample of 40 headlines from a single media outlet within a defined four-month period and, therefore, does not aim at statistical generalisation. In addition, the focus on headline-level

discourse isolates highly condensed textual forms and does not account for how representations may be expanded or modified in full articles. Finally, the coding relies on manual classification of transitivity, modality, and voice, which, while allowing detailed linguistic analysis, would benefit from computational validation in larger corpora.

Recommendations

The findings indicate that grammatical structure, particularly subject positioning, transitivity patterns, and syntactic voice, systematically shapes how political actors are made visible or backgrounded in headline discourse. Because these features operate below the level of explicit evaluation, they can influence representation even in the absence of intentional bias. This creates a basis for recommending greater editorial awareness of how linguistic form contributes to framing.

Media practitioners should therefore pay closer attention to:

- i. how consistently agency is attached to identifiable actors (e.g., subject position),
- ii. how passive constructions may obscure responsibility,
- iii. and how recurrent lexical environments (e.g., crisis-related terms) situate actors within particular contexts.

The rationale for this recommendation is not normative but analytical: the study demonstrates that these linguistic features produce measurable differences in representation within the same outlet. Increased reflexivity at the level of grammatical choice would therefore support more balanced attribution of agency across comparable political contexts.

For research, the study highlights the need to test the stability of these patterns across larger corpora, multiple media organisations, and longer timeframes. Integrating computational corpus methods with CDA would allow for validation of transitivity, modality, and lexical distributions at scale. Extending analysis beyond headlines to full articles would also clarify how initial framing at the headline level interacts with subsequent discourse.

References

- Adekunle, M. D. (2025). Headlines as battlegrounds: A critical discourse analysis of fake news denials in Nigeria. *Journal of Education, Communication, and Digital Humanities*, 2(1), 311–324. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17690559>
- Ajaegbu, O. O., & Ajaegbu, C. (2024). The new democratisation: Social media impact on the political process in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Frontiers in Communication*, 9, Article 1394949. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2024.1394949>

- Bednarek, M. (2016). Investigating evaluation and news values in news items. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 11, 27–37. <https://doi.org/10.3366/cor.2016.0093>
- Bednarek, M., & Caple, H. (2017). *The discourse of news values: How news organisations create newsworthiness*. Oxford University Press.
- Bell, A. (1991). *The language of news media*. Blackwell.
- Bennett, W. L., & Pfetsch, B. (2018). Rethinking political communication in a time of disrupted public spheres. *Journal of Communication*, 68(2), 243–253. <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqx017>
- Bunce, M., Franks, S., & Paterson, C. (2017). *Africa's media image in the 21st century*. Routledge.
- Bust, L., Whyte, E., & Olivier, J. (2023). A discourse and content analysis of representation in the mainstream media of the South African National Health Insurance policy from 2011 to 2019. *BMC Public Health*, 23, 279. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-023-15144-6>
- Carvalho, A. (2008). Media(ted) discourse and society: Rethinking the framework of critical discourse analysis. *Journalism Studies*, 9(2), 161–177. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700701848162>
- Chadwick, A. (2017). *The hybrid media system: Politics and power* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). Framing theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10, 103–126. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054>
- Dor, D. (2003). On newspaper headlines as relevance optimisers. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 35(5), 695–721. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166\(02\)00134-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(02)00134-0)
- Elewa, A. (2025). Not ready for democracy: A corpus-assisted discourse analysis of the representation of majorities in Arabic media narratives. *Discourse & Society*, 36(6), 863–882. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09579265251323906>
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media discourse*. Edward Arnold.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the news: Discourse and ideology in the press*. Routledge.
- Haimed, S. (2024). A critical analysis of the representation of America's withdrawal and the Taliban's takeover in world powers' newspaper headlines. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2435595>
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1994). *An introduction to functional grammar* (2nd ed.). Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2014). *Halliday's introduction to functional grammar* (4th ed.). Routledge.
- Ikuelogbon, K., Idowu, O. A., & Aloba, A. M. (2025). A critical discourse analysis of selected hate comments on the X social media platform in the 2023 presidential election in Nigeria. *Agidigbo: ABUAD Journal of the Humanities*. <https://doi.org/10.53982/agidigbo.2025.1301.18-j>
- KhosraviNik, M. (2017). Social media critical discourse studies. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 14(6), 582–596.
- Lecheler, S., & de Vreese, C. (2019). News framing effects. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*.
- Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2023). *How to do critical discourse analysis* (2nd ed.). SAGE. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781036212933>
- Muringa, T. P., & Adjinn-Tetty, T. D. (2025). Meaning in the service of power: A Marxist analysis of media discourse on presidential elections in South Africa. *African Journalism Studies*, 46(2), 169–192. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23743670.2025.2518986>

- Nothias, T. (2018). How Western journalists actually write about Africa. *Journalism Studies*, 19(8), 1138–1159. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1262748>
- Omoke, L. K. (2025). Metaphorical representations of political action and resistance in Kenyan newspaper headlines, 2024. *Research Journal in Advanced Humanities*, 6(4). <https://doi.org/10.58256/wgf0ft46>
- Richardson, J. E. (2017). *Analysing newspapers* (2nd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sharifah Nadia, S. N., Norfarhana Fadilla, M. Z., Muna Liyana, M. T., & Nur Syamimi, Z. (2025). A critical discourse analysis of Malaysian news headlines on social media licensing. *Malaysian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (MJSSH)*, 10(10), Article e003615. <https://doi.org/10.47405/mjssh.v10i10.3615>
- Tajfel, H. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups*. Academic Press.
- Tandoc, E. C., Thomas, R., & Bishop, L. (2021). What is (fake) news? Analysing news values (and more) in fake stories. *Media and Communication*, 9(1), 110–119. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v9i1.3331>
- Thussu, D. K. (2018). *International communication: Continuity and change* (3rd ed.). Bloomsbury.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorisation theory*. Basil Blackwell.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1988). *News as discourse*. Lawrence Erlbaum.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Discourse and manipulation. *Discourse & Society*, 17(3), 359–383. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926506060250>
- van Leeuwen, T. (2007). Legitimation in discourse and communication. *Discourse & Communication*, 1(1), 91–112. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481307071986>
- van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. Oxford University Press.
- Waisbord, S., & Mellado, C. (2014). De-Westernizing communication studies. *Journalism Studies*, 15(3), 361–377.
- Wasserman, H. (2020). *Media, geopolitics, and power*. University of Illinois Press.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Appendix A — Complete list of Macron-related items (September - December 2025)

Seq. No.	Headline	Date	URL
1.	Emmanuel Macron menace la Chine de droits de douane sur ses produits	December 7, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/france/20251207-emmanuel-macron-menace-la-chine-de-droits-de-douane-sur-ses-produits
2.	Emmanuel Macron achève sa visite en Chine sans obtenir	December 5, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/asie-pacifique/20251205-emmanuel-macron-

	de concessions géopolitiques de Xi Jinping		<u>achève-sa-visite-en-chine-sans-obtenir-de-concessions-géopolitiques-de-Xi-Jinping</u>
3.	En Chine, Emmanuel Macron appelle Xi Jinping à œuvrer à la fin de la guerre en Ukraine	December 4, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/asie-pacifique/20251204-en-chine-emmanuel-macron-presse-xi-jinping-d-%C5%93uvrer-%C3%A0-la-fin-de-la-guerre-en-ukraine</u>
4.	En visite en Chine, Emmanuel Macron plaide pour un «rééquilibrage» des relations commerciales	December 3, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/asie-pacifique/20251203-en-visite-en-chine-emmanuel-macron-plaide-pour-un-r%C3%A9%C3%A9quilibrage-des-relations-commerciales</u>
5	Guerre en Ukraine: le plan de paix n'est «pas finalisé», selon Emmanuel Macron	December 01, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/europe/20251201-guerre-en-ukraine-volodymyr-zelensky-%C3%A0-paris-en-plein-va-et-vient-diplomatique</u>
6.	Madagascar: Emmanuel Macron propose au nouveau dirigeant malgache «l'appui de la France» pour la transition	November 30, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251130-madagascar-emmanuel-macron-propose-au-nouveau-dirigeant-malgache-l-appui-de-la-france-pour-la-transition</u>
7.	France: Macron annonce un nouveau service national volontaire «purement militaire» dès l'été 2026	November 27, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/france/20251127-france-macron-annonce-un-nouveau-service-national-volontaire-purement-militaire-d%C3%A8s-l-%C3%A9t%C3%A9-2026</u>
8.	France-Algérie: le président Macron évoque une reprise du dialogue avec Alger	November 22, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251122-france-alg%C3%A9rie-le-pr%C3%A9sident-</u>

			<u>macron-%C3%A9voque-une-reprise-du-dialogue-avec-alger</u>
9.	Maurice: Emmanuel Macron confirme «un engagement fort dans l'océan Indien»	November 21, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251120-maurice-emmanuel-macron-confirme-un-engagement-fort-dans-l-oc%C3%A9an-indien</u>
10.	Le président Emmanuel Macron muscle la défense spatiale française avec 4,2 milliards d'euros	November 12, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/france/20251112-le-pr%C3%A9sident-emmanuel-macron-muscle-la-d%C3%A9fense-spatiale-fran%C3%A7aise-avec-4-2-milliards-d-euros</u>
11.	Grands Lacs: Emmanuel Macron annonce une aide internationale de plus d'1,5 milliard d'euros	October 30, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251030-grands-lacs-emmanuel-macron-annonce-une-aide-internationale-de-plus-d-1-5-milliards-d-euros</u>
12.	France: Macron évoque un simple «report» de la réforme des retraites, incompréhension à l'Assemblée nationale	October 22, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/france/20251022-france-macron-%C3%A9voque-un-simple-report-de-la-r%C3%A9forme-des-retraites-incompr%C3%A9hension-%C3%A0-l-assembl%C3%A9e-nationale</u>
13.	France: Emmanuel Macron «nommera un Premier ministre d'ici 48 heures»	October 08, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/france/20251008-en-direct-s%C3%A9bastien-lecornu-m%C3%A8ne-les-derni%C3%A8res-tractations-pour-sortir-de-l-impasse-politique</u>
14.	Sur la télévision israélienne, Emmanuel Macron critique durement le gouvernement israélien	September 19, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/moyen-orient/20250919-sur-la-t%C3%A9l%C3%A9vision-isra%C3%A9lienne-emmanuel-macron-</u>

			<u>critique-durement-le-gouvernement-isra%C3%A9lien</u>
15.	Les Européens «prêts» à «apporter les garanties de sécurité à l'Ukraine», déclare Emmanuel Macron	September 04, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/europe/20250903-les-europ%C3%A9ens-pr%C3%AAts-%C3%A0-apporter-les-garanties-de-s%C3%A9curit%C3%A9-%C3%A0-l-ukraine-d%C3%A9clare-emmanuel-macron</u>
16.	France: Emmanuel Macron présentera ses vœux pour 2026 en tant que président	December 31, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/france/20251231-france-emmanuel-macron-pr%C3%A9sente-ses-v%C5%93ux-pour-2026-en-tant-</u>
17.	France: Emmanuel Macron réaffirme le rôle central de la France dans l'Union européenne	December 22, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/europe/20251222-emmanuel-macron-r%C3%A9affirme-le-r%C3%B4le-central-de-la-france-dans-l-union-europ%C3%A9enne</u>
18.	France: Emmanuel Macron promet un renforcement des capacités militaires françaises en 2026	December 18, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/france/20251218-emmanuel-macron-promet-un-renforcement-des-capacit%C3%A9s-militaires-fran%C3%A7aises</u>
19.	France: Emmanuel Macron appelle à une réforme des institutions européennes	December 15, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/europe/20251215-emmanuel-macron-appelle-%C3%A0-une-r%C3%A9forme-des-institutions-europ%C3%A9ennes</u>
20.	France: Emmanuel Macron défend la souveraineté européenne face aux tensions commerciales mondiales	December 12, 2025	<u>fr/fr/france/20251212-emmanuel-macron-défend-la-souveraineté-européenne-face-aux-tensions-commerciales</u>

Appendix B — Complete list of African leaders related items (September - December 2025)

Seq. No.	Headline	Date	URL
	Sénégal: le président Bassirou Diomaye Faye signe un décret pour réorganiser la primature	December 06, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251206-sénégal-le-président-bassirou-diomaye-faye-signé-un-décret-pour-réorganiser-la-primature
2.	Niger: un collectif exige la libération du président déchu Mohamed Bazoum, détenu depuis juillet 2023	December 12, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251212-niger-collectif-exige-libération-mohamed-bazoum-détenu-depuis-juillet-2023
3.	Bénin: la situation est sous contrôle, assure le président Talon après la tentative de coup d'État	December 7, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251207-bénin-la-situation-est-sous-contrôle-assure-le-président-talon-après-la-tentative-de-coup-d-état
4.	Bénin: des militaires annoncent à la télévision publique démettre de ses fonctions le président Talon	December 7, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251207-bénin-des-militaires-annoncent-à-la-télévision-publique-démètre-de-ses-fonctions-le-président-talon
5	Burkina Faso: « Le Burkina Faso aujourd'hui est une vitrine », assure le capitaine Traoré qui vante son bilan sécuritaire	December 11, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251211-burkina-faso-vitrine-assure-capitaine-traoré-qui-vante-son-bilan-sécuritaire
6.	RDC: quatre généraux condamnés à de la prison	December 6, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251206-rdc-quatre-généralx-condamnés-à-de-la-prison-ferme-suite-à-la-prise-de-goma-par-l-afc-m23

	ferme suite à la prise de Goma par l'AFC/M23		
7.	Accord de paix RDC-Rwanda: des réactions contrastées dans la classe politique congolaise	December 5, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251205-accord-de-paix-rdc-rwanda-des-reactions-contrastees-dans-la-classe-politique-congolaise
8.	RDC-Rwanda: sous l'égide de Trump, Tshisekedi et Kagame signent un accord de paix	December 4, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251204-rdc-rwanda-sous-l-egide-de-trump-tshisekedi-et-kagame-signent-un-accord-de-paix
9.	RDC: Félix Tshisekedi réclame « la reconnaissance des génocides perpétrés sur le territoire congolais »	September 9, 2025	URL: https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20250909-rdc-felix-tshisekedi-reclame-la-reconnaissance-des-genocides-perpetres-sur-le-territoire-congolais
10.	Cameroun: Paul Biya a prêté serment pour un huitième mandat de président Date: 6 November 2025	November 6, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251106-cameroun-paul-biya-prete-serment-pour-un-huitieme-mandat-de-president
11.	Élections au Cameroun: le RDPC au pouvoir obtient la majorité dans l'ensemble des dix régions	December 4, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251204-elections-au-cameroun-le-rdpc-au-pouvoir-obtient-la-majorite-dans-l-ensemble-des-dix-regions
12.	Côte d'Ivoire: le président sortant Alassane Ouattara en meeting	October 12, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251012-cote-d-ivoire-presidentielle-ouattara-daloa-haut-sassandra-gbagbo-pdci
13.	Présidentielle en Côte d'Ivoire: Alassane Ouattara,	October 3, 2025	https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251003-presidentielle-en-cote-d-ivoire-alassane-

	un technocrate devenu pilier de la politique		<u>ouattara-un-technocrate-devenu-pilier-de-la-politique</u>
14.	Présidentielle en Côte d'Ivoire: les premiers résultats provisoires donnent Ouattara vainqueur	October 28, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251028-présidentielle-en-côte-d-ivoire-les-premiers-résultats-provisoires-donnent-ouattara-vainqueur</u>
15.	Madagascar: le président dissout l'Assemblée nationale avant un vote le visant pour abandon de poste	October 14, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251014-crise-à-madagascar-le-président-dissout-l-assemblée-nationale-avant-un-vote-le-visant-pour-abandon-de-poste</u>
16.	Guinée: le chef de la transition Mamadi Doumbouya fixe au 28 décembre la date de la présidentielle	September 29, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20250929-guinée-le-chef-de-la-transition-mamadi-doumbouya-fixe-au-28-décembre-la-date-de-la-présidentielle</u>
17.	Guinée-Bissau: un proche de l'ex-président Umaro Sissoco Embaló nommé procureur de la République	September 7, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251207-guinée-bissau-un-proche-de-l-ex-président-umaro-sissoco-embaló-nommé-procureur-de-la-république</u>
18.	Tentative de coup d'État au Bénin: deux hauts gradés retenus par les mutins, libérés ensuite, retour au calme à Cotonou	December 7, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251208-tentative-de-coup-d-état-au-bénin-deux-hauts-gradés-retenus-par-les-mutins-libérés-retour-au-calme-à-cotonou</u>
19.	Coup d'État en Guinée-Bissau: l'opposition demande à la CEDEAO de faire preuve	December 10, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251210-coup-d-état-en-guinée-bissau-l-opposition-</u>

	de la même fermeté qu’au Bénin		<u>demande-à-la-cédéao-de-faire-preuve-de-la-même-fermeté-qu-au-bénin</u>
20.	La CEDEAO se déclare “en état d’urgence” (déclarations d’Omar Touray relevant directement les chefs d’État ouest-africains)	December 10, 2025	<u>https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251210-la-cédéao-se-déclare-en-état-d-urgence</u>