

**A CRITICAL DECONSTRUCTION OF POLITICAL
DISCOURSE AND SYMBOLS: THE CASE OF
(MIS)REPRESENTATION AND MANIPULATION IN
NIGERIAN POLITICS**

By

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NIGERIAN POLITICS**

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy: Language Practice, Department of Media, Language and
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DECLARATION

I, **Kunle Musbaudeen OPARINDE** hereby declare that the thesis titled “*A Critical Deconstruction of Political Discourse and Symbols: The Case of (Mis)Representation and Manipulation in Nigerian Politics*” is my own work and has never been submitted for any other degree at any other institution. I further declare that all the sources cited have been duly acknowledged.

Signature

Date

ABSTRACT

Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA), this study deconstructs political discourse obtained from the Nigerian political arena. Employing a qualitative research method, where a case-study design is engaged, the study examines linguistic (mis)representation and manipulation in Nigerian political settings, drawing from instances of linguistic and symbolic materials, as observed from different political endeavours. The study discusses the use of language in Nigerian politics, in an attempt to understand how discourse and symbols are used to manipulate the masses, as well as (mis)represent the politicians.

I investigate how language is used by politicians to gain more audience, and, as a result, shape opinions that result in votes. Several themes were developed in the analysis. Important themes are represented in a Wordle analysis. The Wordle analysis presents actual keywords that emanated from the scrutinising of collected data. Linguistic items, such as corruption, Boko Haram, insecurity, power, and support, as well as fight, and God among others, are evident in the Wordle representation.

The study realized that manipulation in political discourse could be achieved through different means, such as: through service delivery; religion; situation of the nation; and crafty linguistic expressions; along with ethnic influence; and visuals. Furthermore, the research identified the notion of intertextuality as having a strong hold in political discourse through resemiotisation, repurposing, recontextualisation and recycling of texts. I confirmed that power resides within discourse and as such, discourse can be used to achieve several goals. The work demonstrated how politicians exploit political messages to achieve their political aims using both lexical and visual means.

I strongly contend that discourse is powerful, and thus, has the ability to exploit and influence people. Importantly, the study proposed a theoretical model or framework for the analysis of misrepresentation and manipulation in political discourse, as well as other forms of discourse.

DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to:

Almighty God for seeing me through during the course of this project;
My parents for their undaunted support and;
My siblings.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACN	Action Congress of Nigeria
ANPP	All Nigeria Peoples Party
APC	All Progressives Congress
APGA	All Progressives Grand Alliance
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CPC	Congress for Progressive Change
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
MDA	Multimodal Discourse Analysis
PDP	People's Democratic Party

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an introduction to this thesis. The chapter commences with the background to the study and then proceeds to the aims and objectives of the study, followed by the research questions. The problem of the study is thus stated. In addition, the chapter offers brief insights on some essential subjects that would later form the nucleus of this work. Such matters include some historical background and some necessary concepts in the study.

1.2 Background to the Study

Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA), the research sought to deconstruct politically-motivated discourse, as observed from Nigerian politics. This was achieved by analysing linguistic (mis)representation and manipulation in Nigerian political settings, drawing from instances of language use as observed from different political campaigns. CDA has become the general label for a special approach to the study of text and talk, emerging from critical linguistics, critical semiotics, and, in general, from a socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication (van Dijk 1995: 17).

This notion investigates language in terms of what can be said and thought as well as who can speak, when, and with what authority (Pitsoe and Letseka 2013). Given that CDA caters mostly for text and talk, MDA is employed mainly to cover politically-motivated discourse other than texts. MDA is thus defined by Jones (2012: 52) as an approach to discourse,

which focuses on how meaning is made through the use of multiple modes of communication, as opposed to just language.

It is in the above context that this research critically analysed the political language used by Nigerian politicians, focusing mainly on printed and social media forms, such as posters, pamphlets, speeches, billboards, and internet sources, purposely selected across Nigeria. The aim of this study is to discuss the use of language in Nigerian politics, in an attempt to understand how discourse and symbols are used to (mis)represent politicians. As Skënderi (2014: 12) observes, “the study of politics intertwined to language... is of growing interest in scholar practices”.

The research recognised the issue of perceived manipulation in politically-motivated discourse as a global issue, rather than a challenge occurring in Nigerian political settings only. As such, the research studied issues around perceived manipulation in politically-motivated discourse from a global perspective and then narrowed it down to Nigerian political settings. Language, in itself, is generally meaningless without context. Hence, language use may be said to be (mis)representative and manipulative in different settings.

In this research, I focused on Nigerian politics as my context for studying language use. Perhaps, a brief look into that setting is necessary. Otieno (2016: 24) states that in politics, political discourse occurs by trying to project a positive self- presentation of a politician, in an attempt to make the audience support the speaker’s position, with the electorates, in turn, viewing issues from the speaker’s point of view. With an estimated population of over 170 million (Akanwa, Anyanwu and Ossai-Onah 2013) in Nigeria and over 250 ethnic groups – the largest being the Yoruba,

Hausa and Igbo, along with 36 states (provinces), linguistic creativity in Nigerian politics abounds.

This is the environment in which issues of perceived linguistic manipulation, emanating from politicians' self-(mis)representation and perceived manipulation of prospective voters, were studied. Linguistic manipulation is perceived to be inherent in politically-motivated discourses. The research investigated how politicians use language to gain more audience, and, as a result, shape opinions that result in votes.

Due to the large number of electorates in Nigeria, one would be forced to believe that politics in the country has to be practiced by those who are eloquent. In other words, it may take the ones with better discursive strategies to succeed in politics and, as such, politicians have to employ different persuasive linguistic strategies to win more votes, especially in English which is the *lingua franca*. These different linguistic strategies mean that it may, more often than not, result in linguistic manipulation of the audience by politicians representing their identities in an attractive manner.

There are as many as 20 political parties in Nigeria. However, two parties have been essentially strong, and this research concentrated on those two parties; i.e. the All Progressive Congress (APC) and the People's Democratic Party (PDP). My investigation focused on the different ways in which Nigerian politicians employ language to self-represent, in order to sway peoples' opinions and earn their votes. Of interest to this study, are the lexical items and symbols employed, and their contextual meaning.

Kamalu and Agangan (2015) state that language plays an important role in manifesting political wills and accompanying political actions, and this I have discussed, with regard to Nigerian politically-motivated discourse. Employing a qualitative approach, this study examined and analysed the contextual basis for politically-motivated discourses in Nigeria, from the perceived notions of (mis)representation of politicians and manipulation of prospective voters.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

This study aims to deconstruct the language used in Nigerian politics from the perspectives of linguistic (mis)representation and manipulation. I investigate how Nigerian politicians employ language to manipulate prospective voters.

The specific objectives of the research were to:

- Investigate and analyse the lexical items, phrases, sentence constructions, texts and symbols employed in Nigerian political speeches and campaign materials.
- Examine the discursive strategies reflected in Nigerian politically-motivated discourse.
- Examine how the socio-political status of Nigeria impacts on the politically-motivated discourse of the country.

1.4 Statement of Problem

Malande (2016) states that language has been an important tool in political mobilisation, through deliberate choice of specific linguistic items. Malande continues that such linguistic items capture not only the feelings of a participating party but also exclusively distinguish the party from competing parties and coalitions. Similarly, Aduradola and Ojukwu (2013) note that

political campaigns are organised efforts that seek to influence the decision-making process within a specific group or environment. Politicians sometimes creatively manipulate the electorate by using language and other semiotic resources, such as billboards, pamphlets, and brochures, to appeal to a wide audience.

The research thus analysed the use of language in Nigerian politically-motivated discourse, in an attempt to deconstruct linguistic (mis)representation and manipulation in Nigerian political campaigns. The intention to manipulate people's minds and thoughts is linguistically and symbolically expressed through print, rallies and broadcast media, particularly during Nigerian political campaigns, and in the eventual practice of politics in a given society (Aduradola and Ojukwu 2013). From Aduradola and Ojukwu's study, Nigerian politics features politicians that practice politics with perceived manipulative linguistic strategies.

1.5 Research Questions

The research attempted to answer the following questions:

- What are the lexical items, phrases, sentence constructions, texts and symbols employed in Nigerian political speeches and campaign materials? How and why are they used?
- What discursive strategies are reflected in Nigerian politically-motivated discourse during electioneering?
- How does the socio-political status of Nigeria impact on the politically-motivated discourse of the country?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The ability of human beings to speak is, significantly, a unique characteristic. However, incessant use of that ability to manipulate may be

worthy of academic studies. The study identified, analysed and deconstructed different politically-motivated discourse in Nigerian political settings, with specific attention to cases of perceived (mis)representation and manipulation. It is in that light that this research contributes to the role that discourse plays in politics at large, as well as in Nigeria.

The analysis of the use of language in context is an important exercise. Since Labov (1972) concentrated on advancing sociolinguistic studies, including his 1972 work on linguistic variation, Chomsky's (1957) study of language as an abstract entity was challenged. In recent years, the study of the language used by politicians is becoming increasingly popular, mainly because, as Jarraya (2013: 58) observes, "political discourse is a very fruitful area of research, on account of its nature...i.e. as the study of language in context". This study has a fair share of originality in Nigerian political language in particular, and sociolinguistics in general.

Importantly, the study proposes a model for the analysis of manipulation and misrepresentation in discourse.

1.7 Explaining the Concept of Discourse

This study recognises discourse as a complex entity. In this section, I provide an incisive awareness of the general concept of discourse. In the next chapter however, I give a detailed explanation of this work's perspective for addressing discourse.

There have been multifarious definitions of discourse. For instance, Brown and Yule (1983) define discourse as language in use; it is defined as spoken language by Baker and Sibonile (2011); as a way of representing some part of the world by Fairclough (2003: 17); and as a system of

statements that construct an object by Parker (1990: 191); as well as the topic of language use by Widdowson (2007). For Arutyunova (2002: 136), discourse is considered as a coherent text, in conjunction with extra-linguistic-pragmatic, socio-cultural, psychological and other factors; as text taken in the event-driven aspect; speech considered as a meaningful social action, as a component involved in the interaction of people and in the mechanisms of their creation. He notes further that discourse is speech involved in life.

It could be gleaned from these definitions that discourse is largely perceived within the structural prism of linguistics. The fact remains that discourse has to do with communication. However, Gee (1999: 7) provides a tangible understanding to discourse, as not only referring to language but comprising all forms of meaning-making strategies that may include the integration of “one’s body, clothes, gestures, actions, interactions, ways with things, symbols, tools, technologies, and values, attitudes, beliefs and emotions.”

For this study, discourse is perceived as all communicative techniques or strategies produced in verbal/non-verbal or vocal/non-vocal communicative means. Hence, I reject the hitherto position that discourse is mainly linguistic-bound. Notwithstanding language remaining a strong and primary means of communication; it is however, not the only means of communication. Clearly, semiotized means of communication forms part of my concepts of discourse.

1.8 Nigerian Politics and Governance: A Brief

There has been much literature published on the situation of governance in Nigeria, with the contributions mostly pointing at the ills in Nigerian

politics. These ills have continued to guide discursive strategies during elections. The impact of this mis-governance on political discourse are soon to be unpacked as this thesis proceeds. Here, I provide a quick insight into the current status of Nigerian governance.

Emecheta (2016: 96) discovers the overarching self-interest of government officials in his study, which eventually has a broad impact on service delivery, as he recognises a great deal of retrogression in Nigerian governance. He makes references to how Nigerians feel about their state of impoverishment as a result of lack of good governance. From a different perspective, Ololajulo (2016) examines the roles ethnic affiliations play in Nigerian politics.

Awofeso and Odeyemi (2014: 240) are interested in how corruption has bastardised public leadership in Nigeria. Their paper reveals that, unlike many other countries where leadership had played a tremendous role in the socio-political and economic development, the reverse is the case in Nigeria. Corruption is further argued to have caused a major setback in Nigeria, with resultant issues being high levels of illiteracy and poverty, among others, emanating from several cases of monumental diversion of public funds, meant for the economic development of the country, into individual pockets. Omisore (2013: 17) points out that corruption has eaten deep into the fabric of Nigerian society.

Awofeso (2017) examines the politics of religion in Nigeria, by investigating the implications for national integration. These are just a few vices from Nigerian politics and governance worth noting. In my case, while these have mostly been addressed by academics with political interests, I am more inclined to address these issues from a purely linguistic aspect.

Hence, I attempt to investigate how these issues are appropriated within political discourse in Nigerian political settings.

1.9 APC and PDP: A Historical Overview and Synopsis

This study focused on two political parties for the purpose of analysis. It is imperative to give a background to the history and development of these foremost political parties in this chapter. In the first part, I discuss the history of the political parties for the purpose of informing the reader and providing an insight. The second part presents the parties in relation to their political status and reputation in Nigeria. As such, it is necessary to provide a synopsis of these parties as a background.

1.9.1 Historical Overview

Here, I present short, abridged, historical overviews of the APC and PDP, adapted verbatim from their websites

APC – <http://apc.com.ng/about-apc/>:

The All Progressives Congress (APC) is a political party in Nigeria, formed on 6 February 2013 in anticipation of the 2015 elections. APC candidate Muhammadu Buhari won the presidential election by almost 2.6 million votes. Incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan conceded defeat on 31 March.

This was the first time in Nigeria's political history that an opposition political party unseated a governing party in a general election and one in which power transferred peacefully from one political party to another. In addition, the APC won the majority of seats in the Senate and the House of Representatives in the 2015.

Formed in February 2013, the party is the result of a merger of Nigeria's three biggest opposition parties – the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) – and a faction of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA).

The three political parties organized their conventions and passed resolutions giving the go ahead to forgo their individual identities and merge into one big party, the All Progressives Congress (APC). The party received approval from the nation's electoral umpire Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) on 31 July 2013 to become a political party and subsequently withdrew the operating licenses of the three legacy parties (the ACN, CPC and ANPP).

In November 2013, five serving Governors, along with Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, former vice president of Nigeria, from the governing PDP, defected to the APC, as well as 49 legislators who joined the ranks of 137 legislators in the APC.

PDP - http://peoplesdemocraticparty.com.ng/?page_id=496 :

The state of the nation prior to 1998 could well be described as near comatose. The human rights record of the military administration was appalling. The nation's economy was on a steady slide to a disastrous perdition. There was near hopelessness and uncertainty. In the political terrain, the nation was served with strange concoctions that would have ultimately led to national suicide.

In the international arena, Nigeria which once stood tall as the giant of Africa was reduced to an inconsequential midget with the suffocating tag of a pariah nation tightening round her neck. Hitherto brave men and women became cowards overnight, grovelling at the throne of the one who had wished to become the absolute emperor of Nigeria.

For each passing day, the light of hope dimmed in Nigeria. The nation was passing through a phase described by some analysts as "the dark ages". At a point, it seemed no one could stand in the way of this rampaging dictator who was bent on entrenching himself in the country.

While this sordid state of affairs was holding sway, a group of politicians under the auspices of the All Politicians Summit convened a meeting in 1997 to discuss the way out of what was fast becoming a festering dictatorship. That meeting, led by Dr. Alex Ekwueme, was brutally dispersed by the security apparatus of the Sani Abacha's regime.

Dr. Ekwueme, undeterred by the brutish antics of the regime continued rallying key political figures of different ideological persuasions under a new platform called Institute of civil society. In the midst of all this confusion, a group of political leaders, eighteen of them in the first instance and later thirty-four decided to “dare the lion in his den”. This group known as the G-34 later formed the nucleus and rallying point of the associations that formed what is today, the People’s Democratic Party, PDP.

1.9.2 Synopsis

The APC, considered the strongest opposition in Nigeria, managed to produce a President for the first time in 2015, after displacing the PDP with their highly monetised politics, individualistic tendencies of politicians, incoherent party ideologies, and party defection, among several other factors (Olowojolu 2015). This is a feat that took decades to realise, in terms of disassembling the then sitting political party, which was the PDP.

It has now been gathered that the continuous and seemingly unending political might of the PDP, led to the birth of the APC in February 2013, with the merger of three equally strong opposition political parties in Nigeria. The amalgamation of these parties led to a new dawn, with the political rise of the APC. A party which would later displace the sitting government. The party became more strengthened after five sitting governors, as well as some legislators in Nigeria, defected from the PDP to the APC. These powerful defections all contributed to the displacement of President Jonathan in 2015.

The PDP came into existence in August 1998 and for over a decade, the PDP were comfortably at the helm of affairs in Nigeria, given that they have won four presidential elections out of five since Nigeria returned to independence in 1999 (Aleyomi 2013). Katsina (2016) notes that the PDP tenure did not only face a leadership problem while in power, they also

suffered from absence of coherent ideological principles that could have focused its government and guided its members in public offices.

As such, one can argue that the PDP governance goes against their set core principles, as stated by Katsina (2016: 5):

The fundamental objectives which PDP centered around include democratization of Nigeria, promoting national reconciliation, building true political and fiscal federalism, and ensuring equitable distribution of power, wealth, and opportunities to conform with the principles of power-shift and power-sharing. Its other objectives were to promote the rotation of key political offices, and an equitable devolution of powers to the zones, states, and local governments so as to create socio-political conditions conducive to national peace and unity.

Given the fact that the PDP were later defeated at federal level, I strongly contend that this may be as a result of the party not having done well in Nigerian governance. What is, however, more important for this study, beyond the formation or deformation of the party, is the discursive strategies employed by the party during electioneering, with specific focus on misrepresentation and manipulation.

1.10 Organisation of Thesis

This chapter gives an introductory background into this research, as discussed at the opening section of the chapter.

In chapter two, I review relevant existing literature on the subject of this study, mainly political discourse. I also create a connection between (mis)representation and manipulation in political discourse, both from global and local perspectives, by critiquing earlier studies that have exemplified how linguistic characteristics can be used for manipulative purposes in political endeavours.

In chapter three, I discuss the conceptual framework for the study being CDA and MDA. Various scholarly approaches to CDA will be discussed *viz-a-viz* their relevance to the topical research.

My chapter four outlines my research methodology. The section looks at my research design, data collection method, sampling, limitations of the study, reliability, validity and method of data analysis.

In chapters five and six, I focus on data analysis at both visual and textual levels, respectively. The analysis was guided by frameworks – CDA and MDA.

In my final chapter, I present the key findings from this thesis and further discuss recommendations for future research. The chapter ends with general recommendations.

1.11 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has given an insight into the expectations of this thesis. The aims and objectives have been highlighted, as well as the research questions, significance of the study, and statement of the problem. I further gave a brief discussion on Nigerian politics. The foregoing leads to the literature review in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Randolph (2009: 1) notes:

conducting a literature review is a means of demonstrating an author's knowledge about a particular field of study, including vocabulary, theories, key variables and phenomena, and its methods and history. It further informs the student of the influential researchers and research groups in the field.

This literature review chapter begins with a discussion on the main objective of the study – linguistic self-(mis)representation and perceived manipulation in Nigerian politically-motivated discourse. Different studies that have dealt with the issues of creative language use in political situations are reviewed, with a view to understanding what has been done. The review has thus been integrated with my current research, to extend the field of political discourse. Furthermore, the concept of “political discourse” (to be discussed) is demystified to resonate with the objective of this research. I have, however, opted to refer to my own variant of political discourse as politically-motivated discourse, instead of just political discourse.

This review chapter also substantiates the context of this research as a guide to the analysis chapter. In the process of the review, relevant information regarding the topic is critiqued.

2.2 Language as an Influential Instrument

According to Liu, Volcic and Gallois (2011), language is used by people to convey thoughts, feelings, desires, attitudes and intentions from one party

to another. They argue that the language we speak defines our world and identity. For Halliday (2013), language is a semiotic system representing the full potential meaning available to speakers, while Chomsky and McGilvray (2012) consider language as the perfect tool for communication, around which human life revolves.

These scholars bear the notion that, although language is an entity on its own, it is used to achieve different means, as intended by the user. Thus, the need to constantly examine and re-examine how power is manifested in language in different domains. Since languages evolve, users need to, at the same time, improve on their mastery of language use, which in turn affects discursive strategies. Given that these discursive strategies assist in realising the powerful nature of language, language and power can logically not be over-examined in order to regularly understand the current trends in the use of language. Just as language is dynamic in nature, usage is equally dynamic.

Language is a powerful phenomenon. Moto (2013) states that language is a tool for achieving, protecting and entrenching power. In this regard, that language possesses the power to influence, compel, persuade, and convince is no longer a mirage. Scholars in linguistics have testified to the power inherent in language. This is especially so because power is exhibited in almost all forms of communications. In discourse, every participant has a motive that guides their use of language and choice of words. While power is revealed through language, it is also manifested through non-verbal means. As such, the use of symbols and other semiotic resources contribute to the influential nature of communication.

Eckert (2017: 45) conducted a study on the role one's language plays in socialisation. She argues that "language is a key factor in shaping one's identity, enabling social networks, mediating experience, and storing knowledge". Eckert (2017: 47) further notes that, "speakers use language as a tool to generate and share information, organise knowledge, perform speech acts, proclaim our identity, and connect with others." Given this domineering nature of language, it is thus unsurprising that language is many times employed as a manipulative tool in communication. Though in some cases, it could be merely persuasive. Language is used for these reasons in different sectors such as advertising, health, and sports, among others.

Bev (2008) stipulates that language is a powerful tool in politics and politicians are its users for bad and good purposes. A point clarified by Rezaei and Nourali (2016), when they note the characteristic of language used by politicians is different because its purpose is different – "when politicians interact with society, their purposes may vary." This further confirms the idea that language plays an important role in conveying the ideology of the speakers. For a speaker, the communication tool is tailored towards the objectives of the communication. This is considered linguistic influence.

At this juncture, drawing from the above contributions, it is evident that language is indeed powerful. However, what influences language is its user and the context in which it is used. In this study, the context is the political arena and politically-motivated discourses form the nucleus of the topical research endeavour.

2.3 Political Discourse: An Overview

Studies on political discourse abound. According to Jones and Peccei (2004:51), language can be used to influence people's political views by exploring in detail the ways in which politicians can use language to their own advantage.

Ademilokun (2016: 169) also argues that:

“the realization of the fact that language is crucially implicated in politics has made scholars from linguistic, semiotic and communication backgrounds to study how language is used in different domains of politics such as political debates, electoral campaigns, political interviews, political meetings, legislation and political occasions such as inauguration and transition ceremonies.”

To Ademilokun (2016), political discourse occupies a strategic space, as it is not a mere linguistic exercise or adventure, but often has serious political implications. Political discourse analysis is, according to van Dijk (1997: 38), not only useful in the field of linguistics, it also has a lot to offer political science as it can answer serious political questions or raise awareness about political realities or processes, especially when “it focuses on features of discourse which are relevant to the purpose or function of the political process or event whose discursive dimension is being analysed.” Thus, one can argue that the nature of this study is hydra-headed, while it is ultimately beneficial to the linguistic field, the field of political science can equally draw some benefits.

Language and politics are stressed to be inseparable phenomena by Adesanmi (2010: 213), especially because of the integrative function attributed to language. He states further that, since language is one of the outstanding characteristics of man, speeches form an essential instrument

of ideological propagation, as well as societal or political organisations. Adesanmi observes language as a tool for political mobilisation, in what he refers to as an attempt by politicians to increase people's level of awareness of certain ideas and objectives, with a view to internalising those ideas in the people. Thus, Adesanmi defines political discourse as a study whose main goal is to establish a link between linguistic units, production/consumption dynamics and, finally, socio-cultural practices, which echo the immediate political context.

Political discourse is characterised by considerable metaphoricity, whereby the choice of register (either standard or vernacular), vocabulary associated with certain social groups and choice of address forms (signalling either distance or solidarity) reveal political positioning (Katnić-Bakaršić 2012: 53). Put differently, Al-Faki (2014: 190) describes political discourse as a wide and diverse set of discourses, or genres, or registers, such as: policy papers, ministerial speeches, government press releases or press conferences, parliamentary discourse, party manifestos (or platforms), electoral speeches, and so forth.

Political discourse is a political phenomenon and just as studies on politics are of interest to political scientists, studying the discursive events within political situations has also captured the attention of linguists. Fairclough's (1989) influential work on language and power reinforces that language use in everyday context (discourse) has the power to construct reality and make people see certain things in certain ways. Foucault's (1972) method also discusses how language is used in constructing the social world and how it is affected by social power, as society is shaped by language. Given the interrelatedness between language, power and society; and given the fact

that politics is exercised in different societies, an academic study on the language of politics becomes essential.

Crespo-Fernández (2014: 2) explains political language as “purpose-oriented” because...

...politicians use language to achieve consensus, maintain support, influence people’s thoughts and attract potential voters. In fact, political actors do not use language at random: their speeches and public comments are consciously and carefully constructed with a particular aim in mind.

In his *Political Language, Democracy, and the Language Arts Class*, Shafer (2013: 30) clarifies that, “we live in a world saturated with divisive political language – a world of metaphors and adjectives that conjure up archetypal images of good and evil...”. Shafer refers to the position of political language in a very broad context to involve different categories of evil, not only in a manipulative way but also for their potential capacity to incite war.

However, this research is principally interested in how political language is used to exercise manipulative objectives on prospective voters. Moreover, the various ways in which politicians often represent themselves to the voting public is of interest; this is an attempt derived from ‘identity’ in politics. In this research, my aim is to discuss political discourse (language), not politics *per se*.

Chilton and Schäffner (1997) identify two main criteria for political discourse: functional and thematic. The first criterion is functional because it fulfils different political activities and the second, because its topics are mainly related to politics. This is to note that, in political discourse studies, fathoming the depth of politics is not on the agenda. Political discourse is different from other forms of discourses because it mainly concerns the

selling of an individual or a political party, unlike other forms of discourses, which sell products or services. For Cavazza and Guidetti (2014: 539), the main rudiment of political communication is “the centrality of the source”. Here, the political candidate is the product, hence, the crucial persuasive effect is not about influencing the audience attitude toward some issues discussed in a message but convincing them to support the source of the message in case of election.

Four characteristics of political discourse are proposed by Chilton and Schäffner (1997: 212–213):

- i Coercion: laws, edicts, commands, censorship, agenda setting and making assumptions in relation to realities that hearers are obliged to, at least temporarily, accept;
- ii Resistance protest, and opposition: slogans, chants, petitions, rallies and appeals that oppose existing power structures;
- iii Dissimulation: diverting attention from troublesome and controversial issues;
- iv Legitimation and delegitimation.

Although these features are not limited to political discourse, there is however, no doubt that the features are dominant in political discourse. The first point acknowledges the idea that political participants, in political discourse, tend to command the audience through linguistic means. In other words, language in politics is characterised by attempts to sway and shape the opinions of hearers.

Furthermore, slogans and chants are exhibited alongside power structures that would in turn allow the hearers to embrace an individual over another or a political entity over another. Going forward, dominance and control are

also evident in political discourse, as participants are inclined to often control the information dissemination to the public and, where necessary, distract the public's attention from issues negating their political course. Lastly, political participants, in order to win people's support, shuffle in-between reasonable and unreasonable acts and promises, solely to contribute to their political ambition (Chilton and Schäffner 1997: 212–213).

Shortly after propounding these characteristics, Chilton (2004: 46) detects major weaknesses regarding his propositions. He therefore adds two further features, currently highly consequential in political discourse. The new features were introduced using van Dijk's "ideological square (de/emphasise positive/negative topics about Us/Them)". This ideology is explained in the conceptual framework section of this review. Most importantly for now, are the two new additions from Chilton, namely representation and misrepresentation. Fairclough (2006: 1) says that discourse can "misrepresent as well as represent realities. It can weave visions and imaginaries which can be implemented to change realities and, in some cases, improve human well-being, but it can also rhetorically obfuscate realities, and construe them ideologically to serve unjust power relations."

To Constantin Sălăvăstru (2009: 76-94), the features or rudiments of political language include:

- Intentional ambiguity: political language is aimed at influencing a wider category of receptors;
- The dissimulated character of the message: in political language, there is never a perfect correlation between the intentions of the speaker and what he says and does, some things remain permanently hidden to the receptor;

- The imperative tonality: political language is aimed at causing a reaction from the audience, in the way of legitimising the power group represented by the emitter;
- The explicit polemic substrate: political language translates the emitter's interests and aspirations, confronting them at the same time with those of the political opponent.

Further to the issue of representation, as added by Chilton, I have also in this research, recognised that linguistic manipulation is evident in Nigerian political settings. It should be noted that this research has recognised 'manipulation' as an ambiguous entity; hence, the need to clarify that my study views manipulation in an entirely linguistic sense.

Asya's (2013) study on linguistic manipulation thus comes to mind – it is realised when the listener cannot see the speaker's covered intentions behind what is actually being said, i.e. deceitful use of language. Asya (2013: 2) further notes that linguistic manipulation is based on mechanisms that compel the listener to perceive messages uncritically, which facilitates the creation of illusions and misperceptions, impacting the addressee's emotions and making them accomplish actions advantageous for the speaker.

While van Dijk (2006: 360) observes manipulation as the illegitimate influence of the manipulator on the manipulated by using discourse. Cabrejas-Peñuelas (2015) defines manipulation as control to one's own advantage, through deceitful means.

Rigotti (2005: 61) summarise the characteristics of a manipulator as follows:

Manipulative discourse implies an asymmetrical relation between the speaker and the hearer, where the manipulator has in particular the properties of: (i) having at least some power over the addressee, (ii) is to some extent insincere, and (iii) leads the manipulated to believe false propositions [...]. Conversely, the manipulated is (i) confident, (ii) has a presumption of the sincerity (or cooperation), of the relevance [...] and of the truthfulness of the speaker.

From these characteristics, it could be noted that manipulation is a global phenomenon, occurring in different spheres of life, politics included, especially when it is used to derive individual satisfactions. I therefore define linguistic manipulation as a form of deceiving communicative persuasion, where a certain individual or group exercises creative linguistic skills to convince their audience, by giving insincere meditative information.

Rezaei and Nourali (2016) also find linguistic manipulation to be considered an influential instrument of political speech because its primary goal is to persuade people to take political action. Thus, in political discourse, the aim of linguistic manipulation is to sway the opinion of the masses and manipulate their behaviours through linguistic means. In other words, politicians very often try to “textualize” the world in their own particular way (Fairclough 1989).

As I proceed, I attempt a universal review of literature on political discourse by establishing a ubiquitous interaction between academic works on political discourse globally. This is in a bid to consider elements of manipulation and mis(representation) as an all-inclusive event. Subsequently, I would attempt a review of African and Nigerian academic contributions to the study of linguistic manipulation and (mis)representation.

Chege (2009: 50) studies how intellectuals in Kenya can take advantage of the muddled political environment and spearhead, what he refers to as, the 'discourse of change'. Objectively, Chege's study is fundamentally different from this, as it dwells more on the concept of 'organic intellectuals', with the aim of breeding new sets of intelligentsias to direct the national discourse. Furthermore, he focuses more on academics, rather than discussing society at large. There is, nevertheless, a commendable point of similarity in terms of manipulation – Chege concludes that politicians often direct their energy towards selfish gains. He is aware of the self-enriching interests of politicians grounded on corruption, oppression, and exploitation of prospective voters. In this study, I argue that language plays a dominant and significant role in the self-enriching interests of politicians. In other words, I observe what role language plays in the corruptive, oppressive, and exploitative practices in Nigerian political settings.

Consequently, I demystify the concept of political discourse (within self-(mis)representation and manipulation) using earlier works by scholars that have done similar studies related to this research. My review of political discourse revolves around language, manipulation, persuasion, and self-(mis)representation, in addition to propaganda, power, and social influence, among others, where applicable. It is believed the objectives of my study are manifested by any of these premises in political settings, as virtually all are exercised using an element of language.

For Mheta (2013), language is an integral part of society and is therefore shaped by society while Crespo-Fernández (2014: 1) sees language as a vital element in the daily life of politicians. Thus, the right kind of language and the right choice of words to address particular audiences are key to politicians, not only to give a positive image of themselves but also of the

parties they represent. My interest in this research is to study politically-motivated discourse in Nigerian political settings. It could, otherwise, be perceived as the study of political language in Nigerian political situations. Bayram (2010: 24) opines that language plays a crucial role in politics because every political action is prepared, accompanied, and influenced by language.

This statement reflects the Nigerian political setting. Similarly, Jones and Peccei (2004) recognise that politicians often achieve success mainly through their skilful use of rhetoric, usually aimed at persuading their audience. Bayram (2010: 30) further notes that politicians make use of language that causes “the listeners to make assumptions about the existence of information that is not made explicit in what is actually said, but that might be deduced from what was said.” Hence, misrepresentation and manipulation surface.

Comparably, Aduradola and Ojukwu (2013: 106) point out that language is a strong device for political discourse, as it carries many or different shades of meaning. In this regard, politicians use language to drive home different messages, even without real intent. Such language use is classified as a powerful weapon certain individual can manipulate to show satisfaction, or to advance certain leadership styles, with the intent of attracting massive support (Aduradola and Ojukwu 2013: 105).

On a similar note, Ehineni (2014: 110) observes language use in politics as often ingenuously designed and intelligently crafted to win the electorate over and so garner favourable political support through its use. Nadeem, Mahmood, and Mahmood (2014: 5) agree that certain words are employed by politicians to make promises and pledges in order to lure and persuade

the electorate into voting them to power. Furthermore, they are used to communicate and reinforce their individual political ideologies and political ideas. However, Ehineni's work does not make any allusion to whether the promises and pledges are later upheld by politicians; as such, his study reveals a gap for this research to fill.

In a similar study, Jarraya (2013) claims that political discourse is chiefly characterised with strategies employed to achieve a specific objective, which is the deliberate manipulation of the addressee through the use of deictic pronouns. Jarraya's study mainly recognises English pronouns as integral to the language choice employed by politicians to manipulate the audience.

This is where representation takes strong hold in politics; as such, politicians strategically make use of personal pronouns like "we" and "I" to express the degree of their personal involvement and commitment. Politicians may use these pronouns to declare their involvement in certain contexts. While "I" may be used to represent the exact personality, "we" can be used to refer to a certain body, perhaps the political party represented. Jarraya (2013: 57) concludes that identity (representation) and membership (representation) may be expressed through the use of personal deixis, as a persuasive technique.

Maalej (2013: 642) voices a similar opinion. He acknowledges political speeches as making use of person deixis, whereby one speaker will constantly refer to the self as "I", as well as the plural version, "we". Maalej considers the use of "I" as representative and filled with the personality of the speaker but observes the use of "we" as manipulative. His point is that

the use of “we” is often deliberately employed by politicians to convince and probably manipulate the audience to reason like them.

The use of these pronouns, to Maalej, assists in appropriating discourse in politics. Hence, the users of the “I” tend to put themselves in the position of responsibility and thus convince people to believe they are capable of such responsibilities. The use of “we”, however, implies that leadership does not work solely because of an individual. It includes the government body, party and people.

In some cases, it can also imply part of a whole. Maalej considers the main function of such pronouns to be emotional, and thus, appealing to the sense of the audience. He concludes that politicians are aware of the power of the pronouns for political actions and as such, use the pronouns to reveal ideological bias; encourage solidarity; designate and identify those who are supporters (with us), as well as those who are enemies (against us); and to present specific idiosyncratic aspects of the individual politician’s own personality. In fact, Maalej considers “we” more manipulative and ideological in political discourse than “I” or “you”.

Similarly, Nadeem *et al.* (2014: 4) observe that such pronouns have a stronger link with the connection of influence, authority, and solidarity when they are correctly used, whether consciously or unconsciously, because people are excluded or included. They refer to this as the manipulation of mind. Since the uppermost way politicians announce themselves to the masses is through their speeches – the way they make references to themselves and their opponents can impact persuasive strategies. As such, the relevance of Maalej (2013) and Nadeem *et al.*’s studies for current research cannot be overemphasised.

At this juncture, I have to note that the propositions by Chilton on political discourse (discussed above) are no doubt mainly perpetrated through linguistic means. Davletbaeva, Yashina, and Sharafieva (2016: 242) voice a similar opinion, stating that language is an influential instrument of political ideology. From a linguistic point of view, they study lexical stylistic devices used by politicians aimed at achieving specific goals.

The concept of political discourse is summarised, in terms of representation and manipulation, by Davletbaeva *et al.*:

In contemporary political discourse, politicians use various lexical stylistic devices to achieve actual political aims through various kinds of persuasion. These techniques appeal to ordinary people. They use effective image-making strategies through visual and verbal language means. The creation of effective visual products of persuasion (political advertisements and cartoons) allow them to introduce socially important and culturally oriented concepts for the purpose of keeping their power and reinforcing their serious impact on public opinion.

They further determine that politicians employ the linguistic techniques of 'presupposition' and 'implicature'. These techniques can motivate the audience to create assumptions from information not made explicit in what is actually said, but that might be deduced from what was said. Davletbaeva *et al.* (2016: 243) perceive presuppositions as background assumptions embedded within a sentence or phrase. While, on the one hand, the masses in this case tend to derive guesses from political statements, regardless of whether the whole sentence is true, implicatures on the other hand, lead the listener to infer something that was not explicitly asserted by the speaker.

These views by Davletbaeva *et al.* seem to resonate with contemporary political discourse, where masses are left to decipher the meaning of different political statements. Davletbaeva *et al.* (2016: 245) further bring to light that politicians do not necessarily make use of such linguistic techniques, they often rely on skilled speech writers and image-makers. It can therefore be surmised that these skilled linguistic agents are aware and capable of using discourses that will sell the image of their employers. It is further argued that the language user has to possess both the political background (in order to assess the situational context of utterance) and a high-level command of the language.

Following that argument, the usage of allusion is recognised as an example. In political discourse, allusions play interesting roles; such as evoking images that indicate to the listener present hidden facts not said aloud, but which the listener or reader can easily understand (Davletbaeva *et al.* 2016). Allusion thus refers to indirect reference used in a speech or text. Another inherent feature of political discourse from their study is repetition. The usage of such a linguistic device (either one word or a set of words) in political discourse is to create an emphatic objective which would, in turn, help produce a permanent effect on the audience, to believe and support their political course.

Furthermore, political discourse is also characterised by the use of short sentences aimed at reaching the bottom of people's hearts. While these authors may be commended for identifying these features, their study to an extent, does not conceptualise their examples in terms of the samples they highlighted. The study takes an evasive approach in analysing the samples. The examples were just mentioned to support existing linguistic techniques

without meaningful reference to the Russian and USA societies. This is where my intention differs in the current research.

Cavazza and Guidetti (2014) explore a different approach in their study of political communication; they are interested in swearing and vulgarity in political discourse. Their study shows that not only do politicians want to sell themselves, some also employ vulgarity to reach their audience. Cavazza and Guidetti (2014: 544) determine that evidence of vulgarity embedded in a public political speech, even though socially sanctioned, is able to positively affect receivers' behavioural intention.

Their purpose for such a study, was to determine whether informal language can be used for politicians to attract more audience, with which they place specific focus on swearing and vulgar words. Since the source in political discourse is also the message; and since language informality is perceived as a good device in political discourse, Cavazza and Guidetti show that swearing can thus be an effective way of swaying more opinions. They maintain their position on the efficacy of swear words, even in our daily communicative situations, as not necessarily a conscious or deliberate strategic use of language. As such, the use of swear words is considered influential because the association between swearing and its positive consequences of influence may be automatic and unaware (Cavazza and Guidetti 2014: 544). Nonetheless, as a linguistic study, they do not use a strategic rhetorical device to analyse their intention.

Using Rajoy-Rubalcaba versus Obama-McCain as case study, Cabrejas-Peñuelas (2015) conducts a study on manipulation in pre-election political debates in Spain and America. As with other scholars on political discourse, Cabrejas-Peñuelas (2015: 516) agrees that political candidates present

their viewpoints and those of the party they represent, to convince other people to change their attitudes and behaviour regarding certain political issues, principally through their systematic use of language. She continues that, through different manipulative processes, the audience may be induced to think, judge, and decide in predictable ways and may therefore be led to biases and manipulation.

My research also commends the inclusion of self-presentation in the Cabrejas-Peñuelas (2015: 523) study; my study shares close sentiments with her study. Nonetheless, while she concentrates on Europe and America – Spain and America – I focus on Africa, Nigeria to be precise.

Cabrejas-Peñuelas analyses how self-(mis)representation takes hold in political discourse, where politicians tend to sell themselves to the masses by doing the following:

- Referring to one's past actions and future plans (acclamations), since the candidates need to emphasise what they have done for their country and what they intend to do.
- Referring to the opponent's weaknesses, which may be personal or related to the electoral program.
- Emphasising one's positive policy issues (e.g., health services, employment, education) rather than personal qualities.
- Talking about values or principles of society (i.e., support, solidarity, effort, tolerance and freedom).

The contribution on self-(mis)representation by Cabrejas-Peñuelas (2015) is welcomed in this research. It proves politicians are interested in marketing their images and selves to the extent where they would not hesitate to de-market any perceived obstacles. By so doing, politicians, in

the aim of presenting themselves positively, would use language that appraises their positive qualities, as well as that of their party. However, in the case of current research, I do not only focus on language of appraisal but also of manipulation.

Two major ways of identifying manipulation in political discourse are put forward by Cabrejas-Peñuelas (2015: 523), while reproducing Rigotti (2005):

- i **Using falsity and insincerity:** falsity attempts to make the listener change his or her vision of reality, while insincerity is a false promise.
- ii **Using fallacies:** techniques (or rhetorical devices) aimed at making assumptions prominent, in such a way that they are cognitively inescapable.

Rigotti's (2005) study eventually establishes that, while the two points mentioned above are prominent in political discourse, the use of fallacies is more pronounced followed by falsities and insincerities. He is of the view that politicians often draw attention to some attributes of the audience's character/society in order to make them believe his claims.

Cabrejas-Peñuelas (2015: 538) states that:

“...fallacies are preferred because they serve well the purpose of appearing to present a rational argument while, in fact, being deceptive. This, he argues, offers the advantage of having the appearance of good reasoning when in fact they are attempts to silence the opponent and persuade the audience of the reliability of the candidate's words.”

Mocanu (2015: 35) studies the peculiarities of political language by comparing it to other taxonomies, such as philosophical, scientific, religious, legal, and artistic. In his study, Mocanu observes that political

language uses particular wording and phrases, manifests fondness for specific topics, makes appeal to a specific rhetoric, and employs an adequate intonation, all aimed at facilitating the achievement of political objectives. Hence, political language has a distinctive identity, at the level of the content and of the expression as well. Mocanu argues that political language is expressed through extremely varied means, such as images, music, objects, uniforms, and symbols. As such, he admits that political language is an equivalent of political reality.

This quote from Mocanu (2015: 38-39) captures his findings on the peculiarities of political language:

The tendency towards stereotypy, preset expressions, adopting reiterative syntactic structures, the assumption and proliferation of some preferred symbols and metaphors are features that transform the political language into a type of artefacts capable of serving the politician's interests.... In the context of the political language, the euphemism becomes a technique used for reconstructing the political referential, by promoting an image according to the speakers' intentions and aspirations.

Some important features are noticeable in the above quote. It is apparent that politicians tend to rely on syntactic structures and symbols to attract their audience. Most importantly is their reliance on different rhetorical devices (referred to above): metaphor, euphemism, and political myths. Essentially, Mocanu's work succeeds in simplifying what the functions of each of these rhetorical devices are, when employed in political scenarios.

Rozina and Karapetjana (2009) explore instances of linguistic manipulation in political discourse, focusing mainly on rhetorical devices. Such rhetorical devices include metaphors, allusions, metonymy and connotations. Their belief is that the aforementioned devices possess the power to influence manipulation in political discourse. An excellent contribution from them is

the fact that they are aware that linguistic manipulation resides in all forms of political regimes, whether democratic, totalitarian or military. Generally, politicians exploit language for diverse purposes, ranging from conveying of information to commands, as well as influencing, persuading or misinforming the masses.

Abidi (2015: 8-9) observes that euphemisms hold a staple focus in political discourse and, as such, can be deployed as an asset to justify a given contentious venture. He focuses on a CDA account of Tony Blair's political discourse. Abidi is of the view that Tony Blair's use of euphemism was often a source of transgression, to legitimise his political actions and sustain his ideological or hegemonic ends, in an attempt to manipulate the import of political discourse, thereby, to achieve his political and ideological effects. Abidi considers euphemism, in political discourse, as a form of deceptive communication, constructed to make the illogical seem logical, the unspeakable sound speakable, and the blamed look blameless (Fernandez 2006). Abidi further notes that Tony Blair tried to make every effort to exploit the power of euphemisation in his discourse to manage the impression of his audiences and, more importantly, permeate their cognitive models.

The power of euphemisms in political discourse is recognised by Crespo-Fernández (2014), whose study investigates euphemisms and political discourse in British Regional Press. His contribution to euphemisms in political discourse is that politicians resort to euphemism as a "safe" way to deal with unpleasant subjects and criticise their opponents, without giving a negative impression to their audiences.

Crespo-Fernández is cognisant of the fact that politicians need caution in dealing with delicate and unpleasant subjects, at the same time, politicians

need to appear polite and sensitive to the concerns of the people, hence, the need for them to employ euphemism. He offers a concise definition of euphemism as the process whereby a distasteful concept is stripped of its most inappropriate or offensive overtones, providing thus a “safe” way to deal with certain embarrassing topics, without being politically incorrect or breaking a social convention (Crespo-Fernández 2014: 5).

While Crespo-Fernández has no problem with the functions of euphemism, he however rejects the use of it to purposefully conceal real facts from people and, in turn, mislead and deceive. Crespo-Fernández likens his idea of euphemism in political discourse to the concept of politeness. As a result, euphemistic use in political language responds to the politicians’ need of having their self-image appreciated and approved of in the community, that is, to the desire of maintaining their positive face (Crespo-Fernández 2014: 6).

Basically, euphemisms in political discourse serve to preserve the politicians’ image and good impression of themselves, as well as the political groups they represent. Substantial examples of euphemisms at both word and sentence levels are provided by Crespo-Fernández (2014: 10), as observed from the British Regional Press. Examples of such use of language are identified in the analytical chapter of this work.

Nadeem *et al.* (2014) perform a CDA study on the election manifestos of Pakistani political parties. Notably, their study identifies that, in political scenery, the passive voice is often used in Pakistan. In other words, the main subject of the discourse, e.g. politicians prefer to hide behind the necessary responsibilities expected of them. It is argued that political parties often employ the passive voice to quit responsibility because if the

politician is unpronounced, the expression is therefore softened (Nadeem *et al.* 2014).

As such, where parties talk about improvement, the passive voice is a trick adopted to achieve the hidden agendas that help to make things less decisive and, in turn, favour the interests of parties. Especially laudable of their paper is identifying the use of certain frequent nouns in the Pakistani political scenery. They have examples of health, growth, democracy, and youth, along with country, women, farmers, and areas. The nouns used are often subjects pertaining to the context of Pakistan.

It could, therefore, be surmised that politicians use such contextual nouns incessantly to show their deep worry and unease for Pakistan (Nadeem *et al.* 2014). In other examples, nouns such as “growth”, which the parties use alongside “will”, for future references is aspiring in a political setting, as it gives some sense of hope to the people. Nadeem *et al.* proceed further to also analyse the roles of verbs in Pakistani politics, they conclude that modal verbs (will, shall, would, can, could, may, must) deliver epistemic and deontic meanings in manifestos, as they represent the moods and attitude of the speakers.

Furthermore, the use of the present form of verbs (strengthen, develop, encourage, reduce, ensure, establish, improve, need, promote, provide) show a kind of improvement in the country, which is a trick of manipulation, while the past form of verbs (brought, initiated, introduced, increased, transformed, established, gave, took, built, made) is used in order to defend the government, whether by describing their positive points or the negative points of the opposition.

Despite identifying these different these lexical items, Nadeem *et al.*'s study must be credited for keeping the focus of working on different political parties. The results yielded show that there are differences in the usages of lexical and grammatical features of the political parties. Nadeem *et al.* (2014) offer many examples and their impact on the political scenery of Pakistan, however, this research is unable to make mention of all these examples due to the large amount of information provided in the article.

Tepavčević (2014: 94) investigates political discourse from a synta-semantic analytical approach. He is also of the view that the language of politics is marked by the use of specific words, phrases and hidden linguistic messages, purposely selected with a specific aim pursued by a politician. While concentrating on the position of political language to be exclusive, democratic, emotional, extensive, and coherent, Tepavčević (2014: 96) simplifies these points as:

Exclusive political language refers to its professional usage within political circles. On the other hand, democratic language is the language of dialogue and tolerance, whereas emotional and expressive political language affects listeners through their specific vocabulary. Finally, extensive language is characterised by numerous digressions, interpolations and considerable length, unlike coherent language which is typical of good orators who are able to pitch their talk into harmonised and logical units.

Worth noting, is that at least an iota of the above excerpt is often obtainable in current political scenarios across the world. In case these should be contested, Tepavčević (2014: 96) goes on to add another three:

Another division of political discourse suggests that it includes communicative, administrative and diplomatic language. Communicative language abounds in figures of speech and motivational phrases; it is the language of power that verbalises empathy. On the other hand, administrative language is the language of public affairs, which can be said to be lexically poor

and procedurally molded. Lastly, diplomatic language is the language of foreign and interior politics, the language of signs and symbols, lacking in clear formulations but rich in all linguistic elements and hidden messages.

Tepavčević's work is detailed enough to cover a wide area of semantics and syntax namely: functions and style of political language, positioning, reduplication, common verb forms, nominalisation, common conjunctions, embedding, rhetorical questions, exclamations, intermediation, depersonalisation, condensing, key words and phrases, and foregrounding via discourse markers (Tepavčević 2014: 96). He identifies the act of persuasion, which does not only encourage change in people's consciousness, but also in their behaviour, as salient in political language. Here, linguistic units are identified, such as: of course, certainly, without doubt, and in fact, as possible examples. Tepavčević, however, cautions that the persuasive linguistic means in political discourse depend on the political genre.

Put differently, the act of persuasiveness delivered by an individual in a political speech, may be different from a political statement issued by a political party or government. He further attests to the essential roles that symbols play in political discourse, especially as a manipulative one. To end, Tepavčević (2014: 119) says that political discourse is characterised by its specific style. It is persuasive and symbolic, and as a result, has strong influence on the opinion-forming of an individual. It possesses expressive functions, through which politicians strive to attract individuals and convince them to accept certain political standpoints and attitudes and assure them of their validity. From a linguistic perspective, Tepavčević affirms that political language is aimed at conveying a message, informing, convincing and persuading.

Lirola (2016:263) examines a multimodal analysis of political posters in Ireland. In her study, the author notes the use of multimodal text is a powerful tool used in election campaigns, in order to persuade people to vote and to convince people of the convenience of choosing the candidate proposed by the way s/he is constructed linguistically and visually. It is found by Lirola that, for politicians to persuade the audience with posters in Ireland, they often dwell on linguistic repertoire, such as the use of ellipsis, positive language, repetitions, and short phrases, for their slogans found in the posters. Usually, the photographs represent the leader of the party as candidate for president of Ireland.

At the same time, catching and attractive visual representations are chosen to persuade the audience to vote for one party, instead of any other. In another study, Khan and Malik (2016: 2113) correspond that, in recent times, print and electronic media are considered major tools for political communications, as it allows representatives of political parties and leaders to appear and present their party viewpoints.

Using Hillary Clinton's interviews as a case study, Abdel-Moety (2015: 5) researches American political discourse, with many features of casual or ordinary conversations in American political discourse subsequently identified. Examples of these are: the use of fillers, informal or casual style, humour, and vocatives, as well as grammatical incompleteness, ellipsis, and deixis. The use of fillers, which is a common feature of casual conversation, is noticeable in Clinton's interviews.

Clinton employs both the pause (uh and um) and verbal fillers (well, I mean, and you know) in her interviews. Abdel-Moety suggests that these linguistic

devices are used to fill a momentary hesitation and to buy time at the beginning of a speaking turn. This is done so that the speaker, in political scenery, could carefully select such words that can actualise his political intents. Also evident in Clinton's interviews, is the use of informal language and humour, such as "guys", which is considered a feature of ordinary conversation.

This is believed by Abdel-Moety, to be an attempt by Clinton to maintain solidarity with her interviewers. His study also finds the use of vocatives in Clinton's interviews, where she tends to call the interviewers by their first names, again, a solidarity attempt. Furthermore, evidence of incomplete sentences in her interviews abound. In some cases, Clinton would interrupt the interviewer and provide an answer, even before the question is asked, which Abdel-Moety considers to be a result of her high-involvement. These and a few others, are identifiable features in American political discourse, observed from Hillary Clinton's interviews.

Abdel-Moety (2015), however, continues to summarise Clinton's political discourse, which are views also akin to my earlier discussion in this study. Clinton, as other politicians, employs personal pronouns, modalities and the use of implicit meaning. Mainly, the use of personal pronouns employed by Clinton was to juxtapose her personal experiences to political issues. He believes this gave Clinton the populist quality during the elections. Abdel-Moety does not hesitate to mention that Hillary's political discourse was equally filled with strategic and manipulative use of personal pronouns, as her answers to questions are often given from an individual "I"-perspective and a collective "we"-perspective. He argues that the usages position Clinton as a truthful narrator, on the one hand, and as a woman of action, on the other.

Clinton goes on to use modalities (adverbs and verbs) in her interviews to strengthen her identity. To Halliday (1985), the modality features are significant techniques for expressing argument and opinion, since they allow the speaker to express ideas with certain degrees of certainty and to present judgments and attitudes toward what he/she commits himself/herself to. Abdel-Moety (2015: 7) remarks that this usage is perceived as constituting a strong identity for Clinton. It can further be interpreted as a means of powerfully claiming political authority. His remarks coincide with that of Klanicová (2013) that Clinton's statements are always strong, confident, and emphatic. Also, Clinton uses implicit meaning to allow her audience to infer what she is communicating.

Jalali and Sadeghi (2014: 9) study political speeches in Iran. They state that one of the most important factors for political candidates to succeed in any election campaign, is the use of skilful language and their ability to persuade and impress their audiences with discourse filled with thoughts, emotions and excitements. Jalali and Sadeghi discover enormous instances of hidden relations of power, i.e. Fairclough's power behind discourse, with other features that include cultural values, persuasive strategies and emotive language, to create a sense of consensus and solidarity in the audience. This is often an attempt to stimulate people's sense of sympathy.

A quick repeat of Abdel-Moety's (2015:8) analysis of Clinton's use of power in American political discourse seems fitting here. He employs the six processes proposed by Halliday, with reference to power, namely: material, mental, relational, and verbal, along with behavioural, and existential

processes. All these processes are present at one stage or the other of Hillary's interview:

Clinton: And we produced evidence. (material process)

Clinton: I don't think it has to be any particular person ... (mental process)

Clinton: We have been very productive players in trying to deal with an extremely complex problem. (relational process - identifying)

Clinton: There is nothing fast or easy about diplomacy. (relational process – attributive)

Clinton: I said that the first time I went to Pakistan. (verbal process)

Clinton: (laughs) I hope I get to sleep in (laughing) (behavioural process)

Clinton: ..., there was disbelief on the part of a lot of countries. (existential process)

On different occasions, the evidence of power is manifested in Clinton's political discourse, through the strategic use of language, which allows her to control information, to position herself and others in specific relationships, and to make assumptions about realities (Abdel-Moety 2015: 8). This abundantly rich study also covers evidence of ideology in American political discourse. While I may not be able to make reference to the other important part of his study, recourse will be made, from time-to-time, to Abdel-Moety's study during my analysis of Nigerian political discourse, where necessary.

It should be noted that I differ from Abdel-Moety's intention or attempt, to have used Hillary Clinton as his sole reference, in analysing the whole of American political discourse, as his title suggests - *American political discourse as manifested in Hillary Clinton's interviews: a critical approach*. While Clinton may have generated some information, it would have been

more grounded if the outcome were validated with other politicians in America.

However, his study is still to be welcomed for such a detailed conclusion on American political discourse, drawing from Hillary Clinton's interview, as summarised:

...rhetorical strategies of persuasion such as rhetorical questions, listing, contrastive devices, and extreme case formulations. In addition, specific linguistic devices are employed to achieve power in discourse and power over discourse. Power in discourse is shown in Clinton's strategic use of transitivity, personal pronouns, and modality, her comments on the interviewers' questions, and her use of rhetorical persuasion. Power over discourse, on the other hand, appears in Clinton's use of certain linguistic mechanisms that include long turn taking and threat.

Having reviewed political discourse from a general perspective, the next section reviews literature on the topical study from an African perspective.

2.3.1 Recent Prominent Contributions from Africa

There are proliferate studies on political discourse in Nigeria and Africa. Michira (2014) unpacks linguistic persuasive strategies, and concealed meanings in Presidential campaign discourses in Kenya. In his study, the focus is specifically on the analysis of vocabulary/diction, contrastive pairs, grammatical strategies, semantics and pragmatic strategies. One of the findings is that politicians have invented unique ways of using language that deviates from 'normal', everyday discourse. As expected, Michira's study finds language to be a powerful tool employed by politicians not only to communicate their ideological positions but also to create certain perceptions, in order to influence and manipulate voters, with a view to gaining an advantage over their opponents.

In so doing, the use of modals (discussed above) is also recognised by Michira as integral to Kenyan political discourse. Commendably, he says that politicians thus communicate attitudes of obligation, possibility, ability, and desirability, as well as advisability, necessity, probability, and so on, with modal verbs. In an attempt to create these perceptions therefore, different statements are made with no real intent and more audience may be amassed, basically, on linguistic prowess and finesse.

Michira (2014: 10-11) further acknowledges the use of slogans in political discourse as intrinsic because they are often brief, catchy and memorable, hence, most parties employ them to express their motto. The use of riddles, crafted in a way the audience's ingenuity can only decipher, is also prominent in Kenyan political discourse. Other important features of Kenyan political discourse discussed by Michira (2014: 12-17) include allegories, proverbs, biblical allusions, and songs and dance performances, as well as semiotic features.

Michira (2014) concludes that the usage of the aforementioned range of rhetorical techniques and other various grammatical and lexical devices, makes the Kenyan political scene rich, interesting and entertaining. Otieno (2016) uses Kenya as his case for studying political discourse, with his sole interest the use of metaphors in Kenyan political discourse. His paper reveals that metaphors are ubiquitous in political discourse, most importantly to propagate political ideals and political ideologies. Similar to other studies on political discourse, Otieno's studies on metaphors disclose that metaphors are used as a face-saving strategy and could conceal vital information by politicians.

Ofori (2015) directs his entire attention to the use of insults in Ghanaian political discourse. His study takes an opposite approach to the domain of political discourse. Rather than focusing on insults amongst politicians, he decides to examine it from how ordinary citizens challenge the existing social power, by infantilising political authority, and animalising politicians. Ofori's study is proof that political discourse also exists outside of politicians up to the masses or electorates.

While I retreat from Ofori's objectives, his intention to study political discourse from the reverse cannot go unnoticed. He predicates that the involvement of the electorates in political discourse, especially through social media, cannot be underemphasised. In Ghana as such, the masses are able to make their voices heard in political discussions, even by going to the extent of insulting and challenging politicians, which is to an extent, propagating change in Ghana.

Political language of some African leaders is analysed by Al-Faki (2014: 189), who also identifies rhetoric as a prominent feature of political language. While political language teaches politicians how to speak well and the manner wherein to present ideas in vigorous and persuasive discourse, it furthermore allows them to communicate their thoughts and impressions effectively. He further identifies metaphors, pronouns, and analogy, among other lexical choices, as linguistic tools similarly employed by politicians, to persuade and manipulate the audience.

Al-Faki amplifies his study by identifying different instances from African leaders to support his findings. From the analyses and discussion, Al-Faki establishes that linguistic devices used in African political language are not

direct and as a result, have hidden agendas that would not be easily understood by the audience.

Anderson (2014) probes a stylistic analysis of some selected political speeches by the late, Former Ghanaian President, John Evans Atta Mills. The findings show that President Atta Mills employed stylistic features, such as positive self-projection, repetition, code switching, and allusions (biblical and historical references), as well as fatherly imagery, and the imagery of a preacher which, Anderson believes, portrays President Atta Mills as a man of peace.

Anderson claims that this portrayal is reflected through the late President's choice of words, examples of which are: "a humble and grateful leader who appreciates his forbears", "a selfless servant who is ready to sacrifice his all to the service of the country" and "a leader who is interested in the development of the youth in the country", among many others (Anderson 2014: 98).

It is further noted by Anderson that the late President uses many biblical allusions to expose his religious inclination and historical allusions as a tool to foster his inclinations, such as glorifying the past deeds of his political party, reminding his audience about their political history, and cautioning the ruling party. The use of code-switching is said to project his identity as a Ghanaian and also enhance his interaction with his audience, so as to reach as many people as possible.

Unlike other studies, Anderson refuses to find evidences of linguistic manipulation in the political language of the late John Atta Mills. He is otherwise more interested in singing the late President's praises as a

father, preacher, and so on. To a large extent, studies have emphasised that politicians are always capable of intelligent use of language, which may result in manipulation. This nullifies Anderson's endeavour to project John Atta Mills as a politician with sincere use of language.

From his study, one may be forced to agree that Anderson's admiration for John Atta Mills has influenced the findings of his study or rather, John Atta Mills, through his language use, has again succeeded in manipulating the researcher to believing that he is a politician with no linguistic blemish. The latter may therefore serve as a further confirmation that politicians are efficient in their use of language; even a discourse analyst may be unable to analyse their manipulative linguistic devices.

Notwithstanding the preceding discussions from an African perspective, my focus remains on political discourse in Nigeria, of which there is an abundance of studies.

2.3.2 The Nigerian Kaleidoscope

There has been considerable attention on the studies of political discourse in Nigeria. In a critical analysis study, Abdulahi-Idiagbon (2010) examined presidential campaign speeches during the 2007 presidential election in Nigeria. The ideological styles and tones in the campaign speeches of selected presidential candidates was investigated with findings showing that the aspirants manipulated linguistic resources to project the messages in their discourse. The findings affirm the use of connotative expressions, topicalisation, passivation, persuasion and promises, euphemism and repetition, to present their ideological leanings.

Ademilokun and Taiwo (2013: 441) further confirm that the Nigerian political class employs different innovative linguistic means during political campaigns to canvas for, assert, maintain and resist power in discourse.

In his quest to study the discursive strategies of selected gubernatorial inaugural speeches of the 2015 elections in Nigeria, Sharndama (2016: 15) notes the content of all the speeches consisted of recurring and motivating topics/themes, carefully selected to persuade the audience to accept the new government and build hope for the better in it.

Sharndama's work analyses six such speeches and importantly, all six were selected across the six geo-political zones of Nigeria. He reveals that the speeches draw the attention of the audience to challenges facing the state and consequently, this is strategic in persuading the people to have confidence in the new government.

Propaganda is identified by Sharndama as a strong discursive strategy in political discourse. This is further strengthened by Ademilokun's (2015) statement that propaganda is an important feature of political discourse, which could be positive or negative. To Sharndama (2016: 23), it is an aspect of the language of politics which reveals the manipulative power of language. In Sharndama's view, propaganda castigates the contenders in politics; propaganda is used in order to advance one's cause or simply hype up certain facts or ideas about one's activities.

This is supported by Ike-Nwafor (2015: 196), who affirms that politics is a game that can be successfully played through skilful manipulation of language, to project ideological positions that do not always square up with the realities of the day.

Sharndama succeeds in meaningfully quartering propaganda in Nigerian political discourse, namely: hyperbolic propaganda, propaganda of integration, card stacking propaganda, and religious propaganda.

- i **Hyperbolic propaganda:** The first division is where a politician overstates his own achievement or the perceived wrong acts of opponents. As such, politicians employ language to overemphasise the negative acts of their opponents and to blow up their own good works. Either way, the former connotes the politician successfully making the audience consider their stand about the candidature of the opponent, while the latter will make the audience consider them as the best candidate (Sharndama 2016: 23).
- ii **Propaganda of integration:** This is observed when language use in politics is not put forth against any person or political opponent but used instead to unite the people in a common goal or cause. In this regard, the speaker could tactfully draw the attention of the people to the cultural diversity of their environment, which should be observed as an efficient resource for mobilisation (Sharndama 2016: 24). This is often a ubiquitous phenomenon as people, especially Africans, associate with specific cultures.
- iii **Card stacking propaganda:** Here, the politician involves the selection and use of facts or falsehoods, illustrations, or distractions, and logical or illogical statements, in order to give the best or the worst possible case for an idea, programme, person or product. As such, words are selected carefully to entice the audience to build hope in the government. One would find politicians often presenting themselves as a “God anointed one” or “Messiah” that can liberate or emancipate the masses. An interesting example provided here, is a Nigerian politician

giving hope to civil servants who have not been paid salaries and allowances by the immediate past administration (Sharndama 2016: 24-25).

- iv **Religious propaganda:** This form allows religious expressions or references to be made and thus, influence the thoughts of the audience. It is a general belief that politicians often make direct citations from the holy books (The Quran and The Bible) in order to entice the audience to accept them; to see them as good people who fear God. Since politicians are aware they can find acceptance easily from people of their own faith, they use religious propaganda to identify with the audience, who are mostly of their faith. It is very easy, for instance, to know which religion a Nigerian politician belongs to when delivering a speech, as they often begin alluding to their religion (Sharndama 2016: 24-25). Such religious information is often presented in a subtle manner, so as not to be misinterpreted as intolerance towards other religions.

Abuya (2012) also conducts a pragma-stylistic analysis of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's inaugural speech. He identifies excessive use of commisive, while other instances are assertive, declarative, verdictive and directive. Simply put (p.12), the commisive acts were used mainly to show appreciation to different group of people that voted and supported the president during his campaign and election, while the directives and verdictives were employed for the purpose of requesting and assessing and not in a strong term of commanding (Abuya 2012: 14).

Abuya's study falls within the tenets of speech acts theory to speeches and is not necessarily inclusive of manipulative instances. As such, this makes his study objectively different from mine, as he is more interested in analysing the style of Jonathan's speech. However, some new data were

offered on political discourse, which I also explored, where applicable to my study.

Inaugural speeches by politicians after election concur with the credo of political discourse. Unlike campaign speeches aimed at convincing or making the audience do what they do not want to do, inaugural speeches are used to entice the audience to build hope in the new administration (Sharndama 2016: 24-25). However, Sharndama makes a decent contribution to political discourse, which I hope to explore from an aspect he has chosen to neglect, political discourse before elections. Sharndama's divisions of propaganda is therefore welcomed in this research, as it remains to be observed how the same findings apply to political discourse during election campaigns. Conclusively, I share similar sentiments with Sharndama (2016: 26) that the body of an inaugural speech is full of empty promises, in the form of policy directives, which are merely drawn from the problems hovering over society.

Ike-Nwafor (2015) peruses political campaign speeches of gubernatorial candidates in South-Western Nigeria, using CDA. The use of metaphors, hyperboles, idiomatic expressions, and parallelism, along with songs, and adjectives is recognised by Ike-Nwafor (2015: 139-160) as ideological instruments of persuasion in Nigerian politics. She is competent to further explore the roles of power relations in her study of political campaign speeches. Several illustrations of the aforementioned, as well as cases of power as domination, power as liberalism and power as mind control/manipulation in Nigerian political campaigns, are extracted (Ike-Nwafor 2015: 161-177).

In an attempt to reveal the hidden meanings and messages embedded in Nigerian linguistic expressions, Ike-Nwafor analyses political speeches as skilfully crafted to dominate, deceive, manipulate and of course, motivate the electorate to cast their votes in support of the speakers. The use of the lexical items that contain positive and negative expressive is observed as mainly designed to project different ideological strategies as weapons of persuasion and negotiation.

Furthermore, this usage can be seen as positive self- representation and negative other representation and is of course, a strong weapon of personality profiling (Ike-Nwafor 2015: 192). The creative use of figurative expressions is found to be a strong weapon with which to woo voters to support a candidate and his candidature; they enable the speakers to implicitly project their own image and political programmes (Ike-Nwafor 2015: 195).

In their study, Kamalu and Agangan (2015) examine Goodluck Jonathan's declaration of interest in the People's Democratic Party's presidential primaries. Their argument is based on two positions namely: positive-face strategies and negative-face strategies. Kamalu and Agangan's discussion on the former features the use of rhetorical patterns that are intended to positively orient the speaker to his audience, while the latter refers to those rhetorical patterns intended to indirectly endear the speaker (self) to his audience and delegitimise the other (his opponents).

It is agreed that Goodluck Jonathan used linguistic devices to recollect his landmark accomplishments as the president, align with the suffering majority of the country, present himself as political "Messiah", and to appeal to ethno-religious sentiment (Kamalu and Agangan 2015). Furthermore,

the deployment of pronouns and graphological appeal are cogent in their analysis. As detailed as their work is on the former division, only one point is provided under the latter division, orientation with peace and justice of the country, which presupposes the idea that peace and justice are lacking in the country and he is ready for change.

Evidence of the use of modals in Nigerian political manifestoes are found by Ehineni in that politicians often make use of words such as 'will' and 'shall' to signify their political will, commitment, promises, and appeals, as well as possibilities, and persuasions, in addition to giving pledges to the public. Nadeem *et al.* (2014: 5) share a similar sentiment that 'will' is used by all political entities to make statements more likeable and engaging to the public.

Ehineni (2014: 116) notes that politicians often use modals to reinforce their individual political ideologies, communicate their political ideas and elicit public support. The highlight of his study comes in the assertion that modals should not further be considered as linguistic elements only, but most importantly, political devices and ideological tools in political discourses. This is similar to Michira's (2014) study as discussed.

Emeka-Nwobia (2016) also studies political manipulation in Nigerian presidential discourse, focusing on Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo and Goodluck Jonathan. Her study suggests both presidents grossly utilised manipulative language in marketing their agenda, ideology and programme to their audience. In other words, the two presidents portray themselves as humble servants and political redeemers. To be specific, Obasanjo on the one hand narrated his walking through the valley episode, Jonathan on the

other painted his picture of humble childhood experience, concluding he is one of the suffering majority.

Their strategies were geared towards entreating and appealing to an ideological sense, controlling the people's thought and perceptions, and manipulating the unsuspecting members of the public towards accepting their candidacy (Emeka-Nwobia 2016: 12). Evidence of reference to God and portrayal of self as saviour is found in the study. Further, akin to other studies, the Presidents extol good virtues aligned with the suffering majority of the country, in exhibiting their linguistic manipulative intent.

A study on the visual images in the political rally discourse of 2011 electioneering campaigns in South-western Nigeria was conducted by Ademilokun and Olateju (2015), using a MDA approach. Their study is highly substantial in content:

Vests are the commonest type of semiotic artefact while caps, Ankara (a Nigerian fabric material), and surrogate languages complement the use of vests for visual signification and meaning potentials in the discourse environment. Various political party colours reflect in almost all the visual images and they are suggestive of the ideology or level of commitment and political leanings of discourse participants. Semiotic resources or artefacts are an important aspect of political rallies because of the inherent political, cultural, and social communication that are revealed through them (Ademilokun and Olateju 2015: 1).

Ample examples are used to support Ademilokun and Olateju's (2015) study, such as pictures, images, and symbols. They agree that the popularity of visuality in contemporary human communication has contributed to the growth of scholarship in visual communication. Hence, studies on visual elements of political campaigns are necessary, as it is common to see posters, billboards, and banners being used to project

certain politicians or political parties for public acceptance (Ademilokun and Olateju 2015). While there are scholarly works on multimodal discourse such as cartoons, gazes, and gestures in political discourses, Ademilokun and Olateju (2015) offer a new twist that engages the use of vests, surrogate languages, *àńkára* and headwear.

They note the use of vests as political signifiers, which is a common artefact in Nigerian political campaigns and has become a tool for political expression. In political scenarios, such vests are customised to project the slogans, symbols and colours of a political party. As such, once one sees the discourse participant in the discourse environment, it is easy to tell his political alliance. Through the vest, a particular political aspirant is offered to the public to be voted for (Ademilokun and Olateju 2015: 8).

Headwear (customised caps), however, reflect the political leanings of the wearer. They are of the view that a cap attracts immediate attention from people, especially when messages are conveyed through it. Ademilokun and Olateju (2015) further agree that the use of caps for campaigns is semiotically and aesthetically compelling. Furthermore, the use of Ankara, which is a popular textile especially among the Yorùbá marked for class and taste, is also meaningful in political discourse. The use of *àńkára* is said to largely portray the members of a particular party as socially belonging to a family (Ademilokun and Olateju 2015: 10).

They opine that Ankara serves a tremendous amount of utilitarian purpose at political campaign rallies and engenders some feeling of oneness and commitment in political leaders and their followers. They also state that these textiles are offered for free to the masses, which could be considered as a way of mobilising people. As such, wherever the cloth is worn or used,

it performs its advertising functions through the pictures and symbols displayed on it. Lastly, Ademilokun and Olateju (2015) admit that surrogate languages are also signifiers in Nigerian political discourse.

According to Stern (1957), a surrogate language is a conversion of human speech into equivalent sounds for transmission, achievable through certain signalling systems. Nigeria is rich in cultural heritage. Thus, surrogate instruments are used in the country for the purpose of political discourse. Such instruments include talking drums, flutes, and gongs at political campaign rally centres, which are used to perform both melodious and discursive functions. The instruments are used to produce various sounds understood by the people in a culture, to appeal to their eulogistic traditional sense. In this regard, the people from such a culture are confident that the politician values their culture and tradition.

To Ademilokun and Olateju (2015: 16), “surrogate communication serves both the function of communication and entertainment at political rallies, thereby making the discourse lively and making the audience to enjoy the event and discourse more.” They therefore conclude that, through the power of multimodal discourse, politicians are able to inscribe their plans, ideologies and vision in the minds of their audience. Furthermore, multimodal means do not only serve as semiotic resources in political campaigns but also lends aesthetic appeal to the discourse, thus, glamourising political campaigns. The producers of these various semiotic artefacts therefore strategically present political contestants for acceptance by the general public.

Linguistic resources, such as pre-modifiers, superlative adjectives and intensifiers, repetition and figurative expressions were revealed by

Ademilokun (2016: 185) to be used by the speakers for the purpose of up-scaling the force of the values in their propositions. Ademilokun (2015: 131), using the Systemic Functional Linguistics approach, concludes that political rally campaign discourse in Nigeria is a platform used by politicians to manipulate, mobilise, persuade and arrest the public' interest in them, using various linguistic strategies. He notes that political discourse strategies include propagandistic language, appropriation of indigenous languages, code-switching and code-mixing, as well as requesting, flattery, praise and provocative language.

Elebute (2013: 255) likewise examines visual images in political communication in Nigeria from 1963 (after independence). However, the thrust of his study, distinguished from the earlier discussed, is restricted to print and electronic television visuals, vehicle branding, billboard advertising, and body painting, among others. The aspect of visuality in political discourse is observed by Elebute (2013) as an eye-opener for Nigerians, while he further remarks that the visual concepts adopted by visual artists to market Nigerian politicians have successfully educated the entire citizenry on the democratic process.

It is maintained by Elebute that the excellent symbolic designs of visuals have endowed the political landscape of Nigeria with manifold opportunities used to recognise the essence of promoting politicians (Elebute 2013: 264). Admirably, Elebute appraises the use of typography and different types of graphological devices in political discourse. He particularly appraises Roman letters, Gothic writing and Italics for their legibility, robust form that attracts attention and application of abstract idea of elegance and fashionableness respectively.

In another study, Ademilokun and Taiwo (2013: 441-443) state that print media campaigns are products of careful thought, often based on historical and social issues that will persuasively convey their messages. As such, symbols are expected to enhance the image of the parties and portray their values, goals and ideals. They further identify many instances in Nigerian political discourse, examples of which include the use of deictic pronouns, rhetorical questions, identifying with the youth culture, historical allusions, and appeal to good luck. Instances of such examples are explored in the analytical chapter of the foregoing research.

Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2013: 82) investigates the embedded meaning in Nigerian political campaign adverts. He also employs MDA, dwelling solely on the political campaign television advert of former Nigerian President, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, in his move to seek re-election in 2011. Abdullahi-Idiagbon submits that politicking in Nigeria has become a do or die affair and as a result, politicians explore all possible means to achieve their political objectives.

One such is the attempt by politicians to delve into the linguistic repertoire in their vicinity, an example of which is the multimodal resources in political adverts. It is Abdullahi-Idiagbon's view that these resources often do not reflect factual information but are used simply to appeal to the electorate. For example, he says President Jonathan's speech is emotion-laden.

Having reviewed recent related literature within the essentials of political discourse, it is from within the above tendencies that this study aims at deconstructing manipulative instances emanating from Nigerian political situations. Noteworthy is that the above discussion has revealed a gap for this study to fill. While scholars have employed either CDA or MDA to

analyse political discourse, this study deploys both. As such, analysis is done not only on written texts but also on the visual and importantly, the study observes the relationship between texts and symbols in Nigerian political discourse.

Furthermore, only one study from the above review considered the analysis of political discourse from the six geo-political zones of the country, while some focused on the national level only, this study focuses on both the national level and state level. Moreover, whereas some studies particularly dwell on a specific domain in the field of linguistics for their analyses, my study differs, in as much as analyses are done using different linguistic levels, where applicable. To clarify, the study offers a wider reach compared with the studies discussed. Lastly, this study offers a different twist, in that analysis is mainly concerned with self-(mis)representation and linguistic manipulation.

This research sets out to study the issues of linguistic manipulation and representation in Nigerian politics focusing specifically on politically-motivated discourse using CDA and MDA.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I reviewed relevant, global, scholarly literature on the concept of political discourse, then narrowed it down to African political discourse, concluding with an examination of the Nigerian context. Instances of linguistic manipulation and (mis)representation have also been dealt with, where some information has provided gaps for the current study.

In the next chapter, I discuss the theoretical underpinnings for this research.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter employs and reviews two conceptual frameworks under the auspices of sociolinguistics namely; CDA and MDA. Through the discussion of these frameworks, an explicit methodological insight is provided for the analysis chapter. The theories discussed are applied during the data analysis, with the intention of understanding the role discourse plays in Nigerian politics, regarding (mis)representation and manipulation.

Mesthrie (2001: 316-317) writes that:

Society and language have become closely intertwined that language in fact, reflects the society. Apart from the reflective function, there is also a sense in which language misrepresents (or distorts) the key social relations within a community.

As mentioned earlier, this study employs CDA and MDA as conceptual frameworks. As concepts, CDA and MDA emanated from a traditional discipline referred to as Discourse Analysis (DA) (van Dijk 1995: 17). It is therefore imperative to start this review with a short insight on DA.

DA, as an evolving field, has produced different subdivisions and is indeed growing rapidly, with current research in this discipline now witnessing essays from numerous academic disciplines that are very different from one another. Its variants, as conventional linguistic theories, have been used by prominent scholars, in producing influential publications, such as Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), Fairclough's *Language and Power* (1989), van Dijk's *Critical Discourse Analysis* (2001b), and Wodak's

Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis (1995), among many others who have all published extensively, to promote intellectual discourse attractions in the field of discourse analysis. While it may be necessary to review recent concepts on DA and variants, one cannot ignore the strong contributions from pioneer and established scholars. As such, this section juggles both recent and former literature.

3.2 Discourse Analysis (DA)

The word “discourse” originates from the Latin word “*discursus*” and it means running to and from (Rezvan, Azizmohammadi, and Nayebi 2014). This Latin definition of the word is not very appropriate in today’s field of study called DA. Therefore, scholars have preferred the French usage (*discours*) of the word, which has been argued to deal more with language use. Wodak (2006b: 597) concurs that the French version dwells more on the relationship between thought and language.

Van Leeuwen (2009: 144) opines that the term discourse is an “extended stretch of connected speech or writing – a text”, with Foucault (1972: 49) defining discourse as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak”. Blommaert (2005) gives a detailed explanation that discourse “comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural and historical patterns and developments of use”. In the same vein, Cameron and Panovic (2014: 3) view discourse as language in use – it is a form of social practice in which language plays a central role.

In my study, all meaning-making modes resulting in self-(mis)representation and perceived manipulation in Nigerian political settings will therefore be considered as discourse for analysis. Basically,

lexical items and symbols employed by politicians are analysed to enhance the objectives of this research.

Poudel and Aase (2016: 46) state that discourse analysis contends that discourses are a form of social action that produce the social world – including knowledge, identities and social relations and thereby maintain specific social patterns. This definition suggests a discourse analyst should not focus on discourses in isolation but in relation to the social world. Cameron and Panovic (2014: 7) explain that a discourse analyst would not only look at letters but mainly at how the writers have chosen those letters to formulate their accounts linguistically. In this regard, it can be argued that the analysis of discourse does not end at what was produced but also how it is produced.

In closing, van Leeuwen (2009: 144) captures the overt and covert idea of discourse analysis as “socially constructed ways of knowing some aspect of reality which can be drawn upon when that aspect of reality has to be represented, or, to put it another way, context-specific frameworks for making sense of things.” Put rather simply, his definition indicates the idea of discourse analysis is to observe an entity and put it into social context in order to examine the real sense of that entity in the social world.

For example, a parent who is very angry at a child and uses “foul” language against the child cannot be assumed to have hatred for the child simply because of one reason – it is rare for a parent to hate their child. In this case, the parent may just be angry at a specific action the child has taken. Naturally, the anger subsides after a while. The same cannot always be said of a work colleague who uses the same “foul” language. The colleague at the receiving end may believe he/she is being hated because of his/her

success. The only situation that has differentiated the understanding of these two contexts is the social world, which in this form, stems from role-relationships. Clearly, it will be unjustified to analyse and interpret situations in isolation. The context of a situation plays a big role in determining the interpretation of the situation.

DA is not our focus in this review section. It is only necessary to create a background. The concept of CDA is discussed next.

3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Having discussed the requisite rudiments of DA, it is thus needful to discuss the distinct theories guiding this study amidst the other copious subdivisions of DA.

Norman Fairclough can be regarded as the father of CDA with an enormous volume of publications on CDA attached to his name. Blommaert (2005: 23) confirms this when he notes that Fairclough's *Language and Power* is the landmark publication for the start of CDA. The sentiment is shared by Breeze (2011: 495) that the term CDA appears to have first been used by Fairclough and in fact, popularised by his highly influential book *Language and Power*. CDA was introduced to ultimately compensate for the noticeable flaws of DA.

Primarily focused on the interaction between language and society, DA totally neglected how powerful/powerless the language can be when used by society. Van Han (2014: 156) contributes to this discussion, stating that "DA does not put much emphasis on speaker's intention and on the relationship across the utterances."

Instead, Van Han observes that it focuses on the explanation of human behaviour – “the social and cultural meanings that speaker and hearer exchange in the process of interaction.” In the same vein, Wodak and Cilla (2006) state that “communication is obviously something beyond simply transferring a message from the sender to the receiver; discourse analysts frequently speak of interpretative work.” Rahimi and Riasati (2011) add that discourse is aimed at more than conveying only what is imparted at surface level. It is thus very important to understand social information that is usually implicitly conveyed.

Fitch (2005) supports the same point of view, maintaining that DA lacks a firm framework. This is due to most discourse analysts tending to analyse texts using their grammatical structures (such as syntax, semantics, pragmatics) or merely searching for patterns of language use that may be linked to social or power structure and ideological colourings. This, Fitch implies, limits the scope of analysis when using DA, becoming a problem because such grammatical structures pay little or no attention to the impact of society. As such, the structures are analysed in isolation, which is where this study differs.

It can be surmised from the above positions that DA was more interested in how discourses are socially constructed and not necessarily what effects such discourse would have on the audience. Hodge and Kress (1993: 2) say that CDA deals with the “theorisation and description of both the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of a text, and of social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social-historical subjects create meanings in their interaction with texts.” Hence, Fairclough’s *introduction on language and power*.

As with some other linguistic theories, such as DA or socio-semiotics, Breeze (2011: 496) notes that:

...CDA offered a theory of language that took the social functions of language seriously. However, unlike them, CDA rejected descriptive linguistics only. Importantly, CDA differed from the other approaches in its essential interest in power, and its underlying assumption that the social relations reflected in language phenomena were part of a larger pattern characterised by unequal power relations.

The above implies that the study of CDA seeks to critically interpret how different discourse strategies are employed by different participants to achieve discursive goals. In other words, a communicator has an intention for communicating. To fulfil that intention, there may be some necessary strategies in place. These are in fact, occurrences that happen in human daily activities. However, since it is impossible to research all forms of discursive strategies employed in human daily activities, I have limited my research to discursive strategies employed during political discourse.

In another study, Wall, Stahl, and Salam (2015) make a case for the strengths of CDA, drawing inspiration from a Foucauldian perspective, which is conceivably not different from the Fairclough stance adopted by Breeze. Wall *et al.* (2015: 261) write:

Foucauldian CDA examines more than just a communicative utterance. From a Foucauldian perspective, CDA examines the historical roots of beliefs and practices and the structures and powerful actors that influence the adoption and continuation of beliefs and practices. Power is a crucial element of the Foucauldian perspective because power imbalances lead to hegemonic ideas and structures.

From the quote, it can be gleaned that Wall *et al.* understand the core nature of CDA as being able to find out hidden meaning in discourse. Taking this into account in analysing political discourse, I look beyond the

structure of the surface, understanding that, mostly, prospective voters' only interest lies in the surface meaning.

Drawing from van Dijk's point of view, Jahedi, Abdullah, and Mukundan (2014: 28) affirm:

CDA is used to analyse texts in order to discover what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role in production or reproduction of unequal power relations.

The above quotes indicate the shortcomings of DA and following these weaknesses, another theoretical discipline is introduced – CDA. As a theoretical framework, CDA has been employed in numerous academic disciplines to research several issues, such as gender, media discourse, racial discourse, and advertising, in addition to ideology, medical discourse, and mathematics, among many others. Here, CDA is employed as a theoretical guide to the way language is employed in the Nigerian political setting.

While I review some recent works on CDA, I also, from time to time, make reference to the pioneer inception of CDA. Fundamentally, as much as we have new studies on CDA, earlier studies cannot be ignored if one is to understand the tenets of the theory. I also give some insight on how the theory of CDA has evolved over the years.

In this research, I am more inclined towards Fairclough's CDA rather than Foucault's, as he is a pioneer CDA scholar and his work is also better aligned to my study. As such, enough information can be drawn from Fairclough's perspective. Scholars such as Foucault also contributed to the study of CDA but particularly at surface level. Unlike Fairclough, Foucault

did not develop a solid framework for analysing discourse using CDA. In the foregoing chapter, I discussed the major frameworks developed for CDA by renowned scholars and why Fairclough's framework is preferred. I also offer supporting, detailed discussion on CDA, as deliberated by recent scholars.

I begin my discussion on CDA with some definitions, starting with a definition of CDA, provided by Fairclough (1995: 132):

By CDA, I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts, and wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

Wodak and Meyer (2009) state:

CDA may be defined as fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, and legitimised, and so on by language use (or in discourse).

To van Dijk (1989:19):

Critical discourse analysis examines and discovers the method through which structures, semiotic strategies, characteristics, text, and communication have shares in the reproduction of power and domination in social interactions.

In another of van Dijk's (1997) studies, he notes that:

CDA study aims at providing a thorough description, explanation and critique of the textual strategies writers use to "naturalise" discourses. Because we are well aware of the fact that in order to

inculcate certain ideologies, discourses are made to appear common-sense and apolitical.

Given the nature of this study, I am of the view that the three contributions are useful to this research. However, I lean more towards Fairclough's, mainly because of the wide coverage of his definition and for conceptual reasons, to be discussed further in this chapter. Recent academic contributions to CDA feature scholars such as Machin and Mayr (2012: 4), who believe that CDA is very much interested in linguistic characters of social and cultural processes and structures. They tend to continue the idea that power cannot be separated from discourse, noting that power is often relayed and practiced through discourse.

Machin and Mayr (2012: 5) further assert that CDA rejects the hitherto position of earlier descriptive discourse analysis, where the focus was literally on describing linguistic characteristics rather than why and how these discourses are produced, as well as the possible ideological goals they might serve. Comparably, Aslani and Salmani (2015: 82) uphold that the CDA "framework is used to uncover the underlying ideological and power relations in the text".

CDA is affirmed by Cameron and Panovic (2014: 66), as an approach that foregrounds the ideological, social and political (note the word 'political') dimension of discourse. This is a further reassurance that using this theory fortifies the outcome of this study. As such, the ways by which power is exercised in Nigerian political discourse would have to be scrutinised. Cameron and Panovic (2014: 67) conclude that CDA is a "discourse analytic approach which puts emphasis on examining the language of texts systematically and in detail."

To further clarify, I believe CDA focuses on the argument of power, authority, supremacy, and leadership, as well as control, and dominance, evolving from the use of discourse. CDA protects a substantial territory of discursive events. In its attempt to cover a wide reach in discourse; CDA analyses discursive events in relation to the context and social structure, with specific and detailed attention to power relations. CDA does not only argue for what is said, but also how it is said, why and who said it. We can also contend that it goes further to analyse the potential effects the discourse intends to actualise.

The importance of CDA thus emerges, when it is realised the same discursive content may actualise a different outcome depending on the role-relations. In this regard, the researcher has recognised that discourses are used to achieve different goals. For such goals to materialise, it is very important for users of language to craft their language in a way that could attract the attention of the receiver. Hence, the necessity to study the creative ways politicians tend to use language during electioneering campaigns in Nigeria.

Several approaches have been developed by scholars in the field of CDA for analytical purposes. Here, I reproduce these approaches with the intention of showing the wide-reach of the theory and the favoured approaches for the current study. CDA scholars across the world have implied that the discipline is a hydra-headed one. In other words, it shares affinity with other, different disciplines. This claim is not farfetched, as academics have attested to the multidisciplinary nature of CDA – hence, the development of multi-method approaches.

Liu and Guo (2016: 1082) are of a similar impression, when they note that many linguistic scholars have contributed to the theoretical innovation of CDA, by developing some analytical approaches that would be valuable in analysing various types of discourses. Machin and Mayr (2012) add that there is no single, homogenous version of CDA, in other words, what we have is a whole range of critical approaches referred to as CDA. The discussion here revolves around the notable approaches to CDA involving Foucault, van Dijk, Wodak, and Fairclough.

In summary, this study adopts CDA with the understanding that language/discourse is a powerful phenomenon that relies advantageously on social practices to convey and misconvey meaning. This notion relies on the fact that, depending on the situational context, discourse may be constructed with the existence of power and powerlessness. That is, messages may be hidden or obvious when communicating with certain groups of people.

3.3.1 General Approaches to the Study of CDA

Wodak and Meyer (2009: 20) summarise the various approaches to CDA diagrammatically (Fig. 3.1) and how they relate:

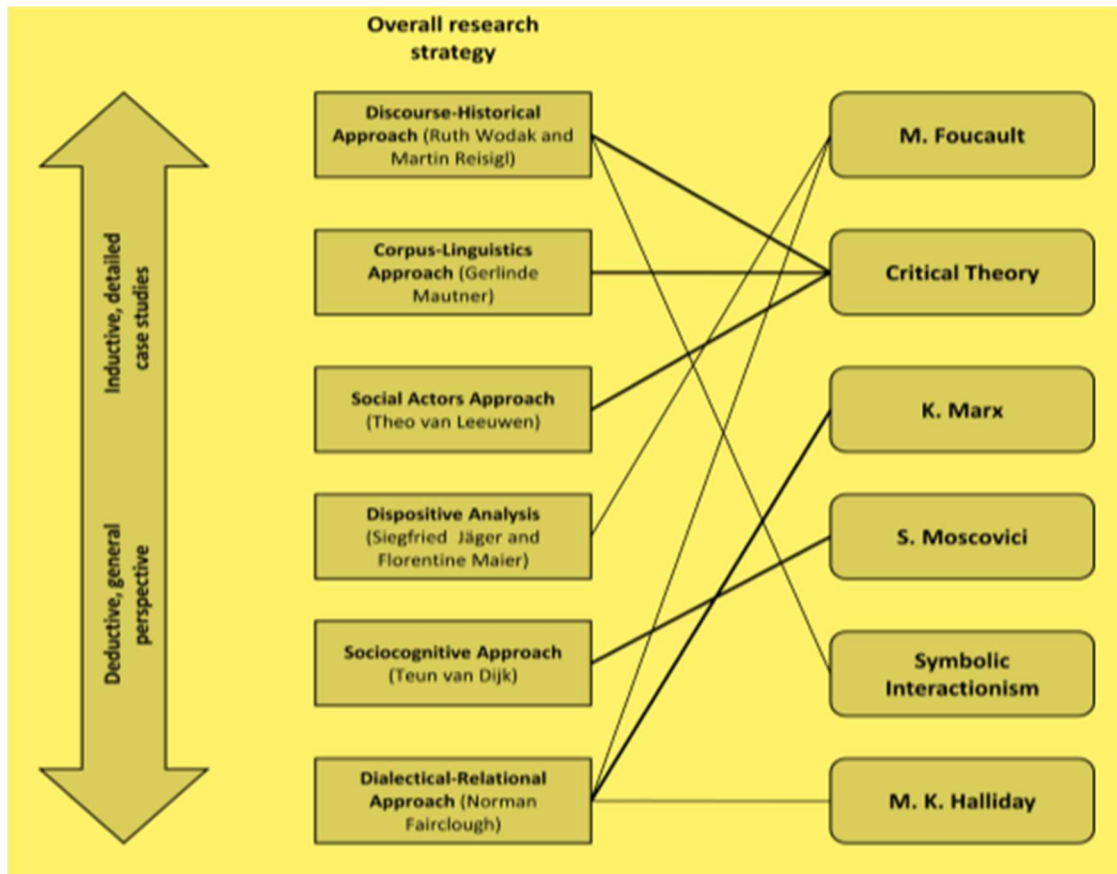


Figure 3.1: Wodak and Meyer's (2009) diagram on the various approaches to CDA.

As noted, I intend to contribute to the important scholarly theoretical positions to the study of CDA, as reflected in the above diagram. In this section, I place essential focus on Foucault (1972); van Dijk (1988a, 1989, 1993a, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001a and 2001b); Wodak (1995, 2003, 2006, 2007); and Fairclough's (1989, 1992, 1993, 1995, 2001, 2003) research, as the current study is guided by their approaches. I discuss Foucault who is, in fact, the founding father of this concept, however, his approach is rejected in this research. Nonetheless, some of his ideas are still relevant, as virtually all other scholars in the field have established their ideas from his.

This research dwells more on the Faircloughian approach but also draws inspiration from Wodak and van Dijk's approaches because of their close relation to the former's approach, particularly in terms of text analysis. This implies that foregoing significant discussion in this section is confined within their approaches. The inter-relatedness in their approaches no doubt gives this research a more dynamic consideration to the analysis of political discourse in Nigeria. All share the same concern in power, ideology, control, and their relationship to discourse.

3.2.1.1 Foucauldian Approach

Michel Foucault was a French philosopher and one of the traditional scholars in the field of CDA. He introduces the idea in his *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972a). In virtually all Foucault's (1972, 1977, 1978) works, he believes that "discourse and language are opaque and not neutral; therefore, the language and discourse that are used to describe social conditions and the natural world, are equally non-transparent" (Els 2014: 14).

It is worth noting that the Foucauldian approach was, mainly from a principle term, to analyse knowledge (Els 2014) and not particularly to analyse text, hence, the Faircloughian approach is preferred, as it focuses on the analysis of texts. The Foucauldian approach was from a post-structuralist angle, supposedly a reaction to structuralism.

The above quote is echoed by Locke (2004: 11):

...the linguistic turn has changed language from being thought of as a medium for expressing meanings that pre-exist linguistic formulation to a system that constitutes meaningfulness in its own terms. Reality as preceding language and shaping it has become

language preceding and shaping reality. Consequently, language has now come to occupy centre stage in scholarly investigation.

Els (2014: 32) also summarises the Foucault study on language and discourse:

as effectively constructing, regulating, and controlling knowledge, social relations and institutions and “such analytic and exegetic practices” [such] as scholarship and research. By this account, nothing is outside of or prior to its manifestation in discourse.

Foucault’s approach is developed from his attempt to study how a society or group of people exercise dominance over another through discourse. In Foucault’s study, his objective was to capture an illustration of discursive events functioning as an avenue to analyse the structure of society. Foucault focuses emphatically on the structural dimension of power and domination. Put differently, Foucault’s notion as expressed by Wodak and Meyer (2009: 10) is that “domination is not only the overt pressure that one-person exercises over others. Manifold forms of domination might be exercised within society simultaneously, by various actors and without individual consciousness.”

Noteworthy that this is perhaps where Foucault (1972) misconceives the idea, despite his attempt to fuse power and discourse together. He saw discourse as an entity of its own, capable of defining society. Fairclough (1992: 38) says that Foucault’s study is “concerned with discursive practices as constitutive of knowledge, and with the conditions of transformation of the knowledge associated with a discursive formation into science.”

Foucault’s intention to study discourse was not from the context of language use, hence, observing discourse as an active representation of

society. Els (2014: 35) thus notes that Foucault attached a different interpretation to 'discourse', which meant that the term was no longer limited to a linguistic concept. Scholars such as Reisigl (2004) lay claim to the fact that Foucault was confusing in his use of the term "discourse." Reisigl identifies 23 different meanings in Foucault's popular lecture held in the Collège de France on 'Orders of discourse'. This, Reisigl refers to as terminological confusion.

Interestingly however, Foucault found no problem in such confusion, he was adamant his inconsistent use of the term was anything but confusing. Hence, Foucault (1972) states that:

Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word 'discourse', I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it as sometimes the general domain of all statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements.

Wodak (2006b: 596-597) is direct in her observation of Foucault's uncertainty around his study on discourse:

...it is important to note what 'discourse' is NOT supposed to mean in Foucault's work – specifically, that it is neither defined thematically nor by a strict system of concepts, and it is not an object but rather a set of relationships existing between discursive events.

Power is not viewed as a structural factor with an integral influence on social realities in Foucault's (1972) study. He observes discourse as a manifestation of society, rather than as defining society. Foucault assumes that discourses are a manifestation of social action determined by social structure. Social structure, in this sense, is concerned with the fixed activities of human beings in a society interacting and living together. Foucault's study is, in fact, very narrow as it neglects the aspect of social

change in discourse, which is where Fairclough triumphed in his *Discourse and Social Change* (1992).

Els (2014: 93) explains the focal distinction between Fairclough's and Foucault's work:

Where Foucault's main objective was 'to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects' (Foucault 1982: 208), Fairclough's interest, and the long-term concern of a great deal of work in critical discourse studies, has been how subjects might be emancipated from those same modalities [cf. McKenna 2004].

As a matter of fact, recent works on CDA have maintained that the study of discourse should not be limited to its impact on the structure of society but on society in general. By society in general, I mean the impact of discourse not just on human communication but also the life of human beings. Hence, it may be necessary to use CDA to study how discourse is creatively employed by politicians to influence the politics, religion, gender, race and economy of the voters and the society they govern.

Contrary to the basic objectives of this research for employing CDA, Jager and Maier (2009:34) summarise that the Foucauldian CDA centres on the following questions:

- What is valid knowledge at a certain place and a certain time?
- How does this knowledge arise and how is it passed on?
- What functions does it have for constituting subjects?
- What consequences does it have for the overall shaping and development of society?

These questions have merely confirmed that Foucault was more interested in knowledge, rather than language use. However, his insistence on power

and language in relation to society, is what other authors have built on. This is evident from the writings of Fairclough, who is regarded as originator of the breakthrough of CDA in his *Language and Power* (1989), produced after Foucault's study. Instances of Foucault's ideas are also visible in Fairclough's book.

3.2.1.2 Van Dijk's Approach

Teun Adrianus van Dijk introduces the socio-cognitive approach to CDA. He prefers to refer to CDA as CDS (Critical Discourse Studies). In this study, however, I align with the CDA option, as it is the most popular referent used by scholars.

Van Dijk (2001a: 352) refers to CDA as:

...a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.

Van Dijk's definition already points to the necessity of his approach in this research. Some keywords are essential namely: social power abuse, text, talk, and political context. To further note, van Dijk values CDA in analysing media texts and headlines in the news (how the press portrays issues), which to him, exhibits aspects of social power. His idea of social power is indeed welcomed in this research, as I analyse political discourse in terms of self-(mis)representation and manipulation.

Van Dijk (2001b) recognises social power as a control that a group asserts on the acts and minds of other groups. He identifies two types of social power namely: (a) coercive (based on the use of force) (b) persuasive power, (based on individual objectives).

Appreciation for CDA is expressed by Van Dijk, describing it as an approach where social, cognitive and discursive approaches are combined. Wodak (2006a: 14) stipulates that the nucleus idea of the socio-cognitive approach is that, “no direct relation can or should be constructed between discourse structures and social structures, i.e. they are always mediated by the interface of personal and social cognition.” This is what Ramnathan and Tan (2015) mean when stating that ideologies influence text or talk and may be expressed explicitly or implicitly in the structure of discourse.

Social cognitions are defined by Van Dijk (1993a: 257) as “socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups and relations, as well as mental operations such as interpretation, thinking and arguing, inferencing and learning.” Van Dijk was interested in using CDA to analyse cognitive psychology in an attempt to uncover how ideological structures are hidden in peoples’ memory (Rahimi and Riasati 2011). Aslani (2016: 242) also anticipates the approach as a “system of mental representations and processes of group members.” Van Dijk wants to determine how ideologies are manifested in different structures.

In Aslani’s words, “...ideologies are the overall, abstract mental systems that organise socially shared attitudes”. As such, ideologies directly or indirectly influence the individual cognition of group members in comprehending discourse among other actions and interactions (Aslani 2016). Such ideological representations are therefore referred to by van Dijk, as “models which guide the actions of people, and their understanding of the social practices of others”.

Furthermore, these models are expressed along the “*us*” versus “*them*” mentality. The mentality would consequently make an individual present oneself or his group in a positive manner and another in the opposite manner (van Dijk 1995: 2-22). Van Dijk’s contributions here are of value to the Nigerian political discourse, hence, his approach, which was ultimately guided by his interest in racism, media and politics, is also a necessity. It is in these regards where discourse participants tend to use language to derive their individual, innermost objective.

Five postulations are proposed by Van Dijk, in ensuring a proper analysis using his approach. All these postulations, as reproduced by Aslani (2016: 242), are indeed critical to the current study:

- i Examining the context of the discourse: historical, political or social background of a conflict and its main participants;
- ii Analysing groups, power relations and conflicts involved;
- iii Identifying positive and negative opinions about “*Us*” versus “*Them*”;
- iv Making explicit the presupposed and the implied; and
- v Examining all formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to (de)emphasise polarised group opinions (van Dijk 1998: 61-63).

To also complement his inclusion here, van Dijk contributes to the idea of self-representation, where an individual emphasises the positive and de-emphasises any negatives about himself. Such an individual would then go further to de-emphasise the positive about another individual or group and emphasise the negative about that individual or group. Van Dijk depicts this as no derogatory remarks should be directed to “*Us*” and no complimentary remarks should be directed to “*Them*” (van Dijk 2000). As highlighted by Ramnathan and Tan (2015:60), this implies that “the term *Us* always refers

to positive sayings and beliefs in a social context, while the term *Them* refers to negativity, condemnation and other negative stances.”

Caution is advised by Van Dijk (1993a: 16), insofar as the study of CDA draws several features from “linguistics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, interpersonal and mass communication studies, cognitive and social psychology, macro- and micro-sociology, ethnography, political science, history, and other disciplines.” Hence, his development of the socio-cognitive approach. As such, van Dijk’s study shares a semblance to Wodak’s research (to be discussed), especially on the notion of interdisciplinarity in CDA.

Els (2014: 14) confirms this when he notes van Dijk also advocates for a multidisciplinary approach to the study of language that will, in turn, envisage discourse being analysed within the socio-cultural context. Els implies that, in a way, van Dijk views CDA as operating within the tenets of ethnographic studies. Van Dijk and Wodak recognise that the aspects of inter-, trans-, and multidisciplinary cannot be divorced from CDA.

The idea of fusing discourse, society and cognition is important (Van Dijk 2001a). Discourse to van Dijk refers to any form of communicative event, cognition refers to mental representations, while society involves the structures of society. In society, the political structure takes a strong hold. Hence, this research adopts van Dijk’s approach in analysing Nigerian political discourse, in an attempt to use CDA to study the ideological dimensions of Nigerian politicians. The approach further enhances this study to analyse how politicians use discursive strategies to analyse persuasive power in Nigerian political discourse.

3.2.1.3 Wodak's Approach

Ruth Wodak proposes the Discourse-Historical approach to the study of CDA. Wodak developed this approach as a reaction to Semitism studies, after the Second World War. Of significance in her approach is its attempts to use diverse background information in analysing any given text. Her approach shares affinity with that of Fairclough and it can, in fact, be argued that she followed Fairclough's steps.

Wodak perceives discourse as:

...a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as 'texts', that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e. genres (Wodak and Reisigl, 1999: 383).

CDA discourse is observed within the historical context of the society and politics by Wodak. Consequently, she proposes the historical-discourse analysis approach as an attempt to promote the role of historical context in discourse. Her argument is that the interpreting process of any form of discourse should involve an understanding based on the historical context. Wodak's study draws some inspiration from sociolinguistics, with some critical areas examined being that of racial discrimination and political discourse. She maintains that power and ideology are critical to the field of CDA.

According to Wodak, power relations, values and norms are integral to the analysis of discourse. As such, Liu and Guo (2016: 1079) opine that discourse may be interpreted differently by participants with different positions and ideologies. Thus, following Wodak's initial conviction that CDA is an interdisciplinary field of study, Liu and Guo (2016: 1079) agree that her work "integrates the existed knowledge of both the historical

context and the social-political backgrounds, with a further exploration of the ways in which diachronic changes happen towards particular genres of discourses.”

Hussein, Jote, and Sajid (2015: 245) are of the opinion that Wodak’s approach “places importance on the contextualising and historicising of texts i.e. her approach systematically synthesises available background information in the analysis and interpretation of a written or spoken text.” The aspect of historicising introduced by Wodak must be commended, as some discourses may be complex to interpret without proper connections to earlier events.

Furthermore, the concept of interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity is strong in Wodak’s study. She maintains that the relevance of a CDA approach to analysis, is to function as “inherently interdisciplinary because it aims at investigating complex social phenomena which are inherently inter- or transdisciplinary and certainly not to be studied by linguistics alone.” Wodak (2007a: 209) argues that the concepts “of critique, power, history, and ideology” should be made present when using CDA as an analytical approach.

Wodak and Reisigl (1999: 186) affirm the unique distinction of Wodak’s approach as “an attempt to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of text.” Moreover, Els (2014: 83) insists that “multifarious approaches and research performed in a multimethodological manner based on an array of empirical data and background information, are distinguishing features of the discourse-historical approach.”

It is Els's (2014: 101) conviction that Wodak's method places significant emphasis on context when analysing discourse. Based on Wodak's idea of analysing discourse through the principle of triangulation – different methods of collecting data, and analysis of different corpora and genres (Jahedi *et al.* 2014) – Els (2014: 101) summarises (to be further illustrated in diagrammatic form) Wodak's approach as cognisant of five points:

- i The immediate, language or text internal co-text of each utterance or clause;
- ii The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;
- iii The extralinguistic, social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation';
- iv The broader socio-political and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to; and
- v The intertextual and interdiscursive relationships of the respective speech event to other relevant events (Wodak 2003: 137).

Here, another aspect has surfaced from Wodak's study, insofar as Wodak values the surrounding situation of every utterance as being intrinsic to the analysis of discourse. Els (2014: 2) specifies that Wodak's discourse-historical approach is plotted to enhance the analysis of "indirect prejudiced utterances, as well as to identify and expose the codes and allusions contained in prejudiced discourse."

This further clarifies Wodak's proposition that every produced discourse has a contextual background and discourse as such cannot be understood without considering such contextual background. Hence, the integration of context to the study of CDA is, in fact, crucial. Similarly, Ahmadvand (2011: 89) posits that the approach requires any historical context of any discourse

to go under investigation and consequently, be incorporated into the analysis of discourse and texts.

In a different study, Ramanathan and Tan (2015: 61) recognise the pivotal strength of Wodak's work "as the relationship between intertextual, interdiscursivity and discourse." For clarity, intertextual deals with how discourses are significantly connected both in past and present (Ramanathan and Tan 2015), while interdiscursivity focuses on how interrelated discourses can create other forms of discourse (Jorgensen and Phillip 2002).

Wodak (2001: 66) also writes:

...on the one hand, the situational, institutional and social settings shape and affect discourses, and on the other, discourses influence discursive as well as non-discursive social and political processes and actions. In other words, discourses as linguistic social practices can be seen as constituting non-discursive and discursive social practices and, at the same time, as being constituted by them.

One aspect of Wodak's work that is of great importance to this work, is her studies on national identities. Hence, this research values her approach. Jahedi *et al.* (2014: 32) note that Wodak focuses on linguistic means involved in the discursive construction of national identity, especially on lexical items and syntactic devices, which "serve to construct unification, unity, sameness, difference, uniqueness, origin, continuity, gradual or abrupt change, autonomy, heteronomy and so on (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, and Liebhart 2009: 35)".

On national identity, Wodak *et al.* recognise the use of the following lexical items:

- Personal reference (anthroponymic generic terms, personal pronouns, quantifiers);
 - Spatial reference (toponyms/ geonyms, adverbs of place, spatial reference through person, by means of prepositional phrases such as 'with us', 'with them');
 - Temporal reference (temporal prepositions, adverbs of time, temporal conjunctions, temporal references by means of nouns, semi-prefixes with temporal meaning)
- (Wodak *et al.* 2009: 35).

Furthermore, Wodak *et al.* (2009: 36) highlight that deixis is an important linguistic device in national identity discourses. Quoting from the Merriam Webster dictionary, Dylgjeri and Kazazi (2013: 87) state that deixis is “the pointing or specifying function of some words (such as articles and pronouns) whose meaning changes from one discourse to another.” This implies that the orientation of a speaker is contextual, as is that of the receiver.

Wodak *et al.* (2009: 35) furthermore, take the impact of rhetorical devices such as euphemisms, allusions, rhetorical questions, and personification into account. Consequently, this aspect of Wodak *et al.*'s study is largely explored in this research, particularly in the analysis section – where Nigerian political discourse is evaluated.

A concentric circular model/framework for interpreting discourse was proposed by Wodak in 1996, where each circle connotes its meaning of interpretation. The framework is reproduced by Hussein *et al.* (2015: 246):

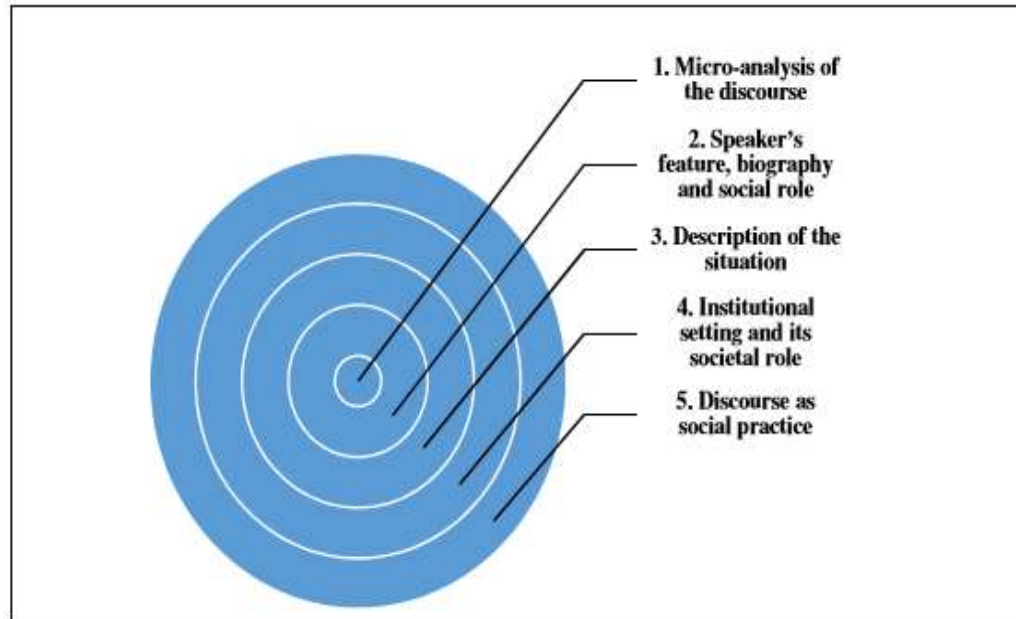


Figure 3.2: Wodak's proposed concentric circular model/framework for interpreting discourse.

Hussain *et al* (2015:246) further simplify this framework as follows:

The smallest circle is the discourse unit itself and the micro-analysis of the text. The next circle consists of the speakers and audience of the interactants with their various personality features, biographies and social roles. The next context level involves the 'objective setting', the location in times and space, the description of the situation. Then, the next circle signifies the institution in which the event takes place. And we could naturally expand to the society in which the institution is integrated, its function in society and its history. The interaction of all these context levels would then lead to an analysis of discourse as social practice.

I consider the diagram user-friendly. The smallest circle refers to the text followed by a circle capturing the discourse participants. The next two levels dwell on the settings of the discourse. In the last level, social practice in this case involves the various situational contexts in our environments that could lead to meaning production such as race and politics.

Thus, I examine how this research unravels Wodak's approach to CDA in analysing Nigerian political discourse in terms of self-(mis)representation and perceived linguistic manipulation.

3.2.1.4 Faircloughian Approach

Norman Fairclough remains the greatest contributor to the field of CDA, mainly through his work, *Language and Power* (1989). Liu and Guo (2016: 1077) acknowledge that what is today referred to as CDA, was derived from Critical Language Study, with its characteristics discussed by Fairclough in the same book. Fairclough creates an integration between language and power in his book, to connote the powerful factor embedded in language and how this factor is used in society.

The predominant goals for Fairclough studying language and power are twofold:

- (1) correcting a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance, and change of social relationships of power (Fairclough 1989: 1);
- (2) increasing consciousness of language and power and how language contributes to the domination of some people by others (Fairclough 1989: 4).

The framework for analysing discourse is conceptualised into three dimensions, represented diagrammatically by Fairclough (1989: 25):

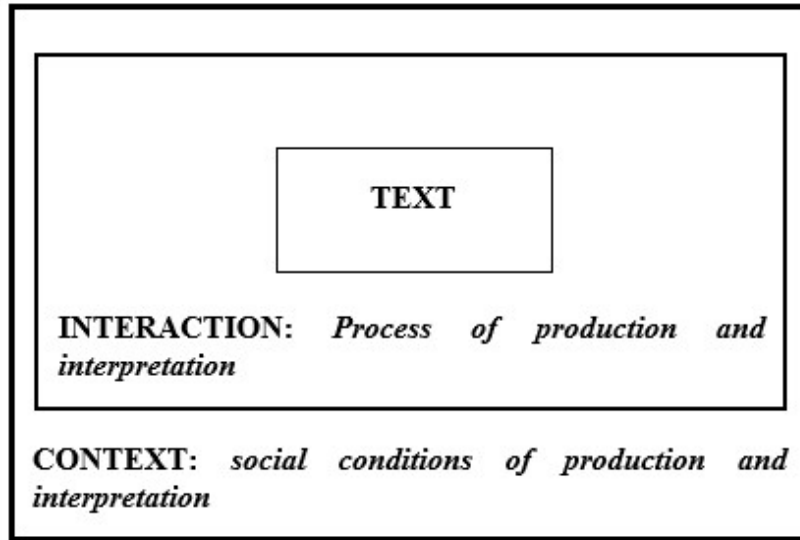


Figure 3.3: Fairclough's first (1989) framework for analysing discourse.

Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional approach (Fig 3.3) distinguishes discourse as text, interaction, and context. Fairclough (1989: 26) explains:

... in seeing language as discourse and as social practice, one is committing oneself not just to analysing texts, nor just to analysing processes of production and interpretation, but to analysing the relationship between texts, processes, and their social conditions, both the immediate conditions of institutional and social structures.

Based on this approach, Fairclough modifies and proposes a new, three-dimensional approach in his *Discourse as Social Change* (1992: 73):

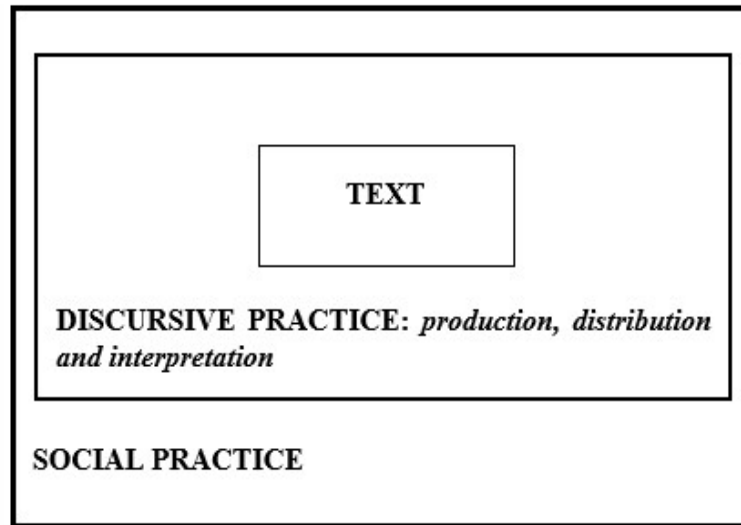


Figure 3.4: Fairclough's revised (1992) framework for analysing discourse.

Because the second version is broader, I am inclined to base my further discussion on it. In their words, Liu and Guo (2016: 1078) express the latter version:

...text is the production of communication process, or discursive practice. The process of the production of text includes the production, distribution and consumption throughout discursive practice, all of which are influenced or determined by social practice. In other words, the relation between social practice and text is mediated by the discursive practice through production, distribution and consumption.

I go by Fairclough's clarification in this research, which involves analysing discourse using three stages, namely description, interpretation and explanation. Fairclough (1989: 26) describes these stages as:

- **Description:** the stage concerned with the formal properties and structure of the text; this is also the text stage. Text may be observed as linguistic features.
- **Interpretation:** here, we are concerned with the connection between text and interaction. Consequently, text is further observed

here as the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation.

- **Explanation:** at this stage, focus is placed on the relationship between interaction and social context.

Often frequent in Fairclough's works, is his insistence on the fact that language use is a social act and as such, it is only a correlative the two be studied simultaneously. Differently put, language use has an effect on society and society is, in turn, shaped by language (Fairclough 1992). To state further, these interrelationships between language and society influence the choice of text employed, during discursive practices in different social contexts. Using the above enumerated stages, I demystify Nigerian language use in Nigerian politics.

Of major importance to this research, is Fairclough's combination of discourse and power, which evolves from his concept where he attempts to reveal ideological and power patterns in discourse. This is with the belief that participants produce and distribute texts depending on different objectives. Rahimi and Riasati (2011: 109) also note that, "there are certain underlying assumptions behind certain selections of discourse". Accordingly, such assumptions are found to not be value-free or innocent; but often ideologically driven and motivated. By using CDA, one can thus discover the social processes and specific ideology embedded in discourses (Rahimi and Riasati 2011). Hence, the investigation of power relations in Nigerian political discourse.

Fairclough clarifies this in two ways: "power in discourse" and "power behind discourse." The former deals with "discourse as a place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted (1989: 43)", while the

latter deals with “the whole social order of discourse put together as a hidden effect of power”. The two varieties are relevant to this research and they both add to a wider concept of “power in discourse”.

The notion of power in discourse is succinctly explained by Fairclough (1989: 46), as having to do with “powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants.” He further notes that this notion can broadly be categorised into three; i.e. power in discourse can be expressed through three broad categories:

- **Contents:** what is said and what is done;
- **Relations:** the social relations people enter to in a discourse; I also refer to this as role relationship in discourse; and
- **Subject:** the subject positions people can occupy; in other words, the status of the discourse participants.

Given the above, it is useful to deconstruct how Nigerian politicians tend to use discourse events in terms of content-, relation- and subject-constraints; where I observe “constraints” as a form of “control” a discourse participant has over another. Generally, my analysis of political discourse revolves around Fairclough’s three-dimensional approach, three stages of analysing discourse, as well as the three types of constraints.

Henderson (2005: 10) maintains that the Faircloughian approach to CDA thus provides opportunities to consider the relationships between discourse and society, between text and context, and between language and power (Fairclough 2001). This study analyses what Fairclough refers to as the “hidden agenda” in discourse, through Nigerian political discourse.

3.4 Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA)

MDA has become a crucial part of research, teaching and practice for a wide range of academic and practical disciplines. A variety of techniques, theoretical frameworks and methodologies have, therefore, evolved for such analysis. Machin (2007) says that MDA is a social semiotic approach to visual communications, which provides a tool kit for the analysis of visual compositions such as advertisements, magazine pages and covers, and photographs. Hence, the method allows us to break down compositions into their basic components and then understand how they work together, in order to create meaning.

While I have mainly employed CDA as the conceptual framework for this study, I have also sought a framework that could significantly compensate the pronounced deficiencies of CDA, in the place of MDA. It is necessary to note that CDA remains the main conceptual framework for this study. However, CDA has been faced with vast criticisms from different scholars. One major criticism being that the approach privileges the linguistic mode of communication over other means, particularly visual means. As such, the approach selects texts for its analysis to suit the main aim of CDA.

Liu (2015: 134) critiques CDA, in that it “constructs a biased interpretation”. He views the “bias of CDA as from researchers’ ideological commitment, which inevitably results in purposeful selection of texts that will support researchers’ preferred interpretations.” CD analysts thus tend to be judgmental in the selection of their materials for analysis, thereby leaving some materials out because they do not support their interpretations.

To avoid such criticism in this research, I have employed MDA, also referred to as multimodality, which focuses on multiple means, rather than

selecting preferred data for this research. This same reason informs Haig's (2016) idea that CDA is often likely to result in over-interpretation of data because results are likely to have been prejudged. Breeze (2011: 520) also admits that CDA is "fundamentally defined by its political aims."

Having recognised a main weakness of CDA as alienating some information, due to ulterior motives, I have employed MDA as a supporting approach because of its capability in recognising multiple means of communication. In other words, specific information of interest is not only analysed because of the complexity involved in the study of political discourse; a group of information is also analysed to investigate the interrelatedness of different modes of communication in Nigerian political discourse.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 183) state that a multimodal discourse takes place when meaning is realised through more than one semiotic code. A multimodal analyst is thus interested in how the products of these various codes are analysed in an integrated way. The analyst is further interested in the interactions between different semiotic systems and how these systems affect one another (Cameron and Panovic 2014).

Li (2016: 934) says that MDA "adopts the view that diverse semiotic modes (e.g. language, images, music, sound, animation, and so on) are combined together to multiply the meaning in multimodal texts or communicative events." Jones (2012) regards MDA as an approach to discourse that focuses on how meaning is made using multiple modes of communication, as opposed to the use of language on its own. Several definitions have emerged from academic scholars' contributions to the field of MDA.

While multimodality in discourse is seen by Van Leeuwen (2005: 28) as the “combination of different semiotic modes such as in a communicative artefact or event,” Liu (2013: 1259) stipulates that it refers to the “diverse ways in which several distinct semiotic resources are co-developed and co-contextualised in the making of a text-specific meaning.” In the same vein, it is O’Halloran, Tan, Smith, and Podlasov’s (2011: 121) opinion that MDA extends the study of language *per se* to the study of language in combination with other resources, such as images, scientific symbolism, gesture, action, music and sound.

From these revealing, scholarly definitions, a common thread emerges; the fact that MDA focuses on meaning making from multifarious means. As such, MDA advocates for multiple means of discourse, such as audio, visual, and written. I have thus sought a supporting theory that dwells on the integration of language, accompanied by other meaningful resources, which could be non-verbal.

MDA recognises that language is not the only source of meaning, verbal signals and visuals are also integral means of communication. As such, the approach focuses on the combination of written/spoken language and visual images.

Machin and Mayr (2012: 6) make a case for the importance of MDA:

...several authors who had been working in linguistics began to realise that meaning is generally communicated not only through language but also through other semiotic modes. A linguist might be able to provide a thorough and revealing analysis of the language used in an advertisement but much of the meaning in this advertisement might be communicated by visual features. The same would apply to a news text that was accompanied by a photograph or a textbook where an exercise was part linguistic and part visual.

In his *Introduction to Multimodal Analysis*, Machin (2007) advocates for the emergence of visual grammar and that multimodal analysis caters for how images and language create meaning. The definition of MDA by Norris (2016: 142) appears to be more comprehensive for this research. While the definitions earlier provided are also relevant, they seem to have all attached little or no importance to either society or discourse participants. This is particularly where Norris has thrived, and so, my preference for his definition.

Norris (2016) writes:

...multimodal discourse analysis champions to investigate language and other modes as part of the individuals in the world and thus, more accurately, as part of the action that the individuals perform with others, the environment, and objects within.

Norris' opinion deviates from others that placed the overall importance of MDA on meaning-making resources only, thereby neglecting society and the roles of language users. As such, I illustrate instances of visual modes of communication in Nigerian political discourse, with close reference to the user and society.

Using MDA in this study is bound to reveal much, as the analyses of the findings are not limited to language only. Being guided by Norris' definition, in this study, I utilise the image, text and context approach to MDA, replicated by Cameron and Panovic (2014: 98). The approach adopts a semiotic concept, often referred to as 'the study of signs'.

The approach accordingly recognises a cordial relationship between text and context. Issues surrounding texts and contexts have, nonetheless, also

emerged in my discussion of CDA. Moreover, it remains to be observed in this research how I demystify Nigerian political discourse, using the two conceptual frameworks mentioned, which I employ in the data analysis chapter.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the conceptual frameworks employed in this study. I have further demonstrated the importance of CDA and MDA in analysing political discourse. It is observable that an approach that works on the hidden message behind text is considered relevant for this study. It is also gleaned from the above review that I applaud Fairclough's approach to CDA, particularly because of his three-dimensional models, which I believe are instrumental and relevant in CDA studies.

In the next chapter, I discuss the research methodology for this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In chapter three, the conceptual framework employed in this research was appraised. In this chapter, I examine the research methodology of the study. The chapter explains aspects, such as research design and methods, target population and sampling, data collection instrument, limitation of study and the method of analysis. The study is executed within the variables of qualitative research, enabled by employing CDA and MDA, as exemplified (Ch. 3).

4.2 Research Design and Method

Research design is integral to an academic research work. It forms a solid background that subsequently regulates and guides the research procedure up to the stage of analysis. According to Kristonis (2009), a research design is a general strategy for conducting a research study, the steps that will be taken and the order in which the research will take place. For Kerlinger (1986: 279), research design is the plan and structure of the investigation, so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions. He further notes that it is the overall scheme or programme of the research, which includes an outline of what the investigator will do, from formulating hypotheses and their operational implications, to the final analysis of data.

In another contribution, it is argued that research design expresses both the structure of the research problem – the framework, organisation, or configuration of the relationships among variables of a study – and the plan of investigation used to obtain empirical evidence on those relationships. A point strengthened by Robscon (1993: 38), as having to do with the

research strategy or strategies and the method or techniques employed to appropriate the research questions to be answered. For Sellitz Johada Deutsch and Cook (1965: 50), clarification is also important – “it is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure.” As such, they consider research design a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research.

Babbie and Mouton (2001: 74) concur, indicating the aim of a research design is to plan and structure a given research project, in such a manner that the eventual validity of the research findings is maximised. Therefore, to achieve a great research result, the design of the research strategy is important.

In carrying out this research, I have employed a descriptive research design, where I have adopted a case study approach. In this study, Nigerian politically-motivated discourses are the case. Basically, the descriptive study is concerned with finding out who, what, where, when, or how much. This design allows for the descriptions of issues associated with a research population. Van Wyk (2017) argues that the main aim of descriptive research is to provide an accurate and valid representation of (encapsulate) the factors or variables relevant to the research question.

In addition, Lambert and Lambert (2012) perceive the goal of qualitative descriptive studies as a comprehensive summarisation, in everyday terms, of specific events experienced by individuals or groups of individuals. They further observe it as a very useful approach when researchers want to know, regarding events, who were involved, what was involved, and where

did things take place. It is within these contexts that the descriptive design becomes useful in investigating manipulation and misrepresentation in Nigerian political discourse.

Case study design is described as an investigation and analysis of a single or collective case, intended to capture the complexity of the object of study by Hyett, Kenny and Dickson-Swift (2014: 2). They further note that, in qualitative case study research, naturalistic, holistic, and ethnographic, as well as phenomenological and biographic research methods are drawn together, thus, resulting in deep connections to the core values and intentions of the case. As such, Crowel *et al.* (2011: 4) maintain a case study can be used to explain, describe or explore events or phenomena, in the everyday contexts in which they occur.

In another definition, Stake (1995) sees case study design as focusing on what is studied (the case) rather than how it is studied (the method). For Flyvbjerg (2011: 103), case study design captures the key requisites in the context of research, hence, seeing it as “an intensive analysis of an individual unit (as a person or community) stressing developmental factors in relation to environment.” In this regard, political discursive events are considered as frequent occurrences during electioneering and as such, worthy of contextual explanation, description and exploration. Having reviewed Nigerian political discourse in chapter two, the succeeding chapter offers a detailed discussion of political discourse, within the context of this research.

The analysis shows specifically how the use of language in politics may be manipulative in controlling voters’ thoughts, beliefs and perceptions, in order to dominate them. Using a qualitative case-study approach, the

context of the selected data was equally prioritised in order to actualise the rudiments of a qualitative method. Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 95) indicate that qualitative researchers seek a better understanding of complex situations. Thus, qualitative researchers pursue explanations and predictions that will generalise to other persons and places, with the intention of establishing, confirming, validating and developing generalisations that contribute to existing theories.

This research is qualitative in nature. When the objective is to understand, explore or to describe people's behaviour; theme in behaviours, attitude, or trends; or relations between people's actions, qualitative methods such as participant observation, in-depth interviews or textual analysis are used (Yilmaz 2013). According to Creswell (1998: 15), qualitative research is an "inquiry that is grounded in the assumption that individuals construct social reality in the form of meanings and interpretations, and that these constructions tend to be transitory and situational."

Qualitative research investigates situations that are naturalistic in attempting critical comprehension of a certain natural setting or context (Keith 2014). To Keith, qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected interpretive practices, hoping always to gain a better understanding of the subject matter at hand. As such, direct or first-hand experiences of human beings, as a phenomenon for meaning-making, are prioritised. The qualitative research process is more holistic in its interpretations of specific subjects.

Qualitative studies deal with naturalistic approaches to understand phenomena in context-specific settings (Patton 2002). Creswell (2007: 249) defines qualitative research as an inquiry process of understanding,

centred on a distinct methodological tradition of inquiry that delves into a social or human problem, based on constructing a holistic and complex picture, formed with words, reporting informants' detailed views, and conducted in a natural setting. According to Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 94), qualitative research is used to answer questions about the complex nature of phenomena, more often with the purpose of describing and understanding the phenomena from the participant's point of view.

The benefits and characteristics of the qualitative approach are best discussed by Burns and Grove (2001: 335):

- It uses an inductive form of reasoning; develops concepts, insights and understanding from patterns in the data;
- Uses an emic perspective of inquiry, in other words, derives meaning from the participants' perspective;
- Is idiographic: i.e. aims to understand the meaning that people attach to everyday life;
- Captures and discovers meaning once the researcher becomes immersed in the data;
- Concepts are in the form of themes, motifs and categories;
- Seeks to understand phenomena;
- Observations are determined by information richness of settings, and types of observations used are modified to enrich understanding;
- Data are presented in the form of words, quotes from documents and transcripts;
- Data are analysed by extracting themes;
- The unit of analysis is holistic, concentrating on the relationship between elements, concepts, and so on;

- Qualitative researchers tend to use words as the basis for analysing, rather than numerical data.

These characteristics and benefits are exhibited in the analytical chapter of this research. Themes were developed, words and pictures analysed, and a contextual analysis of data was carried out, among others.

In this research, the case study design, a qualitative approach is employed due to its flexibility (Hyett, Kenny and Dickson-Swift 2014), which means I was able to focus primarily on the aspect of linguistic self-(mis)representation and manipulation in Nigerian politically-motivated discourse.

In a qualitative research you have to define the problem; a researcher must take note of contextual factors of the research participants. This accounts for why this approach is often employed in the humanities. This is verifiable by Rallis and Rossman (2003: 7), who contest that qualitative researchers' respect for context draws them to look at social worlds holistically, as interpretative, complex systems. Hence, time to tie reference to context, as I analyse the data in the coming chapter.

In this study, I adopt a (con)textual and visual analysis stance. A comprehensive explanation of how these standpoints were employed is done under the *method of analysis* section (4.6) in this chapter.

4.3 Target Population and Sampling

A population has to do with the elements to which the results or the outcomes of the investigation are generalisable. Eldredge, Edward and Kroth (2014: 5) note on the one hand that “a population refers to the limits

within which the research findings are applicable”. On the other hand, Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005:46) define population as the study object, which may be made up of individuals, groups, organisation, human products and events.

Creswell (2007) defines the target population as the group of individuals or participants with the specific attributes of interest and relevance. The target population for a survey is the entire set of units for which the survey data are to be used to make inferences. The Nigerian populace makes up the target population for this study – precisely, the Nigerian political setting.

It is necessary to note that it is impossible and impracticable to study the entire population for the purpose of investigation. As such, a sample needs to be selected, which is a smaller group of elements drawn through a definite procedure, from a specified population, for inclusion in a study, from which the researcher hopes to gain generalisable knowledge about the entire population (Altinay and Paraskevas 2008).

Sampling is defined by Merriam (2009) as the act, process, or technique of selecting a representative part of a population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population. For Gentles, Charles, Ploeg, and McKibbon (2015: 1775), sampling is the selection of specific data sources from which data are collected to address the research objectives. We also identified variations in the concept of sampling across the three traditions reviewed.

I employed a purposive sampling, which is a non-probability sampling technique where the researcher selects units to be sampled, based on their knowledge and professional judgment (Altinay and Paraskevas 2008). The

advantage of purposive sampling is that one can ensure each element of the sample assists with the research, because each element fits with the population parameters of the study. Thus, the investigator is able to select information that meets a specific purpose.

In generating the sample data for this study, two political parties have been essentially strong, out of 28 registered Nigerian political parties, as at the time of this research. I concentrate on these two parties; i.e. the APC and the PDP. In addition, I focus mainly on *The Punch*, *Sunday Tribune* and *Daily Times newspapers*; and *The News* and *Tell magazines*. This can be attributed to these newspapers and magazines being widely read across Nigeria, coupled with the fact that they are produced in the English language. As such, they are often used for dissemination of political information during electioneering. Hence, diverse data from different areas of the country form part of this research.

As a researcher, I became fully aware of politics about ten years ago. As such, newspapers and magazines from 2010 would form the time-period for this research. During that timeframe, Nigeria conducted two nationwide elections and it is logical that the data collected between these periods sufficed and provided adequate information. Forty examples were analysed, divided equally amongst the political parties under study. From each party, the researcher analysed three political speeches gathered from newspapers, magazines and the internet; 15 posters or pamphlets from newspapers, magazines and internet sources; and two political billboards.

4.4 Research Instruments and Collection Procedure

Using documentary and archival sources as instruments under the auspices of qualitative research, data on political discourse were gathered

from newspapers, magazines and the internet, comprised of posters, pamphlets and billboards, used during electioneering. The researcher consulted a variety of Nigerian newspapers, magazines, billboards and posters, in an attempt to obtain adequate information for this study.

Documentary sources play an important role in research. Simply put, documentary sources mean any form of written, printed, or electronic material that provides information. Mogalakwe (2006: 221) argues that documentary sources are produced with a purpose and presented in a certain way or style and to this extent, the researcher must be fully aware of the origins, purpose and the original audience of the documents.

Within Mogalakwe's position, political discourses are produced with a purpose and presented in a way that can possibly manipulate the electorate. Hence, the necessity to study political discourse using the prism of misrepresentation and manipulation. Flick offers another dimension – he notes to the importance of seeing documentary sources as a means of communication, thus making it important to study who has produced the document, for which purpose, and for whom? Also relevant is what the personal intentions of producing such a document were.

Information collected were discourses produced in the English language, which is the *lingua franca* of Nigeria, as many of the speakers of around 250 ethnic groups speak it as a unifying language. This research work analyses documentary evidence in the form of political discourse, with the aim of clarifying misrepresentation and manipulation in Nigerian political discourse.

4.5 Limitations

As with many other studies, this study has limitations. First, the nature of qualitative research forbids a huge level of generalisability. The researcher also did not employ a quantitative method; as statistical information may have contributed to the study. Thus, the researcher is not able to consult every possible data produced in the Nigerian political setting. Nonetheless, scholars such as Fairclough (1992) and Wodak (2001) testify that analysing with a small size of data is realistic for CDA researchers, in order to conduct a close and careful examination of language.

In addition, the research focused mainly on two political parties, as the inclusion of other parties was not necessary, with the two chosen parties providing enough data for a study of this nature. Moreover, the study only considered political discourse exhibited at national or federal level. Nonetheless, the detailed nature of CDA still assisted in generating meaningful and useful interpretations and explanations (Fairclough 2001; Halliday 1985).

In spite of its limitations, this study gathered and analysed sufficient data to realise the aims of this research.

4.6 Method of Analysis

Kristonis (2009) notes that data analysis is based on interpreting the observations, conversation with participants, documents, tape recordings and interviews collected, to provide a description and explanation of the participant experience. This research employed mainly data from posters, pamphlets, and speeches gathered from newspapers and magazines, in relation to their roles in political discourse.

Data were collected, analysed and categorised, using CDA and MDA to determine how and why such items are used, and whether they are used to (mis)represent and manipulate the Nigerian electorate. It should be reiterated that CDA remains the main framework for the purpose of analysis in this research, while MDA serves as a support.

Several discursive strategies can combine in contributing to the concepts of self-(mis)representation and perceived linguistic manipulation, as discussed in Chapter two. Hence, my intention to analyse the concepts both at textual and visual levels. The analyses were done and categorised into two perspectives, namely (con)textual and visual analysis, as simplified below.

The first perspective ensured data were not only analysed from the linguistic or textual level but also includes the importance of social phenomenon to the data. The contextualisation is enhanced by consistent references to Nigerian society. The visual analysis, on the other hand, captured the analysis of all elements of visual images or symbols employed in the collected data. These perspectives do not only examine how texts operate but also the manner in which they are constructed, as well as how meanings are produced.

CDA, as discussed in chapter three, implies a theory that seeks to critically interpret how different discourse strategies are employed by different participants, to achieve discursive goals. In other words, a communicator has an intention of communicating. To fulfil that intention, there may be some necessary strategies in place. In fact, these occurrences take place in human daily activities.

However, since it is impossible to research all forms of discursive strategies employed in human daily activities, I have limited my research to discursive strategies employed during political discourse. Having discussed the concept of CDA earlier, I have no doubt that the core nature of CDA – being to find out hidden meaning in discourse – will thrive in this research, particularly at the point of analysis. As such, I look beyond the surface structure in analysing political discourse, having recognised that prospective voters are often only interested in the surface meaning.

My reference to discourse captures both written and visual texts. For analytical purposes, I focus on three stages, namely; description, interpretation and explanation of the discourse, respectively. The first stage describes the discourse as comprehensively as possible, in relation to the analytical focus. This stage helps to ground interpretation of how the text might lead to different discourses, for different readers, in different situations of language use (Hussein *et al.* 2015: 243).

The second stage conjectures the cognition of readers/listeners, in terms of how they might mentally interact with the text. It further seeks to show how wider social and cultural contexts, and power relations within them, might shape the interpretation of a text (Hussein *et al.* 2015: 243).

The last stage critically explains connections between texts and discourse circulating in the wider social and cultural context, the 'socio-cultural practice' (Hussein *et al.* 2015: 243).

In analysing my collected materials with CDA, I rely more on the eight foundational principles of CDA proposed by Fairclough and Wodak (1997:

271-280) by creating a connection between the principles and my expected contributions:

- **CDA addresses social problems:** CDA addresses “linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 271). In this research, I have recognised political discourse as the research problem. As such, I am interested in appraising how CDA can address political discourse as a social problem in Nigeria.
- **Power relations are discursive:** Power relations in my study deal with how an individual/group maintains certain authority over another, with the aid of discourse. In this case, I would like to observe power relations in Nigerian political discourse. Fairclough and Wodak (*Ibid:* 272) note that CDA attracts interests to “the substantively linguistic and discursive nature of social relations of power in contemporary societies.”
- **Discourse constitutes society, culture, and vice versa:** Discourse is connected to society. In other words, the type of society one is part of and vice versa, influences a language choice. This is perhaps evident in Nigerian politics and politicians are likely to use life experiences of Nigerians during campaigns that may not necessarily apply in another country. Fairclough and Wodak (*Ibid:* 272) state that discourse shapes society and culture, as well as being shaped by them.
- **Discourse does ideological work:** There are often several ideologies behind discourse. As such, no discourse may be perceived as totally objective, as discourse participants often have reasons for communicating. As such, I am interested in exploring how Nigerian politicians, through political discourse, tend to represent themselves and construct society.
- **Discourse is historical:** Discourse is often related to antecedent, concurrent and future discourses. Fairclough and Wodak (*Ibid:* 276)

clarify this - “discourse is not produced without context and cannot be understood without taking the context into consideration.” It is thus interesting to inspect how current discursive situations in Nigerian political discourse are linked with earlier and possible future situations.

- **Relationship between text and society are mediated:** Fairclough and Wodak (*Ibid: 277*) affirm that CDA is concerned with “making connections between social and cultural structures and processes on the one hand, and properties of text on the other.” Fairclough (1993) points to the fact that the link between text and society, which is propagated in this principle, is best understood through Foucault’s notion in *Orders of Discourse*.
- Foucault’s understanding of “orders of discourse” is that during the production of discourse in each society, the discourse is “at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality.” This is where the media comes into play. Hence, my effort to also study political discourse in the form of speeches or adverts, as ‘proclaimed’ by the media, in newspapers and magazines.
- **Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory:** CDA moves beyond surface analysis of texts. Fairclough and Wodak (*Ibid: 278-279*) advise that CDA tends to interpret the same discourse in different ways, depending on the audience and context, when analysing a text. This, Jahedi *et al.* (2014) say, is why the analyst needs to do critical readings of the text differently from uncritical reading by an uncritical audience. In this regard, the nucleus of the Nigerian political discourse is prioritised, in order to achieve the interpretive and explanatory objective of CDA in the collected data.

- **Discourse is a form of social action:** CDA intends to change the wrong things in our society, by uncovering opaqueness and relations of power in discourse. In the case of political discourse, it may be important to probe how findings of this research could assist, in suggesting corrections to some of the wrongs perpetuated through political discourse in Nigeria.

Jahedi *et al.* (2014: 29) summarise these principles – the essential objective of CDA emanates from the relationships between discourse and power relations in society. CDA thus “describes and explains how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions” (van Dijk 1996: 84). In a similar vein, it aims to analyse “unequal relations of power” and “to reveal the role of discourse in reproducing or challenging socio-political dominance” (Garret and Bell 1998: 6).

The foregoing research also tends to analyse visual information emanating from the Nigerian political settings, in the form of pictures, images, symbols, and so on. In the process, I actualise how different modes of communication are employed for self-(mis)representation and perceived manipulation by Nigerian politicians. Ultimately, the use of appealing symbols and images, used to attract and persuade the audience in Nigerian political situations, are deconstructed within the tenets of this work.

To widen the horizon of this research, I have further employed an approach that can integrate written/spoken texts and visuals for analysing discourse, which is MDA (Ch. 3). I view MDA as an approach that has veered away from the traditional approach to discourse analysis, which focused more on text and linguistic elements. I can therefore define MDA as a

multidimensional approach to analysing discourse, by combining texts (written or spoken) with visual materials. Put differently, the approach can guide this research in analysing political discourse not only in speeches but also in visuals, most importantly, not in isolation. In doing this, I use a semiological approach: image, text and context, as discussed by Cameron and Panovic (2014).

In this approach, the meaning of signs is treated more as potential, rather than as fixed, the meaning of the sign is realised in context, through combinations with other signs. This approach is observed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) as a grammar approach to visual communication by image designers. They further note it is the analysis of rules of principles that allows viewers to understand the meaning potential of the relative placement of elements, frame salience, colour saturations, and so on.

As such, Kress and van Leeuwen reject the hitherto position of communicating by a single mode and thus favour communicating simultaneously, through a number of modes; multimodally, by combinations of the visual, sound, language and so on. Importantly, there has been a shift from this monomodal approach, to a multimodal approach, which is now particularly influential in language-based disciplines.

It is within the above tenets that I analyse my collected data, ranging from texts and images, to symbols, and so on. Not only would I analyse them as discursive events, I am also interested in observing instances of power play in the collected data. Practical ways for this analysis are found in Chapter four.

4.7 Conclusion

This methodology chapter has discussed the research design and research methods for this study. It goes on further to discuss sampling, target population and data collection procedures. The limitations of the study, as well as the method of data analysis, were also presented. However, issues such as validity, reliability, pilot study and ethical issues were left uncovered, as the nature of this research does not accommodate sufficient discussion on those aspects. This can be explained by the fact that the research draws its strengths from documentary sources, and data already in circulation. The next chapter presents the actual (con)textual and visual analyses of the data collected for this research.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSING VISUAL MATERIALS

5.1 Introduction

Having reviewed scholarly works on the key concepts of this study, as well as having discussed the research methodology employed, I now analyse the visual materials obtained from Nigerian political scenarios. A quick reminder that this study employs both CDA and MDA to analyse the data collected for this research. The analysis is done bearing in mind that these approaches can combine in contributing to the analysis of self-(mis)representation and perceived linguistic manipulation in Nigerian political discourse.

By political discourse in this research as discussed in Chapter two, I mean instances of language use emanating from political sentiments, settings, or environments such as campaigns, speeches, debates, and symbolic instances. I have analysed the visual materials as collected across Nigeria. Often, politicians tend to use different means to woo prospective voters with creative use of language. Given that this is a recurrent issue in the political domain, it is thus worthy of an academic research.

Simply put, I analyse how discourse is used in Nigerian politics; power relations as exemplified through electioneering discourse; in which context certain discourses are employed as well as the possible effects of such discourse on prospective voters. The interpretation of these premises in this chapter would be done using mainly MDA and supported from time to time by CDA.

For analytical purposes, I dwell on three stages namely; description, interpretation and explanation of the discourse respectively. The first stage describes the text as comprehensively as possible in relation to the analytical focus. This stage helps to ground interpretation of how the text might lead to different discourses for different readers in different situations of language use (Hussein *et al.* 2015:243). The second stage conjectures the cognition of readers or listeners in terms of how they might mentally interact with the text. It further seeks to show how wider social and cultural contexts and power relations within them might shape the interpretation of a text (Hussein *et al.* 2015:243). The last stage critically explains connections between texts and discourse circulating in the wider social and cultural context, the 'socio-cultural practice' (Hussein *et al.* 2015:243).

Below, I discuss some of the key points that formed part of my analysis:

Ideology

Ideology is a powerful concept in CDA. In fact, all discourses have ideological undertone. As such, language users tend to use language to suit their objectives. This argument is acknowledged by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) that discourse is constructed in order to accomplish needs and perspectives. Having observed the objective of ideology above, I perceive ideology in this research basically as a means of representing an entity in a systematic way as opposed to another in order to achieve the aim of the discourse. In other words, politicians may tend to use language in terms of what they want people to believe as reality when it may not necessarily be the reality. It is within this context that Hodge and Kress (1993) consider ideology as involving a systematically organised presentation of reality.

In this research, I align my understanding of ideology with that of van Dijk (2004) and Wodak (1995). Thus, I view the term solely from the perspective of (mis)representation of self. Self in this regard referring to Nigerian politicians. Put differently, I discuss how realities are represented in Nigerian politics particularly in terms of political (mis)representations. This makes a case for some idea of impersonation in terms of representation where people can use language to paint a picture. In analysing (mis)representation in this research, I conceptualise my analysis within van Dijk's (2000, 2004) "ideological square"; involving "us" versus "them" – often referred to as "othering".

Power and Control

I align the concept of power and control to manipulation from a linguistic perspective. Van Dijk (2006b: 372) claims that CDA takes an interest in the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power. I should note that my continuous reference to manipulation in this study is purely from a linguistic sense. In Xin's (2003: 4) study, he investigates the relationship between power and discourse. Most important to him is how discourse manifests power which is the ability to manipulate and control others. Such manipulation and control (power relations), he says, can be realised by language.

Under manipulation, I examine how power relations are created via discourse in Nigerian political settings with the intention of influencing prospective voters. Els (2014: 9) states that language enables power relations in society and that power presides within language. This perhaps provides the reason for Fairclough's *Language and Power* (1989). Thurlow (2010: 4) observes discourse or language as "powerful and power filled resources." Wodak and Busch (2004: 109) cover the overt and covert of

the idea of power when they state that language indexes and expresses power. In other words, language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, and alter distributions of power. As such, it is important to investigate how Nigerian politicians control the information they relay to the audience.

In essence, I support Mahboob and Paltridge's (2013) position that it is pivotal to study the use of power and analyse the means by which power is exercised by the domination group upon the oppressed. In my case, I am interested in how power is exercised by Nigerian politicians over prospective voters through the use of discourse.

Discourse: Text (written, spoken and visuals)

The focus on discourse in this research may need a bit of amplification. By discourse or text (broad term for discursive modes) in this research, I mean written, spoken and visual forms of communication. In other words, discourse is any form of meaning-making event. Thus, I associate with Halliday's (1978: 137) definition of text as including everything that is meaningful in a particular situation. As such, my analysis of texts involves written, spoken and visual forms of communication. De Beaugrande (2004), similar to Halliday and Fairclough, defines text as a communicative event, intended and accepted as a contribution to a discourse. This further confirms every instance that contributes to meaning production, is regarded as text.

This chapter analyses the use of discursive strategies for political purposes in different contexts and, how texts are perceived in relation to their social practice. The essence of social practice here, is to understand the situation surrounding the discourse. Such situations would not only account for what

the discourse is about or when it is made, but also who made the discourse, as well as to whom the discourse is directed. In a nutshell, my analysis of politically-motivated discourse, treats text produced in political settings as an object of interpretation, in close relation to the socio-cultural factors motivating such discourse.

I now proceed to the analysis of collected data comprising posters and billboards. In the first chapter of this thesis, I provided an insight into the two political parties under study. It may be necessary to note again that these two parties have been the only parties to ever produce a President in Nigeria, since the return of democracy in 1999. The analysis has been thematically grouped under different headings, while focusing on each political party, as discussed earlier – APC and PDP.

5.2 All Progressives Congress (APC)

The analyses below are done in relation to the visual electioneering materials used by the APC, while preparing for the 2015 general elections in Nigeria.

5.2.1 Symbolising the Redemption of Service Delivery



Figure 5.1, 5.2, 5.3: Presenting the symbolism of the redemption of service delivery.

One of the perceived, foremost criticisms of President Goodluck Jonathan's (former President of Nigeria from the PDP) administration was the non-delivery of relevant services. As such, a large percentage of the APC electioneering materials, for example electricity, dwell on the redemption of the delivery of essential services that was almost non-existent during the regime of President Goodluck Jonathan. This is evident from the group of materials above, meant to depict the readiness of the APC to rehabilitate the dilapidated conditions of the country.

In one of the messages (Fig. 5.2) – “GENERATE, TRANSMIT AND DISTRIBUTE” – it is implied that the APC intends to initiate the process of ensuring stable electricity, which was not present in previous administrations. As such, they now aspire to focus on transmitting and distributing energy effectively to the Nigerian population. For the researcher, this creates an impression that their administration will attempt

to make life comfortable for Nigerians. This is indeed a welcome campaign strategy for the Nigerian populace, especially as the message promises to revive the decayed condition of electricity in the country. The deteriorating nature of electricity in Nigeria has been a menace for decades.

Paul, Albert and Adeiza (2015: 180) also note that “the greatest engineering challenge in Nigeria today is the issue of the provision of steady, adequate, affordable and efficient electricity supply”. It is thus anticipated that politicians capitalise on such societal issues in their political communications.

In this regard, the statement “ELECTRICITY ON A 24/7 BASIS” (Fig 5.2) aptly captures the impending situation of Nigeria. This may in fact be considered an act of puffery, in line with the context of CDA, as the situation has permeated Nigerian society for a long time and hence, may not be resolved automatically. The parlance 24/7 implies the occurrence of electricity in Nigeria 24 hours a day and 7 days a week. As such, not only would citizens now begin to enjoy steady electricity but a 24/7 supply, which implies the country will not be without power for even a minute.

As Davletbaeva *et al.* (2016: 243) put it, political statements are filled with messages that could cause the masses to make assumptions and derive deductions from electioneering materials, regardless of whether the entire sentence is true. This is of course relevant in the topical discussion. Additionally, the use of “24/7” was originally meant to represent days of the week but it has been recontextualised and recycled in this case, to mean “constant”.

It is important to note that Nigerian politicians are aware of their environment and as such, use lexical choices that electorates could relate to. Recontextualisation often implies change of meaning from one context to another. Hence, Bakhtin (1986) notes that recontextualisation occurs when texts or signs are extracted from one context to fit in another context, for effective communicative purposes, in what he refers to as *intertextuality*. Bakhtin is of the view there is no 'original' text and by implication, every text depends on the existence of other text – one is able to identify elements of a previous text in a new text. Roberts (2017: 62) admits that Bakhtin's notion of *intertextuality* is centred on meaning-making, suggesting that the knowledge of previous texts contributes to overall meaning construction.

One also finds a strong pragmatic meaning in "RESTORATION 2015" (Fig. 5.1). As the election was meant to take place in 2015, the APC used the term to preach reconstruction of Nigeria from a seemingly impending condition. The APC thus portrays itself as a party that is ready to salvage the situation of the country by restoring past glories. The term "restore" bears the power to place a sense of rehabilitation in the electorates. Consequently, they are bound to create hopes in the party because of the expectations of restoration. This is an instance of image-marketing, as discussed by Cabrejas-Peñuelas (2015), with the party involved in attempts to sell their image to the audience in a positive light.

In Figure 5.3, the message "FOR ELECTRICITY, AFFORDABLE Kerosine AND SECURITY" addresses the most important needs of Nigerians. As with the earlier analysis, this statement also plays on the situation of service delivery in Nigeria. Just as electricity or the lack thereof has become a pandemic in Nigeria, the same can be said concerning security and kerosene. While security issues may be well aligned to the

recent developments of Boko Haram in the country, the exorbitant price of fuel is also considered a national issue.

The APC has succeeded in identifying certain lexical items and phrases they assume will be highly instrumental in their campaigns towards Nigerians' living standard. The phrase "AFFORDABLE KEROSINE" (Fig. 5.3) confirms they are trying to target poor Nigerians, who perhaps consider kerosene unaffordable. This is conspicuous, as such a word as "affordable" is not used for electricity. The choice of words in the materials above speak to issues affecting the state of living of Nigerians. This idea is supported by Tepavčević (2014: 94), who is of the view that the language of politics is marked by the use of specific lexical items, phrases and hidden linguistic messages, purposely selected, with a particular aim pursued by a politician.

Interestingly, the above electioneering materials show the party has totally avoided the use of personal pronouns such as "I" or "we". In my understanding, this may be considered an attempt to absolve themselves from committing to the promises. Instead, they make strong statements that hold no particular person responsible. This is perhaps what Michira (2014) refers to, when he argues that politicians make different statements, with no real intent, as they sometimes believe they can gather an audience based merely on linguistic prowess and finesse.

Symbols also convey meaning. In the context of MDA, President Buhari appeared in the electioneering material on two occasions, in native attire of the Yoruba society, from the western part of Nigeria. This may have represented his departure from the military man he was known to be when he first ruled Nigeria as a Major General of the Army, under the military regime from 1983-1985. His manner of dress may be a method of

convincing the masses that he is now a proper civilian man, like the majority of Nigerians, as he is now retired from the army.

On the other hand, vice-president Osinbajo appeared in a suit –English formal attire. This may also create a representation of an academic, as he is a Professor of Law. The same dress sense continues to appear often in the upcoming data. Ademilokun and Taiwo (2013) mention that print media campaigns are products of careful thought, as they are often based on historical and social issues that will persuasively convey their messages.

Further to that, President Buhari's running mate appears first in one of the posters. That may be considered a method of saying that President Buhari sees not himself as the sole participant during the elections. In other words, he respects and values his running mate. It is, however, contradictory when one looks at the order of names in the same material. While President Buhari comes second in terms of the images, his name comes first in the same material. In other material, there is an image of governor Adams Oshiomole, who is widely believed by many to be a human rights activist, due to his role in fighting for justice when he was the leader of the National Labour Congress (NLC) in Nigeria.

In a sense, the billboard is by courtesy of Adams Oshiomole, insofar as people consider him an activist, by implication, he thus believes President Buhari and Vice-President Osinbajo will serve Nigerians with integrity. The additional importance in these materials is the use of capitalisation and bold font sizes. Distinctly, the use of upper case and bold fonts are meant to grab the attention of the audience. This resonates with Lazović's (2014) study that orthographic features, such as capitalisation and bold print, are employed to emphasise a point.

One wonders why there are no other issues of service deliveries present in these materials, such as roads, water, and garbage removal. The researcher presupposes this may largely be a result of Nigeria's extremely bad service delivery and politicians need to sample which are of utmost priority to Nigerians. It was in this regard the APC advocated for "change" in virtually all Nigerian sectors, as noted in the data below:



Figure 5.4, 5.5, 5.6, 5.7: Presenting the APC's call for change.

It can arguably be said that the term "CHANGE" was the trademark used by the APC to advance their campaign, as shown in the above selected materials. The lexical item "CHANGE" can refer to many things. It serves

as the action word for the APC. Nadeem *et al.* (2014: 5) note such verbs deliver epistemic and deontic meanings in manifestos, as they represent the moods and attitude of the speakers.

The paramount objective by the party in employing this term, was that much was believed to be wrong with the system of the then administration, thus concluding a need for change, as used in the materials above. This is further pronounced with the images of Nigerians carrying President Buhari's election material, with the intention that they also appreciate "CHANGE".

According to the Merriam Webster dictionary, "change" occurs when there is the need for a phenomenon to undergo transformation, transition, or substitution. In this case, Nigeria is considered to need change, especially given that bad governance has plagued the nation for many years. The APC thus sees it as their responsibility to bring change to Nigerians' standard of living of. The text "CHANGE MAY BE POSTPONED BUT IT CANNOT BE DENIED" is clear and visible (Fig. 5.5). This was as a result of the Presidential election having been postponed by about two months in 2015, for debatable reasons.

The aftermath of that situation has the APC assuming the then administration feared defeat by the APC and as such, the elections had to be postponed. Again, "**change**" takes a bold font in the text. This resonates with Elebute's (2013) appraisal of typography and different types of graphological devices in political discourse, where Gothic writing is employed to attract viewers' attention. This is what Davletbaeva *et al.* (2016: 242) consider as stylistic devices used by politicians aimed at achieving specific goals, such as drawing attention.

From an MDA perspective, one would speculate why President Buhari appears in the same poster without his running mate. Perhaps, this could be an implication of the fact that the whole election is about President Buhari, who has the popularity and might to deliver a win for the APC in the elections, as opposed to the running mate being relatively new on the political scene. This is highlighted by President Buhari's picture always placed higher than his running mate, in virtually all the election materials. This thus denotes the fact that political communication recognises certain figures more than others, due to their political prowess.

In another instance, it could also imply that he sees himself as the main political actor capable of being held accountable for all decisions as the number one citizen of the country. In other electioneering material, President Buhari appears in different attire (Fig.5.4) mostly used by the Hausas in the Northern part of country. This may be significant in its implication that he can adapt to any part of the country and is also aware of developments in every part of the country. To further confirm, in other material he appears in Yoruba attire (Fig.5.6), often worn by Nigerians in the South-Western region.

5.2.2 A Portrayal of Trust and Integrity



Figures 5.8, 5.9: Presenting the portrayal of trust by the APC.

In the above electioneering materials, the APC plays on the mind of the masses by placing emphasis on the context of “integrity” and “trust”. It is common knowledge and a belief in many African countries that the terms “INTEGRITY” and “TRUST” are not easily practicable in political environments. In fact, politicians have been widely considered to be synonymous with unfaithfulness. It is thus very interesting to note that politicians now consider themselves as faithful and trustworthy entities. In Buhari’s case, he was appreciated when he led a popular coup that rescued the economy from the grip of corrupt politicians of the Second Republic (Ogbeidi 2012: 8). President Buhari, who is considered by many to be one of the poorest past Nigerian Presidents, hence, posits himself as the face of integrity.

This is associated with the belief that during his military regime, he was found explicitly accountable. Coupled with the face of his vice, Prof. Osinbajo, who is a pastor, this predicates the assumption that they will both demonstrate trustworthiness. Rose and Heywood (2013) advocate for the

need of political actors to have integrity, in order for the people to trust them, as well as have confidence in their actions, and perhaps consider them legitimate for political positions. They consider the concept of integrity as an important factor in politics, but the field of political science has focused too little on the question of integrity. The same can be said regarding the field of political discourse.

The issue of “INTEGRITY” in politics is not trivial, this explains why politicians may employ such lexical items to achieve their political aim. The concept of “INTEGRITY” and “TRUST” represents the quality or degree of honesty and strong moral principles. The APC, following the maladministration of the PDP, has to again, carefully choose certain linguistic expressions to denigrate the PDP, while using the same expressions to promote their campaign. It is not a coincidence that President Buhari’s name is written in white (Fig. 5.9). The colour white, in most cases, particularly in western culture, is associated with purity, transparency, cleanliness, and safety, as well as peace, light, goodness, and innocence, among others. Many perceive it as the colour of perfection. Semiotically, the colour bears a positive and fruitful connotation in this instance, while it could also be perceived as a prosperous beginning for Nigeria, should Buhari emerge as President. This further explains why the lexis “trust” is in white and bold, as with Buhari’s name.

President Buhari, based on his antecedents, believes Nigerians will respect his integrity and trust him with their votes. Ike-Nwafor (2015) perceives this as the creative use of figurative expressions; strong weapons to woo voters with. Such expressions, as in the materials above, implicitly project the image and political programmes of the APC and President Buhari. This is a strategy geared towards entreating and appealing to the ideological

sense of the masses. Essentially, the strategies control the people's thoughts and perceptions, and manipulate the unsuspected members of the public towards accepting their candidacy (Emeka-Nwobia 2016: 12).

The texts "WHO WOULD YOU TRUST WITH YOUR FAMILY?" and "WHO WOULD YOU TRUST WITH YOUR LIFE?" are rhetorical questions that do not necessarily require answers but leave answers in the mind of the people. This is what Rigotti (2005) refers to as the use of fallacies or rhetorical devices in political communication. Rigotti notes the use of fallacies as filled with falsities and insincerities, composed to present a rational argument while, in fact, being deceptive. This, he argues, offers the advantage of having the appearance of good reasoning when, in reality, they are attempts to silence the opponent and persuade the audience of the reliability of the candidate's words. It is thus gathered from the above materials that politicians often draw attention to some attributes of the audience's characters or society, in order to make them believe their claims.

From a multimodal perspective again, President Buhari has demonstrated his appeal to all sectors of Nigerian society in terms of diversity, having appeared in attire common with the Igbos in the Eastern part of Nigeria (Fig. 5.9). This is an attempt by the President to exhibit his universality in belonging to Nigeria and erasing the sensationalism or tribalism idea that he only belongs to the North. The president has now appeared in popular attire used by the three major tribes in Nigeria, namely Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo.

5.2.3 Corruption as a Menace in Nigeria



Figures 5.10, 5.11: Presenting the situation of corruption in Nigeria.

One of the general issues permeating governance in Africa is corruption. Nigeria perhaps also suffers from the same disease. Hence, an administration that pledges to tackle corruption may be attractive to the masses. This coupled with the fact that President Jonathan, the then President, once implied that stealing from the government is not corruption, makes Nigerians assume that he was complicit in corruption. He further stated that cases often referred to as corruption in Nigeria are mere cases of stealing from the government (Africa Check 2014). It is, however, confusing to the researcher and other Nigerians as to what President Jonathan understands as corruption. His statement opens a great campaign strategy for the APC, who otherwise believe that the theft of public funds, through the abuse of a public office, is commonly regarded as corruption.

In the billboard, the text “WE WILL NOT TOLERATE CORRUPTION” is bold. This again resonates with Elebute’s (2013) appraisal of bold and

gothic writing aimed at legibility and a robust form of writing that attracts elegance and fashionableness, respectively. The pronoun “we”, in the same sentence, is meant to put the APC in a position of responsibility over the issue of corruption in Nigeria. However, the message in the political material was communicated in an evasive manner, as the lexical item “we” is ambiguous and does not refer to anyone in particular. This may indeed be deemed as manipulative, as it was an escapist approach.

In the same vein, Maalej (2013) acknowledges the use of person deixis in political communication. Maalej favours the use of “I” over “we” because the former is filled with the personality of the speaker, which implies the speaker hopes to take responsibility. However, the latter is often deliberately employed by politicians to imply that the responsibility does not solely rest with an individual but includes the government body, party and masses. Maalej considers the main function of such a pronoun to be emotional, and thus, appealing to the sense of the audience, used to encourage solidarity.

In another instance, the modal “will” indicates the APC’s intention to tackle corruption, even though it is in the future. The verb emphasises the will of the party to deal with the menace of corruption. Ehineni (2014) in his study of modals, also notes such verbs signify the political will, commitment, promises, and appeals, along with possibilities, and persuasions, as well as give pledges to the public. Such modals reinforce the political ideas of politicians, while eliciting public support. Ehineni maintains that modals should not only be considered as linguistic elements, but most importantly, as political devices and ideological tools in political discourses.

From an MDA perspective, President Buhari also appears as the only presentable candidate for the APC (Fig. 5.11). Again, the impression that he is the flag bearer for the party is further created. A closer look at the word corruption in the same material presents the lexical item in a different colour – a colour which is of course more obvious and noticeable in yellow. In addition, there is the visual (Fig 5.10) of an arrested culprit (corruption criminal) who has been handcuffed, which is to further maintain the will of the party on stamping out corruption.

5.2.4 An End to Insecurity



Figures 5.12, 5.13: Presenting an end to insecurity in Nigeria.

The Boko Haram insurgency has, over the years, been a significant security issue in Nigeria. Consequently, Nigerians have continuously clamoured for the Nigerian government to take a courageous step towards the defeat of Boko Haram. This explains why the APC puts defeating Boko Haram as a top electioneering campaign priority. Hence, the lexical item “defeat” appears in a big bold font. The effect of bold writing; the pronoun “we” and the verb “will” bear the same implication as analysed above. More importantly in this case, Nigerians who are outraged about Boko Haram

automatically see this electioneering material as consoling and hopeful that the APC government is ready to fight and end Boko Haram's reign of terror.

As mentioned earlier, President Buhari was a military head of state, now contesting for the position of the President in a civilian regime. One wonders why he is referred to as a retired army general in the second poster. On the one hand, this may imply that even though he is retired, he is still experienced enough to deal with the Boko Haram insurgency, based on his military background. On the other hand, referring to him as general implies that "once a soldier always a soldier", as such, he has the power to defeat Boko Haram.

From a critical perspective however, this may equally imply that even though he is no longer in the military, he still has military qualities in him. Thus, features of military personnel are still evident in him. Al-Faki (2014) amplifies this, when he establishes that linguistic devices used in African political language are not direct and as a result, have hidden agendas that would not be easily understood by the audience.

The attribute of a military dictator can further be validated in the three-point agenda presented in the electioneering material. First, it is the responsibility of the military to provide maximum security. Second, "zero corruption" is an assertive statement that means no iota of corruption would be tolerated. Lastly, there is a high level of discipline in the military, and he is inclined to transfer the discipline to his governance. This bodes well in instances of propaganda in political language, as discussed by Sharndama (2016).

This is an example of Sharndama's card stacking propaganda, where political communications are filled with the use of facts or falsehoods,

illustrations, or distractions, and logical or illogical statements, in order to give the best impression to the masses. In such cases, words are selected carefully to entice the audience to build hope in the government. For example, one would find politicians often presenting themselves as a “God anointed one” or “Messiah” that can liberate or emancipate the masses.

The sentence “NIGERIA NEEDS MUHAMMADU BUHARI” in the same material, indicates that Buhari is a saviour to the Nigerian situation, especially in terms of the points listed. Since this is not an objective that can be achieved by Buhari only. Buhari then puts the power in the hands of Nigerians (Fig. 5.12), as stated – “THE POWER TO CHANGE NIGERIA IS IN YOUR HANDS”. Sharndama refers to such an instance as propaganda of integration, where the language of politics is not put forth against anybody specific or a political opponent but to unite the people for a common goal or cause.

5.2.5 The Aftermath



Figures 5.14, 5.15: Presenting the aftermath of the elections.

Here, the APC intends to confirm that their electioneering promises are being achieved. The APC creates the impression that their administration

has achieved enormous success, evident in statements such as; “BOKO HARAM REDUCED”; “CORRUPTION CHECKMATED”; “NIGERIA’S INTEGRITY ABROAD RESTORED”; “CORRUPTION STAMPED OUT”; and “INFLATION GOES DOWN”. These are examples of euphemism, as explained by Crespo-Fernández (2014).

The use of euphemisms in political discourse is noted by Crespo-Fernández to present a “safe” way for politicians to deal with unpleasant subjects and criticise their opponents, without giving a negative impression to their audiences. In this case, the intention is to prove beyond reasonable doubt that the APC has been able to out-perform the PDP, by presenting serious issues in Nigeria as being rather minor. This is also done in a bid to posit themselves as having done enough to return to governance after the current administration. In a way, these political materials are meant to represent the fact that Buhari has achieved and is still achieving his mission.

The phrase “CHANGE NIGERIA” (Fig. 5.14) is presented in the colour red and bold for instant recognition by the audience. The colour red has in many regards been perceived in semiotics as implying danger or rather, to insinuate a phenomenon that requires quick attention. This further confirms the APC apparently perceives the situation of Nigeria as dangerous and as such, aim to convince people the party is there to eradicate the danger.

The same graphetic method is employed on the lexical item “BETTER” in the colour green. This colour is evident in the Nigerian flag and represents Nigerian natural wealth, such as agriculture. The colour green has been mostly considered in line with agriculture. Basically, a fresh plant will be considered to have an ability to reproduce. In this case, the impression is

that the “better” state of the Nigerian situation can still progress to the “best”. This further explains why the font size is equally large.

In “CORRUPTION CHECKMATED”, there is the deliberate use of chess – checkmate – language use, which is again a case of repurposing, recycling and recontextualisation of language, as explained by Bakhtin. Checkmating in chess implies winning the game, as a player's king is about to be captured, with no way of removing the threat. The hidden meaning here is that corruption has been defeated, which may be a highly contested fact.

This is similar to Fairclough's (2003: 40) view that texts inevitably make assumptions, in other words, “what is ‘said’ in a text is ‘said’ against a background of what is ‘unsaid’ but taken as given”. Bakhtin (1986) presents a valid point that contexts are dynamic and thus only become relevant through interactions. As such, discourses are gradually appropriated over time and often made more relevant in new situations, by being recontextualised and accommodated in new communicative projects.

In all the materials analysed above, the symbol of the APC is present. This advocates for the brand identity of the party for people to easily relate to as a mode of identification for the APC. Ademilokun and Olateju (2015) recognise these as political signifiers, which have become a tool for political expression.

5.3 People's Democratic Party (PDP)

The analyses below focus on the visual electioneering materials employed by the PDP during general elections in Nigeria. Data collected involve those from 2010, subsequently leading to the 2011 general elections, as well as those leading to the 2015 general elections.

5.3.1 A Good Term Deserves Another



Figures 5.16, 5.17, 5.18, 5.19: Presenting the need for another PDP term in office.

President Goodluck Jonathan attempts to rely on his established reputation as a man of goodwill in his endeavour to return to the Presidential villa in 2015 (Fig.5.16 to 5.19). This is due to Nigerians being persuaded by frivolities and as such, most Nigerians associate “goodness” with President Goodluck Jonathan, due to his name. While it is transparent to many that he may not have performed effectively to indeed transform Nigeria, he continues to manipulate Nigerians with his transformation agenda. As a matter of fact, his political materials could not directly refer to tangible achievements. One could even argue that he is more interested in power than in achievements. The inscription “no vacancy in Aso Rock” (Fig. 5.17) implies that his only concern is with the seat, rather than what it offers.

A common phenomenon finds people often associating the word good with good attributes. Since the flagbearer's name is "GOODLUCK", it thus implies that the PDP electioneering materials, as displayed above, played on the word "good" for solidarity purposes. This is what is referred to as pun in literary terminologies. Bader (2014: 18) sees a pun as a joke, exploiting the different possible meanings of a word or word play, usually defined as a "deliberate communicative strategy, or the result thereof, used with a specific semantic or pragmatic effect in mind".

The use of the word "good" in the above materials falls under what Bader refers to as a homographic pun, where words are spelt the same way but imply different meaning. Bader proceeds to note that puns are considered important in human communication because of their desire to produce a humorous effect on the people.

Further to pun, there is the linguistic expression of an exclamation mark in the second poster (Fig 5.17). Ebzeeva, Lenko, and Dubinina (2015: 259) suggest the use of the exclamation mark is to communicate a particular importance of texts. As such, exclamation marks are employed to place emphasis on specific messages. The exclamation mark on "ONE GOOD TERM DESERVES ANOTHER" puts so much emphasis on the message that the PDP may have the belief that they have done enough to deserve another presidential term, beginning from 2015.

This is mostly considered misrepresentative to Nigerians, who no longer have hope in President Jonathan's governance, due to his underperformance. In another instance, the call for the continuity of their government is based on similar argument. It is, nonetheless, strange that,

despite the continuous reference to “goodworks”, not even a specific achievement is mentioned. President Jonathan is also referred to as Dr. in one of the materials, which could imply that people accord him more respect as a PhD holder.

President Jonathan has, throughout, appeared in the traditional attire of the people from the South-South part of Nigeria – a group that has always claimed to be marginalised, despite being the economic driver of the country as the oil producing region. From an MDA dimension, it could be argued that President Jonathan takes pride in his group, despite being the minority and as such, continues to appear in attire associated with his people. The hat is a popular part of dressing for Bayelsa people from the South-South part of the country. He could also have taken pride in the minority status of his people, the Bayelsas, for sympathetic purposes.

Similar to the above analysis on APC posters, President Jonathan also appears as the only flagbearer of the party. This further gives the impression that he is the lead and should be responsible for all actions and inactions associated with his government.

5.3.2 The Unusual and the Exciting



Figures 5.20, 5.21: Presenting the need for a new breath in Nigeria.

In these images, the PDP, perhaps unknowingly, explores the context of agriculture in their political communication by advocating for freshness. The idea of freshness is more pronounced in agriculture in terms of plants and fresh agricultural produce. Connotatively however, “fresh” could refer to modern, up to date or new initiatives. It is generally believed that people often prefer fresh produce. However, the metaphor of agriculture as used by the PDP is largely paradoxical in these adverts.

Freshness in the agricultural context has to do with newly harvested produce. In a social context however, it could refer to new or recent situations. Neither the PDP nor President Jonathan represent freshness. On the one hand, the PDP has ruled Nigeria since 1999. On the other hand, President Jonathan has been the Vice-President of the country from 2007-2010 and President from 2011-2015. So, his quest for freshness in 2015 is largely questionable and misrepresentative.

The PDP electioneering materials in this category are filled with vague and uncertain slogans. Unlike the APC category, the PDP, as an incumbent government, would have been expected to use real-time achievements. They are, nevertheless, unable to do so, as there are no interesting achievements to appraise. This is an example of what Ehineni (2014: 110) observes as the ingenuously designed and intelligently crafted use of language in political communication, in order to persuade the electorate for favourable political support.

Davletbaeva *et al.* (2016) identify the use of repetition in political discourse, used to create an emphatic objective which would, in turn, help produce a permanent effect on the audience, to believe and support their political

course. This is why the PDP has used “fresh air” to achieve their objective in the above data.

Further, the PDP tries to maintain solidarity with Nigerians with the slogan “fellow Nigerians”. This is an example of power relations in political discourse, in what Jalali and Sadeghi (2014) refer to as emotive language, to create a sense of consensus and solidarity among the masses. This, they consider as an attempt to stimulate people’s sense of sympathy. In the above materials, there are instances of the use of the personal pronouns “I” and “we”.

Jarraya’s (2013) study mainly recognises English pronouns as integral to the language choice employed by politicians to manipulate the audience. According to Jarraya (2013), politicians employ pronouns to express the degree of their personal involvement and commitment. He further notes the use of personal deixis as a persuasive technique. On the one hand, the singular pronoun is employed to represent the President himself, while on the other hand, the plural pronoun is employed to represent Nigerians as a whole, including the President.

Again, President Jonathan has appeared in the attire of his people from Bayelsa (Fig. 5.20), and his vice-president in the second material, has appeared in the attire of his people from Northern Nigeria (Fig. 5.21). This has a multimodal repercussion. While President Jonathan’s South-South is considered a minority, Vice-President Sambo’s Northern regions are the most populated in Nigeria. One can then deduce the understanding that the PDP sees themselves as encompassing the whole of Nigeria, both from the minority and majority perspectives which would, in turn, see electorates from these regions value their political ambitions.

5.3.3 The Call for People's Support



Figures 5.22, 5.23, 5.24: Calling for the support of Nigerians.

In these pictures, the lexical item “support” suffices for the PDP, which observes that their political agenda can only be effectively received with massive support from the masses. Hence, the need to call for the support of the people. In the first data, “Nigerians” was presented in a different colour that could easily attract attention from the masses (Fig.5.22). This is coupled with the fact that the term “Nigerians” is followed by three exclamation marks; a way of emphasising the fact they rely on Nigerians, and not citizens of other countries.

The statement “LET’S SUPPORT GOODLUCK EBELE JONATHAN’S TRANSFORMATION AGENDA FOR A GREATER NIGERIA” is embedded with indefinite exploit of language use. Despite the large billboard, it is still

not visible anywhere what transformation agenda they require people to support. The PDP further refer to themselves as the “transformation team” in the second data (Fig 5.23). Nonetheless, it is still not logical what transformation means in their context, as the PDP has failed in making it descriptive to the masses. President Jonathan is referred to as the people’s choice (Fig 5.24) – a state which was instantly debunked after the elections, as he was not returned to power.

In spite of this, the uncontested fact remains that the term “transformation” bears a significant political influence, as it implies a marked progress or change in the form of a particular phenomenon. Accordingly, for the PDP to have employed the lexical item only to leave questions in the mind of the masses, is nothing short of a political gimmick or puffery. There is no doubt that the term is filled with meaning and potential but no action whatsoever. Nadeem *et al.* (2014) consider the use of such nouns in the political setting as aspiring, as it offers some sense of “hope” to the people, even when that “hope” is unforeseeable.

The PDP refer to themselves as the divine teams (Figure 5.23). The lexical item “divine” takes a biblical stance – an avenue to play on the intelligence of Christians. This denotes they have the ability to transform Nigeria in a supernatural way, above human nature. It is further confirmation they cannot fail at anything because they are divine. In this regard, electorates are likely to perceive the PDP as God fearing. This is what Sharndama (2016) refers to as religious propaganda, where religious expressions or references are made to influence the thoughts of the audience.

This begs a position for the audience to see politicians as being God fearing and thus, accept them, as they can find acceptance easily from people of

their own faith. Sharndama cautions that such religious information is often presented in subtle manners, as in the above, so as not to be perceived as being intolerant of other religions. This view is also shared by Anderson (2014), who states that biblical allusions are made in political communication to expose the religious inclinations of the politicians.

From an MDA perspective, the use of a bridge-like structure (Fig. 5.22) is indeed symbolic. Infrastructurally, a bridge is an elevated construction linking different components together. As such, seemingly disconnected components can be connected by the use of a bridge. This is an ambiguous strategy in politics, especially in Nigeria, where citizens look for differences because of ethnicities, religious backgrounds and political affiliations. The bridge-like structure could thus imply that President Jonathan is able to reconcile the presumed irreconcilable differences.

This of course is a strategic means of recontextualising a common architectural component, to function within political discourse. A similar point can be derived from the use of the foreground “V” (Fig. 5.24), which was an attempt to make the “V” a prominent feature. The “V” in “√OTE”, presented with a “tick” sign, depicts a positive connotation because of its common understanding as an endorsement. The symbol, popularly referred to as a checkmark, is used to indicate and verify the correctness of an entity.

Put differently and simpler, it means a “yes”. This is a sign popularly used by academics to indicate that a student has answered a question correctly, hence passed. Also, “V” in the same sense could be used to represent victory. It could be gleaned from this explanation that President Jonathan

has recontextualised the symbol, by employing it to seemingly present himself as a winner even before the election.

Also worth discussing, is the fact that President Jonathan used the same information in his 2011 election campaign, and again in 2015. This is illustrated with Figure 5.22, which was retrieved from the 2015 elections and Figure 5.23 from the 2011 elections. That the lexical items “support” and “transformation” occur again, may imply that nothing has changed, especially during a time when one would expect a different message in electioneering materials.

5.3.4 Fiction as a Possible Strategy



Figures 5.25, 5.26: Use of fiction in Nigerian politics.

In the data above, there is the apparent fabrication of Barack Obama’s words and in fact, his picture. Obama neither consented to the use of his picture nor did he actually say “Goodluck with you, I see a brighter future in Nigeria!”. The statement attributed to him (Fig 5.25) is but a mere fallacy. This can be further confirmed as President Obama never visited Nigeria

during his tenure, despite Nigeria's popularity in Africa. While he visited other countries, such as South Africa, Senegal and even Nigeria's neighbour, Ghana, he did not visit Nigeria. Such examples, argues Rigotti (2005), are a case of manipulation in political discourse, as it is laden with the use of falsity and insincerity that is often an attempt to make the listener change his or her vision of reality.

The campaign material was used barely two years after President Obama assumed the position of the 44th President of the United States of America. His emergence as the President triggered much excitement among Nigerians and perhaps, Africans in general, because of his African roots. He was soon believed by many as a visionary leader with excellent leadership qualities. The electioneering material above creates an impression that the party and President Jonathan share in the ideals of President Obama.

In this regard, the masses who have lauded President Obama's qualities as a good leader can thus associate President Jonathan with him and this influences their votes. It is an attempt at resemiotisation, considered a transition of meaning across different structural phenomena (Prior and Hengst 2010). This is akin to Iedema's (2003: 41) position that resemiotisation is "about how meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice or from one stage of a practice to the next". Basically, resemiotisation acknowledges the surrounding of text (the context of the text) and its significance on meaning-making (Robert 2017).

Further, President Jonathan may have also considered President Obama as a superior, in that the statement attributed to him refers to President Obama as "Sir". This term is often used to show respect to people even

though Jonathan is older than President Obama, making this strange, as age is generally perceived as a factor of respect in Nigeria. Given that President Jonathan is older than President Obama, he must have observed President Obama in a different light, other than just age.

President Jonathan sends a message in a language he does not speak (Fig. 5.26) as he is from the South-South part of Nigeria. The message is in Yoruba, a language spoken predominantly in the South-West region of Nigeria. An attempt that could make some PDP apologists believe that he understands major Nigerian languages and as such, embraces multi-ethnicity. The message says “ni ipinle Osun, digbi lawa”, which means “in Osun state, we are fully prepared”. This is an instance of code-switching. Anderson (2014) notes that the use of code-switching in political discourse is meant to project the social identity of the politician – in this case, as a Nigerian who can embrace other languages in the country. Anderson further states that code-switching enhances the interaction of a politician with his audience, so as to reach as many people as possible.

Moreover, the PDP uses their popular slogan in this campaign material, “Power to the people”, which implies that the people have the absolute power to determine and influence the democratic status of Nigeria. The slogan has been popular in Nigeria for a while. Michira (2014) acknowledges the use of slogans in political discourse as intrinsic because they are often brief, catchy and memorable, hence, most parties employ them to express their motto. Again, this is another use of intertextuality.

This attempt is in consonance with Johnstone’s (2008: 9) observation that “discourse is shaped by expectations created by familiar discourse and new instances of discourse help to shape our expectations about what future

discourse will be like and how it should be interpreted.” Johnstone upholds his view by adding that texts are linked to other texts hence, we re-use words, phrases and sentences, we repeat the same patterns of texts, we build on existing utterances, and we attack or debate existing utterances and presume certain utterances are already known to the listener.

5.3.5 Glorification of Achievements



Figures 5.27, 5.28: Glorifying PDP’s achievements.

In this data, the PDP attempts to glorify President Jonathan’s achievements over the years. In the first data, the statement “UNDER GOODLUCK THE ECONOMY HAS TRIPLED IN SIZE” (Fig. 5.27) is not only imprecise but also inexplicit. There is no actual percentage to represent the tangible development in the Nigerian economy. The statement is presented in bold form, with no open indication as to what it implies. This is an illustration of what Otieno (2016) refers to as metaphor in political discourse; mostly employed to propagate political ideals and ideologies, as a face-saving strategy used to conceal vital information by politicians.

Using MDA as a lens, I see the use of colour in the first data as conspicuous. The colour of the Nigerian flag “green and white” is noticeable and is intended to suggest the party’s level of commitment towards Nigeria. Even more prominent in the colour, is the combination of black and white. In the material, President Jonathan’s supposed achievement is presented in the colour black, while his name and the complements are presented in white, rendering the achievement unnoticeable against the white, which is easily noticeable. Again, the colour white is meant to serve a similar purpose as explained above, as is the name “Goodluck”.

In the second data, the phrase “having performed so well” is followed by “Nigerians demand” (Fig.5.28). Nonetheless, the typography of the two phrases are different. The difference in the two, based on the typography, implies that the demands of Nigerians are bigger than the performance of President Jonathan, with his said performance in small fonts. There is no indication, however, of the actual details of what his performance has yielded for Nigerians. In the data, one would expect the performances to have been listed but instead, different political rallies have been detailed.

5.3.6 Nigeria needs Transformation



Figures 5.29, 5.30: presenting the need for transformation in Nigeria.

Here, the discourse again calls for the re-election of President Goodluck Jonathan. The second datum (Fig. 5.30) calls for the progression of Goodluck Jonathan's transformation agenda, which has been largely doubtful, even in previous analysed data, with the tenets of the transformation not having been mentioned anywhere. The datum encourages the masses to, through their votes, support President Jonathan's transformation agenda.

The lexical item "vote" appears twice in the datum. This is an indication that the party has little or nothing to boast of as an achievement. Their main aim is to request for people to "vote" for President Jonathan, despite the absence of political will. Davletbaeva *et al.* (2016) state that repetitions are used in political discourse to create an emphatic objective which would, in turn, aid in producing a long-lasting effect on the audience.

The first electioneering material (Fig.5.29) presents a current trend in the media world in the use of the hashtag (#). Saxton, Niyirora, Guo, and Waters (2015) note that hashtags are used to grow a community's public awareness. Hence, it is argued that the PDP has adopted this current trend as a social media avenue, to reach a wider range of audience. One cannot contest the fact that social media has played a huge role in our environment. A contemporary and well-liked way of popularising certain messages nowadays, is to create hashtags on social media, creating awareness with as many audiences as possible of messages relating to specific themes or subjects.

Recontextualisation has thus occurred in this sense once again, as social media is no longer considered as merely an exuberant platform but also a

system to propagate political ideologies. As such, hashtags are being used for electioneering purposes on Twitter, Instagram and Facebook, for publicity reasons.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analysed selected visual materials employed during Federal elections in Nigeria from 2010 to date. In the process, the materials have been grouped into different themes, simplifying the understanding of the data. The materials have been closely examined in relation to the society in which they have been employed. Despite the analysis already done, there is still a need for analyses of speeches from Nigerian political scenarios. In this chapter, several points have emerged, such as manipulation/misrepresentation through resemiotisation; modals, and semiotics – colour, attires, images; recontextualisation; along with code-switching; creative use of lexical items; creative use of pronouns, and stylistic devices, among others.

The coming chapter focuses on the analyses of speeches from Nigerian political scenarios.

CHAPTER SIX

POLITICAL SPEECHES

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I analysed visual materials obtained from Nigerian political scenarios. Various political discursive strategies in posters and billboards were analysed and the roles they play in political communication discussed using CDA and MDA. Following the same trend, I attempt an analysis of political speeches emanating from Nigerian political discourse. Again, the analysis has been thematically grouped under different headings. The speeches have been collated from Nigerian newspapers and media houses.

Manipulative and misrepresentative discourse in Nigerian politics is not peculiar to only the APC and PDP of today. Emeka-Nwobia (2016) conducted a similar study on President Olusegun Obasanjo, where she determined gross utilisation of manipulative language by the President. Given that this study focuses on political discourse in general, all possible instances of politically-motivated discourse are analysed.

As such, pre-election speeches, as well as those made post-election, are considered. Thematic analysis has been established, alongside analysis on the lexical structures, as well as figurative expressions in selected speeches. It is important to establish that not all visible instances relating to the analysis from the speeches have been examined. This is because it is impossible to have covered all possible units.

In addition, this chapter attempts to not, in any form, duplicate the earlier chapter. As such, subjects that have been extensively discussed in the

earlier chapter may not be repeated in this chapter to avoid unnecessary repetition, even though such matters may also be prominent in selected speeches. Such instances may include concerns of corruption or service delivery analysed in the earlier chapter. As in the previous chapter, Buhari has been referred to as “President Buhari”, simply because he was once a military president in Nigeria and by default, a person who has once occupied the Presidency is often referred to as such, even after the period of office.

6.2 Thematic Analysis of Political Speeches in Nigeria

6.2.1 Exploiting Security Issues

The issue of security has become a major concern for the Nigerian government. This is especially due to the Boko Haram insurgency in the nation, a concern which would later be a winning ticket for the APC against the PDP. That, as well as recent cases of armed robbery and kidnapping in the country, create a foundation for the APC to base their movement on. In President Buhari’s campaign and inaugural speeches, he perceives the question of national security as of prime importance.

In his formal declaration for presidency, the first paragraph of President Buhari’s speech addresses the issue of national security. He says:

“Nearly all are in fear of their lives or safety for themselves and their families due to: Insurgency by the godless movement called **Boko Haram**; marauding murderers in towns and villages; armed robbers on the highways; and kidnapers who have put whole communities to fright and sometimes to flight.... The last 16 years of PDP Government has witnessed decline in all critical sectors of life in Nigeria. There is now general insecurity in the land. Quite apart from **Boko Haram**, **there is prevalence of armed robbery, kidnappings and killings, cattle rustling, market, and farmland arson**. These outrages have taken a new and a frightening dimension, disrupting economic and social life across whole communities.”

In the same speech, President Buhari mentions the expression “Boko Haram” twice to show his intention to eradicate the group. President Buhari, in his inaugural speech, mentions “Boko Haram” ten times taking his combined reference to the group to 12 in both his political speeches. In President Jonathan’s speeches, however, there is not one mention of the group. In their study, Nadeem *et al.* (2014: 5) agree certain words are employed to make promises and pledges, in order to lure and persuade the electorate into voting them to power. This perhaps explains why President Buhari sees the consistent reference to “Boko Haram” as important.

President Buhari’s inauguration speech sees reference to Boko Haram as follows:

...committing their armed forces to fight **Boko Haram** in Nigeria...tackle the immediate challenges confronting us, namely; **Boko Haram**...most immediate is **Boko Haram’s** insurgency... and remain until **Boko Haram**...claim to have defeated **Boko Haram**... **Boko Haram** is a typical example of small fires causing large fires... complacency or collusion **Boko Haram** became a terrifying... **Boko Haram** is a mindless...prosecuting the fight against **Boko haram**... **Boko Haram** is not only the security issue bedevilling our country. The spate of kidnappings, armed robberies, herdsmen/farmers clashes, cattle rustlings all help to add to the general air of insecurity in our land...

Buhari further recognises the less pronounced but equally disturbing security concerns in Nigeria that have unsettled and displaced many Nigerians are further recognised by President Buhari. At a time when Nigerians are faced with grave security challenges, they are more inclined to support a politician that has promised them security.

Though President Jonathan mentions the word “insecurity” five times in his 2015 campaign speech and once in his 2011 campaign, he nonetheless,

failed to discuss particularly how he intends to tackle insecurity in the nation. He is also unsuccessful in convincing Nigerians that he has achieved enough thus far to warrant a re-election. President Jonathan's references to insecurity were, on the one hand, a surface mention and on the other hand, a mockery to the APC's campaign on insecurity, as he believes the APC not only exaggerated the issues of insecurity in Nigeria but also misprioritised the word.

Failure by President Jonathan to emphasise the Boko Haram insurgency creates two impressions; firstly, his government has failed to deal with Boko Haram and secondly, referring to them would expose the weakness of his government. In discourse, being silent on a critical issue is a constituent of communication on its own. Nikolić (2016: 1) notes that, while silence in discourse can indeed be a means for expressing power, it could also be a sign that the speaker is in an unfavourable position. The latter can well be associated with President Jonathan, as he offers no proof that his government has done anything tangible to defeat the Boko Haram group.

In a second view however, President Jonathan does not seem to perceive Boko Haram as a menace, partly because the bomb detonations and attacks perpetuated by the group are not perpetrated in Nigeria's South-South region. Thus, he decides to take an evasive strategy. Agbedo (2012) perceives this situation as an avoidance strategy, where the political communication is filled with words that obscure meaning. Given that the Boko Haram group is considered a threat to national insecurity (Okoroafor and Ukpabi 2015), it is therefore strange that an issue of such magnitude is not taken seriously enough by President Jonathan.

In both cases, electorates began to lose confidence in President Jonathan's administration while believing in the ideals of President Buhari, as the latter has addressed critical issues, merely by referring to them. It is considered highly disconcerting that, in a time when the northern part of Nigeria was ravaged by Boko Haram, the sitting President chooses to escape the issue. President Jonathan also refers to the issue of the kidnapped secondary school Chibok girls briefly – an issue he should have discussed extensively.

Having realised a major weakness in the PDP electioneering materials, the APC, in order to garner maximum support, exploits the situation by promising Nigerians a secured society, even though it can still be argued that while insecurity issues have been tackled in the country, it is still impossible to assume that there are no longer any security concerns.

A point also strengthened by Peñuelas (2015: 516), is that political candidates present their viewpoints and those of the party they represent, to convince other people to change their attitudes and behaviour regarding certain political issues, especially through their systematic use of language. Instances of insecurity in the country have become extremely disconcerting – it is thus expected that political drivers will employ the situation to their advantage.

6.2.2 Religious Manipulation in Nigerian Politics

It is no longer news that politicians, in their political campaigns, sometimes manipulate electorates through religion. Often, they use lexis that constantly refer to God and Holy Books (Qur'an and Bible) not only to form an alliance with people of the same religion but also, indirectly, to portray themselves as "messiahs", "saviours" or "divine messengers", ready to provide answers to problems. These references are done by annexing the

written religious expressions into oral written forms that may be comfortably understood by the electorates. Sections of President Buhari's and President Jonathan's speeches refer to religious expressions.

In his campaign speech, President Buhari reads: "...there, in outline are some policy proposals about the direction APC should take when, by the grace of God, we are given the responsibility of serving Nigeria in Government". Also, in his inaugural speech, he begins with "I am immensely grateful to God Who Has preserved us to witness this day and this occasion...." As such, he commits everything into God's hands, while creating an impression that God is directing his affairs. He goes on further to state that "having just a few minutes ago sworn on the Holy Book, I intend to keep my oath and serve as President to all Nigerians...."

Emeka-Nwobia (2016) argues that such instances in political discourse present the politician in a positive light, almost as a holy individual. Buhari's reference to the Holy Book is, to an extent, manipulative. He should perhaps have sworn with the Islamic Holy Book – the Qur'an – as he is indeed a practising Muslim. Nevertheless, he is silent about the particular "Holy Book" used, which may have warranted questions from Christians who recognise the Bible as the Holy Book. Sharndama's (2016) argument becomes highly important when he notes that religious information is often presented in a subtle manner, so as not to be misinterpreted as intolerance towards other religions.

In President Jonathan's 2010 campaign speech, he makes a series of references to religious instances. In an excerpt from the speech:

My dear good people of Nigeria, I got here today by the power of **God**.... I am here today because of your **prayers**.... I **pray** that the **Almighty God** abides with you and sees you safely back to

your respective destinations.... May **God** Bless you all! And may **God** bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria!!

President Jonathan makes four allusions to God; all in the form of appreciation, wishes and prayers to continuously create an impression that he believes in God and believes that God has the power to impact people's lives. It can thus be argued that President Jonathan has used the religion factor in his political campaign. This aligns well with Sharndama's (2016) proposition, termed religious propaganda in political discourse, where religious expressions or references are made to influence the thoughts of the audience.

Sharndama argues that politicians often make direct references or citations to the holy books (The Quran and The Bible), in order to entice the audience to accept them; to see them as good, God-fearing people. This is done with the notion that politicians are aware they can find acceptance easily from people of their own faith. Sharndama claims it is easily noticeable, in Nigerian political speeches, to which religion a Nigerian politician belongs.

Further, in his 2011 inaugural speech, after winning the presidential election, President Jonathan concludes by saying "God bless you all! And God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria." He has thus referred to God twice in succession.

Similar to his 2010 campaign speech, President Jonathan again says, in his 2014 declarations:

Over the years, the **Almighty God** has made it possible for me to develop a bond with you and I am grateful for your support and understanding in the difficult periods we have journeyed through.... Therefore, after seeking the face of **God**, in quiet reflection with my family and having listened to the call of our

people nationwide to run, I, Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan, have accepted to re-present myself, on the platform of The Peoples' Democratic Party, for re-election as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, in the 2015 general elections.... 112. **God** bless Nigeria!!!....

This creates an impression that his decision to rerun for presidency was after consultation with God, who then sanctioned the course. It is, however, disturbing that he lost in the same election he claimed to have been guided by God. Also, in his 2014 declaration speech, President Jonathan says, "I see a Nigeria where all, no matter their beliefs, live in peace and harmony!"

In Anderson's (2014) study on the former Ghanaian President's speeches – Late John Atta Mills – he determined that the late President used many biblical allusions to expose his religious inclination. It is evident that electorates are constantly being brainwashed by religion, especially the poor who put their hope in God for a better living. They are constantly manipulated to assume that associating themselves with God could be the answer to their suffering. This is the view of Karl Marx, who conceded religion is a tool of social control.

In the above pragmatic statement, President Jonathan tries to create a sense of intimacy between Nigerians of different religions for political gains, as he has used the term "belief" to represent religion. He advocates against religious stereotypes, simply because he expects electorates from diverse religions to unite as one, in returning him to the Presidential villa.

6.2.3 Demonstrating Politeness and Humility

In studying political discourse, every politically-motivated discourse becomes material for analysis. Consequently, politicians may employ different styles in their communication strategies at different stages. One

such instance may be political communication before and after elections. A common factor during electioneering, specifically before elections, is evidence of politeness and humility in political discourse. Often, political actors tend to be excessively polite and humble in their communication in order to be perceived by the masses as respectful.

Examples from Nigerian political scenarios include the following, (PB and PJ to be used henceforth in quotes, as abbreviations for President Buhari and president Jonathan, respectively):

...**pay tribute to Nigerians** as a whole who are enduring all sorts of hardships and deprivations on a daily basis.... I would like to **thank our supporters** up and down the country for their perseverance and resolve in face of an oppressive PDP government. I **humbly wish to present** myself before you, before all of Nigeria and before God seeking to be elected as APC's Presidential candidate (**PB Declaration 2015**).

I would **like to thank the millions of our supporters** who believed in us even when the cause seemed hopeless. I **salute their resolve** in waiting long hours in rain and hot sunshine to register and cast their votes and stay all night if necessary to protect and ensure their votes count and were counted. I **thank those who tirelessly** carried the campaign on the social media. At the same time, I **thank our other countrymen and women** who did not vote for us but contributed to make our democratic culture truly competitive, strong and definitive. I **thank all of you** (**PB Inaugural 2015**).

My dear compatriots, I stand in **humble gratitude** to you, this day, having just sworn to the oath of office as President, Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces of our great nation. I **thank you** all, fellow citizens, for the trust and confidence, which you have demonstrated through the power of your vote. I want to **specialy thank all Nigerians** for staying the course in our collective commitment to build a democratic nation. I salute you (**PJ Inaugural 2015**).

I cannot end this speech without **thanking you all** for attending this occasion. Your huge attendance is a loud testimony of your support for us. For this, I am **very grateful (PJ Declaration 2010)**.

One of the common virtues of an African is respect and humility. As a result, politicians may exploit that virtue in the political realm. Consistently appreciating the masses not only gives the impression they are valued but also that they are respected and recognised. Emeka-Nwobia (2016) observes that politicians often present themselves as humble servants.

To Emeka-Nwobia, such strategies are geared towards entreating and appealing to the ideological sense of the people; controlling the people's thoughts and perceptions; and manipulating unsuspecting members of the public towards accepting their candidacy (Emeka-Nwobia 2016: 12). In another study, Crespo-Fernández (2014: 5) affirms that politicians often appear polite to the people, so that the politician's self-image is appreciated and approved of in the community, in other words, continuing to maintain their positive faces. Abuya (2012) further perceives this use of language as commisive acts, mainly employed by politicians to show appreciation to different group of people that voted and supported them during campaigns and elections.

6.2.4 Alignment with the People – Belongingness

It is not unpopular for politicians to exploit the situation of their people during electioneering. They persistently try to align themselves with the concerns of their people through different means.

The following examples highlight those means:

I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody.... At home, we face enormous challenges: Insecurity, pervasive corruption, the hitherto unending and seemingly impossible fuel and power

shortages are the immediate concerns.... To achieve our objectives, we must consciously work the democratic system.... As ever, I am ready to listen to grievances of my fellow Nigerians (**PB Inaugural 2015**).

President Buhari at first creates the impression that he belongs to everybody, which does not specifically refer to anyone. However, in essence, 'everybody' may refer to the people from his region, people, party, religion or in fact, friends. These paint a mental picture of a leader owned by his fellow Nigerians. President Buhari employs a powerful political rhetoric with the use of contrasting pairs. In essence, the statement on the one hand implies he is first and foremost Nigerian and as such, will be there for all Nigerians, irrespective of their social affiliations.

On the other hand, it paints a mental picture of someone who is not answerable to anyone. President Buhari's allusion to "nobody" could be for the assumed political godfathers in Nigeria, who nurture the notion they are in charge of the country and without them, the country cannot progress. In another dimension, he could have been warning Nigerians who think they will have influence over him for favours. Hence, President Buhari implies that he will do what he thinks is right, without any intervention.

In actual sense, President Buhari's assertion may be construed as "I belong to myself", which to an extent, is a selfish statement as a dictator that he was once known to be, rather than a converted democrat, which he is now perceived to be. In a literal sense, this could mean "I will do as I want".

...I am addressing the young people. I do not want to address old people like me because we are spent already, and I will crave your indulgence as Nigerian youths, those of you who are here, and those of you watching us at home, listen to what I am saying (**PJ Declaration 2015**).

Here, President Jonathan aligns himself with the Nigerian youth. He believes the youth now has a role to play in the affairs of the nation. As such, the Nigerian youth will begin to observe him as a politician interested in the development of the youth. In my interpretation, President Jonathan's reference to himself as an "old man" who is already spent, is only a political misrepresentation.

On the one hand, he could be referring to himself as an experienced politician who has been in governance for a long time. On the other hand, this may be considered as ironic, especially since President Jonathan's strongest opponent was a 72-year old man, while he was just 58. He says he will crave the indulgence of Nigerian youths with the notion that he is capable of understanding the youth, their challenges, and solutions thereof, unlike Buhari who is older.

I was not born rich, and in my youth, I never imagined that I would be where I am today, but not once did I ever give up. Not once did I imagine that a child from Otuoke, a small village in the Niger Delta, will one day rise to the position of President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. I was raised by my mother and father with just enough money to meet our daily needs. **In my early days in school, I had no shoes, no school bags. I carried my books in my hands but never despaired; no car to take me to school but I never despaired.** There were days I had only one meal, but I never despaired. **I walked miles and crossed rivers to school every day, but I never despaired. Didn't have power, didn't have generators, studied with lanterns but I never despaired.** In spite of these, I finished secondary school, attended the University of Port Harcourt, and now hold a doctorate degree. Fellow Nigerians, if I could make it, you too can make it! My story is the story of a young Nigerian whose access to education opened up vast opportunities that enabled me to attain my present position. As I travel up and down our country, I see a nation blessed by God with rich agricultural and mineral resources and an enterprising people. I see millions of Nigerians whose potentials for greatness are constrained by the lack of basic infrastructure. I

see Nigerians who can make a difference in the service of their country but are disadvantaged by the lack of opportunities (**PJ Declaration 2010**).

In the same vein, President Jonathan narrates his ordeal as one of the many Nigerians who grew up in hardship and tough conditions, like many other Nigerians – a standard of living peculiar to many Nigerian families. Thus, he puts himself in the situation of poor Nigerian families, with the impression that he was once in their situation. This is done neglecting the fact that these traces have so far disappeared in him and as such, he does not belong to the poor Nigerians' category any longer. This is evident in President Jonathan's use of tenses, as his statements are mainly presented in the past tense. Logically, President Jonathan has only employed such a strategy to gain the sympathy of Nigerians.

Politicians give the impression that we are all in the same boat and have the same worries while, in actual fact, it is not true. Presidents Buhari and Jonathan have both attempted to share affinity with the masses, by identifying collective issues affecting common Nigerians, even though the issues on many occasions may or may not affect the political class. Even in such cases where the concerns affect the political class, it may not necessarily affect them greatly. Generally, politicians do understand how best to express their political wills by manoeuvring the concerns of the people.

Kamalu and Agangan (2015) examine the use of linguistic devices to recollect landmark accomplishments, by aligning with the suffering majority of the people. For Jalali and Sadeghi (2014), political speeches are filled with use of skilful language and politicians' ability to persuade and impress their audience with discourse filled with thoughts, emotions, and

excitement. Such are the enormous instances of hidden powers in discourse.

6.2.5 Lexical Choices in Nigerian Political Discourse

Carefully selecting an interesting choice of words for political campaigns cannot be overemphasised. Over the years, politicians have been synonymous with deliberate selection of lexical choices, coupled with their tactical use of language. This not only derives from the specific words they use but also how they use the words. Academic literature on lexical choices from different purviews abound. Instances of manipulative lexical structure in Nigerian political discourse are sought and analysed, with references to earlier studies.

One of the classes of words often employed by politicians in political speeches is that of pronouns. In some cases, pronouns are employed to demonstrate personal commitments, while in other cases, they exhibit the political party will. Also important is that, in many instances, political actors employ collective pronouns to claim solidarity with their people.

Examples of these usages include:

I would like **us** to place on record **our** appreciation for the efforts of **our**... thank **our** supporters up and down the country for **their** perseverance... **We** have worked very hard in the last 18 months... **We** have tried to ensure all processes in **our** party formation.... Nigeria in **my** experience has never been so divided... **We** in APC are resolved to bring change to Nigeria. **We** plan to do things differently... **(PB 2015 Declaration)**.

Our journey has not been easy but thanks to the determination of **our** people and strong support from friends abroad **we** have today a truly democratically elected government in place. I would like to thank the millions of our supporters who believed in **us** even when the cause seemed hopeless. I salute their resolve in waiting long

hours in rain and hot sunshine to register and cast their votes and stay all night if necessary to protect and ensure **their** votes count and were counted. I thank those who tirelessly carried the campaign on the social media. At the same time, I thank **our** other countrymen and women who did not vote for **us** but contributed to make **our** democratic culture truly competitive, strong, and definitive. I thank all of **you** (PB 2015 Inaugural).

I am going to address... I am going to address the people... those of you who will attain... I am addressing... I do not want to... **we** are spent already, I will crave **your** indulgence Nigerian youths... those of **you** who are here, listen to what I am saying. I am going to address political gatherings... I am going to dwell... I am focusing on the young people. I say... I will repeat it... and I believe all of you want to be relevant... I will not keep **you** here for too long because **we** still have the opportunity... I am going to raise just very few issues today and tomorrow I will continue in Enugu and then on and on and on. Nigeria is not for old people like **us**. (PJ 2015 Declaration).

I am mindful that I represent the shared aspiration of all our people... I assure you that this dream of Nigeria... those of **us** that **you** have elected to serve must show... **we** must demonstrate... **we** must strengthen common grounds... **we** must make a vow that, together, **we** will make the Nigerian Enterprise thrive (PJ 2011 Inaugural).

The above excerpts are only a few cases of the use of pronouns in selected Nigerian speeches. Jarraya (2013) acknowledges the use of these pronouns in political discourse such as “we” and “I” to express the degree of politicians’ personal involvement and commitment. This, to a large extent, may be a way of (mis)representing themselves to the masses. In a similar vein, Maalej (2013) considers the use of “I” as representative and filled with the personality of the speaker but observes the use of “we” as manipulative. He remarks that the use of “we” is a deliberate attempt employed by politicians, to convince and probably manipulate the audience to reason as the politicians do.

Most importantly, the use of such pronouns assists in appropriating discourse in politics. It could thus be surmised that, while the users of “I” often put themselves in the position of responsibilities, the users of “we” instead put responsibilities on everyone else, thereby avoiding commitment.

Evidently, pronouns such as “we”, “us”, and “our” are ambiguous and do not specifically refer to any entity. One is therefore unable to decipher whether such collective pronouns refer to Nigerians, the political party or in fact, the co-lawmakers who have all been elected. This is what Nadeem *et al.* (2014) observe as manipulation of the mind. Thus, pronouns have a stronger link with the connection of influence, authority, and solidarity when they are used consciously or unconsciously.

Also, the use of modals in political discourse is worthy of discussion, with politicians often employing modals to emphasise their political desires. Such modals are often assertive to make the masses believe that the political actor is indeed prepared to handle the situation of the state or nation. Among the important and common modals employed in political discourses are “will” and “shall”:

...our administration **will** be ready to play any leadership role that Africa... Nigerians **will** not regret that they have entrusted national responsibility to us... I **will** try to ensure that there is responsible... This government **will** do all it can to rescue them alive... we **will** not allow this to go on... we **shall** rebuild and reform the public service to become more effective... we **shall** charge them to apply themselves with integrity to stabilise the system... we **shall** overhaul the rules of engagement... we **shall** improve operational and legal mechanisms... we **must** not succumb to hopelessness and defeatism. **(PB Inaugural 2015).**

I **will** continue to fight for your future... I **will** continue to fight for improved medical care... I **will** continue to fight for all citizens... I

will continue to fight for electricity... I **will** continue to fight for an efficient transport system... I **will** continue to fight for jobs... **(PJ Inaugural 2011)**.

We **will** fight for justice... we **will** fight for all Nigerians to have access to power... we **will** fight for education... we **will** fight for health care reforms... we **will** fight to create jobs... we **will** fight corruption... we **will** fight to protect all... we **will** fight for your rights **(PJ Declaration 2010)**.

In President Buhari's declaration, he avoids committing himself through any of these modals. However, he would proceed to use them in his inaugural address, which is of course questionable, as he manages to technically circumvent personal promises in his declaration for the presidency. President Jonathan however fully commits himself with the use of modals, while outlining the specific issues he is expected to tackle. Ehineni (2014) considers the use of modals as a strong political device and ideological tool used by politicians to reinforce their individual political ideologies, communicate their political ideas and elicit public support. As such, it is not merely a linguistic element. Modals indeed allow politicians to reinforce their commitment, make promises and appeals, as well as give pledges to the public.

Nadeem *et al.* (2014) share a similar sentiment, stating that 'will' is used by all political entities to make statements more likeable and engaging to the public. It is further maintained by Nadeem *et al.* (2014) that politicians often also employ some nouns while using these modals, which is an attempt to give some sense of hope to the people. As indicated above, nouns such as education, electricity, justice, corruption, and jobs are representative of the Nigerian situation and as such, able to give Nigerians hope of reforms in those sectors.

6.2.6 Use of Figurative Expressions

Functions of metaphor in political discourse have been examined extensively. Hence, studies have proven that politicians rely heavily on figurative language, such as metaphor, by serving a pragmatic role in political discourse (Cox 2012). Figurative language, according to Heller (2011: 62), “refers to words, and groups of words, that exaggerate or alter the usual meanings of the component words. Figurative language and speech may involve analogy to similar concepts or other contexts and may involve exaggerations.”

Vulchanova, Saldaña, Chahboun, and Vulchanov (2015) define figurative expressions as a cover term for linguistic expressions whose interpretation is nonliteral, where the meaning of the expression in its entirety, cannot be computed directly from the meaning of its constituents. It is further explained by Vulchanova *et al.* that such expressions are characterised by interpretations that cannot be retrieved by simply knowing the basic senses of the constituent lexical items, and where the addressee needs to arrive at the intended meaning, rather than what is being said literally.

From these definitions, it is clear that figurative expressions are capable of expressing meaning beyond what is obvious. Given this power inherent in figurative expressions, studying their impact on political discourse is thus worthy of academic research.

Among the figurative expressions employed by politicians in their communication are: metaphor, metonymy, euphemism, and hyperbole, as well as refrain, and rhetorical questions, among others. It is important to note that it is almost impossible, if not entirely impossible, to identify and

discuss all possible instances of figurative expressions in Nigerian political discourse. Hence, only some such instances are discussed below.

Metaphor

Metaphors are powerful enough to shape and re-consider perceptions, as they are often employed to create enormous rhetorical effects. According to Mahmood, Obaid and Shakir (2014: 213), “metaphors are abstract relations which appear to be more convincing and persuade the reader usually to shape the understanding of an activity as an extra ordinary activity that is not actually happening”. For Zhang and Hu (2009: 80), metaphor is an avenue of cognising the world. In the current study, there is metaphoric use in the language of politics as a form of war/battle; movement/progress/development in Nigerian politics; metaphor of celebration; and metaphor of hope, among others.

Instances of metaphors in Nigerian political discourse, as demonstrated by President Buhari of the APC and President Jonathan of the PDP include:

...for committing their armed forces to **fight** Boko Haram in Nigeria... will be fully charged with prosecuting the **fight** against Boko haram... cooperate and help to **combat threats** of cross-border terrorism.... We intend to **attack** the problem frontally.... We must not succumb to **defeatism**.... This government will do all it can to **rescue** them alive... **(PB inaugural address 2015)**.

...I have no enemies to **fight**... us a bad name be ready for the **fight** that I shall give them... We will **fight** for JUSTICE! We will **fight** for all Nigerians to have access to POWER! We will **fight** for qualitative and competitive EDUCATION! We will **fight** for HEALTH CARE REFORMS! We will **fight** to create jobs, for all Nigerians! We will **fight** corruption! We will **fight** to protect all Citizens! We will **fight** for your rights! We will **fight** to build a great nation of our dreams! **(PJ declaration 2010)**.

...fight against corruption is a **war** in which we must in which we must all enlist to **safeguard** our common wealth... we **fought** for

decolonization. We will now **fight** for democratization... I will continue to **fight**, for your future, because I am one of you. I will continue to **fight**, for improved medical care for all our citizens I will continue to **fight** for all citizens to have access to first class education I will continue to **fight**, for electricity to be available to all our citizens I will continue to **fight**, for an efficient and affordable public transport system for all our people I will continue to **fight** for jobs to be created through productive partnerships (**PJ inauguration 2011**).

...this administration is **fighting** or encouraging corruption... that they will **fight** insecurity... he wants to **fight** insecurity, ask him when he was the head of government did he buy one **rifle for a Nigerian soldier**... us they will fight insurgency... or we are not **fighting** corruption... you to **fight** corruption... **fighting** corruption... if they had succeeded in **fighting** corruption...best way to **fight** corruption is to arrest... on television will not **fight** corruption... is that not the way to **fight** corruption?... that is the way to **fight** corruption... will draw a line and start **fighting** corruption after they... I have no **enemy** to **fight**... not to **fight enemies**... he can jail all his **enemies**... (**PJ declaration 2015**).

In the above excerpts, there are many references to lexis relating to war or battle, such as fight, defeat, enemy, and so on. Evidently, President Jonathan has given more attention to this than President Buhari. Possibly resulting from consistent criticism that if/when President Buhari is elected, he would soon resume his old military traits, as he did when he was once a military Head of State. Hence, his choice of words now fully represents the civilian regime.

One could then argue that Nigerian politicians metaphorically perceive political dealings as a form of war and the winner has to always be prepared for war to fight existing situations. They encourage Nigerians to be a formidable force against issues that contribute to the decline of the country. The term “fight” implies a struggle to overcome. It is thus evident that President Buhari and President Jonathan have given the impression in their

speeches that they are ready to resolve and tackle necessary issues in the country. This relates to Otieno's (2016) view that metaphors in political discourse are used to propagate political ideals and political ideologies.

There is also the metaphoric use of lexis that means the politicians are ready to build, renovate, change or transform the nation, particularly in terms of structure and progress. Such instances are:

...**reviving** Industry to generate employment and "make things" not just to remain hawkers of other peoples' goods. **Developing** solid minerals exploitation which will substantially attract employment and revenue for government. **Restoring** honour and integrity to public service by keeping the best and attracting the best (**PB Declaration 2015**).

...**Progress** has been made in recent weeks... We are going to **erect** and maintain an efficient, disciplined people... **start** these enterprises. We shall quickly examine the best way to **revive** major industries and **accelerate** the **revival** and **development** of our railways, roads and general infrastructure (**PB Inaugural 2015**).

The capacity is **built** overtime... we must **set up** institutions... working on and we are **succeeding**... I will **build** universities for you, I will **build** secondary schools for you, I will **build** primary schools for you... we must **grow** the economy, **create** jobs, and **generate** enduring happiness for our people... we are ready to **take off** on the path of sustained **growth** and economic **development**... encourage locally owned **rapidly** expanding population.... To **drive** our overall economic vision, the power sector...to **improve** our capability in combating trans-border crimes (**PJ declaration 2015**).

In the above listed examples, the two politicians attempt to create some developmental impressions in the masses, through their choice of words. Politicians deliver their speeches with promises of good governance and an improvement in the standard of living. Expressions from the domain of movement, race and progress are largely employed. Explicitly, terms such as accelerate, start, drive, generate, take-off, and rapid, represent

progressive movement. These choices of words imply a departure from the status-quo, in that there will soon be a difference to the current situation. Also, expressions such as growth, development, revive, and restore, create an impression of progress and transformation.

In their study, Nadeem *et al.* (2014) surmise that politicians use such contextual nouns incessantly, to show their deep worry and unease towards governance. This could be considered manipulative when Nigerians, unimpressed by the current situation, begin to accept the information from politicians as actual truth. This is especially due to it having been proven time and again that politicians may not necessarily behave as they say, after assuming power.

Further, the metaphor of hope is pervasive in Nigerian political speeches. Often, politicians attempt to inject a feeling of hope in the people, with the constant reminder the situation will be better. In selected speeches, the metaphor of hope is discovered in:

Nigerians will **not regret** that they have entrusted national responsibility to us. We must **not succumb to hopelessness** and defeatism. We can fix our problems.... We shall rebuild and reform the public service to become more effective and more serviceable. We shall charge them to apply themselves with integrity to stabilize the system.... We shall **overhaul the rules of engagement** to avoid human rights violations in operations. We shall **improve operational and legal mechanisms** so that disciplinary steps are taken against proven human right violations by the Armed Forces **(PB inaugural 2015)**.

Together, we will unite our nation and **improve the living standards** of all our peoples whether in the North or in the South; in the East or in the West. The day of transformation begins today. We will **not allow anyone to exploit differences** in creed or tongue, to set us one against another. In the days ahead, those of us that you have elected to serve must show that we are men and women with the patriotism and passion, to match the hopes and

aspirations of you, the greater people of this country. We will create **greater access to** quality education and improved health care delivery, we will pay special attention to the agricultural sector, to enable it to play its role of **ensuring food security and massive job creation** for our people (**PJ inaugural 2011**).

Consistently, politicians in their address continue to communicate the message of hope. They often create the impression that situations will improve, and the people should hope for the better. Nadeem *et al.* (2014: 5) recognise that politicians employ certain words to make promises and pledges, in order to lure and persuade the electorate into voting them into power. Such words are used to communicate and reinforce their individual political ideologies and political ideas.

It can thus be gathered from the above analytical references that metaphors play an important role in political discourse. Not only do metaphors serve as a way of augmenting political ideologies, but also in swaying the opinions of electorates.

Hyperbole

Hyperbole is a figure of speech employed for exaggerative purposes. Politicians, in their speeches, tend to overstate their achievements and promises, in an attempt to make the electorates consider their candidature. Hyperbolic instances are often present in Nigerian political speeches.

Many millions are grappling with extreme poverty and barely eking out a living. **Nearly all** are in fear of their lives or safety for themselves and their families due to insurgency by the **godless** movement called Boko Haram.... These outrages have taken a new and a frightening dimension, disrupting economic and social life **across whole communities** (**PB Declaration 2015**).

In the above excerpts, President Buhari makes reference to Nigeria with the impression that the country is small and whatever happens in one area

certainly happens in another. This is of course untrue of a nation with a population of over 180 million people. While it is evident that there are obvious security issues in some places in the country, his claim that whole communities are disturbed is incorrect. President Buhari does not make reference to statistics to support his statement. He basically exaggerates the situation to assume that all Nigerians are involved in the different issues across Nigeria. For example, the Boko Haram insurgency is generally a problem in the Northern part of Nigeria.

Nonetheless, President Buhari generalises the whole country, in an attempt to convince people that Nigerians all suffer the same predicament and especially, whatever affects one, affects all. This is an exaggerated claim. Furthermore, the attempt by President Buhari to refer to Boko Haram as a “godless movement” is overstated. The movement did start as an Islamic religious group, with the intention that everything of western culture is prohibited, which means the group is not totally godless, unlike the exaggeration employed by President Buhari.

A further statement by President Buhari is that he is ready to liberate all Nigerian women, a promise that does not seem easy to actualise, given the population of Nigeria and also, given he has not provided any indication as to the demographics of the women he would liberate. He has, likewise, failed to provide adequate information on what degree of liberation he has in mind, as well as what methods he plans to use. This may indeed be considered misrepresentative, as no one is aware of the actual intention of the speaker. Of further importance is the use of the term “women” by President Buhari, instead of “girls” or “ladies”.

The term “woman” is usually reserved for an adult and by using it as a generic term, it could be perceived that President Buhari sees all Nigerian women as mature enough to make a difference during electioneering. In other interpretations, this could be misconstrued as President Buhari focusing more on grown women, while neglecting the younger ones, who would eventually grow old.

These people did not buy **anything for the Nigerian soldiers**. They refused to equip them. No attack helicopter, nothing.... **We are ready to liberate all Nigerian women (PJ Declaration 2015)**.

In President Jonathan’s speech, he attempts to discredit the APC by claiming President Buhari never bought “anything” for Nigerian soldiers when he was head of state. My assumption is that it is not factual that no materials were secured for Nigerian soldiers under Buhari’s former administration, as implied by Jonathan. More so because one would expect Buhari to value the Army, having once been a General in the Nigerian Army.

Sharndama (2016: 23) covers overt and covert hyperbole in political discourse, when he refers to division of political communication as hyperbolic propaganda. His understanding of hyperbolic propaganda has been effectively established in the above excerpts. Sharndama argues that politicians are fond of overstating their achievements or perceived wrong acts of opponents. As such, they employ language to overemphasise the negative acts of their opponents, such as Jonathan has done above, and to blow up their own good works and promises as Buhari has demonstrated. In both ways, politicians can excel in making the audience perceive them as the best candidates.

Euphemism

Scholars have investigated euphemisms in political discourse, with the outcomes having established that politicians employ many euphemisms in their speeches. Hojati (2012) indicates that euphemisms are commonly used in people's daily speech and fulfil two functions: toning down the nature of potentially offensive things people need to mention and speak about; and neutralising negative connotations associated with offensive entities. The same can be said of Nigerian political discourse.

Abidi (2015: 8-9), among others, observes that euphemisms hold a fundamental focus in political discourse and as such, can be deployed as an asset to justify a given, contentious venture. Examples of euphemisms in Nigerian political discourse include:

Insurgency by the **godless movement** called Boko Haram.... Since 1999, PDP has **presided over our country's decline**.... Nigeria in my experience has never been so **divided**, so polarized by an unthinking government.... **(PB Declaration 2015)**.

I am going to address the people who are voting for the first time, those of you who will attain 18years this year. That means I am addressing the young people. I do not want to address **old people like me**, because we are **spent already**, and I will crave your indulgence Nigerian youths, those of you who are here, and those of you watching us at home, listen to what I am saying **(PJ Declaration 2015)**.

In the above excerpts, President Buhari refers to Boko Haram as a godless movement rather than refer to them as evil. The Boko Haram group have incessantly been linked to the Al-Qaeda and ISIS movements over the years. The sect has also been widely perceived as a terrorist group, given their raids, abductions, and bombings. It is therefore strategic that President Buhari opts not to refer to them as such. Furthermore, he says that the PDP has presided over the country's decline when he could have

said the PDP is the architect of the failure in governance that the country has endured since 1999.

Lastly, he says the country is divided when he may have said Nigerians are tribalised, as is the case. However, because the term “tribalize” implies a negative connotation, he opts for an alternative. Basically, President Buhari may have used euphemisms to make an unpleasant truth seem less harsh. Abidi (2015) stipulates that the power of euphemism in political discourse should not be underestimated, as it is often used to manage the impression of the audiences.

In President Jonathan’s speech, he states that he is mainly interested in addressing the young people of Nigeria, thus, giving the impression that he values the Nigerian youth. He seems to perceive them as integral for the upcoming elections. While one may argue that President Jonathan may indeed be interested in the youth, one can equally argue that President Jonathan says he sees the youth as the next category of people to deceive, as the older ones may no longer be enticed by his political messages. The study by Crespo-Fernández (2014) suffices here. In his work, euphemisms in political discourse serve to preserve the politicians’ image and good impression of themselves, as well as the political groups they represent.

Repetition

Repetition is a figure of speech that shows the logical emphasis necessary to attract a reader’s attention to the key-word or a key-phrase of the text. It implies repeating sounds, words, expressions and clauses, in a certain succession or even with no particular placement of the words, in order to provide emphasis (Kemertelidze and Manjavidze 2013). Repetitions are employed for emphatic reasons in everyday and political discourses. In

selected speeches, repetitions have been used several times. In some cases, there are repetitive words while, in others, there are cases of phrases or verses often referred to as refrain.

These instances include the following:

...economic growth when all the major indices namely **employment**.... immediate attention on youth **employment**.... to generate **employment** and make things.... substantially attract **employment** and revenue for government.... Tackling **corruption** which has become blatant and widespread. The rest of the world looks at Nigeria as the home of **corruption**. Nigeria is a country where stealing is not **corruption** (**PB Declaration 2015**).

...recent weeks by our **security** forces but victory... Boko Haram is not only the **security** issue bedeviling our country.... general air of **insecurity** in our land... compensated **security** forces within an overall **security** architecture.... **Insecurity**, pervasive **corruption**, the hitherto unending and seemingly impossible fuel.... judiciary to act with dispatch on all cases especially on **corruption**.... it will ensure that the gross **corruption** at the local level is checked.... the power shortages and **unemployment** especially among young people.... **unemployment**, notably youth **un-employment** features strongly in our Party's Manifesto (**PB Inaugural 2015**).

The first is the issue of **insecurity**.... I told you I was going to address **insecurity**.... will fight **insecurity**.... wants to fight **insecurity**.... when the crisis of **insecurity** came up... we have **security** challenges.... primarily for **security**... they used **security** channels... will be used for **security**.... administration is fighting or encouraging **corruption**... government is **corrupt**... or we are not fighting **corruption**.... I addressed the **anti-corruption** agencies.... for you to fight **corruption**.... and say that you are fighting **corruption**.... succeeded in fighting **corruption**, **corruption** would not have been with us here today.... we would not have been talking about **corruption** today.... this is the only way that you can prevent **corruption**.... today there is no **corruption** in the fertilizer industry again.... Is that not the way to stop **corruption**...? ...the best way to fight **corruption** is to arrest.... stop **corruption**, you will even encourage **corruption**.... arresting people and demonstrating on television will not fight **corruption**, we must set up institutions.... they are fighting

corruption... so, there is nothing like **corruption** anymore. Is that not the way to fight **corruption**? They said that is the way to fight **corruption**. Is that the way to stop **corruption**?... we have cleaned up the **corruption** in fertilizer distribution.... start fighting **corruption** after they cross the bridge.... we must stop **corruption**. I will not stop **corruption**.... you cannot stop **corruption** that way.... that is how to fight **corruption**? (**PJ Declaration 2015**).

The repetition of the term “corruption” indicates an alarming situation in Nigeria and this could be used as a serious political manipulative strategy. Akanle and Adesina (2015) argue that corruption is so common and pervasive in Nigeria, it would be nearly correct to consider it is a way of life. To this extent, many Nigerians have several criticisms about their country, when the issue of corruption is raised.

In the same vein, Awojobi (2014) affirms that political corruption has continued to hinder the Nigeria’s development. He states that, despite the creation of two anti-corruption agencies in the country, corruption still thrives. Given the status of corruption in the country, it is anticipated that politicians could use such popular instances to manipulate the electorates.

I will continue to fight, for your future, because I am one of you. **I will continue to fight**, for improved medical care for all our citizens. **I will continue to fight**, for all citizens to have access to first class education. **I will continue to fight**, for electricity to be available to all our citizens. **I will continue to fight**, for an efficient and affordable public transport system for all our people. **I will continue to fight for**, jobs to be created through productive partnerships (**PJ Inaugural 2011**).

We will fight for justice! **We will fight** for all Nigerians to have access to power! **We will fight** for qualitative and competitive education! **We will fight** for health care reforms! **We will fight** to create jobs, for all Nigerians! **We will fight** corruption! **We will fight** to protect all Citizens! **We will fight** for your rights (**PJ Declaration 2010**).

The term “fight” represents a violent struggle for change. This signals that Nigeria is in a situation where a subtle change may not suffice. President Jonathan registers the impression he is powerful enough to combat the mishaps in Nigeria.

I see a Nigeria where all who have taken up arms, would again embrace peace! **I see a Nigeria where** our women can aspire to any heights, without hindrance! **I see a Nigeria where** the flames in the Eagles will rekindle, and the Falcons soaring higher in victory! **I see a Nigeria where** the children of Mustapha, and Christopher, Ade and Ada, Timi and Bunmi, Nnamdi and Namadi, do not go hungry! **I see a Nigeria where** all, no matter their beliefs, live in peace and harmony! **I see a Nigeria where** the green passport is accorded a royal reception the world over! **I see a Nigeria where** one day the next generation will take us to outer space **(PJ Declaration 2014)**.

Instances of repetition in the above excerpts abound. As discussed, words and phrases, as highlighted, were used for distinctive purposes. It is recognised that insecurity, unemployment and corruption are part of the major problems facing Nigeria as a nation. The consistent repetition of those issues in the above speeches imply Nigerian politicians are aware of many problems requiring urgent solutions. The instances of refrain may also create a melodious rhythm in the audience’s mind, in order to continuously remember the politicians’ promises.

According to Davletbaeva *et al.* (2016), repetitions in political discourse serve to create an emphatic objective which helps produce a permanent effect on the audience to believe in and support their political course. Ademilokun and Taiwo (2013: 441) further affirm such linguistic devices are employed by the Nigerian political class during political campaigns to assert, maintain and resist power in discourse.

From the above analysis, it can be observed that figurative expressions perform important roles for politicians in political speeches. Among other functions, figurative expressions in political discourse are used to manage emotions, increase the meaning of words, manipulate the electorates, and attract the electorate, while emphasising the problems of the nation, as well as expressing the emotional state of the speaker.

6.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined linguistic manipulation and (mis)representation in Nigerian political speeches, particularly focusing on the APC and PDP at national level. Several of President Buhari and President Jonathan's speeches were highlighted and analysed, within the prospects of CDA. As with the previous chapter, this chapter has also identified enormous situations of manipulation in Nigerian political discourse, effectively discussed in the findings section of the next chapter.

Hence, I discuss how linguistic power is exhibited in Nigerian political discourse, in terms of the philosophical relationship with the concept of CDA.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter serves as the final for this thesis. In Chapter one, I offered a general background and introduction to this study. My Chapter two presents a review of related literature on political discourse. In my Chapter three, I submitted a critical discussion on the conceptual framework guiding this study. The fourth chapter focuses on the research methodology. In the fifth chapter, I presented the analysis of visual materials in Nigerian political discourse, just as my Chapter six also analysed the political speeches.

This chapter summarises the overall results of this work. The aim of this study was to deconstruct the language used in Nigerian politics, from the perspectives of linguistic self-(mis)representation and manipulation. To investigate this aim, CDA was employed as a theoretical framework, mainly using a Faircloughian approach, with strong support from MDA.

The specific objectives of this study were to:

1. Investigate and analyse the lexical items, phrases, sentence construction, texts and symbols, employed in Nigerian political speeches and campaign materials.
2. Examine the discursive strategies reflected in Nigerian politically-motivated discourse.
3. Examine how the socio-political status of Nigeria impacts on the politically-motivated discourse of the country.

The Faircloughian theoretical component is primarily concerned with both overt or seemingly observable representations in discourse, as well as

Haram, insecurity, and power, along with support, fight, and God, among others, were evident in the analysis. Certain concepts and themes are shown to be popular. In this Wordle analysis, the most frequent are represented in a bigger font, which points to the important components often derived from the analysis of Nigerian political discourse.

Arguably, these components could be assumed to have concisely surmised and profiled the Nigerian political environment, in terms of misrepresentation and manipulation. In the next section, I present the actual key findings derived from the analysis of collected data, from the Nigerian political setting.

7.2 Key Findings

In this section, I present the key findings of this research. While there may be other findings from the analysis, I have limited my summarisation in this section, to the salient ones.

i. Manipulation through service delivery

I have made evident from the analysed materials that the promises to provide basic services were prominent in Nigerian political discourse. This presupposes that the country lacks adequate delivery of services. To this extent, one could argue that the Nigerian political discourse is characterised by words, terms, and phrases that promise to improve the situation of service delivery in the country. It is, however, perplexing that these same promises of service delivery continue to re-occur in Nigerian political scenarios once the election period is over. Issues of electricity, security, fuel and economy remain unattended in Nigeria. The ineffective state of service delivery in the nation has not gone unnoticed in the academic sector.

For example, Osawe (2015) stipulates that, despite all reforms geared towards improving the performance of the Nigerian public sector, service delivery has remained poor. In a similar perspective, Gafar (2017: 26) notes that “given the increase in public demands for socio-economic and developmental services, along several plans and resources committed to public services by Nigerian government, poor service delivery has continued to bedevil development in post-independence Nigeria”. This confirms the moribund state of service delivery in the country. As such, this bodes well for politicians, as bait to canvass for public votes.

To this end, Nigerians are likely to believe politicians who promise heaven and earth to deliver adequate services. It is thus safe to conclude that politicians explore the weak links in society, in order to tactfully develop their campaign messages. In his *Language, Power and Manipulation: The Use of Rhetoric in Maintaining Political Influence*, David (2014: 164) states, “the best way for politicians to achieve the consent of the wide public and hence, the necessary license to implement their policies, is to create an ideology and to have the public to willingly accept it as their own”. Thus, use of service delivery as a political gimmick falls perfectly within David’s assertion.

ii. Manipulation through religion

Allusions to religious instances have a strong place in Nigerian politics. Time and time again, politicians tend to use religious and spiritual terminologies to drive their political ideologies. This, on the one hand, is done by politicians to present themselves as god-fearing, while on the other hand, may be used to claim solidarity with disciples of the same religion. There were several instances of religious interventions in Nigerian political

discourse, from politicians using the recourse to religion to serve these aforementioned purposes. Paraschivescu (2012) discloses that religious expression has its place in contemporary political discourse, arguing there is religious legacy in political discourse. Recourse to religious terminologies have been identified and thoroughly discussed in Nigerian political discourse in the analytical chapters.

iii. Manipulation through the situation of the nation

Since the main objectives of politicians are to explain their ideology and have the electorates support the ideology, they need to explore all possible avenues to achieve their aim(s). One possible method is to consider and often reconsider, the current happenings within the political vicinity. Here, a great deal of polarisation is employed, especially by looking at the deficiencies of opposition parties.

In essence, persistent issues in society form a strong basis for political discourse. I have discussed several instances in this light, identified in Nigerian political discourse, particularly with the recurring reference to corruption and related terms in Nigerian political discourse. On several occasions, terms such as “corruption”, “integrity” and “trust” were discovered in Nigerian political discourse, with the strong undertone that these are issues that are prevalent in Nigerian governance.

The number of times such issues were referred to in the samples analysed, suggest this is a pandemic in Nigeria. It is thus expected that, for politicians to penetrate the electorates, they must appear as incorrupt as possible. That corruption has taken a major position in Nigeria is unprecedented. Several literatures support this claim. Ogunmuyiwa (2015: 33) maintains that “political campaign discourse in Nigeria nowadays features corruption-

related issues such as mismanagement of resources, resources-related crises, power generation crisis, and labour-related crisis". He argues further that, through political discourse, it is evident corruption exists in Nigeria and it is discursively presented in texts in different ways.

iv. Crafty linguistic expressions

Misrepresentation in political discourse is expressive in the crafty use of language employed by politicians, deemed language manipulation. For this study, crafty linguistic expressions are the strategic act of employing language in a particular manner to sway a person, or group of persons' position and perspective, towards a certain phenomenon.

In political discourse, the manipulation of language may be resident in the use of figurative expressions and rhetorical devices. As analysed in the previous chapter, figurative use of language, such as the use of metaphor, repetition and hyperbole, are powerful in political discourse.

The linguistic expressions are employed using different levels of linguistic analysis, including syntax and lexico-semantics. At the syntactic level, politicians use different syntactic choices to achieve their political aims. Modalities were used on several occasions to cement promises and commitments, in order to communicate to the audience that the political actors are seemingly ready to serve the people. The lexico-semantic level was employed with emotional constituents, by reminding the electorates of their pathetic situation.

David (2014: 165) also suggests that politicians use rhetorical devices, such as alliteration, allusion, metaphor, parallelism and repetition, to maintain their political influence. Language is further argued to be a tool

used by politicians to persuade the public with their assertion of power (David 2014: 164). He notes further that language is ideological, as speakers can speak in a way that supports their own interests. David concludes that politicians use linguistic strategies, including linguistic manipulation, as an influential instrument of political rhetoric, to persuade audiences for a specific political action. In a similar vein, Karam (2015: 5) states that politicians rely heavily on euphemisms to avoid certain situations in a “disguised fashion”.

v. Ethnic influence in political discourse

Ethnicity, just as other factors discussed earlier, plays a paramount role in the discourse of politics. Given the population of Nigeria, it is important for politicians, especially at the federal level, to employ ethnic elements in their political campaigns. In a sense, this posits them as politicians that embrace multi-ethnicity. As such, they intend to appear as non-ethnocentric.

In Nigerian political discourse, embracing other ethnic groups is often symbolised by dressing in other ethnic group’s style of attire and perhaps, by communicating in their language. What becomes mostly manipulating, is when this strategy is employed solely during election campaigns. As in the analysis, there were different dress styles employed by President Buhari and President Jonathan, representative of certain cultures. Adegami and Uche (2015) affirm Nigeria’s democracy is characterised by ethnic-based politics. As such, insensitivity towards ethnicities in Nigeria is implausible during electioneering. It is within this context that politicians need to tailor their discourses towards creating a multi-ethnic impression.

vi. Visual Manipulation

From the collected data, it was seen that crafty use of visual pieces has a powerful influence on the interpretation of the electorates. These visual elements were employed to tweak the mind of the audience, as it is no longer news that visuals possess a powerful ability to communicate. From symbolism to colour combination as well as imagery, the collected data were filled with meaning and have been deconstructed in the study. Thus, making it possible for electorates to derive reality from visual communication.

Sack and Schuhmann (2013: 7) also submit that mental images “can easily be mentally transformed, distorted, or rotated in our mind.” This further confirms that we now live in an increasingly pictorial world, where promising ideas are represented in graphic content. Graphic content now says much more than words can say. As such, politicians have realised that, to reach the audience comfortably, there is a need to represent their thoughts in images, pictures and symbols, as audiences are likely to understand their thoughts better.

7.3 Contributions to the Field of Study

The manner in which language is employed and re-employed, on many occasions to achieve different objectives, has suggested a possible recycling routine. A contribution worth noting in this work, is the fact that the language of politics is also recycled. Hence, the idea of intertextuality in political discourse. The term intertextuality has been used, transformed and referred to through different means, while referring to similar linguistic components. Among such means resemiotisation, repurposing and recontextualisation are included, as enunciated by Iedema (2003), Prior and Hengst (2010), Zulpha (2017).

In Zulpha's (2017: 60) defence, intertextuality is concerned with re-using of words, phrases and sentences, repeating the same patterns of texts, building on existing utterances, as well as attacking or debating existing utterances and presuming that certain utterances are already known to the listener – as such, intertextuality is the relationship that a given text has with other texts. As such, words are not only used alongside other words, they are equally borrowed from one context to another to serve different functions.

Thus, in this section, recourse to intertextuality will also include resemiotisation, repurposing and recontextualisation. Zulpha's study has only pontificated Barthes' study. For Barthes (1977), a text is derived from other existing texts, which debunks the possibility that there is an "original" text. Barthes contends that intertextuality promotes a new vision of meaning and thus of authorship and reading: a vision resistant to ingrained notions of originality, uniqueness, singularity and autonomy. He argues that, in order to interpret a text, one must appreciate the plurality from which it is made.

In a similar contribution, Kristeva (1980) affirms that intertextuality is the absorption and transformation of other texts. In her *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (1980), she maintains that authors do not invent new texts from their own mind, but rather appropriate them from pre-existing texts. As such, the text is only a permutation of texts, an intertextuality in the space of a given text, in which several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralise one another (Kristeva 1980: 36). Her argument is hinged on the fact that the text is not an isolated object but a product of the interaction between various texts. By implication, any

text is the absorption and transformation of another. Kristeva nurtures the opinion that every text is from the outset under the jurisdiction of other discourses.

Fairclough (2003: 43) concurs, as he considers the same phenomenon as the relations between one text and other texts, which are internal and external to it, yet in some way, brought into it. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 49), on the one hand, understand intertextuality as the combination in discourse of different genres of different discourses'; and on the other hand, as the presence in my discourse of the specific words of the other, mixed with my words as for instance, reported speech. Fairclough (2006) notes that intertextuality is among the 'salient features of contemporary discourse.

Iedema's (2003) notion of intertextuality is captured in what he termed dilinguistification and resemiotisation. Iedema believes that semiotics carries different meanings with its movement from one text to another, shifting from linguistification to technical design, such as sound, colour and visual images, especially in relation to discourse. Zulpha (2017: 64) does justice to Iedema's position, with the explanation that resemiotisation provides the analytical means for tracing how semiotics is translated from one end to the other, as social processes unfold and asking why these semiotics (rather than others) are mobilised to do certain things at certain times.

Basically, intertextuality focuses on the situation of text (the context of the text) and its impact on meaning-making. Hence, the idea of resemiotisation, repurposing and recontextualisation, drawn from the intertextuality

umbrella, can only connote the ability to employ certain texts to function in different terrain effectively. These terms are concerned with how certain texts are developed from existing texts and how the developed texts are used to build other texts. Given this position, it is important to understand that while certain texts are used in different domains, politicians do not also borrow these texts to function in another context, the texts are also borrowed to achieve purposes different from their initial sources.

Intertextuality plays an active role in political discourse. In fact, Intertextuality is skilfully and dynamically used in political communications. A major contribution to the field of study in this thesis is, thus, *language recontextualisation and repurposing* in political discourse. Recontextualisation of language use is prominent in Nigerian political discourse. On many occasions, political messages are recontextualised to achieve the political aims of politicians.

Importantly, the concepts of intertextuality and resemiotisation were noticeable in the study. Over and over again, popular language is recontextualised, just as other messages are employed to achieve certain effects. Aspects of this also include the discourse of sympathy, as observed in some of President Jonathan's speeches, where a typical Nigerian living standard has been recontextualised to gain sympathy for himself. This creates a strong case for the existence of intertextuality in political discourse. This view is also shared and discussed by other scholars.

Hernández-Guerra (2013: 59) notes that politics as discourse is a constantly redefined area because we must often examine who talks to whom and what they intend to achieve. Chilton and Schäffner (1997: 1) have categorically stated that political language, political discourse and

political text are vague terms and that political speeches are not homogeneous. This implies that they are used differently in different contexts and as such, have to be studied diversely, with different themes and sub-themes possibly determined by the particular communicative situation.

Lakoff (1990: 4) states that politicians try to achieve some goals in their development and the linguist's aim is to explore the ways of language, how they simplify and assist, to create this function. This explains why Hernández-Guerra (2013: 59) postulates that political discourse study is a discipline that reveals more information than a first reading can offer. This further signifies that political discourses are loaded, and it takes considerable amount of effort to deconstruct the seemingly innocuous political messages.

In the topical study, discourses were recontextualised and repurposed by politicians to achieve political aims. These recontextualisations occurred through several means. In some cases, it is about referring to issues people could easily associate with, such as religion, security, poverty, security, and so on. While these are evident in the analysis, also important is the use of popular language or words in the political context. These are more noticeable in the discourses associated with President Buhari, where he uses words or phrases that are already popular and contextualises these phrases within his own political ambition. Such examples include "change" and "trust". President Jonathan repurposes the poverty situation of Nigerian to achieve a political score in the aim of gaining more sympathy.

The above instances, as well as others emanating from the analysis, only point to the fact that politicians are skilful in employing certain choices of

words to deliver their ambition. As such, language recontextualisation takes hold in Nigerian political discourse because political messages are supposed to be craftily selected and employed to serve political objectives. They are borrowed from actual day-to-day discourses to achieve political sentiments, by analysing what types of messages the electorates could best associate with.

The attempt to read the mind of the electorates and send a message that could appeal to their emotions, is thus viewed through the prism of recontextualisation, repurposing and resemiotisation. Not only do politicians use words to achieve intertextuality in political discourse, they also use and borrow symbols and images from different spheres of life to assert their political ambition.

Recontextualisation of language use plays an important role in discourse. Iedema (2003: 41) explains this in the context of “how meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice or from one stage of a practice to the next”. Basically, recontextualisation deals with removing text from a particular context and putting it into another; every text is a report of prior texts but is re-created to make new meaning in a new discourse (Roberts 2017).

It is thus feasible to say what politicians do, is use texts to create new meaning in every discourse, to suit their own purposes. This is where repurposing takes a strong hold. Banda and Jimaima (2015) stipulate that repurposing involves recycling of material or content from one medium to another medium, as well as the refashioning of texts.

7.3.1 Theoretical Model for analysing misrepresentation and manipulation in discourse

This study proposes a theoretical model or framework for the analysis of misrepresentation and manipulation in different forms of discourse, hinged on Teun van Dijk's *Discourse and Manipulation*. He argues that manipulation involves enhancing the power, moral superiority and credibility of the speaker(s), and discrediting dissidents, while vilifying the Others, the enemy; the use of emotional appeals; and adducing seemingly irrefutable proofs of one's beliefs and reasons.

At this stage, it is apparent that linguistic manipulation is concerned with an attempt by a speaker to influence and impact on the decisions of the audience. In achieving this, certain linguistic elements are conversant and used in relation to contexts, as it is also noteworthy to know that language cannot function without a context.

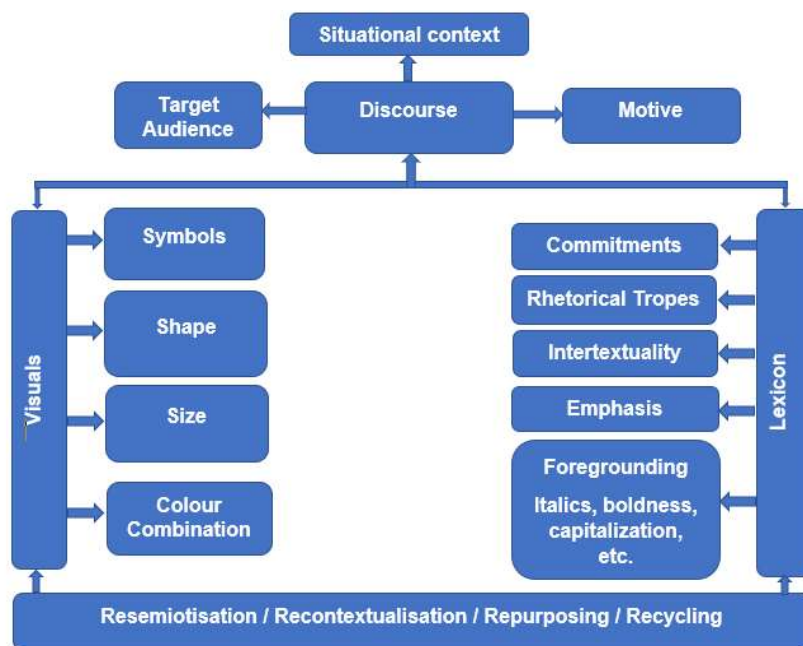


Figure 7.2: Theoretical model for analysing misrepresentation and manipulation in political discourse.

The above model (Fig 7.2) emanates from the findings of this research endeavour, highlighting the crucial elements needed to conduct an accurate analysis of linguistic manipulation and misrepresentation, within any given context. It is necessary to note that, to identify manipulation and misrepresentation and language, certain linguistic features must be present. Such linguistic attributes should thus be studied alongside the context of the discourse.

To explain linguistic manipulation again, it occurs when a speaker has a hidden purpose or hidden objective behind the obvious part of the discourse. Put differently, linguistic manipulation occurs when a speaker intends to exert a particular degree of influence on an audience or a group of an audience, with the power of language. The world over, people recognise the power of language; they are aware of the substantial ability resident in language. Hence, people use language to achieve their aims and objectives.

Furthermore, it has been proven that discourses are not free of value. As a matter of fact, discourses are often embedded with conceptions the audience may be less conscious of. Also important is that, for every communication, there is an ideological stance or distinction, with the ideology of a speaker also contributing to manipulation. In agreement, Beard (2000: 18) stipulates that language is not separate from the ideas it contains, but the way language is used says a great deal about how the ideas have been shaped.

Other studies have also discussed linguistic manipulation, although the researcher is yet to come across any that have developed a theoretical

model for analytical purposes. This does not suggest these studies have not contributed enormously to the field. For example, Danilova (2009: 12) considers language manipulation to be a “hidden linguistic impact on the recipient, intentionally misinforming it in relation to the idea or content of the speech, performed at three levels: individual, group and mass”.

Going back to the theoretical model resulting from the study findings, “discourse” remains the common factor. However, for the discourse to function, and maybe exert influence, different linguistic dynamics are employed. The linguistic dynamics are represented in the above model (Fig 7.2). The situational context is important. To analyse manipulation or misrepresentation, there is the need to understand the context for which the discourse is developed. There may be several contexts, such as religious, political, academic, ethnicity, and so on. Such contexts dictate how the language is used and what choice of words are employed by the speaker.

Of equal importance to the study of linguistic manipulation, is an analysis of the speaker’s motive. Here, the purpose of communication is examined in relation to what the speaker intends to achieve with the communication. Often, this is derived from the ability to first understand and interpret the context precisely. The context will thus guide the analysis of the speaker’s objectives.

An understanding of the target audience furthermore suggests whether the discourse is manipulative or misrepresentative. Intelligent speakers select their choice of words depending on the audience. In the case of this research, a politician is able to campaign by first analysing the potential audience and thus presenting the political communication in the

perspectives of the audience. In this regard, the audience is able to relate to the political message and by so doing, fulfil the aims of the speaker.

Discourses can be visual or lexical. At the visual level, the communicator pays attention to details by being cognisant of what could attract the audience. Hence, carefully choosing the colour, size, symbols and shapes which best represent the discourse is paramount in political discourse. Since the aim of political discourse is to persuade and work on the emotions of the electorates, it is important, in attempting to influence the vision of the audience, to select the appropriate visuals.

From these visuals, the audience is able to interpret and assume what the communicator attempts to communicate. In most cases, these visuals are not presented in isolation and they are often accompanied by lexical items. Saddled with the responsibilities of accentuating or emphasising the visual elements, the use of these lexical items results in the visual elements becoming unhindered when used alongside words.

Lexicons are strong features of linguistic manipulation; this simply means the vocabulary, or the choice of words employed in communication. Political discourses are filled with carefully selected choice of words. To achieve political objectives, certain linguistic devices are employed. Among those devices used for manipulation in political discourse, is the use of rhetorical tropes or figurative expressions capable of ensuring a long-lasting meaning. Further, when a speaker emphasises a particular aspect of a discourse more than another, it is an indication of the fact that the speaker intends to achieve an aim with the emphasis.

Additionally, where certain parts of a message are deliberately foregrounded (italicised, bold and capitalised), the user of the discourse intends to achieve an aim with the foregrounding effects. A close analysis of such effects might reveal a degree of manipulation and misrepresentation in discourse. To note further, in a speech where there is abundant usage of commissive statements, where the speaker makes many promises, it is a further indication of a hidden agenda that might be manipulative and misrepresentative.

It is important to note that the mere occurrences of these devices or elements does not automatically suggest manipulation and misrepresentation. The researcher should thus study these occurrences critically, alongside the context, in order to analyse the evidence of manipulation. The developed model only identifies strategies that might be complicit in discursive manipulation, proposing a framework for future linguistic researchers who intend to study linguistic manipulation in any given context. A detailed analysis and understanding of the above model provide the guidelines for the researcher to base the analysis of linguistic manipulation.

7.4 Further Research

This study has exposed several gaps around the study of political discourse in Nigeria and globally. Hence, it is necessary to suggest recommendations for future research works to consider. Some of these recommendations derive from the limitations of this study, as it is practically impossible for one research to cover the totality of a subject. The following are possible areas to consider for future research:

- This research has employed CDA and MDA as analytical frameworks and some findings have emerged. It would be interesting to discover whether other linguistic theories or disciplines could uncover similar or dissimilar findings. Phonological, morphological, and syntactical theories, among others, could be employed as the main theoretical framework for analysing political discourse.
- The researcher employed a qualitative research method. Further studies may explore possibilities of a quantitative method; as statistical information may contribute new findings to the study.
- The study investigated political discourse in two political parties in Nigeria; including discourse from other political parties may reveal different findings that would be beneficial to academics.
- While the study only considered political discourse exhibited at national or federal level in Nigeria, examining the discourse at local political levels may provide unfamiliar findings.
- This study has primarily focused on Nigerian political discourse; future researchers may consider similar studies of other African countries, as this could also reveal homogeneous or heterogeneous differences amongst African societies.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

Having presented the findings of this research, I can conclude the objectives of the research have been actualised. I have presented misrepresentative and manipulative practices in the discursive strategies of Nigerian politicians. Through the analysis, I strongly contend that discourse is powerful and thus has the ability to exploit and influence people. This is executed in accordance with some supporting literature substantiating the amount of power resident in language. These literatures

were later validated with the variety of data collected for this research purpose.

The study has demonstrated how politicians exploit political messages to achieve their political aims. It further discussed how politically motivated utterances are seemingly manipulative, despite possessing no obvious signs of manipulation. With CDA and MDA, hidden meanings in political messages were uncovered, further confirming that the appropriation of the two frameworks will often reveal more information than when only one is employed. While the CDA tenets, following Fairclough's three-dimensional models, were employed to critically analyse the political speeches, and texts on visual materials, MDA was mainly employed to analyse visuals in terms of images and symbolic representations. As such, graphic representations were analysed, in accordance with their suggested meaning, in a political environment.

In the course of the study, I have also strengthened my position that there is an ideological stance in every communicated message and discourse participants are always motivated by discursive goals. I further verified the assertion that no communication is value-free. In the context of this research, every politically-motivated discourse is intended to achieve an aim – such aims have thus been deconstructed in this study. It is evident that even seemingly trivial discourses are heavily laden with meaning, which could best be understood when critically examined, as in the case of this project. As such, one cannot take political communication with levity, as from time to time, politicians are innovative and become more creative in their political linguistic repertoire.

The work has also demonstrated its strongest contributions to knowledge, by re-examining intertextuality within the context of Nigerian political discourse, as well as proposing a theoretical model for the study of linguistic manipulation. The theoretical model suggests a prototype for the study of linguistic manipulation and misrepresentation. While the study is focused on political discourse, the framework is however generic. As such, it is possible to employ the model in several other linguistic contexts, where the aim is to study how language is employed to influence an audience.

The attempt to study intertextuality culminated in other areas of linguistic interpretation, such as resemiotisation, recontextualisation, repurposing, and recycling, which are all central to the argument of the topical research, as well as the theoretical model. These keywords, as discussed above, are integral to the study of discourse, in that they all reinforce the idea that texts cannot be studied in isolation; texts should be studied alongside other texts.

In a nutshell, power resides within discourse and as such, discourse can be used to achieve several goals. Among such goals are to manipulate and misrepresent, which often permeates political scenarios. It is no longer news that politicians are crafty with their use of language. While this has proven successful for many, it has proven abortive for others. Despite this, the aspect of manipulation and misrepresentation in political discourse is relentless in its presence, hence, worthy of academic investigation.

In this study, I have simplified manipulation and misrepresentation in Nigerian political settings and offered a theoretical framework for future scholars with similar research endeavours. In order for this study to reach a wider audience, at least, four journal publications have been developed from the work.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Speeches

APC SPEECHES

President Buhari's Speech at his Formal Declaration for Presidency

First, I would like, Mr Chairman, if I may, pay tribute to Nigerians as a whole who are enduring all sorts of hardships and deprivations on a daily basis. Many millions are grappling with extreme poverty and barely eking out a living. Nearly all are in fear of their lives or safety for themselves and their families due to:

- Insurgency by the godless movement called Boko Haram;
- By marauding murderers in towns and villages;
- By armed robbers on the highways;
- By kidnappers who have put whole communities to fright and sometimes to flight.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is everyone's duty to resolve and help the national effort to overcome these immense challenges. I would like us to place on record our appreciation for the efforts of our Armed Forces under new leadership and police in confronting these challenges.

I would like, secondly, to thank our supporters up and down the country for their perseverance and resolve in face of an oppressive PDP government.

Mr Chairman, this is an occasion to celebrate our efforts and to resolve to continue until victory is won. I humbly wish to present myself before you, before all of Nigeria and before God seeking to be elected as APC's Presidential candidate. Having appreciated that the only way to relieve Nigerians of the PDP, the main opposition parties decided to pool their strengths into one party. We have worked very hard in the last 18 months to put up structures from the polling units to wards, local governments, states and the centre.

We have tried to ensure all processes in our party formation to be transparent and credible. These structures will lead to free and fair polls. There is no point in holding elections if they are not free and fair.

Interference in the form of rigging which PDP Government has practised since 2003 is the worst form of injustice – denying people their right to express their opinions. Whether they like it or not, injustice cannot endure.

Since 1999 PDP has presided over our country's decline. Nigeria in my experience has never been so divided, so polarized by an unthinking government hell bent on ruling and stealing forever whatever befalls the country. Mr Chairman, we in APC are resolved to stop them in their tracks and rescue Nigeria from the stranglehold of PDP.

The last 16 years of PDP Government has witnessed decline in all critical sectors of life in Nigeria. There is now general insecurity in the land

Quite apart from Boko Haram, there is prevalence of Armed Robbery, kidnappings and killings, cattle rustling, market and farmland arson. These outrages have taken a new and a frightening dimension, disrupting economic and social life across whole communities.

The economy continues to deteriorate while the Government continues to announce fantastic growth figures, but manufacturing is down, agriculture is down, commerce is down. Simply because you sell oil and steal part of the money does not entitle you to cook figures and announce phantom economic growth when all the major indices namely:

- i. Employment
- ii. Manufacturing
- iii. Farming
- iv. Trading are demonstrably on the decline.

When PDP came to power in 1999 Nigeria was generating about 4,000 M/W of electricity. After 15 years and \$20 billion spent we are generating between 3,000 – 4,000 M/W. No failure is more glaring than this. We in APC are resolved to bring change to Nigeria. We plan to do things differently.

We plan to put priority on:

- Protection of lives and property.
- Pursuing economic policies for shared prosperity and immediate attention on youth employment.
- Quality education for development, modernity and social mobility.
- Agricultural productivity for taking millions out of poverty and ensuring food security.
- Reviving industry to generate employment and "make things" not just to remain hawkers of other peoples' goods.
- Developing solid minerals exploitation which will substantially attract employment and revenue for government.
- Restoring honour and integrity to public service by keeping the best and attracting the best.
- Tackling corruption which has become blatant and widespread. The rest of the world looks at Nigeria as the home of corruption. Nigeria is a country where stealing is not corruption.
- Last, (but not the least or final) respecting the constitutional separation of powers between the executive, legislatures and judiciary and respecting the rights of citizens.

Mr Chairman, there, in outline are some policy proposals about the direction APC should take when, by the grace of God, we are given the responsibility of serving Nigeria in Government.

Inaugural Speech by His Excellency, President Muhammadu Buhari following His Swearing-In as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 29th May, 2015.

I am immensely grateful to God Who Has preserved us to witness this day and this occasion. Today marks a triumph for Nigeria and an occasion to celebrate her freedom and cherish her democracy. Nigerians have shown their commitment to democracy and are determined to entrench its culture. Our journey has not been easy but thanks to the determination of our people and strong support from friends abroad we have today a truly democratically elected government in place.

I would like to thank President Goodluck Jonathan for his display of statesmanship in setting a precedent for us that has now made our people proud to be Nigerians wherever they are. With the support and cooperation, he has given to the transition process, he has made it possible for us to show the world that despite the perceived tension in the land we can be a united people capable of doing what is right for our nation. Together we cooperated to surprise the world that had come to expect only the worst from Nigeria. I hope this act of graciously accepting defeat by the outgoing President will become the standard of political conduct in the country.

I would like to thank the millions of our supporters who believed in us even when the cause seemed hopeless. I salute their resolve in waiting long hours in rain and hot sunshine to register and cast their votes and stay all night if necessary to protect and ensure their votes count and were counted. I thank those who tirelessly carried the campaign on the social media. At the same time, I thank our other countrymen and women who did not vote for us but contributed to make our democratic culture truly competitive, strong and definitive. I thank all of you. Having just a few minutes ago sworn on the Holy Book, I intend to keep my oath and serve as President to all Nigerians. I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody. A few people have privately voiced fears that on coming back to office I shall go after them. These fears are groundless. There will be no paying off old scores. The past is prologue.

Our neighbours in the Sub-region and our African brethren should rest assured that Nigeria under our administration will be ready to play any leadership role that Africa expects of it. Here I would like to thank the governments and people of Cameroon, Chad and Niger for committing their armed forces to fight Boko Haram in Nigeria.

I also wish to assure the wider international community of our readiness to cooperate and help to combat threats of cross-border terrorism, sea piracy, refugees and boat people, financial crime, cybercrime, climate change, the spread of communicable diseases and other challenges of the 21st century.

At home we face enormous challenges. Insecurity, pervasive corruption, the hitherto unending and seemingly impossible fuel and power shortages are the immediate concerns. We are going to tackle them head on. Nigerians will not regret that they have entrusted national responsibility to us. We must not succumb to hopelessness and defeatism. We can fix our problems.

In recent times Nigerian leaders appear to have misread our mission. Our founding fathers, Mr Herbert Macaulay, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Malam Aminu Kano, Chief J.S. Tarka, Mr Eyo Ita, Chief Denis Osadeby, Chief Ladoke Akintola and their colleagues worked to establish certain standards of governance. They might have differed in their methods or tactics or details, but they were united in establishing a viable and progressive country. Some of their successors behaved like spoilt children breaking everything and bringing disorder to the house.

Furthermore, we as Nigerians must remind ourselves that we are heirs to great civilizations: Shehu Othman Dan fodio's caliphate, the Kanem Borno Empire, the Oyo Empire, the Benin Empire and King Jaja's formidable domain. The blood of those great ancestor's flow in our veins. What is now required is to build on these legacies, to modernize and uplift Nigeria.

Daunting as the task may be it is by no means insurmountable. There is now a national consensus that our chosen route to national development is democracy. To achieve our objectives, we must consciously work the democratic system. The Federal Executive under my watch will not seek to encroach on the duties and functions of the Legislative and Judicial arms of government. The law enforcing authorities will be charged to operate within the Constitution. We shall rebuild and reform the public service to become more effective and more serviceable. We shall charge them to apply themselves with integrity to stabilize the system.

For their part the legislative arm must keep to their brief of making laws, carrying out over-sight functions and doing so expeditiously. The judicial system needs reform to cleanse itself from its immediate past. The country now expects the judiciary to act with dispatch on all cases especially on corruption, serious financial crimes or abuse of office. It is only when the three arms act constitutionally that government will be enabled to serve the country optimally and avoid the confusion all too often bedeviling governance today.

Elsewhere relations between Abuja and the States have to be clarified if we are to serve the country better.

Constitutionally there are limits to powers of each of the three tiers of government but that should not mean the Federal Government should fold its arms and close its eyes to what is going on in the states and local governments. Not least the operations of the Local Government Joint Account. While the Federal Government cannot interfere in the details of its operations it will ensure that the gross corruption at the local level is checked.

As far as the constitution allows me I will try to ensure that there is responsible and accountable governance at all levels of government in the country. For I will not have kept my own trust with the Nigerian people if I allow others abuse theirs under my watch.

However, no matter how well organized the governments of the federation are they cannot succeed without the support, understanding and cooperation of labour unions, organized private sector, the press and civil society organizations. I appeal to employers and workers alike to unite in raising productivity so that everybody will have the opportunity to share in increased prosperity. The Nigerian press is the most vibrant in Africa. My appeal to

the media today – and this includes the social media – is to exercise its considerable powers with responsibility and patriotism.

My appeal for unity is predicated on the seriousness of the legacy we are getting into. With depleted foreign reserves, falling oil prices, leakages and debts, the Nigerian economy is in deep trouble and will require careful management to bring it round and to tackle the immediate challenges confronting us, namely; Boko Haram, the Niger Delta situation, the power shortages and unemployment especially among young people. For the longer term we have to improve the standards of our education. We have to look at the whole field of medicare. We have to upgrade our dilapidated physical infrastructure.

The most immediate is Boko Haram's insurgency. Progress has been made in recent weeks by our security forces, but victory cannot be achieved by basing the Command and Control Centre in Abuja. The command centre will be relocated to Maiduguri and remain until Boko Haram is completely subdued. But we cannot claim to have defeated Boko Haram without rescuing the Chibok girls and all other innocent persons held hostage by insurgents.

This government will do all it can to rescue them alive. Boko Haram is a typical example of small fires causing large fires. An eccentric and unorthodox preacher with a tiny following was given posthumous fame and following by his extra judicial murder at the hands of the police. Since then through official bungling, negligence, complacency or collusion Boko Haram became a terrifying force taking tens of thousands of lives and capturing several towns and villages covering swathes of Nigerian sovereign territory.

Boko Haram is a mindless, godless group who are as far away from Islam as one can think of. At the end of the hostilities when the group is subdued the Government intends to commission a sociological study to determine its origins, remote and immediate causes of the movement, its sponsors, the international connexions to ensure that measures are taken to prevent a recurrence of this evil. For now, the Armed Forces will be fully charged with prosecuting the fight against Boko Haram. We shall overhaul the rules of engagement to avoid human rights violations in operations. We shall improve operational and legal mechanisms so that disciplinary steps are taken against proven human right violations by the Armed Forces.

Boko Haram is not only the security issue bedeviling our country. The spate of kidnappings, armed robberies, herdsmen/farmers clashes, cattle rustlings all help to add to the general air of insecurity in our land. We are going to erect and maintain an efficient, disciplined people – friendly and well – compensated security forces within an over – all security architecture.

The amnesty programme in the Niger Delta is due to end in December, but the Government intends to invest heavily in the projects, and programmes currently in place. I call on the leadership and people in these areas to cooperate with the State and Federal Government in the rehabilitation programmes which will be streamlined and made more effective. As ever, I am ready to listen to grievances of my fellow Nigerians. I extend my hand of fellowship to them so that we can bring peace and build prosperity for our people.

No single cause can be identified to explain Nigerian's poor economic performance over the years than the power situation. It is a national shame that an economy of 180 million generates only 4,000MW, and distributes even less. Continuous tinkering with the structures of power supply and distribution and close on \$20b expanded since 1999 have only brought darkness, frustration, misery, and resignation among Nigerians. We will not allow this to go on. Careful studies are under way during this transition to identify the quickest, safest and most cost-effective way to bring light and relief to Nigerians.

Unemployment, notably youth un-employment features strongly in our Party's Manifesto. We intend to attack the problem frontally through revival of agriculture, solid minerals mining as well as credits to small and medium size businesses to kick – start these enterprises. We shall quickly examine the best way to revive major industries and accelerate the revival and development of our railways, roads and general infrastructure.

Your Excellencies, my fellow Nigerians I cannot recall when Nigeria enjoyed so much goodwill abroad as now. The messages I received from East and West, from powerful and small countries are indicative of international expectations on us. At home the newly elected government is basking in a reservoir of goodwill and high expectations. Nigeria therefore has a window of opportunity to fulfil our long – standing potential of pulling ourselves together and realizing our mission as a great nation.

Our situation somehow reminds one of a passage in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar:

There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune; omitted, all the voyage of their life, is bound in shallows and miseries. We have an opportunity. Let us take it.

PDP SPEECHES

President Goodluck Jonathan's Remarks at the Flag-Off of the PDP 2015 Campaign in Lagos on Thursday, January 8, 2015

Your Excellency, the chairman of our great party, Alhaji Adamu Muazu, senior members of our party here on this great occasion, we have spent so much time here so I will not bore you with protocols.

Today, I am going to address only a segment of the Nigerian population. I am going to address the people who are voting for the first time, those of you who will attain 18years this year.

That means I am addressing the young people. I do not want to address old people like me, because we are spent already, and I will crave your indulgence Nigerian youths, those of you who are here, and those of you watching us at home, listen to what I am saying. I am going to address political gatherings in 37 cities and I am going to dwell on three key things. I am focusing on the young people.

Whatever I say, when you go back, call your aunts or call your uncles, your father or your mother, or your cousin, that is at least 60 years old and confirm and ask them what you heard that the Presidential candidate of PDP mentioned in any of the rallies because 2015 elections is about the young people: either you vote and continue to be relevant in Nigeria's political history or you vote for you to be irrelevant.

And I will repeat it, those of you who are voting for the first time, your decision to vote could mean you vote for a Nigerian youth to be important, to be relevant in this country or be a Nigerian person to be treated as a nonsense person and I believe all of you want to be relevant.

Of course, you have seen...we have just introduced our governorship candidates and you see how many of them that is of your age bracket. Which other party will give that kind of opportunity?

I am going to dwell on three things because those who say they want to take over power from PDP have been telling a lot of lies. They have hired people from all over the world and those of you in the social media carry all forms of lies, painting all kinds of colour and giving me all kinds of face that I cannot defend. If you listen to us in the 37 places we will address these issues, you will now know where to cast your votes. I will address you in all the places on three issues.

The first is the issue of insecurity. I am also going to address whether this administration is fighting or encouraging corruption. I am going to address the issue of weak government and unfocused government that has no plans. Yours is to listen and compare with everything that has been done before in this country and take a decision. I will not keep you here for too long because we still have the opportunity. I am going to raise just very few issues today and tomorrow I will continue in Enugu and then on and on and on.

First let me tell you about the voter's card. First when we came in here we saw some placards, some of you complaining that we are yet to get a permanent voters card. Only yesterday, I directed that every Nigerian (of voting age) must vote. INEC must make sure and government will not allow a situation where some (eligible) Nigerians will not vote; we will not allow it. All Nigerians must vote, and I mean it.

I told you that I am addressing those of you who are voting for the first time. Those of you in the age bracket of 20 to 24, if you go back, ask your uncles, before 2011 no Nigerian complained that he had no voters card. People voted themselves into office. We came and said every Nigeria vote must count and since then, the voter's card has become relevant. This is the party that is giving political strength to all Nigerians. Already you have been told from intelligence reports that some people are already cloning cards so that your voter's card will no longer be relevant. Is that the kind of people you want to take over government?

They want to take us to the old days when nobody saw voter's cards but results were announced. They want to take us to the old days when ballot papers would be in South Africa and results would be announced. Are you going back to the old days? Nigeria must move forward. Nigeria is for the youths. Nigeria is not for old people like us. The young generation must redefine this country. We must take this country to where we want it to be. Nobody can push us backwards. The past is past. They have led us backward and backward.

In fact, when we were young, we were told that at Independence, Nigeria, Brazil, Malaysia, Indonesia and even India were all at the same level. That was what we were told when I was in the secondary school and the university. Now all those countries have left us behind and now some people want to take us backward. Do you want to go backwards? Nigerian youths do you want to go backwards? Young Nigerians were doing things fantastically well, they were acting films and these very people were snubbing them, they were playing music and these very people were abusing them. But we are encouraging them, and the world has accepted them. Do you want to move forward? Do you want to go backward?

I told you I was going to address things and I will be very brief. They talk about insecurity. That they will fight insecurity. And you will ask are our armed forces weak? Are the Nigerians in the Armed Forces weak? If we have problems what is the cause—equipment. And somebody who wakes up and tells young people of 23 years old that he wants to fight insecurity, ask him when he was the head of government did he buy one rifle for a Nigerian soldier. These people did not buy anything for the Nigerian soldiers. They refused to equip them. No attack helicopter, nothing. Ask them what they did with the defence budget for the whole time they were in office. No country equips armed forces overnight. What they use is quite expensive and they are built over the years. Even if you spend 10 billion dollars today, you cannot equip the army, navy and air force.

The capacity is built overtime. They refused to build the capacity. They instigated crisis and now they are telling us they will fight insurgency. Ask them and they will answer. I will elaborate more as we progress to other places. The next is that they say government is corrupt; or we are not fighting corruption. Only yesterday, I addressed the anti-corruption agencies. I said look people are deceiving young Nigerians. You must tell Nigerians what you are doing. We have arrested more people within this period. Gotten more convictions within this period but every day they tell us lies. At this point, let me apologize to some Nigerian civil servants who did not receive their salaries in December early enough and I will tell you what happened. I apologize to those families that suffered because we believe that for you to fight corruption; you must take measures, establish and strengthen institutions. You just don't wake up, enter the street, arrest one person and lock up and show on television and say that you are fighting corruption.

If they had succeeded in fighting corruption, corruption would not have been with us here today. If they had set up structures and especially in today's modern science using ICT to manage resources, we would not have been talking about corruption today. What happened in December was that IPPIS, software for processing salaries, — sometimes people steal through salaries- and some federal government agencies including some ministries tried to divert funds to pay some allowances. The system is scientific, it is not a human being, and as long as

money meant for salaries is about to be diverted to other things, it shuts down. Those departments of government were shut down; this is the only way that you can prevent corruption.

I served in Bayelsa as deputy governor and governor for eight years; I also served as Vice President and President for another four years at the centre, for all this period, the fertilizer area is where states and federal governments spend billions of naira but less than 10 per cent of fertilizers go to the farmers. The rest is stolen and sent out of the country. Even the 10 per cent sometimes is adulterated. We came and cleaned up the sector and today there is no corruption in the fertilizer industry again.

What did we do? We assembled some young Nigerians that are IT gurus and we developed the e-wallet system and through that the farmers now get their fertilizers directly and nobody is cheating the government again. Is that not the way to stop corruption? If somebody tells you that the best way to fight corruption is to arrest your uncle or father and show him on television, well, you won't stop corruption, you will even encourage corruption. I used to tell people and I will also address press conferences so that people can ask me direct questions. Armed robbery is still with us, despite the fact that we are shooting (death penalty) armed robbers. Is that stopping armed robbery?

So, arresting people and demonstrating on television will not fight corruption, we must set up institutions, strengthen them to prevent people from even touching the money and that is what we are working on and we are succeeding. Some people say they are fighting corruption... some of you know, I am not addressing people of 20 years and below but people from 30 years and so on... Nigerians go to fuel stations and sleep overnight to buy fuel or tip those who sell fuel to buy fuel. They hoard fuel and they benefit from the hoarding. Who are those who benefitted from hoarding fuel? Since we came on board, have you suffered? Do you need to bribe someone before you get fuel?

When the crisis of insecurity came up, we had nothing. So to get things very quickly, we used some vendors to make procurement. But now what we are doing is government to government. Now any new procurement we are doing whether for the air force, navy or army it's government to government, so there is nothing like corruption anymore. Even if we have some issues, maybe... is that not the way to fight corruption? You must prevent people from touching money, you don't give them the opportunity or test them with money and this is what government is doing and we are succeeding in a number of areas in our procurement processes. The relevant agencies will address Nigerians for you to appreciate what we are doing. They say the government is weak, they say we are un-focused; we have no plan.

They say we are weak because there were some people who took our fathers, our mothers and our uncles while they were abroad put them in a crate and flew them to Nigeria but they were intercepted by superior powers. That blocked Nigerians from even going to Britain at a time and the relationship between Nigeria and Britain... the whole world isolated Nigeria. They said that is the way to fight corruption. So immediately I suspect your uncle, I can just crate him and throw him into Kirikiri. Is that the way to stop corruption? If somebody tells you that he will not follow due process... I came in with Yar'Adua and he advocated due process and I stand by due process. Any country that does not abide by the rule of law is a jungle.

Do you want Nigeria to be a jungle society? Immediately I suspect you that you have done something wrong I just ask the police or army to arrest you and throw you into jail. Is that the country you want? They say to be strong is to jail people indiscriminately for 300 years. Is that where you want to go? A country is like an industry. It must be managed properly by people who have brain and great ideas upstairs. Let me just give you some highlights: they say we are not focused; we are not planning. But our economy has become the biggest in Africa; it was not the biggest in Africa before. Without planning, can your economy become the biggest in Africa?

They say we are not planning; we are not focused but we have cleaned up the corruption in fertilizer distribution in the country. The farm inputs are getting to the farmers and our import bills, the money we use in buying things from outside is coming down. Can you get that without planning? You are no longer queuing up and leaving your cars in fuel stations. Can you do that without planning? I believe that some few years back some young people have not seen trains except when you travel abroad, and you have never boarded a train. Now our trains are moving. Can you do that without planning?

In the power sector, we are in Lagos; Egbin power sector got burnt in 2005 and remained so until now when we are fixing it. We have been able to finish the privatization of the power sector. This is an interface period but you already know that the generation capacity is almost double. Can you do that without planning? This government feels that Nigerians are very dynamic people, very creative, very industrious, very talented in music, arts and business. Many of them do not have money and you know we are almost 200 million in Nigeria and we cannot reach everybody the same day. We came up with the concept of YOUWIN to give grants not loans to young Nigerians that have ideas. If you interview them, some of them are already manufacturing and in the next four to five years, we will be exporting things from this country. And they say we have no plans for the youths? They should come and tell us what plans they have for the youths.

I believe that young Nigerians, not people who are spent and finished. not people of my age, we are gone... that is why I said I am addressing people from the ages 18- 23 those who are voting for the first time, we believe that you people will take us to the moon. My generation has failed we couldn't take Nigeria to the moon. Look at what India is doing. Look at what countries we were at par with at independence are doing and I said for us to get to the moon, that's a special area; you need to expose your best brains. I came up with a special scholarship that you must first of all make a First Class in the university. We have scholarship for everybody, but you must first of all make First Class from your university and then we test the best brains and send them to the best 25 universities in the world. Can someone who has no plans for the future of this country do that? Can somebody

who does not think about the Nigerian youth do that? Do you want to go back to those days when they had no plans for us?

When I came on board as President, I noticed that though in the country and on paper, there is this programme or policy of government that every state must get a Federal government owned university. Out of the 36 states we have, 12 had no federal universities and people were deceiving Nigerians that they were doing something. I said we must establish these 12 universities in the remaining 12 states, start as small universities and grow and we have done that successfully and they are growing gradually. We did not stop there. We looked at the school drop-outs in some parts of the country and they were quite high. We came up with the Almajiri educational programme and we thank the Governors from many of the states where we have those set of students. We have programmes for Almajiri students and we have the programme for out-of-school children. Can somebody who has no plan for the country think about that kind of programme?

You will ask some of those people who are deceiving you now and who hired some people from outside the country to go on social media and tell all kinds of lies, that when they were in power did they build any nursery school for anybody? Ask them, ask them, I say go and ask them. If they did not build nursery schools for anybody, what did they use our money for? They built prisons or universities for you? I will build universities for you, I will build secondary schools for you, I will build primary schools for you. They say we have no plans for this country but we established the Sovereign Wealth Fund (SWF)—out of the money that comes into this country we reserve a little so you just don't squander it.

This is a government that introduced for the first time what we call the SWF and I want to thank the Governors from the states who keyed into the SWF idea. In addition to the SWF, you know that there are some stolen monies, which from time to time government gets back. They have been getting these monies back, but we do not know how they are spending it. The ones that have come in within this period, we have not even started spending it but first of all we agree on how to spend it. Because we have security challenges and this money is primarily for security and they used security channels to take it, 50 per cent of it will be used for security, 25 per cent of it for development and 25 per cent of it will be used for future generations. This is the decision we have taken even before we start spending the money. Can somebody who has no plan for the future of the country do that thing? They should come and tell you what they used our monies for.

We believe that so many young Nigerians, some young workers find it very difficult to own a house of their own. We introduced the Mortgage Refinancing Company. It is just coming up, estates are being built and we are working with the Labour unions. As we pursue that programme in the next five years, most Nigerian workers either working in private sector or in government can own houses. They have no plans for you; they are coming to tell you false stories. We have said you do not need to have so much money to own a house. Do you want to go back to the old days?

We have plans for employment generation. We know one of the greatest challenges for most governments including Nigeria is to get jobs for our youths, but we are not sleeping. So far, we have been able to create a number of jobs... I have set up two bodies headed by the Vice President made up of people in government and the private sector. We call them Presidential Job Creation Board and Micro, Small and Medium Scale Enterprises Council, working very hard to ensure that every year two million jobs are created. Can somebody who has no plans do that?

Of course, we have been told that I have other opportunities. I have many other things to say but people are getting tired ... we'd have the opportunity to talk and talk and talk. Some groups of people have said that you have to vote for your liberation or imprisonment. Some groups of people came, and I read it in the papers, when they see people in government maybe governors, ministers, commissioners and so on ... they will say we will draw a line, we are not probing the past because they want to deceive them to get their support. So, they will draw a line and start fighting corruption after they cross the bridge. Only two days ago, somebody stood in Port Harcourt and said he was going to catch people in the streets and throw them into Kirikiri. The same mouth says something from the right, and from the left, making contradicting statements. Can you trust those people? Are they not deceiving you?

They want power by all means and all what they want to use power for is to lock up and imprison their enemies. I have no enemy to fight. My interest is your interest. My interest is the Nigerian interest and for the future generations and young Nigerians to develop. Not to fight enemies. We must stop corruption. I will not stop corruption by catching people, putting them in trailers and dumping them off to be killed. You can't stop corruption that way. Someone wakes up and he feels he can jail all his enemies and he thinks that is how to fight corruption? I think we have advanced beyond that point.

Somebody wakes up and says "O, Nigerian women I am going to give you position." And you ask him when you were a Head of Government, you had a cabinet, I have the list of the cabinet members, there was no one single woman. Not even one in the cabinet. So Nigerian women, you cast your votes and go back to the kitchen and die there or you cast your votes to liberate yourself. The Nigerian women must decide where to cast their votes: you vote and go back to the kitchen and die in the kitchen or you cast your votes to liberate yourself. We are ready to liberate all Nigerian women.

Let me say one more thing and conclude. I read a headline in one paper yesterday: MEND DUMPS JONATHAN... did you read it? I am from the Niger Delta. The leader of MEND is one Okah. He is in South African prison. Why is he there? South Africa is not Nigeria where people will say Oh, President (Jonathan) manipulated it. Okah is in the prison because 1st October 2010 when we were to celebrate our independence, our golden year of independence, Okah was procured by some Nigerians to assassinate me. Okah bombed

Abuja, but the attempt was to assassinate me and South Africa intelligence system caught him in the plan to assassinate me. He is now in jail in South Africa and they say MEND dumps Jonathan.

Okah that wanted to assassinate Jonathan, will he support Jonathan? I am told that Okah is supporting some people... I am told that Okah who is in a South African prison for killing Nigerians is endorsing some people. Is that the country you want to live in? Count me out. Let me conclude by thanking all Nigerians, especially Lagosians. Let me sincerely on behalf of my party apologise to you because we are having this rally today so the whole of Lagos is at a standstill. We beg you, we have to do it and we know you love us, will support us and we promise to make sure that... this is the very first government that has supported the industrial sector very well. Ask your brothers and sisters in the private sector, if they are sincere they will say that we have come up with policies that have encouraged commerce and industry.

Government alone cannot employ people. The private sector must grow to create jobs for the people. Bear with us because the PDP government will continue to encourage the private sector to create jobs for Nigerians. Finally, let me tell all of you especially those of you, who want to go to the National Assembly that we just had a national conference. The document from that conference, because of the controversy we have in the present National Assembly, you know how chaotic the present Assembly is, we know that if you bring that document to the Assembly they will dump it. So, we want to present it to the next Assembly. So those people you are sending, if you mean well for this country, you must vote people who can go to the National Assembly, discuss and adopt that document that our leaders have agreed so that this country can move forward.

I stand today in the city of Lagos, in the south west on behalf of the leader of our party, Alhaji Muazu, the Vice President and all the leaders and promise that if you vote the PDP en masse to the National Assembly and to the Presidency, we will adopt that document so that this country will move forward. That document is to liberate you, we did not influence it, our fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters that are credible came up with it. Ask them, we did not influence it. I did not ask them to dot any 'I' or cross any 'T' because I have no personal interest. My interest is the Nigerian interest.

It is either we vote to be prisoners as we were- and I will tell you maybe some of you do not know, in 1983, I don't know for the young people, some of you who are writing all sort of things on the social media. In 1983/84, what they called discipline as a post graduate student instead of reading my book, the whole night I queued up to buy two tins of milk. And they say that is discipline. So, we should make you queue up the whole night as students to buy two tins of milk? Is that the discipline you want? You must vote for your liberation, you must vote for your development, you must vote to take Nigeria to the moon. You cannot vote to take Nigeria backward.

Leave us who are half dead to bury our dead. You must vote for the progress of this country, you must vote for the Nigerian youth, you must vote for the Nigerian women. PDP! POWER!

President Goodluck Jonathan's Inaugural Speech 2011

My Dear Compatriots, I stand in humble gratitude to you, this day, having just sworn to the oath of office as President, Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces of our great nation. I thank you all, fellow citizens, for the trust and confidence, which you have demonstrated through the power of your vote. I want to assure you, that I will do my utmost at all times, to continue to deserve your trust.

I would like to specially acknowledge the presence in our midst today, of Brother Heads of State and Government, who have come to share this joyous moment with us. Your Excellencies, I thank you for your solidarity. I also wish to express my gratitude, to the Representatives of Heads of State and Government who are here with us. My appreciation also goes to the chairperson of the African Union and other world leaders, our development partners, and all our distinguished guests. I want to specially thank all Nigerians for staying the course in our collective commitment to build a democratic nation. To members of the PDP family and members of other political parties, who have demonstrated faith in our democratic enterprise, I salute you.

At this juncture, let me acknowledge and salute my friend and brother, Vice-President Namadi Sambo, and my dear wife, Patience, who has been a strong pillar of support. I thank her for galvanizing and mobilizing Nigeria women for the cause of democracy. In the same vein, I owe a debt of gratitude to my mother and later father. I cannot thank them enough. I cannot but pay tribute to our late President, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua with whom we won the Presidential election four years ago, when I contested as his running mate. May God bless his soul.

I also wish to pay tribute our founding fathers, whose enduring sacrifices and abiding faith in the unity and greatness of our country. Laid the foundation for the nation. We take enormous pride in their contributions. The pivotal task of this generation is to lift our fatherland to the summit of greatness. Your Excellencies, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, earlier this year, over seventy-three million eligible Nigerians endures all manner of inconvenience just to secure their voters cards, in order to exercise the right to choose those that will govern them. At the polls, we saw the most dramatic expressions of the hunger for democracy. Stories of courage and patriotism were repeated in many ways, including how fellow citizens helped physically challenged voters into polling stations to enable them to exercise their franchise. The inspiring story of the one hundred and three-year-old man, and many like him across the country, who struggled against the physical limitations of age to cast their vote, is noteworthy.

Such determination derives from the typical Nigerian spirit of resilience in the face of the greatest of odds. That spirit has, over the years, stirred our hopes, doused our fears, and encouraged us to gather ourselves to build a strong nation even when others doubted our capacity. Today, our unity is firm, and our purpose is strong. Our determination unshakable. Together, we will unite our nation and improve the living standards of all our peoples whether in the North or in the South; in the East or in the West. Our decade of development has begun. The march is on. The day of transformation begins today. We will not allow anyone exploit differences in creed or

tongue, to set us one against another. Let me at this point congratulate the elected Governors, Senators, members of the House of Representatives and those of the State's Houses of Assembly for their victories at the polls.

I am mindful that I represent the shared aspiration of all our people to forge a united Nigeria: a land of justice, opportunity and plenty, Confident that a people that are truly committed to a noble ideal, cannot be denied the realization of their vision. I assure you that this dream of Nigeria that is so deeply felt by millions will indeed come to reality. A decade ago, it would have been a mere daydream to think that a citizen from a minority ethnic group could galvanize national support, on an unprecedented scale, to discard ancient prejudices, and win the people's mandate as President of our beloved country. That result emanated from the toil and sacrifice of innumerable individuals and institutions, many of whom may never get to receive public appreciation for their effort.

Only a couple of days ago, I received an entry on my Facebook page. It was sent by Mr. Babajide Orevba. He wrote to inform me that I had lost a great fan. That fan was his father, Mr. Emmanuel Bamidele Orevba. The deceased, the son told me, was no politician, but has campaigned enthusiastically for my ticket. Tragically, overwhelmed by the joy of our victory, he collapsed, and passed on three days later. I pray God Almighty to grant his soul eternal rest. The success of the 2011 elections and the widespread acclaim which the exercise received was due to the uncommon patriotism and diligence exhibited by many Nigerians, including members of the Armed Forces, National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) and others. Unfortunately, despite the free, fair and transparent manner the elections were conducted, a senseless wave of violence in some parts of the country led to the death of ten members of the NYSC and others. These brave men and women paid the supreme sacrifice in the service of our fatherland. They are heroes of our democracy. We offer our heartfelt prayers and condolences in respect of all those who lost their lives.

In the days ahead, those of us that you have elected to serve must show that we are men and women with the patriotism and passion, to match the hopes and aspirations of you, the greater people of this country. We must demonstrate the leadership, statesmanship, vision, capacity, and sacrifice, to transform our nation. We must strengthen common grounds, develop new areas of understanding and collaboration, and seek fresh ideas that will enrich our national consensus. It is the supreme task of this generation to give hope to the hopeless, strength to the weak and protection to the defenceless. Fellow citizens, the leadership we have pledged is decidedly transformative. The transformation will be achieved in all the critical sectors, by harnessing the creative energies of our people.

We must grow the economy, create jobs, and generate enduring happiness for our people. I have great confidence in the ability of Nigerians to transform this country. The urgent task of my administration is to provide a suitable environment, for productive activities to flourish. I therefore call on the good people of Nigeria, to enlist as agents of this great transformation. My dear countrymen and women, being a Nigerian is a blessing. It is also a great responsibility. We must make a vow that, together, we will make the Nigerian Enterprise thrive.

The leadership and the followership must strive to convert our vast human and natural resources into the force that leads to a great Nigeria. The Nigeria of our dreams must be built on handwork and not on short cuts. Let me salute the Nigerian workers who build our communities, cities and country. They deserve fair rewards, and so do the women that raise our children, and the rural dwellers that grow our food. The moment is right. The signs are heart-warming. We are ready to take off on the path of sustained growth and economic development. In our economic strategy, there will be appropriate policy support to the real sector of the economy, so that Small and Medium Enterprises may thrive. Nigeria is blessed with enormous natural wealth, and my Administration will continue to encourage locally owned rapidly expanding population. But this must be a collaborative effort.

We must form technical and financial partnerships with global businesses and organizations. We live in an age where no country can survive on its own; countries depend on each other for economic well-being. Nigeria is no different. Returns on investment in Nigeria remain among the highest in the world. We will continue to welcome sustainable investment in our economy. We will push programs and policies that will benefit both local and foreign businesses, but we must emphasize mutual benefits and win-win relationships. The overall ongoing reforms in the banking and financial sectors are therefore designed to support the real sector of the economy. To drive our overall economic vision, the power sector reform is at the heart of our industrialization strategy. I call on all stakeholders, to co-operate with my administration, to ensure the success of the reforms.

Over the next four years, attention will be focused on rebuilding our infrastructure. We will create greater access to quality education and improved health care delivery, we will pay special attention to the agricultural sector, to enable it to play its role of ensuring food security and massive job creation for our people. The creation of the Nigerian Sovereign Investment Authority will immensely contribute to strengthening our fiscal framework, by institutionalizing savings of our commodity-related revenues. With this mechanism in place, we will avoid the boom and bust cycles, and mitigate our exposure to oil price volatility.

The lesson we have learnt is that the resolution of the Niger Delta issue is crucial for the health of the nation'. Fellow citizens, in every decision, I shall always place the common good before all else. The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective determination, to rid our nation of this scourge. The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist, so that the limited resources of this nation will be used for the growth of our common wealth. I am confident that we have every reason to look to the future with hope. We owe ourselves and posterity the duty of making this country respectable in the comity of nations. Nigeria, as a responsible member of the international community, will remain committed to the maintenance of global peace and security. We will continue to play an active role in the United Nations. Our role in the African Union, ECOWAS, and the Gulf of Guinea will be enhanced to ensure greater human and energy security.

Your Excellencies, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a new dawn for Africa. We fought for decolonization. We will now fight for democratization. Nigeria, in partnership with the African Union, will lead the process for democracy and development in Africa in particular. We will support the consolidation of democracy, good governance and human rights in the continent. Africa must develop its vast resources to tackle poverty and under development. Conscious of the negative effect of insecurity on growth and development, my administration will seek collaboration at bilateral and multilateral levels, to improve our capability in combating trans-border crimes. In this regard, we will intensify our advocacy against the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, which have become the catalyst for conflicts on the African continent. All Nigerian diplomatic missions abroad are to accord this vision of defending the dignity of humanity the highest priority.

My fellow countrymen and women, Nigerian is not just a land of promise; it shall be a nation where positive change will continue to take place, for the good of our people. The time for lamentation is over. This is the era of transformation. This is the time for action. But Nigerian can only be transformed if we all play our parts with commitment and sincerity. Cynicism and skepticism will not help our journey to greatness. Let us all believe in a new Nigerian. Let us work together to build a great country that we will all be proud of. This is our hour. Fellow Compatriots, lift your gaze towards the horizon. Look ahead and you will see a great future that we can secure with unity, hard work and collective sacrifice. Join me now as we begin the journey of transforming Nigeria

I will continue to fight, for your future, because I am one of you.

I will continue to fight, for improved medical care for all our citizens

I will continue to fight for all citizens to have access to first class education

I will continue to fight, for electricity to be available to all our citizens

I will continue to fight, for an efficient and affordable public transport system for all our people

I will continue to fight for jobs to be created through productive partnerships.

You have trusted me with your mandate, and I will never, never let you down. I know your pain, because I have been there. Look beyond the hardship you have endured. See a new beginning, a new direction; a new spirit. Nigerians, I want you to start to dream again. What you see in your dreams, we can achieve together. I call upon all the Presidential candidates who contested with me to join hands with us as we begin the transformation of our country. Let us work together, let us build together, let us bequeath a greater Nigeria to the generations to come.

I thank you! God bless you all! And God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Speech by President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan Declaring His Candidacy for the PDP Presidential Primaries - 18th September, 2010.

Forty months ago, my predecessor in office and I embarked on a joint ticket in the governance of our great country, Nigeria. Sadly, he passed away on the 5th of May 2010. May His Gentle Soul Rest in Perfect Peace, Amen.

With the death of President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, the mantle of leadership of our great nation fell on me. However, the days leading to my presidency were very trying times for our nation. We confronted those moments and their challenges to national security with patriotism and care. I appreciate the role played by the National Assembly, Governors, Civil Society groups, the mass media, and other patriotic Nigerians. The late President Yar'Adua and I shared great dreams for our country. We toiled together to realize those dreams in order to justify the confidence Nigerians reposed in us. Together we swore to execute a joint mandate and today I come before you to make a pronouncement based on that undertaking.

The past four months that I have served as President of Nigeria have opened my eyes to the vast potentials of this office as a potent instrument for the transformation of our country. I discovered that by sheer willpower, I could end the long queues and price fluctuations in our petrol stations. Today, all our refineries are working, saving us huge amounts of funds spent on importation of petroleum products. I discovered that by insisting that the right things be done, we could begin a turnaround in our power sector by involving the private sector in power generation and distribution. As you can see from the lower quantities of diesel that you are buying today, power generation has significantly improved.

I have put in place new gas policies and very soon, we will be saying goodbye to gas flaring in our oil fields. Working with the National Assembly, we rolled out a law that requires companies operating in the oil and gas sectors of our economy to utilize an appreciable percentage of their goods and services from local sources. We saw to it that normalcy began to return to the Niger Delta by ensuring government's fidelity to its promises, and this has helped to stabilize our national revenue.

In the last few months, I embarked on monumental projects in our road infrastructure to end the carnage on our federal highways. I began several projects to make our water resources available for drinking and farming. I targeted our educational system to return quality and competitiveness to them. I re-addressed our drive for self-sufficiency in food production. I have taken bold steps to confront our security situation. In this regard, we are pursuing the revision of our laws to be more responsive to international conventions and more punitive to criminals.

I set the stage for free and fair elections by constituting an electoral commission comprising of Nigerians with impeccable credentials for firmness and incorruptibility. I charged our anti-corruption agencies to speed up the war against corruption, and respect no sacred cows in the process. In the management of the economy, I advocated a more transparent banking industry, price stability, low inflation, and aggregate increase in productivity as a way to drive us to a more prosperous economy. In International Relations, I advanced the respectability accorded our country by effective engagement in global fora.

From the moment I was sworn in as President, I came under intense pressure to make a declaration concerning my political future but declined to do so because it would have immediately distracted us from all the development initiatives we have accomplished so far.

As President and leader of this government, I decided not to place partisan politics above the immediate needs and priorities of our people. I therefore told Nigerians to give me time to concentrate on my work, and that at the appropriate time, I would make a public statement on my political future after widespread consultations. Those consultations have now been concluded. The Independent National Electoral Commission has recently announced a time table for the 2011 general elections in the country. My party, the People's Democratic Party, has also published a timetable for its primaries.

In the circumstances and after a thorough self-examination and prayers with my family, I, Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan have decided to humbly offer myself as a candidate in the Presidential Primaries of our great party, the People's Democratic Party, in order to stand for the 2011 Presidential elections. I pledge once again to all the people of this nation that they will have a free and fair election, even as I stand to be a candidate. In this race, I have the honour to have as my running mate, Architect Namadi Sambo, the Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Our country is at the threshold of a new era; an era that beckons for a new kind of leadership; a leadership that is uncontaminated by the prejudices of the past; a leadership committed to change; a leadership that reinvents government, to solve the everyday problems that confront the average Nigerian. I was not born rich, and in my youth, I never imagined that I would be where I am today, but not once did I ever give up. Not once did I imagine that a child from Otuoke, a small village in the Niger Delta, will one day rise to the position of President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. I was raised by my mother and father with just enough money to meet our daily needs.

In my early days in school, I had no shoes, no school bags. I carried my books in my hands but never despaired; no car to take me to school but I never despaired. There were days I had only one meal, but I never despaired. I walked miles and crossed rivers to school every day, but I never despaired. Didn't have power, didn't have generators, studied with lanterns but I never despaired. In spite of these, I finished secondary school, attended the University of Port Harcourt, and now hold a doctorate degree. Fellow Nigerians, if I could make it, you too can make it!

My story is the story of a young Nigerian whose access to education opened up vast opportunities that enabled me to attain my present position. As I travel up and down our country, I see a nation blessed by God with rich agricultural and mineral resources and an enterprising people. I see millions of Nigerians whose potentials for greatness are constrained by the lack of basic infrastructure. I see Nigerians who can make a difference in the service of their country but are disadvantaged by the lack of opportunities.

My story symbolizes my dream for Nigeria. The dream that any Nigerian child from Kaura- Namoda to Duke town; from Potiskum to Nsukka, from Isale-Eko to Gboko will be able to realize his God-given potentials, unhindered by tribe or religion and unrestricted by improvised political inhibitions. My story holds out the promise of a new Nigeria. A Nigeria built on the virtues of love and respect for one another, on unity, on industry, on hardwork and on good governance. My fellow Nigerians, this is what has brought me to Eagle Square today. I have come to say to all of you, that Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan is the man you need to put Nigeria right. I have come to launch a campaign of ideas, not one of calumny. I have come to preach love, not hate. I have come to break you away from divisive tendencies of the past which have slowed our drive to true nationhood. I have no enemies to fight. You are all my friends and we share a common destiny.

Let the word go out from this Eagle Square that Jonathan as President in 2011 will herald a new era of transformation of our country; an era that will end the agony of power shortage in our country. Let the word go out from here that I will be for the students, teachers and parents of Nigeria, a President who will advance quality and competitive education. Let everyone in this country hear that I shall strive to the best of my ability to attain self-sufficiency in food production. Let the word go out that my plans for a Sovereign Wealth Fund with an initial capital of \$1billion will begin the journey for an economic restoration. This restoration will provide new job opportunities and alleviate poverty. Let the word go out that our health sector will receive maximum priority in a new Jonathan administration, a priority that will ensure maximum health care and stop our brain drain.

Let *all* the kidnapers, criminal elements, and miscreants that give us a bad name be ready for the fight that I shall give them. Let the ordinary Nigerian be assured that President Jonathan will have zero tolerance for corruption. Let the international community hear that today I have offered myself to lead a country that will engage them in mutual respect and cooperation for the achievement of international peace and understanding. To help me in these tasks effectively, I will re-train, revamp, and motivate the civil service.

My dear good people of Nigeria, I got here today by the power of God and the support of all Nigerians; all ethnic groups, North, South, East and West. I am here today because of your support and prayers. I want all of you to know that I am one of you and I will never let you down! I want you to know that I will keep hope alive; I want you to know that your time has come.

I stand before you today, humbly seeking your support for me, Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan, to run for the office of the President of Nigeria with Architect Namadi Sambo as my running mate.

We will fight for JUSTICE!

We will fight for all Nigerians to have access to POWER!

We will fight for qualitative and competitive EDUCATION!

We will fight for HEALTH CARE REFORMS!

We will fight to create jobs, for all Nigerians!

We will fight corruption!

We will fight to protect all Citizens!

We will fight for your rights!

My dear country men and women, give me your support, give me your votes and together we will fight to build a great nation of our dreams!

I cannot end this speech without thanking you all for attending this occasion. Your huge attendance is a loud testimony of your support for us. For this I am very grateful. I pray that the Almighty God abides with you and sees you safely back to your respective destinations.

When you return, tell all those at home that as we celebrate our fifty year anniversary as a nation, Goodluck has come to transform Nigeria and I will never let you down.

Thank You. May God Bless you all! And may God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria!!

President Jonathan's Declaration Speech 2015.

Four years ago, precisely September 18, 2010; I stood in this Eagle Square, to offer myself for election as the President of our beloved country on the platform of our great party; the People's Democratic Party (PDP). Seven months after that declaration, you elected me to lead this country with overwhelming support from all parts of our Nation. I remain grateful for the trust you reposed in me to lead our Nation through uncommon challenges in our march of progress as a united and democratic country.

Over the years, the Almighty God has made it possible for me to develop a bond with you and I am grateful for your support and understanding in the difficult periods we have journeyed through. Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, our stewardship has not been without challenges. We have had to deal with the wave of insurgency that has swept through some parts of our dear country. Only yesterday, Government Science Secondary School in Yobe State was bombed by insurgents, killing our promising young children who were seeking education to build the country and support their parents. Many Nigerians have lost their lives and property to these mindless killings. Let me crave the indulgence of all present here to stand up to observe a minute's silence in honour of these young lads who lost their lives. Clearly, this has cast a dark cloud on our Nation, but we will surely win the war against terror. A number of young men and women have been kidnapped by these criminal elements including our daughters from Chibok. We will free our daughters and defeat terrorism.

We are equipping the armed forces and deploying special forces to engage the terrorist and end this senseless war. We must protect our country. We must save our people. I will do everything humanly possible to end this criminal violence in our Nation. To ensure the long-termability and development of the affected areas, government has launched three programmes: The Presidential Initiative for the North East, the Victim Support Fund and the Safe School Initiative. The Presidential Initiative for the Northeast is focused on improving infrastructure and economic growth in the region. The Safe School Initiative is centred on creating a safe environment to encourage our children in the communities to acquire education. The Victim Support Fund, a partnership with the Private Sector, has raised about 60 billion Naira, which will help to empower and rehabilitate victims of terror. I promise the victims of these dastardly acts that we will continue to stand with you.

I am grateful to all Nigerians for standing with me. Let me also thank the leaders and elders of our great party, the People's Democratic Party, for the opportunity you have given to me to serve our country, Nigeria. I am overwhelmed by the trust, confidence and support of the various organs of our party, the Board of Trustees, the National Caucus, the National Executive Committee, the National Working Committee, the PDP Governors Forum, members of the PDP Caucuses of the National Assembly, and others. This day affords me the opportunity to continue the conversation of development we started together. Infrastructure has been a major focus area of my administration and so, we pursued the power sector reform to this point of irreversible progress. Nigeria has undertaken a most transparent and corruption free bidding process, attracting global commendation. The on-going 450MW Azura Power Plant in Edo State is a testimony to the success of this transformation.

We have also resumed development of our Hydro-Power potential, with the construction of the 700MW Zungeru Hydro-Power Plant, while construction work on the 3,050MW Mambilla Hydro-Power Plant is about to take off. Our power generation and distribution companies have now been privatized. We are firmly on the road to guaranteed regular power supply in the months ahead. This our bold move, is paying off! We are committed to environmental protection and conservation and reducing vulnerability to climate change. In this regard, we have embarked on a number of projects across the country. Of particular note is the African Great Green Wall Programme, where we have released about 16 billion Naira for implementation. The project will create a green belt across 11 states from Kebbi to Borno.

In the past three and half years, the water sector has witnessed unprecedented improvement. Access to potable water is now 67%, up from 58% in 2010, while sanitation coverage is 41%, from 32% within the same period. Major developments in water include the completion of 37 Dams and rehabilitation of 10, with several others on-going construction. The flagship Kashimbila Multipurpose Dam which is being built to contain flood from Lake Nyos, is now at 90% completion. We have also completed about 5,000 rural and semi urban water schemes. We are reforming the National Urban Water supply programmes in 12 states, with 385 formal and informal irrigation projects, covering a total land area of 118000 ha, cultivated mostly by small holder farmers. This has yielded over 3 million metric tons of assorted grains and vegetables, with a market value of about 45billion naira.

Before the advent of this administration, the Railway system was practically dead. Today, we have revived the rail sector. The narrow-gauge line from Lagos to Kano has been rehabilitated with improved coaches providing regular services. The rehabilitation of the Port Harcourt-Maidugurirail line is progressing with the Port Harcourt-

Gombe segment as well as the branch line from Kafanchan to Kaduna expected to be completed and fully operational by December 2014. Already, work on the Abuja-Kaduna standard gauge rail line, is progressing. The tracks of the rail line will be completed by December this year 2014. Upon completion of the project in the first quarter of 2015, it will be possible for Nigerians to live in Kaduna and work in Abuja. The Itape-Ajaokuta-Wari standard gauge line has attained an advanced stage, with the track completely laid. We hope to commence full operation before the end of 2015.

Other segments of the new standard gauge speed train network are planned with contract already awarded for the Lagos-Ibadan Segment. There will be more of such modern and faster rail connections in the coming years. Already, discussions are now at advanced stage, for the Coastal rail line that will traverse through 10 states, from Lagos through the South-South and South-East, all the way to Calabar. My administration has successfully completed the dredging of the lower River Niger from Baro in Niger State to Warri in Delta State. The cheering news is that over 6.7 million passengers and over 1.6 million tonnes of cargo have been moved through this channel in less than three years.

I am happy to also report that our ports now operate 24-hour service, which has led to the reduction of clearing time and improved efficiency. When I assumed office in 2010, out of the 35,000km of federal roads nationwide, only about 5,000km were motorable. Today, that number has increased to about 25,000km. We expect to complete the remaining 10,000km in three years while initiating new ones. I made a commitment to build two new major bridges across the River Niger and River Benue. Today, the new bridge over the River Benue, connecting Loko in Nassarawa State to Oweto in Benue State has reached an advanced stage of completion, while work has commenced on the Second Niger Bridge.

Beyond these, my administration has concluded plans to re-commence the construction of Bodo-Bonny Road with three major bridges on the alignment that will link the Island of Bonny with Rivers mainland. Preliminary works have started on my administration's planned re-construction and expansion of the Murtala Muhammed International Airport Road in Lagos to a world class entry point into our country. Only a few months ago, work started on the dualization of Kano-Katsina Road. While many Nigerians are celebrating the marked improvements on our roads, I want to assure that it will get even better as we move forward.

In the pursuit of an integrated transportation system, we embarked on the construction of five new Airport Terminal Buildings and Air-field facilities. We are also re-constructing existing ones. The re-construction upon completion, will lead to improved passenger processing, increased cargo handling capacity and enhanced Air-field facilities that meet international standard and improves safety. These efforts have been met with global acknowledgement including the attainment and retention of the FAA Category One status. In housing, we signed the National Housing Policy to kick-start the framework for providing more affordable homes for our people. We have also expanded the National Housing Fund to accommodate more Nigerians. We have started a revolution in the housing sector with the start of the Nigerian Mortgage and Refinanced Company(NMRC) a new initiative of my administration, that will enable more citizens in the lower income bracket to become first time home owners. Our partners such as the World Bank group are supporting this with US\$300million dollars interest free credit, while my administration will back it with over 100billion naira in bonds. We are already processing 66,000 mortgage applications for our young people. We have amended the PENCOM Act to enable the pension funds invest in housing sector bonds. This will create a boom in the housing sector. In the Federal Capital Territory, we are rapidly building a befitting National Capital by expanding and providing new infrastructure, developing ten new districts and Satellite Towns to cater for the ever-increasing population. In no distant future, you will be able to arrive at the Nnamdi Azikiwe International Airport and proceed to the city using the Abuja Light Rail. In addition to providing durable health, educational and transportation services, we are also collaborating with Organized Labour to build functional, affordable and social housing in Abuja.

Other critical capital developments that are being packaged by this Administration include the development of the Ultra-Modern World Trade Centre, the Abuja Town Centre, the Jabi Lake Comprehensive Centre, the Centenary City and the Land Swap Districts. This private sector driven infrastructural development will positively change the skyline of the city and provide the required office and residential accommodation, shopping, and recreation as well as tourism and entertainment facilities of the FCT. In our determination to encourage much greater participation of Nigerians in the oil and gas industry, one of the first actions I took, was the enactment of the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry Content Development Act. As a result of this law, indigenous Nigerian participation levels, in upstream and downstream activities of the oil and gas industry have increased by over 45%, thereby increasing employment opportunities for our youth.

We have also succeeded in eliminating the long queues that previously characterised our filling stations, through regular and sustained product supply. Gas infrastructure to ensure adequate Gas to Power and Gas to Industry, is being aggressively put in place. Over 450km of gas pipelines have been installed over the last 3years. Another 2,000km is planned over the next 4years. Critical petrochemical and fertilizer facilities have commenced including the gas industrial park in Delta State, for which I am scheduled to perform the ground-breaking this Friday. This will create millions of jobs and make Nigeria a regional hub.

In addition, as a result of government favourable policies the private sector is investing over 12 billion dollars in the petrochemical sector, over the next 4years. This will surely create millions of jobs for our people. In terms of gas supply, we have grown from less than 500million cubic feet per day, 4years ago, to about 1.5 billion cubic feet per day currently. Our goal is to attain 4 billion cubic feet per day, over the next 4 years. We have changed the face of agriculture. We moved agriculture away from a development Programme to agriculture as a business. My vision is to create wealth for our people through agriculture.

We have focused on encouraging the private sector to boost investments in the agricultural sector. As a result, the number of seed companies rose from five to eighty in the past three years. Private sector investment in the agricultural sector expanded by \$ US 5.6 billion across the Agricultural value chain. We ended decades of corruption in the fertilizer and seed sectors. We developed a transparent and efficient system of reaching farmers directly with subsidized farm inputs. Before our reforms, fertilizer procurement and distribution took from the needy and gave to the greedy. We restored dignity back to farmers. Today, 14 million farmers, of which 2 million are women, access fertilizers with their mobile phones, through an e-wallet system. Nigeria is the first country in the world to develop an e-wallet system to reach farmers with subsidized farm inputs on their mobile phones. Several African countries are now borrowing this transparent and efficient e-wallet system for their own countries. Our national food production expanded by an additional 21 million metric tons between 2011 and 2014, a record, exceeding our set target of 20 million metric tons set for 2015. The Dangote Group, has committed to invest \$US 1 billion in commercial rice production and processing. With all these developments, we are expected to be an exporter of rice in the next five years. This will be a new dawn! The benefits are showing on our food imports. Our food import bill has declined from 1.1 trillion Naira in 2009 to 684 billion Naira by December 2013, even with our increasing population, a reduction of 40%.

Nigeria met its Millennium Development Goal One on reducing hunger and extreme poverty, two years ahead of 2015 target set by the United Nations and was given an award by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. To sustain this trend, we are encouraging young graduates through the Nagropreneurs Programme to go into commercial Agriculture. We are also encouraging our students in Post Primary Schools to embrace commercial Agriculture through the National School Agriculture Programme. My dear people, corruption remain a big challenge in our national life. It corrodes our efforts at development and at motivating competence in critical sectors of our national growth. We have eradicated it in the agricultural sector and we will surely eradicate it in other sectors of our economy.

Going forward, my focus is to continue to reinforce institutions, systems, and processes to tackle corruption, and also to bring to justice those that perpetrate corruption. Through the Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIIS), we have weeded out 56,000 ghost workers from the Federal Civil Service, saving 162 billion naira. I have directed ICPC to bring the perpetrators of this criminal act to book. Let this be very clear, public officers must live by example, fully accounting for the national trust and resources in their care. In our journey to progress, knowledge is indispensable. Knowledge is power! This is why my administration established 14 new Universities out of which 12 are conventional and two are specialized Police and Maritime Universities. Under my watch, every state in Nigeria, now has a Federal University.

In addition, over 500 billion naira have been spent, through the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TET Fund) and the special NEEDS assessment fund on various projects to increase access and improve the quality of infrastructure at the tertiary level of our education system. To provide equal access and opportunities in education and ensure that no Nigerian child is left behind, we have established and equipped 150 Almajiri Schools across the Northern states and the Out-of-School-Children Programme including Specialized Boys and Girls Schools across the country.

Fellow Nigerians, our country was faced with a major National security, humanitarian, and economic threat in the form of the Ebola Virus Disease, which arrived in the country on July 20, 2014, by way of a foreign national, Mr Patrick Sawyer. Realizing the imminent threat, I declared a national emergency, pulling states, local and federal government into action as well as individual Nigerians to combat this disease. Without the quick action of patriotic Nigerians in the First Consultant Hospital, as well as the co-operation of Lagos and Rivers State, where the disease occurred, working with the Federal Ministry of Health and the co-operation of all Nigerians we could not have succeeded in overcoming this deadly disease. Fellow Nigerians we stopped Ebola together.

Just as we stopped Ebola, we are on our way to eradicating the Polio Virus in our country. We have reduced the incident of new Polio Virus from 300 in 2010, to 6 today. My brothers and sisters, to encourage entrepreneurship and self-reliance among our teeming graduates, we have developed creative opportunities for enterprise for our young people. Programmes such as YouWIN, the Graduate Internship Scheme, the Nagropreneurs Initiative, the 220 Billion Naira Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Development Fund and the 3 Billion Naira Grant to Nollywood are empowering our graduates, the creative industry and other young people to start up their own businesses and employ others.

We have supported the growth of industry through policy and action. We launched The National Industrial Revolution Plan (NIRP), and the National Enterprise Development Programme as key drivers to bring about our desires in the industrial sectors and to diversify our economy. Our new National Automobile Policy is transforming Nigeria into a vibrant hub for the automobile industry. Our own Innoson Motors is producing world standard vehicles, and Nissan, Hyundai, and Kia, have set up factories in Nigeria and are employing thousands of our people.

Our support for cement production is unprecedented. We have increased our installed capacity from 16.5 million metric tons per annum in 2011 to 39.5 million metric tons per annum in 2014. Nigeria is now exporting cement. We are moving forward! We must produce what we consume and consume what we produce. Our efforts to create an enabling environment for job creation in different sectors of the economy including the MSME sector, agriculture, housing and manufacturing have yielded results. Between the third quarter of 2012, when we started tracking jobs created and the end of 2013, 1.9 million jobs were created. To deepen our success in this area, I have created a Presidential Jobs Creation Board headed by the Vice President with the mandate to create at least two million jobs a year. My brothers and sisters, our economy is heading in the right direction and our efforts

are yielding positive results. Our economy continues to grow at the rate of 6 to 7 percent annually, one of the highest in the world. Our country is now the top investment destination and the largest economy in Africa, with a GDP of 80trillion naira (510billion dollars) as well as the 26thlargest economy in the world.

As part of its efforts to support inclusive growth and economic development in Nigeria through the CBN, my administration has created and disbursed the sum of 200billion naira via the Commercial Agric and Credit scheme, 300billion naira Power and Aviation fund, 220billion naira Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise Fund, as well as 300-billion-naira rail sector refinancing facilities at single digit interest rate. We will continue to deepen the reforms in the financial sector, in order to sustain the growth of our economy and uplift our people from poverty to prosperity. Dear Compatriots, I promised as President, that we would sanitize and restore integrity in our electoral process, by ensuring that our votes are not only counted, but truly count. We have gone to great length to ensure transparent, free, fair, and credible elections. Elections have been conducted across the country with local and international election observers testifying to their transparency.

On the international scene, we have advanced our regional, continental and global objectives. We have strengthened our relationships with our neighbours and in many instances supported them to protect their democracy, security and stability. We are serving for a second time within a period of 4years at the United Nations Security Council. This is unprecedented in our Nation's history. My brothers and sister, this is a growing attestation of our country's growing influence. In the first quarter of this year, our country celebrated its centenary. To prepare the nation for the challenges of the next one hundred years, I convened a National Conference where recommendations and resolutions were reached towards a more perfect union. We shall implement the report. Four years ago, I made a commitment to advance the rise and rise of womanhood. Today, I am glad that we have made remarkable progress in this regard, trusting in the potential of our women and reaping from their dedication and ingenuity. I believe that any nation that ignores womanhood cannot achieve its full potential. It is in this regard that I ensured that women were given more opportunities in government, and I have not been disappointed. Specifically, I doubled the percentage of women in the cabinet and gave them more challenging assignments.

The Nigerian Defence Academy (NDA), is now admitting female cadets as regular combatants and it is now possible for a woman to rise through the ranks to the peak in military service and become a full general. We must continue to sustain the banner of freedom and justice that we have held high in our country. I am proud to say that there are no political prisoners in Nigeria today. No Nigerian has been driven to exile and no one will be, under my watch. It is in furtherance of a peaceful, participatory and inclusive democracy that I signed the Freedom of Information (FOI)Bill into law, to expand the frontiers of our fundamental freedom.

Let me re-affirm that under a Jonathan Presidency, your views, no matter how freely expressed, will not send you to prison or into exile. I am convinced that I have kept my pact with Nigerians, and it is now time to look to the future. With your tremendous support, we have collectively done so much in the last three and half years, but to take our country to the next level, there is still more to be done. History has shown that the path of honour for any true leader is not to walk away from his people in moments of challenges. We must stand together in adversity and overcome all threats to our development. We must defend our future, for the sake of our children. So many things have inspired me in the journey to this moment. I want to appreciate ordinary Nigerians, especially young people, for the solidarity shown to me by contributing their meagre resources to enable me to arrive at this point. I appreciate the kind gesture of the Cattle Breeders Union, Miyetti Allah, and the Market Women Association, who encouraged me by coming together to contribute to the purchase of my Nomination form. In the same vein, I am touched by the National Association of Widows who also encouraged me with their widow's mite. This labour of love, from ordinary Nigerians, has increased my appreciation of your solidarity, my trust in our joint destiny, and all we have achieved together these past three and half years.

Therefore, after seeking the face of God, in quiet reflection with my family and having listened to the call of our people nationwide to run, I, Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan, have accepted to re-present myself, on the platform of The Peoples' Democratic Party, for re-election as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, in the 2015 general elections. Democracy is a collective action, energized by individual responsibility. Your mandate at this time will inspire in me the strength to complete the good work we have started together. My dear people of Nigeria, we must complete the task of ensuring that we lift the poor out of the depth of want and place their feet firmly on the ladder of prosperity.

In this election season, I appeal to all of you, not to harm, maim or kill; and not to incite violence of any kind. We must never forget our common bond, one people from the womb of one Nigeria. Again, I say: My ambition to serve you is not worth the blood of any Nigerian. I remain committed to this principle of non-violence. If you believe that we must build a country that works for all, where the strong lift up the weak, and not trample upon them, where the vote of every citizen determines who governs or represents you, where the democratic space is open to all citizens to fulfil their aspirations, irrespective of the circumstance of birth, your brother, Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan stands ready to continue in service to you.

My brothers and sisters, we cannot go back to the old ways! Our railways were allowed to rot in neglect, we have revived and are modernising them. We cannot go back to the old ways! Our road infrastructure collapsed. We are reconstructing and expanding federal roads across the country. We cannot go back to the old ways! Our airport terminal buildings were dilapidated and our airspace unsafe. We are fixing this. We cannot go back to the old ways! Our agricultural practices did not benefit our farmers and our people. Fertilizer distribution was a major source of fraud and we were importing food more than our budget can carry. Now we are on our way to self-sufficiency in food production. Do you want to go back to the old ways?

We cannot go back to the old ways, where there were long queues at our filling stations due to irregular supply of products and our people were exploited. We cannot go back to the old ways, when women and youths were denied opportunities in government and in responsible positions. Do you want to go back to the old ways? We cannot go back to the old ways! We had skewed distribution of tertiary institutions. Whereas some states had more than one-degree awarding institution, some had none. We have now made sure all states have at least one Federal University. We cannot go back to the old ways! Our economy is now the largest in Africa. Once, we were virtually importing everything, now we are exporting several products, including cement.

We cannot go back to the old ways! In 2009, average life expectancy was 47 years, by the end of 2013, it was 52 years. Some of our hospitals now perform open heart surgeries, kidney transplants and other challenging operations as we reposition our health service to end decades of medical tourism that drains our scarce resources. We cannot go back to the old ways! Together, in unity, we overcame Ebola, and in the process, demonstrated the strength of the Nigerian spirit. And together, united, we must maintain our vigilance. Do you want to go back to the old ways? We cannot go back to the old ways where individual freedoms were trampled upon and citizens were locked up for expressing their views or criticising government. Do you want to go back to the old ways?

We cannot go back to the old ways! We must continue to have free and fair elections. We cannot go back to the era where box snatching ballot and stuffing became the norm. Where your votes never counted. Certainly, we cannot! We have to move forward! Only forward!! , my dear people, Forward!!! In moving forward, I see a Nigeria that thirsts for progress with children across the nation, eager for knowledge and safely in schools! I see a Nigeria where all who have taken up arms, would again embrace peace! I see a Nigeria where our women can aspire to any heights, without hindrance!

I see a Nigeria where the flames in the Eagles will rekindle, and the Falcons soaring higher in victory! I see a Nigeria where the children of Mustapha, and Christopher, Ade and Ada, Timi and Bunmi, Nnamdi and Namadi, do not go hungry! I see a Nigeria where all, no matter their beliefs, live in peace and harmony! I see a Nigeria where the green passport is accorded a royal reception the world over! I see a Nigeria where one day the next generation will take us to outer space. Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, leadership is about staying focused to achieve goals despite challenges. I have been faced with many challenges since coming to office as President. With your support and encouragement, we have stayed the course. We are succeeding, against all odds. For the young Nigerian child, who grew up in the rural area, just like me, we are expanding opportunities and giving them hope. For the market woman, we are expanding opportunities. For our young entrepreneurs, we are expanding opportunities. For the right of our people to vote and for their voices to be heard, we are expanding opportunities. For Nigerians to have the right to free speech, we are expanding opportunities. For the job seekers, against all odds, we are expanding opportunities.

While serving our people, I will always ensure the rule of law. I do not intimidate; I expand the democratic space. I give voice to the voiceless and uphold the weak, for the nation belongs to us all. Fellow Nigerians, as we build our democracy, leaders must show temperance at all times. That is a virtue, one which I treasure, and will always uphold. My people, Nigeria is destined for greatness. Today, here at Eagle Square, I say to Nigeria, that working together in love, in strength and in faith, we will build a nation of one people, united in purpose and in action. Fellow Nigerians, it is forward ever! We must put our hopes to work! Together, we will realize our collective destiny. Thank you!!
God bless Nigeria!!