A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE MANIFESTO OF NIGERIA'S ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS (APC)

BY

ADAMU AL-AMIN ABDULLAHI

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND LITERARY STUDIES

FACULTY OF ARTS

AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,

ZARIA – NIGERIA

JULY, 2018

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BY

ADAMU AL-AMIN ABDULLAH, MA (ABUJA) 2009

PHD/ARTS/46081/2012-2013

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND LITERARY STUDIES,

FACULTY OF ARTS

AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,

ZARIA

JULY, 2018

DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation entitled A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE MANIFESTO OF NIGERIA'S ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS has been written by me in the Department of English and Literary Studies. The information derived from the literature review has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this dissertation was previously presented for another degree at this or any other institution.

ABDULLAHI, ADAMU AL-AMIN	……	…….
Name of Student	Signature	Date

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE MANIFESTO OF NIGERIA'S ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS by Adamu Al-Amin ABDULLAHI meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) of Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contributions to knowledge and other literary presentations.

Dr Jonah E Amodu	……..	…….
Chairman, Supervisory Committee	Signature	Date
Dr Mansur Ahmed	……	……..
Member, Supervisory Committee	Signature	Date
Dr Ishaku Saminu	……	……
Member, Supervisory Committee	Signature	Date
Prof Tajudeen Y. Surakat	…….	……
Head of Department	Signature	Date
Prof S. Z. Abubakar	…….	…….
Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies	Signature	Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Glory and praise are due to Allah Who made this quite an adventure, a sojourn. What made it worth the while was all the people involved in this journey, and I would like to take a few lines to thank them from the bosom of my heart. I begin with the members of my supervisory committee. The three of them are amazing linguists and I am incredibly grateful to have had the opportunity to work with them. First and foremost is Dr Jonah Eneojoh Amodu for his invaluable contributions to this dissertation. I would like to thank him especially for his support and generosity with his time and ideas and the painstaking criticism of my earlier manuscripts. The others in the team are Dr Mansur Ahmed and Dr Ishaku Saminu, thanking you for all your suggestions. I probably do not need to tell the world how marvelous and inspiring these academics are. I owe a lasting debt of gratitude to this committee for the sharpening of my ideas.

I am immensely appreciative of all my lecturers at the doctoral tutorial classes for opening new pages in my quest for Linguistics knowledge. In this group are Prof. Y Surakat, Prof. D. Ofuokwu, Prof. G. Ibileye and Dr S. Abaya. With heavy heart, I remember Prof. J S Aliyu and Dr (Mrs) Enesi of blessed memory. The two passed on before the Doctoral Protocol would come to an end. I am also profoundly grateful to the immediate past Head of Department, Prof. A. A. Liman for his mentorship, Prof. A Joshua – the former Dean of PG School for signing me into the doctorate programme, and all the lecturers in the department for their valuable suggestions to improve the quality of this work. I greatly benefited from their vast knowledge and insightful ideas.

I am also most grateful to my senior colleagues in my own school, the Federal University Lafia, particularly, the Director of Academic Planning, Prof. I. O. O. Amali and the Dean of Arts, Prof. H. M. Maishanu for their encouragement and support, and my Head of the Department of English, Prof. J. O. Abah who never asked me for a written request for permission before embarking on the long journey to Zaria. I am also grateful to Dr Ibrahim Auwal for his suggestions on my draft. Many thanks collectively and distributively to my colleagues and friends in the Department. I appreciate my fantastic students with whom I experimented with my theories and conceptual frameworks before ever putting my pen to paper.

I also want to thank all my friends who cannot be mentioned (owing to the constraint of space) but Dr. Sadiq Abbah of the Department of Political Science, University of Abuja, for facilitating my access to the APC's manifesto (booklet), and Alh. Nasir Yusuf for making his printers available at all times.

Most importantly, I extend my profound gratitude to my late parents who wished this, witnessed the start but could not wait to see the end of this doctorate; I appreciate my loving wife, Hajia Rabi and my beatific daughters – Huda and Harisa, for their patience while the study lasts, and for the love and care and inspiration.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the linguistic structures used for propagating specific ideologies through which discourses of the APC's manifesto construct ideological representations of political events and situations in Nigeria under the Peoples' Democratic Party's government. The study was motivated by how the ideological differences in the text of the APC manifesto's representation of Nigeria are coded in its vocabulary. To this end, the study pays closer attention to the means by which the grammatical forms of the APC manifesto's discourse or language use code happenings or relationships in Nigeria, the people or things involved in those happenings or relationships, including their spatial or temporal circumstances, manner of occurrence, and so on. It deploys Fairclough's Dialectical Relational Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis to posit in its central argument that language use in the APC's manifesto facilitates the encoding of ideologies.Dialectical Relational Approach comes from the perspectives of Critical Linguistics which explores the social functions of language; it describes linguistic processes in social terms in order to reveal their ideological and political investments. It identifies three stages of critical linguistic analysis: description of the text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context. Consequent upon this conceptualization, the method of systematic textual analysis employed for this study is the interaction of these three levels of analysis. Thus, the study situates the overall analysis at one time in detailed micro linguistic analysis of text and another time in the macro analysis of discursive and wider sociopolitical practices with especial focus on textuality, cohesion, modality, metaphor, nominalization and vocabulary, passivization and transitivity. The result of the analysis reveals that the APC manifesto's preference for nominalizations and the passive form, the preponderance of material and mental processes, the choice of modal verbs as against adverbials and phrases for the assertion of degree of certitude and authority, the suppression of agency via passivization, deletion, among others, facilitate the encoding and sustaining of favourable ideologies. The study further establishes that in making policy statements and textually representing actions, events, state of affairs and relationships, the APC's manifesto makes choices between diverse lexis and different grammatical processes and participant types, and the selections made are not neutral but ideologically significant. The study contributes to the understanding of the ideological role of language in political manifesto's discourse in constructing representations of the social world. It concludes that language use in the APC's manifesto helps to instigate good versus bad frames and a polarity of favourable 'self' presentation and derogatory 'other' representation.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The critical discourse analytical study of the manifesto of Nigeria's All Progressives Congress(henceforth, APC's manifesto) is concerned with the dialectics of Language, ideology and politics. This implies the way Language and ideology constitute, and are constituted by Politics in the APC's manifesto in keeping with the argument that politics is one of the social domains which practices are virtually exclusively discursive. Political cognition, van Dijk would say, is by definition ideologically based (van Dijk, 2000). In what follows, this chapter explains the major variables of the research topic.

Textual theorization, be it text-linguistic or discourse-analytic or literary-theoretic, has traditionally been characterized by endeavours which completely overlook the possibility of a symbolic relation between language, ideology and politics. It tends to see language as playing an occasional and accidental role in the overall framework of textual enquiry. As a result, core questions about the nature of discourse or text have partly passed researchers by. Such works have largely been confronted almost independently of parallel advances in studies which view language as expressing unequal power relations and mediating ideology. Thus they fall short of an adequate theory of Critical Linguistics or Discourse Studies or Communication. The present endeavour is an attempt to fill this gap.

Being interested *ab initio* in the language use by opposition political parties in Nigeria, the public presentation of the APC's manifesto in 2013 was eagerly anticipated and welcomed. Hence, the choice of the APC's manifesto was based on the criteria of recency

and topicality. It was motivated by a desire to construct an understanding of the language component of the Nigerian body polity that makes visible and analyzable the contemporary issues of power and ideology in the Nigerian political discourse. This understanding is crucial, not only as an academic endeavour, but also as a theoretical ground for both linguistic and social action. The knowledge of power and ideology, to borrow from Paulo Freire, "is an important part of praxis, the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it" (Freire, 1970: 66 is cited in Hobday, 2006:1). This is consistent with the aim of the critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto which deploys Fairclough's Dialectical - Relational Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA). The study is thus premised on the view of language as not merely reflecting but determining reality. This view is central to much contemporary thinking about the relation between language and society. In this view, language does more than saying, it does more than pass on information or reflect existing reality. It is about action and interaction (including political actions and interactions). In this regard, Birch (1990:167)asserts that "language is not a neutral instrument, it is biased in a thousand ways, and those ways of course are determined by any number of differing ideologies, knowledge and power systems and institutions".

It follows that any linguistic enquiry should, in addition to being aware of the ideologies involved in the construction and reception of discourse in general (and Political Discourse in particular), also be aware of the theoretical and methodological assumptions which form its own practices(Billig, 2003; van Dijk, 2005). To buttress this fact, Fowler and Kress (1979) cited in Birch (1990:171)argue that "language is not just a reflex of social processes and structures, but contributes instrumentally to the consolidation of existing social structures and material conditions". The point being made here is that the structures

of language cannot be separated from language use since texts are the linguistic part of complicated communicative interactions.

Thus this study examines the ideological representations of economic and socio-political events in Nigeria (under the then ruling People's Democratic Party, henceforth, PDP). This involves not only how language use in the APC's manifesto demonstrates the party's engagement in power struggle but also how the representation exercises power in shaping people's interpretation of Nigeria. This endeavour is significant especially as politics the world over is germane to the key issues of power, ideology, legitimization, persuasion and struggles for dominance. However, CDA is more concerned with the opacity of texts than with the transparency of text or talk. The concern of CDA is with, according to Locke (2004:40) "the discursive constructions or stories that are embedded in texts as information that is less readily available to consciousness".

In the different kinds of text or discourse that can qualify as political: interviews in the print or electronic media, campaign speeches, parliamentary debates, manifestos (as in this case), to mention only a few, some of these key issues are implicitly or explicitly underscored (Taiwo, 2010). This is because scholars in CDA amalgamating linguistic and social theories argue that discourse is part of the social processes and practices (Fairclough, 2000). In the APC'smanifesto, language as a semiosis is an element of the social process which is dialectically related to ideology and politics. Fairclough (1989: 23) captures the social conditioning of language when he asserts that "linguistic phenomena are social in the sense that when people speak or listen or read or write, they do so in ways which are determined socially and have social effects".

Language and politics are interwoven. Politics is one of the major events that pervade the social world of mankind, and language is the creator, enricher and sustainer of this social world. To buttress how this underscores the intimate link between language and politics at a fundamental level, Chilton (2004: 6) posits that "the doing of politics is predominantly constituted in language". There are other scholars who corroborate this close link between language and politics. For example, Awonusi (2008: 10) sees the relationship between language and politics as "bidirectional". He means that language affects politics and politics affects language. Opeibi (2009) on his part sees the relationship as "symbiotic". Buttressing further these assertions is Beard (2000) who identifies the whole essence of politics as the wish to gain power, exercise power and keep power, and "language is the major vehicle for achieving these goals" (Beard, 2000:2). Thus, politics is concerned with power: the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people's behaviour, and to control their values. It is language which expresses this power. Ayoade, a famous Nigerian political scientist rightly says that "language is the conveyor belt of power. It moves people to vote, debate, or revolt. It is therefore, central explanation of political stability or polarization" (Ayoade, 1982 is cited in Ademilokun and Taiwo, 2013:347).

Political Discourse, a strand of CDA is a unique discourse token that reflects the dynamicity of language and its environment. Numerous scholars have indeed given this aspect of discourse different meanings. According to Wilson (2003: 398):

> Political discourse is concerned with formal and informal political contexts and political actors, politicians, political institutions, governments, political media, and political supporters operating in political environments to achieve political goals.

Commenting on the same topic, Alvarez-Cáccamo and Prego- Vásquez (2003), cited in Ayoola (2008: 160), view public political discourse as "a form of appropriation and an

inherently asymmetrical tool for power". However, van Dijk, one of the leading scholars in CDA offers a more encompassing definition of this field of linguistic enquiry. He succinctly says it is "a class of genres defined by a social domain, namely that of politics" (Van Dijk, 1998). This definition therefore confines the concept of political discourse to the 'linguistic behaviour' of politicians and political parties. Hence, van Dijk (2001b) says further that a Political Discourse is one that accomplishes a political act in a political institution, such as governing, legislation, electoral campaigning, and so on. Specifically, he notes that:

> A study of the topics, coherence, arguments, lexical style, . . . of a political discourse may of course reveal much about the unique character of such a discourse, and also allows inferences about the cognitive, social and especially political functions of such discourse (Van Dijk, 2001a: 30).

From these submissions, suffice it to say that the use of language in the APC's manifesto, which is the focus of this study, constitutes political discourse. It then becomes worthy to examine how the signifying practices in the discourse of the APC's manifesto reflect or demonstrate some of the concerns of CDA such as ideology, power abuse and discrimination. Therefore, the motivation for this study hinges less on the need to describe how the manifesto as a campaign tool for the 2015 general elections in Nigeria has effectively or otherwise presented political and social issues in its texts than on how language figures in such (re)presentation. This is in keeping with Wodak's pointthat "the notions of ideology, power, hierarchy and gender together with sociological variables were all seen as relevant for an interpretation or explanation of text" (Wodak, 2001:6).

1.2 APC's Manifesto: Composition and Style

The APC's manifesto is a compact booklet with a formal dedication on how to insure the Nigerian state. It may be described in the words of Miller as "typified rhetorical actions

based in recurrent situations" (Miller,1984 is cited in Collin, 2012: 76). For this study, it is a *tour de force* and a superlative masterpiece instancing the essence of the party's political philosophy. It spells out the APC's universal mission, namely the organization and administration of power. Power conceived as the resource through which legitimacy and hegemony are secured (Galadima, 2014; Momo, 2014). In addition to the introduction which is entitled 'An Honest Contract for Nigeria', the APC's manifesto is structured into three parts. The first part deals with the strategies of statecraft: job creation and the provision of health, education and housing, tackling poverty and insecurity. Part two deals with building the economic substructure: modern infrastructure, agriculture and good governance. The last part concerns the administration of justice and foreign policy, among others. The formal presentation or representation of these issues in the manifesto has important implications for the APC's imaginative and practical conception of reality, politics and human significance which motivates a critical discourse analytical study.

In its narratological framework, the APC in the manifesto is a narrative scheme or device which is used to hang the narrative together to give the prose vigour and speed. The need for dramatic effects derives the discourse. And the APC is made into a sort of creator who tells the story and moves the plot. This narrator becomes pervasive as the *alterego* of the manifesto, the hero of the tale. On this reading, the addressee – Nigeria, and sometimes – the then ruling PDP, are only discursive subjects and the APC – the writer, the discoursing subject. Thus in the trio of Nigeria, PDP and APC is a salient construction of social actorsbut who are at the same time the ever-present ideational and technical resources of both the narrative and discourse. The effects are: the APC manifesto's rational disposition, its realist diction, systematic argumentation and great economy. Examples:

- The APC's manifesto is different. (p. 2)

- We listen, we promise, we deliver. (p. 3)
- In order to fulfil our commitment to Nigerians, the building block of our human development plan will be implemented through coherent health, education and social welfare policies. (p. 3)
- Today many parts of Nigeria are wracked by chaos and violence…(p. 18)
- We must restore faith in our institutions and leaders (p. 38)
- No society can progress where half of its population suffers systemic discrimination (p. 42)

Often, the PDP's political thought and moral discourse are repeatedly challenged, deconstructed, critiqued and rejected in sentences like:

- When this democratic dispensation commenced in 1999, the federal government that emerged did not tell Nigerians what its vision was for the country. (p. 2)
- Tens of thousands of innocent Nigerians have been killed due to government neglect of security; poverty and unemployment have multiplied due to the perverse economic policies. (p. 2).

Furthermore, the APC's manifesto is replete with dichotomous sentences – such that positions two extreme and antithetical solutions. For instance: it is no longer a question of choice but of will and courage (p. 6). The manifesto also has almost a dialectical structure; that is a polarized binary structure of argumentation. For example:

- In the midst of penury and economic hardship, small elite live in almost unimaginable wealth and luxury (p. 8).
- Without urgent action on employment, Nigeria is in danger of spiraling into further social unrest (p. 9)

- It is not just the production of cash crops that has fallen off. Food production in general has been declining since the 1960s (p. 34).
- For too many Nigerians, government is a burden rather than a help (p. 38).

With these patterns of sentence structure and lexical choice, the APC's manifesto is utterly self-conscious. To wit, it is politically pungent, critical and sensitive, linguistically economical and socially indignant, rapid and taut. For the purpose of this study, therefore, the manifesto's narrative structure, composition and style are seen as the effects of an objectively covert combination of relations and forces, driven by the mode of production of material goods, culture and discourse within the Nigerian political and discursive formations. Thus the object is a critical analysis rather than an evaluation of these sentences' truth conditions. The reason being the origin of a belief or ideology (as conceived in this study) is not central, or even relevant, to its evaluation as true or false. In a word, the aim is to critically analyze the APC's manifesto in the light of a Dialectical Relational Approach within the CDA paradigm.

1.3 **Statement of the Research Problem**

In any form of persuasive rhetoric on screen, in speech or in print, be it advertisement, interview or manifesto (as in this case), language is employed in varied and mediated ways by its users to represent aspects of the social world (reality). Hence, how Nigeria is governed is informed by the narratives of the ruling class, political elites or institutions. The choices made in language to tell 'these stories' are not neutral, but reflective and formative of power, ideologies and values. Without an investigation of how power operates in such discursive domain, power often remains invisible. This invisibility does not mean that it has been neutralized or shared equally among interested Nigerians. It

rather means that the prevailing power structures continue to operate. Thus, this study examines the manifesto of the APC to reveal how it constructs, manipulates, maintains and portrays power and mediates ideology and the other enabling linguistic values. This is necessitated by the absence, to the best of knowledge of this researcher, of any completed linguistic investigation or critical discourse analysis of the APC's manifesto in Nigeria.

The motivation hinges on the need to describe how the APC's manifesto as a campaign tool for the 2015 general elections in Nigeria presents policy statements in its texts,but particularly, how languagefigures in such (re)presentations.Taiwo, (2010: 173) identifies the issues that shape discourse in the Nigerian political scene as "corruption and mismanagement of resources, human right abuses, ethno-religious violence, flawed electoral process, and so forth".Incidentally, these issues are found to be the thematic concerns of theAPC's manifesto as an electoral campaign organ, particularly as an opposition party (initially), to highlight the inefficiencies of the government in power. It is the belief of this study that an analysis that reveals how parties through manifestoes linguistically construct ideological representations and how such representations exercise power in shaping people's interpretation of events are bothimperative and necessary. A working assumption, therefore, is that the APC's manifesto is a social construct whose discourse embodies ideologies and reflects unequal power relations. Thus, the study deals with the properties of relations between social groups. That is to say while focusing on social power purely personal power is overlooked, unless enacted as an individual realization of political group power, that is, by individuals as members of the APC.

1.4 **Research Questions**

This study formulates the following research questions to guide its study:

1. What socio-political context influence the discursive features of language use in the APC's manifesto?
2. How does language use in the APC's manifesto advance specific ideologies? Or how are political ideologies constructed, articulated and redefined by linguistic resources in the APC's manifesto?
3. How are power relations articulated and maintained within the discourse of the APC's manifesto?
4. What contextual and cultural elements do shape the APC manifesto's discourse?
5. What are the implications of the APC's discursive mechanisms on how agencies are positioned in such discursive power structures?

1.5 **Aim and Objectives of the Study**

Theaim of thisresearch is to undertake a critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto. The attainment of this aim hinges on enabling an understanding of how English language works to express unequal power relations and mediate ideologies in the selected manifesto. Specific objectives of the study are to:

1. identify the discursive features of the APC's manifesto and relate same to the socio-political context of its discourse.
2. identify the significant linguistic resources used to define, construct and articulate the APC's ideology.
3. analyze how the APC manifesto's discourse articulates and maintains unequal power relations.
4. discuss what really produces the contextual and cultural elements that shape the APC manifesto's discourse.

5. examine how agency is positioned and the implications of the APC's language use on subjects or subject positions.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto is significant because as a campaign tool, the manifesto has wide ranging effects on the public. It is also significant because the APC is the first opposition political party in Nigeria to unseat an incumbent president through the instrumentality of the ballot box. It is topical and recent. The influence of its manifesto in Nigeria has not received much attention. Accounts of language use in political communication whether by politicians or authors of manifestoes need a critical analytic approach if the electorates as well as language specialists are to decode its message and receive the desired impact.The study will help both voters and patrons in Nigerian politics to understand language in ways which are communicatively effective, rewarding and appropriate. This study enhances the manifesto's accessibility, facilitate the soaring of its message and ease the decoding of its ideology for the advancement of Nigeria's democracy.

Available literature shows that only little attention has been paid to the critical language use of anopposition party which wrestled power from a ruling party. It is hopeful that this study contributesto and expand the knowledge of political discourse; and also as a proof that CDA is an empirical tool for the analysis of the political discourse of both opposition parties and the governing party.Indeed, much of the writings and speechesof politicians express ideologically grounded opinions. In this light, this study offers students, researchers, and policy makers special insight into how the APC's manifesto constructs ideologies by the dint of language use, and wield social power through consent in the stead of coercion; that is, power as enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation,

among the many strategic ways to change the mind of Nigerians in the political party's own interest. The study contributes to the extant body of knowledge and also opens the floodgate for further research in the field. This research, hopefully, brings novel dimensions to the linguistic study of language use in political party discourses in Nigeria and in the world far and wide. Specifically, it contributes by bringing linguistic, empirical, and qualitative methodological approaches, in a word, multidisciplinarity into the study of the discursive practices in the APC's manifesto.

1.7 Justification for the Study

There are normative reasons why a critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto is urgently called for. First, political reality is a social construct, manufactured through discursive practices and shared systems of meaning. Language does not simply reflect this reality, it actually co-constitutes it. Consequent upon which this study highlights the discoursal functions of language employed by the APC. Second, the APC manifesto's discourse employs linguistic resources which engender ideologies and power which this study reveals their features and implications. Third, the composition of the APC's manifesto requires a significant degree of political and social consensus and a consensus is inconceivable without language. These three points justify the critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto.

This study is also justified on the basis that previous studies and analyses of the discourses of political parties only portrayed their rhetoric and related categories. Only little attention (as the review of empirical previous studies in the next chapter shows) has been paid to the critical language use of anopposition party(which wrestled power from a ruling party). The APC being a major opposition political party at inception, the selected

manifesto is a landmark political discourse where the use of language as a tool for achieving ideological and political goal deserves a critical attention. The present studyreveals the plethora of ideologies embedded in the discourse used to sway the people.

1.8 Scope and Delimitation

Thisresearch is a critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto. The APC comprises the former three biggest opposition parties – Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) and All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), and a faction of All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA). The political situation and context which this study makes reference to is the Nigeria's fourth republic.

It is, perhaps, needless to say that no research has the ability to unravel all the problematic areas in its field and beyond, which thereby makes it categorical for the review of all research studies. Accordingly, this study has its limits due to the barrier of space, resource, exposure and time. It is not feasible to make a comprehensive analysis of all the manifestoes of political parties or opposition political parties in Nigeria. The scope of the study is limited to doing a critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto. Some contextual concepts and linguistic analysis are employed to actualize the objectives of the study and get at the meaning of the manifesto. Thus, CDA here impliesboth a micro and macro linguistic analysis of the APC manifesto's discourse.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Preamble

This chapter examines issues which are germane to the research; it focusses on scholarly works that cut across interdisciplinary studies related to this one. These scholarly works help contribute to the critical analysis of the intent and content of theAPC's manifesto. Thus, this chapter theorizes Discourse through a discussion of perspectives on theoretical and analytical approaches to Discourse and Discourse Analysis, Political Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis; three central issues in the present study. It is presented in two broad units ofconceptual frameworks which survey topics associated with the study and a review of empirical studies related to this, in addition to discussion of the study's theoretical framework followed by a chapter summary.

2.2. Review of Conceptual Framework

These concepts – Critical, Discourse and Analysis influence the way scholars approach the problematic dialectics of ideology, power and language in society; the concepts are the cornerstone in the critical discourse analytical study of APC's manifesto. CDA is a socially committed paradigm that addresses problems through a range of theoretical perspectives. Critical approaches to discourse analysis recognize that inquiry into meaning making is always also an exploration into power. Many of the problems that are addressed, particularly in today's globalized world system, have to do with power and ideology. CDA provides the tools for addressing the complexity of movement across social practices (politics, politicking, electioneering by the APC), and systems expressing

ideologies and unequal power relations. These concepts are rooted in the constitutive relationship between discourse and the social world.

The critical element of CDA is traceable to a variety of philosophical, ethical, theoretical and methodological concerns. For example, as a way to see and describe the nature of power in the APC's manifesto, Critical Social Theory (CST, for short) provides a theoretical foundation. CST is a transdiciplinary knowledge base structured by the dual agenda of critiquing and resisting domination and creating a society free of oppression (Collins, 2009).

The term 'critical', according to Wodak (2001:9), was coined by Jacob Mey who claims that "every speech situation is distorted by power structures and there is no ideal speech situation." "Critical" in this study, therefore, means "not taking things for-granted", being skeptical about representations in the APC manifesto's texts and discourse, being self-reflective in deconstructing the texts in order to make opaque ideological positions transparent, seeing through the hidden agenda represented in texts, diagnostic reading of texts to separate ideologies from a dictionary meaning of linguistic items. The term is also traceable to the Frankfurt school director of the Institute of Social Research, Max Horkheimer. While citing Horkheimer, Wodak and Meyer say: The role of the theorist is that of articulating and helping to develop a latent class consciousness. The tasks of critical theory are to assist in remembering a past that was in danger of being forgotten, to struggle for emancipation, to clarify reasons for a struggle and to define the nature of critical thinking itself (2001:10).

CDA addresses the prevailing social problems by opposing dominant ideological positions. By investigating the APC manifesto's discourse, the study chooses the perspectives of those who suffer most from, and critically analyses those, in power, those who are responsible for the suffering and those who have the means and the opportunity to solve such problems and to improve conditions (Wodak and Meyer 2001). Critical Social Theories in general and CDA in particular are therefore guides to human action; they are aimed at producing both enlightenment and emancipation. They aim at making agents aware of hidden coercion in texts thereby freeing them from that coercion and putting them in a situation where they can determine their true interests. They do not only seek to describe and explain but also to root out a particular kind of delusion. CDA proponents share the view that the relationship between language and society is dialectical; by this they mean that discourse is shaped by social structure and at the same time shapes the social structure (Johnstone 2008:10). They therefore believe that since discourse is used to establish unequal power relations, discourse through CDA can also be used to subvert them. Two major views on Discourse are significant to the present study and are presented.

2.2.1. Discourse as Language in Use

On Discourse, two perspectives are considered: Discourse as language in use and Discourse as social practice. The term Discourse, in the light of the former, is the focal point of investigation in linguistics as well as related disciplines such as literature, sociology, philosophy and cultural studies. With any of these disciplines, it embodies diverse theoretical conceptualizations. These different, contrasting definitions of Discourse lead to some vague and fluid attempts to interpreting and problematizing the concept; in these fields one is sure to find an overly mention of Discourse. For this

reason, this chapter develops a framework of the intellectual origins and practical differences cum similarities in the implications and analysis of Discourse in Linguistics and Social theory relating to this study. In traditional Linguistic theory, Discourse is a major concern of particularly Conversation Analysis, Discourse Analysis, Discursive Psychology and Critical Discourse Analysis methods as empirical approaches. In Fairclough's (1992: 12) opinion, those linguistic discourse approaches fall under two main categories according to "the nature of their social orientation to discourse" as critical and none-critical approaches. According to this view, the non-critical approaches describe discursive practices by focusing upon language above sentence level with a close textual analysis. And the critical approaches, as recent tendencies in linguistics with a more socio-politically oriented discourse analytical perspective. The two differ and yet both deal with the construction of discourse with respect to power relations and ideologies, the effects of discursive practices, social relations and system of knowledge" (Fairclough's, 1992: 12).

Discourse, from the non-critical analytical perspectives, may refer to two major orientations as (i) language above the sentence or clause, following Stubbs (1983) and (ii) language in use or naturally occurring language expressions in social practices in contrast to a hierarchical structure system which is in keeping with Brown and Yule (1983) and Schiffrin (1994). Those two definitions of Discourse are inclined to the distinction between formalism and functionalism in linguistic approaches to Discourse respectively. Accordingly, the formalist approach describes Discourse as a structural unit beyond phrases, sentences and communicative purposes in language; while the functional approach views it as consisting of the contextual meaning, interaction and communication in language as social instances. This latter perspective is germane to the intent of the

present study even as the distinction relates to the possibility to produce a high number of sentences which are syntactically appropriate while they do not correspond to a contextual meaning. In an attempt to emphasize the primary focus of Discourse, Brown and Yule (1983: 1) contend that Discourse "cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs". Pursuing similar line of thought, Stubbs (1983: 131) characterizes the scope of Discourse Analysis by defining it as an approach which "does not deal with single sentences, is not contrived by the linguist, it not out of context". This means, Discourse requires the involvement of form and function to constitute a meaningful whole and the analytical orientation towards Discourse should combine both text and context as highlighted by Schiffrin (1994, cited in Cameron, 2001: 13). According to Schiffrin (1988: 3), "language occurs in a context, is context sensitive and is designed for communication with communicative purposes". This is a shift from the structural standpoint to a focus of contextual perspective, which ignores a critical point of view on discourse contrasting the theorization in cultural theory with a major concern of critical evaluation of discourse.

On the contrary, the functional linguists are primarily concerned with the objective of describing the internal mechanisms and structures of language in use, analysing discourse through the spoken text collected from real life instances. This is the interpretation of discourse as being investigated by taking a critical position with broader social and political questions. Among the non-critical perspectives, the Discourse Analysis (DA) approach of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Conversation Analysis (CA) as an Ethno-methodological work by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) and Discourse in Social Psychology or Discursive Psychology (DP) of Potter and Wetherell (1987) are noteworthy

particularly for their functional and descriptive tradition of Discourse Analysis as noted by Fairclough (1992, p.13).

The discourse approach advanced by Sinclair and Coulthard is, according to Fairclough (1992: 15) mainly interested in the interaction of teacher – pupils in a classroom setting through the data elicited from recordings of teacher and pupil conversations. Sinclair and Coulthard's object of investigation is the speech exchanges as the minimal units of interaction in discourse. They propose a three-level modal of interaction involving the stages of initiation, response and feedback (Fairclough, 1992, p.15). The modal is presented as the basic structure of interaction. Although the study reveals a systematic organization of dialogues and offers a valuable analytical approach towards the real language in social setting – a classroom discourse situation, it has a number of drawback with regard to the interpretation of discourse. These are the oversimplification of the complex structure and human interaction into a planned strings of dialogues in a classroom setting and presupposing a homogenous classroom environment though the opposite is valid in many cases. A further limitation as it particularly concerns the present study is the witlessness of the interpretative perspective and the tendency of merely describing discourse as a product isolated from its interpreters and the deeper underlying social effects and causes through which discourse is shaped.

According primacy to the sociological influence on social interaction as the representative of social life, Conversation Analysis was developed by the sociologists, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, (1974) as an ethno-methodological approach defined as "an interpretative approach to Sociology which focuses on everyday life" (Garfinkel, 1976 as cited in

Fairclough, 1992: 17). CA proposes a functional view of discourse as language in context and as a social practice in contrast to the early formalist paradigm. CA is influenced by the social interaction theory of Goffman. He considers social interaction as a social institution in its own right, with its own normative organization and moral obligations, which in turn are linked to other aspects of the social world through face, role and identity (Fairclough, 1992). Conversation Analysis heavily draws upon the interactional talk audits manifestation of social organizations and the works of Garfinkel on Ethnomethodology and Interaction Analysis (Prevignano and Thibault, 2003: 2). In ethno-methodological conversation analysis, interaction is treated as the main proponent of communication and deserves particular attention for investigation developed out of conversational data. That is, Conversation Analysis particularly concentrates on the interaction between participants who are engaged in a dialogue and do not take the findings of the analysis into consideration in the first place. Rather, they analyze the talk-in-interaction as a linguistic means in its end, avoiding the leading of propositions or bias against the data in the analytical process. Conversation Analysis aim to reveal the indicative of a social order and organization of discourse in conversations by describing the organizational.

Conversational Analysis owes its intellectual and theoretical roots to the sociologist, Erving Goffman to a great extent. The focus of Conversation Analysis on the everyday social interaction requires the acknowledgment of Goffman's relation to Conversation Analysis. To Schegloff, "Goffman made interaction a viable topic of inquiry" (Cmejrkova and Prevignano, 2003, p.25). Establishing the notion of interaction order (Goffman, 1983), Goffman argues that social interaction "embodies a distinct moral and institutional order that can be treated like other social institutions" (Heritage, 2001, p.48). Garfinkel

manages to develop a systematic analysis of everyday social interaction that Goffman neglects. To put it in Garfinkel's perspective, "all human action and human institutions rest on the primordial fact that persons are able to make shared sense of their circumstances and act on the shared sense they make" (Heritage, 2001, p.49). He further argues that this shared sense is manifested through shared methods of practical reasoning, the core principle of ethno-methodology. As Heritage draws upon, Garfinkel's Ethno-methodology explores "how socially shared methods of practical reasoning are used to analyze, understand and act in the common sense world of everyday life" (2001: 49). Mechanisms of conversation involves the in-depth analysis of conversational openings and closing, mechanisms of changing or taking turns between participants of a conversation as a central focus in the tradition of interactional analysis, the sequencing of adjacency pairs, topics included in the conversation, and other formulations of participants such as conversational repairs, showing agreement and disagreement, introducing news and so on. (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 20). Conversation Analysis manages to provide the discourse compared to Sinclair and Coulthard's Discourse Analysis. Its insights are valuable to comprehend the larger social structures through a micro analysis of verbal interaction sequences between persons. However, several criticisms are noted with reference to power, ideology and social context which are germane to the present study. The ethnographic criticism of Conversational Analysis argues its ignorance of cultural and historical context of talk-in-interaction (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999, p.21). The approach is criticized for concentrating on the interaction isolating it from its larger social effects beyond talk.

Similarly, Fairclough contends that "it neglects power as a social factor in conversations…. Though producing discourse is one part of wider processes of producing social life, relationships and identities" (1992, p.19). This results from the highly

empirical orientation and agnostic nature of the approach rejecting *a priori* exogenous impact on the analysis. However, many studies recently prefer combining Conversation Analysis with other discourse analytical approaches by paying particular attention to the cultural details of Ethnography to obtain a broader insight on social interactions.

The final interdisciplinary movement to be discussed within Discourse Analysis is called Discursive Psychology, the use of Discourse Analysis in Social Psychology. Having its roots in Ethnomethodology and relying mostly on everyday interactions, Discursive Psychology emerges as an alternative analytical method to traditional research paradigms like the study of attitudes, against the statistical and experimental research paradigms dominating research in Psychology (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 21). The use of Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis' methods in Social Psychology has been theorized in the famous book of Potter and Wetherell (1987), *Discourse and Social Psychology:Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour.*

In their work, Potter and Wetherell (1987) argue that the mainstream tendencies towards research in Psychology rule out and even repress the significance of conceptuality and discursive proponents of language data used in Psychology. They, thereby, underline the necessity to acquire contextual language data to fully comprehend conceptualized beliefs and attitudes rather than simply "surveying large numbers of people's decontextualized and self-reported attitudes" (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 21). In other words, in Discursive Psychology, discourse functions as a sum of the contextualized language and information. A relationship with this study is seen in the conceptualization of Potter and Wetherell. They claim that Discourse Analysis in Social Psychology research suggests that: (i) language is used for variety of functions and has consequences, (ii) it is both constructed and constructive, (iii) the same phenomenon can be described in different

ways, (iv) there will be variation in accounts, (v) there is no full proof empirical way to deal with this variation, (vi) so the constructive and flexible ways in which language is used should be a central topic of study (1987: 35). Nevertheless, the approach is not without its criticisms. Discursive Psychology does not develop a social attitude towards discourse as conceived in this study. Rather, it functions as a descriptive tool embodying, according to Fairclough, a "one sided individualistic emphasis upon the rhetorical strategies of speakers" (1992:.25).

The foregoing rendition projects an understanding of how discourse is defined and dealt with. For this study, it sharpens what accounts of language are taken into consideration and how the theoretical and empirical paradigms of discourse are shaped in linguistic tradition. However, it is not wrong to state that the paradigms of critical perspectives on discourse including CDA are shaped mostly by philosophical endeavours within Social Theory. Yet, there are several other approaches which analyze or make references to discourse and language falling under the category of Formalist and Functional investigation of language within Linguistics. However, they are not to be discussed here since they reside beyond the scope of this study. For an overview, (please see Approaches to Discourse by Schiffrin, 1994, in which) Discourse Analytical Approaches are handled in six categories as Speech-Act Theory, Interactional Sociolinguistics, Ethnography of Communication, Pragmatics, Conversation Analysis, and Variation Analysis.

2.2.2 Discourse as Social Practice

Previous definitions and theorizations of discourse do not measure up to the concerns of scholars who argue that discourse has a wider social dimension. Thus, consistent with the present study, a critical and interpretative perspective need to be developed to understand the facets of discourse with respect to the social, historical and political accounts. This

need constitutes the basis for the emergence of critical approaches towards discourse such as Critical Linguistics followed later by Critical Discourse Analysis and other Discourse Analysis theories within the Social Sciences. The conceptualizations which inform CDA acknowledge a multi-dimensional explanation of discourse at the intersection of ideology and power mechanisms. As presented by Fairclough (1992: 66), "discourse is a practice not just of representing the world but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning". While arguing the idea that discourse is more than language in use and representation of the social life, Fairclough defines it in a way that suits the present study as a mode of political practice establishing and changing power relations; and as an ideological practice constituting, naturalizing and changing significations of the world from different perspectives and positions (1992: 67).

At this juncture, it is in keeping with the aim of this study, to mention the multifaceted relationship between discourse and ideology. This is closely related to the discussions of discourse and discursive practices in many spheres of everyday life. Thus, in order to relate these theorizations to the present study, the remainder of this section draws upon the ideology discursions within Marxist and Post-Structural traditions. The duo not only relates to the theory of CDA but is also amenable to this study's paradigm. They follow the description of discourse in the context of ideology and power in an interdisciplinary perspective to link ideology discussions to CDA. This link helps to build a theory formation and a critical analysis of discursive production and reproduction of political ideology and power abuse.

2.2.3 The Concept of Ideology

The term ideology has a wide range of historical meanings and interpretations. At one pole, the classical Marxist tradition identifies ideology, according to Eagleton (1991: 221), as the "deployment of false ideas in the direct interest of a ruling class".At another, it denotes "any significant conjuncture between discourse and political interests". The term ideology was used for the first time by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy at the end of the 18th century in the meaning of 'Science of Ideas' (Van Dijk, 1998: 1). From this usage, ideology stands as a vague and controversial term with theoretical confusions on its problematization and analysis. Eagleton expounds this fuzzy world of theories on the nature of ideology better in his famous book *Ideology.* For the purpose of this study, his sixteen different formulations of ideology, though incompatible with the even stand in contrast to each other is crucial. These definitions are:

(a) the process of production of meaning, signs and values in social life, (b) a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class (c) ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power (d) false ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power (e) systematically distorted communication (f) that which offers a position for a subject (g) forms of thought motivated by social interests (h) identity thinking (i) socially necessary illusion (j) the conjuncture of discourse and power (k) the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world (l) action-oriented sets of beliefs, (m) the confusion of linguistic and phenomenal reality (n) semiotic closure (o) the indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure (p) the process whereby social life is converted to a natural reality (Eagleton, 1991: 1-2).

This pontification has multiple implications and epistemology questions. It presents different conception of ideology of the Post-Marxist and Post- Modern thoughts that criticize the former tradition by refusing to use the concept of ideology in their theories. It

impresses, for this study, an understanding of the close relationship between ideology and discourse within the CDA perspective. In CDA, ideology is posited as a central issue, closely linked to discourse and the critical investigation of discourse with particular reference to the establishment, reproduction, prevalence, transformation and manifestation of power, power abuse, domination and exploitation in social life. It also reechoes a classical Marxian tradition by referring to a system of beliefs which embody the forms of false-consciousness as "wrong, false, distorted or misguided beliefs associated with the social or political opponents" (Van Dijk, 1998: 2). In this Marxian interpretation of ideology, the concept is loaded with a negative meaning linked to the notions of domination and power. It serves as a means by the ruling economic class to prevail, perpetuate, naturalize and legitimize its supremacy.

Aside the Marxist view, another perspective worthy of note is the common sense use of ideology listed by van Dijk (1998: 2) as follows: (a) ideologies are false beliefs (b) ideologies conceal real social relations and serve to deceive others (c) ideologies are beliefs others have, (d) ideologies presuppose the socially or politically self-serving nature of the definition of truth and falsity. This conception of ideology is socially and politically limited, as a result of which it is heavily criticized by Eagleton (1991: 89) as "reductionist and negative" for two reasons. First he notes that false-consciousness is not produced by Marx but by Engel who interpreted Marx's work and is associated only with a dominant political power and disregards the existence of non-dominant beliefs of many political groups who are against the dominant group of their time such as the APC prior to winning the 2015 general elections or the socialist or feminist. Second, such a conceptualization implies that ideologies are positioned against truths presupposing that one's belief is truth while another belief against it becomes ideological. This is akin to the

acknowledgment by Purvis and Hunt (1983) that the Critical conception of ideology relies on the distortion of the real while sociological account of it embodies plurality and refers to the realm which is constitutive of the social (Uyanik, 2009: 43).

However, later approaches to ideology in Marxist strand moves away from the negative connotation of the concept and made insightful contributions to the concept of ideology and discourse theories that advances the course of this study. Larrain (1983: 4) explains this shift in the notion of ideology within Marxist tradition by dividing it into two groups as "the early negative conception of ideology which is the distorted understanding of social reality and later positive conception of ideology which refers to the forms of ideas and consciousness". It is in this perspective that the theorization of ideology by Althusser (1971) plays a prominent role for the transformation of the concept from the point of false-consciousness to the material existence. Consistent with this study's position, it constructs the bases for the critical analysis of discourse with respect to ideologies. In his theory of ideology, Althusser (1971) expands the meaning of the concept from a mere system of representation involving both negative and positive meanings.

To Althusser, ideology has a material existence occurring in real forms and producing material effects. These effects interpellate subjects within a number of institutions which he called Ideological State Apparatus (ISAs) (Fairclough, 1992:.30). That is, individuals are from the very beginning constituted or interpellated in society as concrete subject in the way subjects regard themselves as free agents and do not think out of the social order imposed on them. These processes take place through ISAs which exist as the central institutions in social life such as education, law, family and religion. This means that the APC, like the family and religion is a socializing agent for ideology. Althusser's theory

of ideology has its own limitations. Thompson (1986: 25) sums the limitation as "acting in a mechanical way that people automatically recognize themselves in terms of the categories they are hailed and neglecting the processes in which people negotiate their own identities".

However, Althusser's concept of ideology is of utmost significance as far as the present study is concerned because it opens a gate to the link between ideology and discourse; and therefore to a more discursive approach towards ideology. The idea that ideologies interpellate subjects through a number of ISAs answers, for this study, the question of how ideologies are imposed, naturalized and internalized. It is through discourse that individuals are constructed as subjects and exposed to ideological effects. In other words, ideologies are practices operating within and through discourses (Purvis and Hunt, 1993). This is a significant premise which paves the way for the emergence of analytical approaches to discourse as a social practice such as Discourse Analysis of Pecheux and CDA of Fairclough; only Fairclough's is central to this study.

Another perspective of ideology in the Marxist school, which influences the present study, is the one developed by Gramsci. While expounding the concept of hegemony, Gramsci – the Italian Marxist philosopher creates a broader species for ideology discussions. He emphasizes the existence of a constant struggle to gain dominance and interplay of conflicting ideologies rather than one dominant ideology of one ruling class. In Gramsci's view of hegemony, dominance in the society is not constructed merely by subordination of groups, rather it is ensured by the alliance and consent of the dominated groups (Gramsci, 1971: 120). Fairclough summarizes the key principles of hegemony as follows:

> Hegemony is leadership as much as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society. Hegemony is the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economically defined classes in alliance with other temporarily, as an unstable equilibrium.Hegemony is about constructing alliances, andintegrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions or ideological means, to win their consent. Hegemony is a focus of constant struggle around the points of greatest instability between classes and blocs, to construct or sustain or fracture alliances and relations of domination, which takes economic, political and ideological forms (Fairclough, 1992: 92).

In this sense, Hegemony is accomplished through the institutions in society such as the APC, family or education which naturalizes ideologies by transforming them into what Fairclough (1989) calls "commonsense" in a constant struggle. This process proposes that hegemonic struggle involves discursive practices and leads to the investigation of discourse as a facet of hegemony.

Further, these limitations come along with criticisms raised mostly by post-Marxist scholars, Laclau and Mouffe and Post-structuralist such as Foucault, who propose a rupture between ideology and discourse. Their proposition replaces ideology with discourse and indicates that the theories offered by Marxist scholars on ideology as summarized above influence the theoretical and analytical conceptions of Discourse as is amenable to the present study. The postulations on ideology and discourse by the scholars mentioned above lead to the emergence of discourse analytical methodologies in which ideology is a recurrent motif. This is the view that is adopted in the present study. This is because the proposal by these scholars enables the theoretical foundation for the transformation of discourse from a non-critical descriptive standpoint in linguistic theory, as already indicated, to a social and political conception in which power and ideologies are produced, practiced, sustained and transformed.

To illustrate further, the post Marxist and post-Structuralist arguments posit that the use of the concept of ideology is not appropriate since it embodies a truth/falsity dichotomy, and by referring to subjects and requiring an external factor such as economic interest. In place of this, they offer the replacement of ideology with discourse by rejecting the possibility of a relationship between ideology and discourse because of their epistemological differences (Purvis and Hunt, 1998). However, the critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto does not submit to this perspective involving the theoretical framework based on a rupture between the two concepts putting discourse in opposition to ideology. Instead, this study reveals the ideological effects on discourses as defended by Althusser, Gramsci, Pecheux, Fairclough and van Dijk; it Problematizes ideology with particular reference to the works of Fairclough.

2.2.3.1 Ideology in Discourse

Ideologies, as already hinted, have a close relationship with discourse. In the words of Eagleton (1991: 223) "ideology is a matter of discourse rather than of language – of certain concrete discursive effects…. It represents the points where power impacts upon certain utterances and inscribes itself tacitly within them". This pontification that ideology is manifested within discourse or that discourse processes are representations of ideological effects is shared by a number of scholars among whom Pecheux is of utmost significance owing to his contributions to the field of discourse analysis in Social Theory. Pecheux, the Philosopher and Linguist, takes after Althusser's Marxist theory of ideology which becomes the major source for his Discourse Analysis method. Pecheux's work is significant in that he combines Social Theory of discourse and ideology with a methodology of textual analysis as this study's Fairclough does.

In Pecheux (1982), he contends that discourse is one of the material forms of ideology drawing upon the ideological nature of it; therefore, discourse both manifest the effects of ideological struggle within language and existence of linguistic materiality within ideology (cited in Fairclough, 1992: 30). Crucial for this study is Pecheux's (1982) claim that words do not have fixed meanings but change their meanings and their relationships to larger structures of language or to other expressions and words according to positions of the actors using those words. According to Pechuex (1982: 111), this is called "discursive formation". A term he borrows from Foucault, who says discursive formation determines what is to be said. Fairclough's elaboration considers discursive formations as "linguistic facets of domains of thought, socio-historically constituted in the forms of points of stabilization which produce the subject" (Fairclough, 1992: 31). To test this hypothesis that ideological struggle lies at the very centre of discourse and that discursive formations do not consist of a stable meaning in themselves is Mills (2004). He reports on an experiment in which two groups of students were asked to read the same economic text but were differently informed about its content. One group was told that the text holds right-wing political orientation while the other group was told that it is a left-wing text, although the text indeed contains a moderate attitude. The results show that each group interprets the text selectively with respect to the political view which is presumed to predominate (Mills, 2004: 12). This result is consistent with this study's position on meaning.

For the link between ideology and discourse as conceived in this study, Pecheux's work deserves elaboration for underscoring the constant conflict in discourse. As Mills (2004: 12) points out, "Pecheux stresses the conflictual nature of discourse: that it is always in dialogue and in conflict with other positions". Pecheux's work thus, enables this study to

comprehend the fact that discourses do not occur as isolated chunks, but rather functions as sites and means of constant ideological struggle through a concrete analysis of ideology in discourse.Pecheux's analytical approach to discourse is called in the literature "Automatic Discourse Analysis". It is a method in which a corpus of texts are formed to identify discursive formations within the texts. In the first step of analysis, the linguistic text is transformed into clauses followed by the production of graphs illustrating the relationship between clauses. The process pays attention to key words of political and social importance. At the final step, the results of the computerized data are interpreted (Fairclough, 1992). Although, it is a different method from this study's.

As plausible as Pecheux's method sounds, his treatment of texts is criticized for being unsatisfactory for homogenizing the computerized corpus of texts before the analysis. These criticisms of Automatic Discourse Analysis of Pecheux can be further looked into in Fairclough (1992), Pecheux (1982) and Thompson (1984). However, the scope and key principles of CL and CDA which the present study imbibes remain constant; the critical view of discourse as the site for contestation of meaning and ideological effects which inform the emergence of Critical Theories of discourse in Linguistics and Social/Cultural Theories. The most recognized linguists who problematize the interplay of discourse and ideology in their studies are Kress & Hodge (1979; 1989) and Fowler et al (1979). The two develop the approach of Critical Linguistics (CL); Fairclough (1989; 1992) and Van Dijk (1995a, 1995b, 1998, 2006) are listed among the founders of CDA.

As a criterion to distinguish themselves from mainstream Linguistics and Sociolinguistics, these scholars precluded the treatment of language as isolated categories separated from meaning and the descriptive correlations between society and language

which excludes deeper interpretations. They rather introduce a distinctive analysis of language which recognizes the role and effect of language in establishing power relations and ideology in society. The main assumptions of CL, according to Kress (1989) are four: "(i) language is a social phenomenon (ii) not only individuals but also institutions and social groups have specific meanings (iii) texts are relevant units of communication (iv) readers/hearers are not passive recipients" (Kress, 1989, cited in Wodak, 2001: 6). The present study also shares these assumptions.

The concept of ideology for researchers in CL is a significant aspect of establishing and prevailing power relations, hence, the present study's analysis shows how discourse mediates ideology and how ideologies manifests in the APC manifesto's discourse. The CL framework, too, is heavily criticized from within and outside of the tradition. This is so for CL's handling of the ideology and discourse interface in a one-sided and top-down way. However, the later developments in CL and its final transformation to CDA provide an effective and multi-dimensional analysis of discourse with respect to ideological meanings and effects of language (Fairclough, 1992).

The emergence of critical perspectives on Discourse Studies in the Linguistics Literature with CL research produces scholars including CL researchers who developed a multi-layered paradigm of critical analysis of discourse which the present study draws upon. CDA, as well as the previous analytical approaches acknowledges the importance of ideology in discourse and centralizes the investigation of ideology in discourse as a thematic concern in a more elaborate and multi-layered theorization of ideology and discourse relation.

In this light, two prominent CDA scholars, Fairclough and van Dijk pay particular attention to the socio-political implications of discourse analysis. They focus on the ideological effects of discourse. By aligning himself to the Marxist tradition, Fairclough offers a combination of discourse and ideology theories with a textually oriented Discourse Analysis method which is taken up in the present study. In his analysis of discourse, Fairclough points to a form of social, political and ideological practice in constant dialectical relationship with social structures. For example, he says discourse is "a mode of political and ideological practice" (Fairclough, 1992: 67).

The Faircloughian perspective introduces a three-dimensional model of analysis to discourse. He conceives of discourse as represented in three analytical traditions all of which are essential for this study. Fairclough's model has phases of research which comprises close textual and linguistic analysis; discursive practice embodying processes of production, distribution, interpretation, and consumption of texts; and social practice with particular respect to ideology and hegemony (1992: 72-3). In this three-layered stage, discourse is placed at the centre of power and ideology; and ideology is conceived to be embedded in discourse as Fairclough elaborates:

> I shall understand ideologies to be significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social, relations, and social identities) which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices and which contribute to the production or transformation of relations of dominations…Certain uses of language and other symbolic forms are ideological, namely those which serve in specific circumstances, to establish or sustain relations of domination (Fairclough 1992: 87).

The theorization of discourse analysis within the frame of ideology, transforms ideology into both the structure of language and the events themselves. It means that, while it is undeniable that ideologies reside in texts, it is not possible to deduce them from solely

texts since meaning of texts are shaped according to diverse interpretations. Ideologies also belong to a wider social process in addition to the produced texts. In furtherance of this conception of discourse, Fairclough conceives the term "Hegemony" as an essential part of the analytical process to enlarge the perspective in terms of the dialectical relationship between discursive structures and social events. By hegemony, Fairclough (1992: 88) insists that "the issues of constant struggle and change in relation to the power are harmonized with the view that discourse is shaped by broader processes of change and transformation".

van Dijk is also famous for his theorization of ideology and discourse. In his application Discourse Analysis as a critical endeavour to reveal underlying ideologies residing in discourse and investigate the ideology-discourse interfaces.van Dijk substantially contributes to the field of Discourse Studies. Hence, the present study overviews his sense of ideology and discourse structure as well. He defines ideology as "the basic frameworks for organizing the social cognition shared by members of social groups, organizations or institutions" (van Dijk, 2006: 115). Put it differently, the van Dijkian sense of ideology is a system of ideas allowing the formation of ideology as an interface between the cognition of groups embedded in discourse and the socio-political interest of social groups. van Dijk (2006: 115) proposes a multidisciplinary theory of ideology as a triangulation of a social, cognitive and discursive component underpinning the socio-cognitive nature and discursive reproduction of ideology that earlier discussions failed to theorize.

In van Dijk's framework, ideologies share a number of common characteristics and qualifications. Firstly, ideology is primarily a belief system requiring a cognitive

component to properly comprehend the notion. Secondly, ideologies as belief systems necessitate that it be socially shared. The implication of which is that it is not possible for ideologies to function as individual, personal or private category but involve shared beliefs about social representations of the group(s). Hence, it is correct to say APC's ideology but not President Buhari's. The third assumption of the van Dijk's theory is that ideologies are "fundamental and axiomatic" shared beliefs consisting of the potential and right to control other shared beliefs such as the ideology on the lives of ethnically minority groups. Finally, ideologies are gradually acquired beliefs, leading to the idea that they require to be adequately stable to a certain extent for that acquisition period (van Dijk, 2006: 116).

Noteworthy for the present study is this theorization of ideology by van Dijk (like Fairclough), which succeeds in fusing the concept of ideology to discursive practices by putting ideology at the basis of discourse. It notes that ideologies are expressed, acquired and reproduced by discourses. His theory consists of a model of discourse in which the roles of discourse components such as context, mental models, knowledge, group beliefs and strategic processing are crucial. In particular, van Dijk (1995a, 2006) attempts to draw an explanatory model for the socio-cognitive processes of production and interpretation of ideology within discourse; and aims at revealing the complex and straight forward relationship between discourse and ideology.

This relationship (van Dijk tries to build between ideology and discourse) presupposes that the acquisition, production and enactment of ideologies in discourse should occur through a number of discursive strategies and structures. In such a model of ideological discourse analysis, van Dijk investigates how ideological structures exists in discourse

and stresses the influence of ideologies on a number of components of language involving context, meaning, form, rhetorical structures and action (2006: 126). The overall theoretical and practical endeavours of van Dijk lend the present study three basic principles. These are: see ideological production, acquisition and legitimation as mostly discursive; understand that discourse is a locus for the play of power and ideology; develop a multi-dimensional ideological analysis of discourses.

Nonetheless, van Dijk makes it clear that generalizing the argument that ideologies are solely produced by discourse is not accountable. To avoid a misinterpretation of his contention, he underscores the point that ideologies should not be reduced to discourse because it is possible for ideologies to be produced and enacted by other social practices as well (van Dijk 2006).Also Omodia and Egwemi (2011) observe that ideology is an important feature of political parties. Party ideology, they note, is a moral system that enshrine the sanctity of contact and promise between them (parties) and electorate; it constitute the political doctrine from which a programme of political actions emanates and on which basis citizens choose how they will like to be ruled.

For the purpose of this study, these conceptualizations show that ideologiesare very important aspect of politics for three reasons. They serve as a cognitive structure for looking at society generally and providing a guide to individual action and judgment. They are a powerful instrument of conflict management, self-identification, popular mobilization and legitimization. And the party's policies plus strategies for achieving them and code of conduct for party members are encapsulated in ideology. On this basis, the APC manifesto espouses the ideology on which the Party plans to run the government in order to give the electorates a clear picture of where the country is heading to and decide whether or not to work in that direction.

It may be more convenient to derive a working definition of ideologies from van Dijk (2006). He views ideology as the foundation of the social representations shared by a social group. Depending on one's perspective, group membership or ethics, these group ideas may be valued positively, negatively, or not be valued at all. That is, prople do not exclusively identify ideologies with dominant groups. In addition, dominated groups may have ideologies, namely ideologies of resistance and opposition. Ideologies more generally are associated with social groups, classes, castes, or communities, which thus represent their fundamental interests (2006: 728). The theory accounting for such ideological beliefs is complex, multidisciplinary and relevant to the present study.

What, however, can be discerned from the above is that ideologies are not always very explicit. They may be disguised, hidden or implicit. They may come in the form of opinions about specific events, or in the way such an event is described, more or less prominently. Once more, all these ideologies do not express themselves neatly and explicitly. Sometimes they merely control an intonation, a lexical item or an argumentative fallacy. They combine with other ideologies, and sometimes this leads to apparent contradictions in the text, for instance, in disclaimers that profess empathy with the plight of the others when in the rest of the discourse no such empathy is visible. Hence, the study adopts a multifaceted method of analysis. In *Politics, Ideology and Discourse,* van Dijk (2006) surmmarises the theory of ideology as follows: Ideologies have both social and cognitive properties which need to be accounted for in an integrated theory. Cognitively, ideologies are a special kind of social belief systems, stored in long-term memory.

These ideological belief systems are socially shared by the members of specific social groups, or ideological communities. Ideologies, like languages, are essentially social. There are no personal or individual ideologies, only personal or individual uses of ideologies. The identity of groups is not only based on their structural properties, but also on their ideology. Ideological belief systems – ideologies – form the axiomatic basis of the more specific beliefs or social representations of a group, such as their group knowledge and group opinions (attitudes). Ideologies are not necessarily negative and are discernible in the manifesto of the APC. It is however, not all the socially shared beliefs of the APC that are ideological. This is because, ideologically different or opposed groups in the same society need to have beliefs in common in order to be able to communicate in the first place. This common ground consists of socioculturally shared knowledge, which by definition is pre-ideological within that society (although it may later or elsewhere be described as ideological knowledge (van Dijk, 2006: 729). It can be seen from the foregoing that ideology is a very crucial aspect of politics, not only by serving as a cognitive structure for looking at society generally and providing a prescriptive formula, that is, a guide to individual action and judgement, but also as a powerful instrument of conflict management, self-identification, popular mobilization and legitimization (Omotola, 2009).

This study, therefore, aligns with the position that the first and most important vehicle of a political party, under an ideal situation, should be its ideological stance conveyed by language. This further agrees with Omotola's (2009) assertion that ideology "represents a typically crucial element of political parties and their activities". Therefore, the APC's ideology is a set of ideas about politics, ideas which are related to one another and ideas

which modify and support each other. Such an Ideology is relatively enduring and it is yet a dynamic phenomenon that is capable of being modified by new issues.

This critical conception of ideology links it to the process of sustaining asymmetrical relations of power and inequalities – that is to the process of maintaining domination in the discourse sample under investigation. In the words of Fairclough (1995b: 14), ideology is 'meaning in the service of power'. Hence, this study also sees ideologies as serving the interests of certain groups with social power, ensuring that events, practices and behaviours are regarded as legitimate and *common-sense*. Ideologies do this subtly, because they inform the way people interpret the world around them, hence hegemony.

More so, it is the functioning of ideologies in everyday life that intrigues and informs this study. Fairclough has a more Marxist view of ideologies. He conceives them as constructions of practices from particular perspectives. Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation. They may be enacted in ways of interaction (and therefore in genres) and inculcated in ways of being, identities (and therefore styles). Analysis of texts… is an important aspect of ideological analysis and critique… (Fairclough, 2003: 218). This is a justification for the present study's analysis.

2.2.4. Discourse and Power

Critical and cultural theories of discourse (especially, of Foucault, the French cultural philosopher) as regards ideological struggle, already hinted at, also influence the conception of discourse in the linguistic tradition. They bring a broader perspective to discourse at the intersection of ideology and power interplay. So, the critically oriented

discourse analysis of CDA theorists is particularly indebted to Foucault whose discussions of discourse curves a niche at the heart of the critical approaches to Discourse. In respect to the Foucaultian theory of discourse and power within the Post-Structural tradition, this study discusses some insights Foucault provides to the later conceptualization of textual discourse analysis with particular reference to Fairclough's CDA Paradigm (which is this study's theoretical framework).

It is worthy of note that the distinction between the Marxist concept of ideology discussed earlier as the basis of discourse and Foucault's oppositional argument which follows should be borne in mind to avoid a theoretical confusion on the course the present study charts. Foucault argues against the notion of ideology as conceived in the Marxist tradition by presenting differences between the notion of discourse and the concept of ideology and by proposing the replacement of ideology with discourse. He points out the distinction between the notion of ideology and his definition of discourse; and the inappropriateness of using the term ideology as follows:

> The notion of ideology appears to me to be difficult to use for three reasons. The first is that, whether one wants it to be or not, it is always in virtual opposition to something like the truth... The second inconvenience is that it refers, necessarily I believe, to something like a subject. Thirdly, ideology is in a secondary position in relation to something which must function as the infra-structure or economic or material determinant for it. (Foucault, 1979: 36 is cited in Mills, 2004: 28).

Foucault's first points assert that ideology is positioned in opposition to truth, presupposing a truth already exists. However, he also says that "statements have the same status and validity" (Mills, 2004: 28). This implies that ideologies are formed by and within power relations that statements are also a part of. A further implication is that a truth is impossible to exist since the defenders of the truth conceptualize truth within the boundaries imposed on them by discursive formations. Second, as regards the notion of

subject who manages to control his or her actions and thereby the discourse, Foucault jettisons the idea of the subject who is able to regard himself or herself as a unitary being thinking and reasoning. As an alternative, he changes the focus of attention from subject by conceptualizing subject as a result and effect of power who fulfils the roles it is assigned to. Third, he challenges the existence of an external economic determinant by rejecting the economic base as the main factor but seeks a more complex relationship between economic, social and discursive structures (Mills, 2004: 20-4).

As a result, Foucault defends a rupture between ideology and discourse by offering a discourse theory which displaces the notion of Ideology. However, as already indicated above, the abandoning of the notion of ideology prompts the refutation of a useful distinction as Eagleton remarks. According to Eagleton (1991: 8), "the force of the term ideology lies in its capacity to discriminate between those power struggles which are somehow central to a whole form of social life and those which are not". Refuting the distinction, therefore, implies that every Discourse is ideological, which would be a faulty inference. Thus, the present study would rather subscribe to both Marxist and CDA scholars who rely on the notion of ideology in their analyses of discourses suggesting both notions may work together for an efficient understanding of discursive structures in the APC manifesto. And so, ideology in the present study works as a subsidiary component of discourse as viewed by Eagleton (1991: 194): "a particular set of effects within discourses" rather than "a particular set of discourses".

It is, however, interesting to notice that Foucault's views on discourse and power have been adopted by many Discourse theorists such as Fairclough (1992) as a prominent CDA scholarship, and have provided insights for the key principles rooted in the foundation of

the present study. The works of Foucault are usually grouped into two with respect to his seminal archaeological works and later modification to Genealogy. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* Foucault views Discourse as "the general domain of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements" (1972: 80).

Foucault (1972) describes discourse as embodying statements which have been produced, have meaning and effects together with the social structures producing statements. In his early archaeological framework, the most salient perspective is a constitutive view of discourse which Fairclough says it "involves seeing discourse as actively constituting or constructing society on various dimensions: discourse constitutes the objects of knowledge; social subjects and forms of self; social relations and conceptual frameworks" (Fairclough, 1992: 39). Yet another conspicuous perspective in the archaeological works is what Fairclough (1992: 40) describes as the "emphasis on the interdependency of discourse practices of a society or institution; texts always draw upon and transform other contemporary and historically prior texts".

An assumption which this study draws from this position as regard the formation of objects would contend that objects do not exist independently but are (re)produced and transformed via a number of rules of discursive formations (- socio-historically variable formations) as systems of rules regulating the time, place or institutions of occurrence of statements in discourse. And with respect to the formation of social subject, the Foucaultian idea is that social subjects are not independent of the discourse in which they produce statements, but the statements position social subjects; noting that subjects are constituted by discursive formations. Similarly, in the formation of concepts, Foucault's concern is the dispersed relationship between concepts in discursive formations. Shifting

and changing relations of concepts on various dimensions are investigated in terms of the fields of statements. It is Fairclough who sums all these up when he says it is possible to address the Archaeology of Foucault as a system of truth in which statements are produced, organized, distributed, circulated and utilized within discursive formations (Faucault is cited in Fairclough, 1992: 37-61).

Foucault's metamorphosis from Archaeology to Genealogy comes with a concomitant shift of focus from one centralized around statements to the concept of power as a key element in the conception of discourse. For Foucault, power plays a prominent role in rethinking and reshaping a dialectical interpretation of discourses and modalities of power, which implies for the present study a necessity of attention to discourse in power structures and power in discourse analysis. Foucault's works attempt to understand the complex nature of power which acts as more than a repressive tool whereby a simple domination of one group over other social groups or violation of rights are achieved. This means that power is dynamic and flexible; and does not belong to the dominating groups. On the contrary, power is implicit in everyday social practices and possesses a productive aspect of reality rather than embracing only negative attributes.

These expositions on power implicate the present study in another subtle way; his productive and positive view of power expands the meaning of discourse by moving it to a more abstract and complex height. In his book, *The History of Sexuality,* Foucault (1978) describes discourse as the effects of power. Discourse is far from being neither natural nor neutral, but is constructed in respect to power relations. Likewise, in *The Order of Discourse,* (which Fairclough call interdiscursivity) he states that discourses do not only reflect or translate the domination, struggles or inequalities, rather it is "the thing

for which and by which there is struggle" (Foucault, 1981: 211). To paraphrase Foucault, discourses can be instruments and effects of power but they are also the active practices and constructive forces against which individuals are able to resist when they recognize the forces of power.

Without a doubt, the mutual relationship between power and discourse provides fruitful insights to the textually oriented discourse analysis undertaken in the present study, which Foucault himself does not consider or problematize in his works. Making use of his discussions on discourse within archaeological and genealogical perspectives, Fairclough (1992: 55) concentrates on the constructive nature of discourses forming objects and subjects; the relationship of discursive formations with each other opening a gate for inter-discursive and inter-textual analysis of discourse, the discursive nature of power and social structures; and the political nature of discourses as effects of power.

2.2.5 Discourse: a Faircloughian Perspective

Fairclough's understanding of discourse as both constitutive and constituted is pivotal to, and has some implications, for the critical discourse analytical studyof the APC's manifesto. He applies the concept of discoursein three different ways (moving in a cline from abstract to concrete). Firstly, in the most abstract sense, discourse refers to language use as social practice. This sense of the word has been explained already, for example in the statement, 'discourse is both constitutive and constituted'. Secondly, discourse is conceived as the kind of language used within a specific field, such as language use in the APC's manifesto. Thirdly, in the most concrete sense, discourse is seen as a count noun. To illustrate: a discourse or the discourse, the discourses or discourses, by which one is referring to a way of speaking which gives meaning to experiences from a particular

perspective. for example, APC's representation of Nigeria in the manifesto. In this last sense, the concept refers to any discourse that is distinguishable from other discourses such as (a political discourse – this researcher's addition), a feminist discourse, a neoliberal discourse, a Marxist discourse, a consumer discourse, or an environmentalist discourse (Fairclough 1995: 135). By so doing, Fairclough confines the term, discourse, to semiotic systems such as language and images in contrast to other discourse scholars, particularly Laclau and Mouffe, who treat all social practice as discourse.

In an apparent alignment with Halliday's multifunctional approach to language, Fairclough's Discourse contributes to three different constructions corresponding to three different functions:

- social identities;
- social relations; and
- systems of knowledge and meaning.

Hence discourse has three functions:

- an identity function,
- a 'relational' function and
- an 'ideational' function.

He, however, adds that only two dimensions of discourse are important focal points in any analysis (Fairclough 1995: 66):

- the communicative event– an instance of language use such as a political manifesto, newspaper article, or an interview; and
- the order of discourse– the configuration of all the discourse typeswhich are used within a social institution – the APC (the APC manifesto inclusive).

2.2.6. The Discourse-Power-Ideology triangle

The foregoing presents the dialectics of, and an overview of, ground theories on discourse. This ranges from the linguistic arguments as language beyond the sentence and language in use as a combination of contextual and structural concerns, to the social and cultural theories within which discourse is constructed as a multidimensional concept which shapes and is shaped by the wider implications of ideological and power issues in social life. This dialectics implicates a triangle which, in turn, makes feasible the claim that discourse plays a major role in understanding social, political and power dynamics and necessitates an interdisciplinary theoretical framework supported by an analytical approach.

Discourse, in this triangle, offers a reasonable explanation for the comprehension of a series of further open questions relating to the prevailing social issues of power and ideology as they are treated in the present study. Within this perspective, Jager's understanding of discourse is also crucial. He says it is "the flow of knowledge which determines individual and collective doing and/or formative action that shapes society, thus exercising power" (Jager, 2001: 34). At the same time, the opposite point that power is exercised over discourses is true. The production, naturalization, institutionalization, transformation and perpetuation of power and ideology through discourse and political discourse in particular; the unequal relations of power, domination or exclusion within discourse; the constructive feature of discourse as the constitutive of social subjects, objects and social strategies; the privilege of the control of or the access to discourse by a number of dominating groups and political parties in particular are some of the concerns in the debates of discourse theories and discourse analytical approaches.

Although according to Fairclough (1992) naturalization of ideologies is made possible through the media - both print and broadcast, in addition to the media, the conveyor-belt of the APC's ideologies is the APC's manifesto. The above conceptualizations are significant since they fall within the socio-political perspective of this study. They pay attention to the dialectics of discourse, power and ideology. They also present an effective analytical approach towards discourse as a social practice and function as a core paradigm as employed in this study.

2.2.7 Ideology and Hegemony

Although Fairclough draws on the work of Althusser and the Italian Gramsci, both of them Marxists, his understanding of ideology as embedded in discursive practice is more aligned to John Thompson's view of ideology as a practice that operates in processes of meaning production in everyday life, whereby meaning is mobilized in order to maintain relations of power (Thompson 1990). This Thompsonean focus runs counter to the conception of ideology in many other Marxist approaches since some Marxists are not interested in the structures of particular ideologies, or in how ideologies are articulated in particular social contexts.

On the contrary, they treat ideology as an abstract system of values that works as social cement, binding people together and thus securing the coherence of the social order (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002:74).Fairclough (1995: 14) defines ideology as "meaning in the service of power". He elaborates further in his *Discourse in Late Modernity* co-authered with Chouliaraki: "ideologies are constructions of meaning that contribute to the production, reproduction and transformation of relations of domination" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 26). Therefore, ideologies are created in societies in which relations of domination are based on social structures such as class and gender. Going by Fairclough's

definition, discourses can be more or less ideological, the ideological discourses being those that contribute to the maintenance and transformation of power relations. However, this Faircloughian understanding makes it difficult to distinguish between what is ideology and what is not.

Pursuant to this, Fairclough (1992: 93) says hegemony is not only dominance but also a process of negotiation out of which emerges a consensus concerning meaning. He adds that the existence of such competing elements bears the seeds of resistance since elements that challenge the dominant meanings equip people with resources for resistance. The result is that hegemony is never stable but changing and incomplete, and consensus is always a matter of degree only; that is, to borrow Fairclough's phrase, a "contradictory and unstable equilibrium" (1992: 93). The interest of this study in the Fairclough's view on hegemony is that the concept of hegemony lends the study the means by which to analyze how discursive practice is part of a larger social practice evolving power relations. Discursive practice can be seen as an aspect of a hegemonic struggle that contributes to the reproduction and transformation of the order of discourse of which it is part and consequently of the existing power relations (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002).

Discursive change takes place when discursive elements are articulated in new ways. Also, it explains how the relations of power are shaped and the struggle on how power is shaped. Also accentuated in Fairclough's account is the presupposition of a common sense present in the interlocutions among people that they are usually blind to their existence. These presuppositions are the very ideology that has a close relationship with power; for these ideological presuppositions exist in the social conventions and the nature of the conventions depend on the power relations that cover them. Hence, Fairclough

insists that “orders of discourse can be seen as one domain of potential cultural hegemony, with dominant groups struggling to assert and maintain particular structuring within and between them” (Fairclough 1995: 56). In other words, discursive relations are sites of social struggle and conflict.

This conceptual framework informs the critical discourse analytical study of the APC’s manifesto in two major ways. First, it is particularly relevant in that the multi-layered analysis incorporates textual processing and social levels of discourse analysis. Second, text is at the core of the analysis; texts are, thus, analyzed to reveal the linguistic evidence for claims made out of the discourse analytical work.

2.3 Historical Overview and Major Schools in CDA

Originating mainly in the three knowledge domains of Linguistics, Discourse Theories and Critical Theory, the emergence of CDA lies in the Critical theory of the Frankurt School. The Frankurt School is most prominent for producing Jurgen Habermas who delineates language as “a possible medium of domination and social forces’’ (cited in Thompson, 1983). In addition to Habermas, Foucault’s notion of discourse in respect to power and knowledge as discussed in the previous section, Gramsci (1971) and his conceptualization of hegemony, Althusers’s ideological apparatus which are reflected through discourses and other scholars inspired the works of CDA scholars. With this theoretical influence, a group of scholars representing different schools of CDA begin work on the discursive aspects existing in discourse. The most significant names in the research and theorization of CDA are Fairclough, Van Dijk, Wodak, Fowler and Kress and Van Leeuwen. CDA embodies four different schools which appear after the 1970s. These are the British, Dutch, German and Vienna scholarships (wodak, 1999). The

British school is represented by Norman Fairclough, Theo Van Leeuwen, Roger Fowler, Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge upon whom Foucault's concept of discourse and power and Hallidays's Systemic Functional Grammar theory are influential.

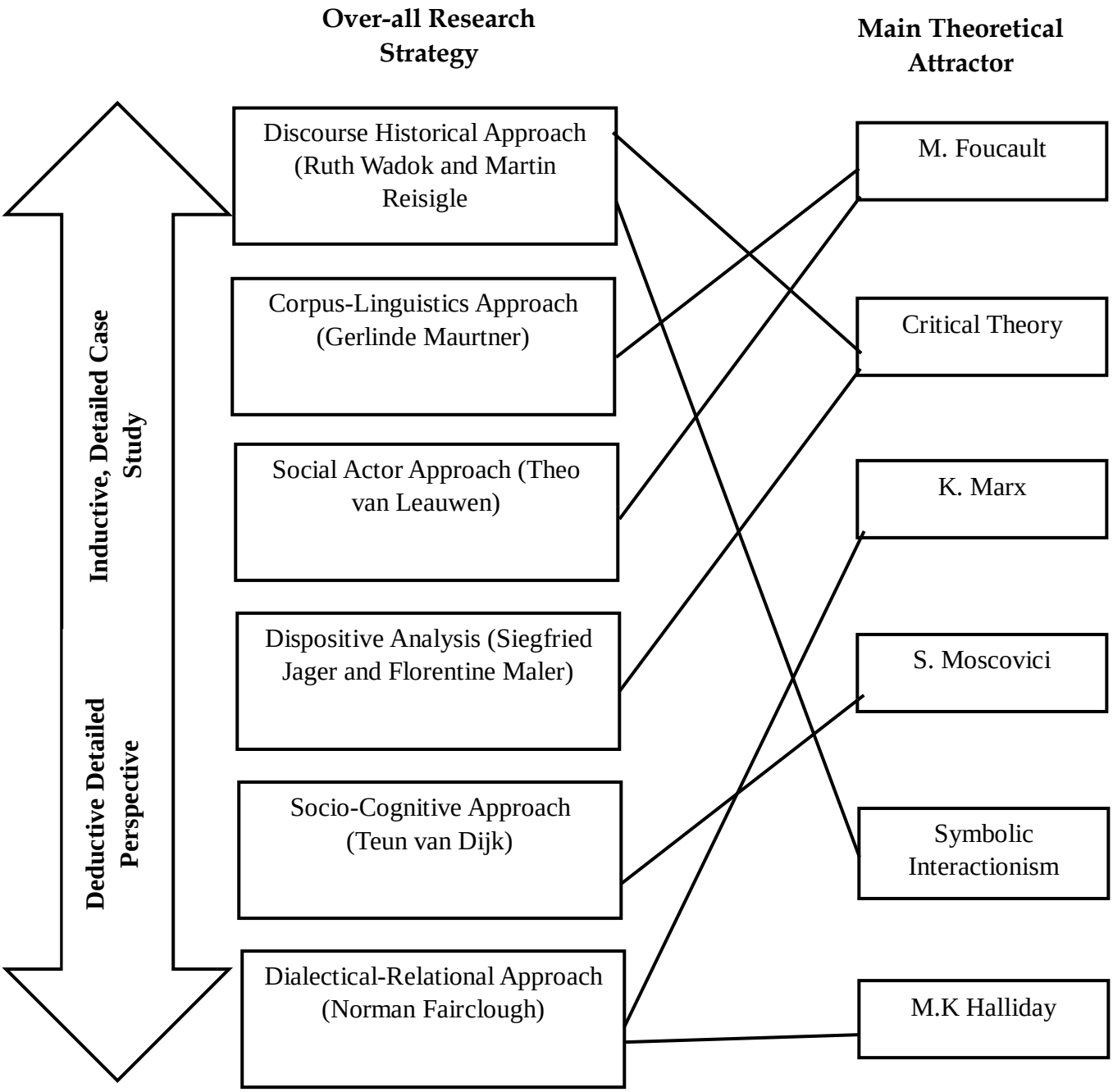
The first term the British tradition coined for their theory is Critical Linguistics which is mostly replaced by CDA today although it is extant. In this tradition, which is also the major influence of the present study, language is defined in Fowler's (1996: 3) terms as "an instrument to reach the ideology coded implicitly behind the overt propositions". By "linguistic instrument", the British CDA scholars are informed by the Hallidayan notions of Transitivity and Nominalization, as well as Speech Act Theory and Conversation Analysis. In 1989, Fairclough's famously seminal book *Language and Power* appears and has immense influence on the British tradition of CDA. Fairclough founded his theory of CDA under the impression of Foucault and Halliday. Progressing from *Language and Power,* Fairclough (1992) averred that discourse is language as a form of social practice and needs to be investigated on both text level and beyond text level (an insight the present study draws from). Another influential British scholar is Van Leeuwen who develops his theory of CDA from the stand point of Positioning social actors in discourse. In his Social Actors Approach, (SAA), Van Leeuwen investigates the agency in discourses through grammatical active or passive roles that social actors are assigned.

The second CDA tradition, Dutch school is represented typically by Teun van Dijk who uses a Cognitive – oriented approach to CDA. He particularly focuses on ideologies and their manifestation in discourse. van Dijk's (1998: 48) notion of ideology as a "set of factual and evaluative beliefs – that is the knowledge of opinion of a group'',

constitutes the basis for his studies which attempts to explore the relationship between ideology, politics and language. The German School is known for personalities like Jurgen Link, Siegfried Jager and Utz Mass who concentrate upon Foucault's definition of discourse. In this tradition, Mass's Reading Analysis Approach in CDA and Jager's theory which takes after Duisburg School of CDA drives the field. Mass's Reading Analysis which is textually oriented as well as historical and sociological context based is of utmost importance. In Jager's theory of CDA which is called Dispositive Analysis, discourses impact, shape and enable societal reality, which is a parallel thought to Foucault's notionof discourse (cited in Wodak and Meyer, 2001). These are remote from this study's position.

The last tradition of CDA is the Vienna School led by Ruth Wodak who is influenced by the Bernstein Sociolinguistics and Critical Theory. Wodak approaches CDA from a discourse-historical perspective and names her frameworkas the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). Hers is an attempt to trace the source of the construction of socio-political issues such as racism, nationalism, anti-Semitism through a historical evaluation. Wodak's approach evaluates discourse processes in three major categories: (a) textual analysis (b) inter-textual and inter-discursive relations (c) social variables which are broader to political, social and historical contexts. Below is a recapitulation which illustrates the main theoretical and practical CDA approaches summarizing the prominent scholars, theoretical attractors and tendencies of their research (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 20):

Figure 1: Major research strategies and their theoretical roots (Wodak and Meyer, 2009:20)



In the above diagram, Wodak and Meyer (2009) justify the multi-methodological and multi-theoretical character of CDA as well as the eclecticism of the present study's theoretical framework and analytical method. The major theoretical roots or attractors above indicate that the critical element of CDA is traceable to a variety of philosophical, ethical, theoretical and methodological concerns. For example, different CDA scholars draw attention to different ideas of what it entails to "be critical", even as they define critical according to the objectives of their own work and philoso-linguistic stance. Some (like James Paul Gee) adhere to the traditions of literary criticism, where hermeneutics plays a crucial part; some (like the Vienna group (represented by Ruth Wodak) base their work more directly on the contributions of the Frankfurt School, while others adhere to earlier Marxist theory (and followers especially Michel Foucault), where the perspective is more a top-down and structural view of ideology and power (as can be read in the numerous works of Norman Fairclough). (In fact, of all the theoreticians of Discourse Linguistics, according to Van Dijk, the one who contributed "many articles and books that establish CDA as a direction of research, with focus on various dimensions of power", is the work of Norman Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2001). It is for him that CDA is perceived as a research tactics rather than a direction of thought or a model of analysis. Hence it is considered worthy of adaptation in the present study.

However, at the root of these perspectives lies the work of critical theorists such as Max Horkheimer and Jürgen Habermas. Hence the present study draws on different theoretical and epistemological foundations to explain why ideas from critical theory are vital parts of Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach. The diagram also indicates that the key figures of CDA (Fairclough, van Dijk, Wodak, Kress, and Gee) allude to works which began in the early twentieth century with group of philosophers, social scientists and

cultural critics influenced by the dialectical philosophy of Hegel and Marx. Intellectuals such as Max Horkheimer, often referred to as the first generation of critical theorists, Jürgen Habermas, a student of Horkheimer often referred to as the second generation, and Axel Honneth, a student of Habermas who now represents the third generation of this tradition (along with many others), all have taken part in the development CDA.The Frankfurt School belongs in an intellectual minority which opposes the dominant European tradition of neo-Kantianism and Logical Empiricism, and this is according to Bil Finlayson (2005: 2), the context in which reference to the Frankfurt School should be understood. CDA,as a broad framework brings Critical Social Theories into dialogue with theories of language to answer this study's research questions.

2.3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is not a homogenous theory or method. In the words of van Dijk (1993b: 131), it is a shared perspective on doing Linguistics, Semiotics or Discourse Analysis with the objective to perceive language use as social practice. This suggests that the use of language by the APC and indeed the manifesto do not function in isolation, but in a set of cultural, social and psychological frameworks. CDA accepts this social context and studies the connections between textual structures and takes this social context into account and explores the links between textual structures and their function in the interaction in society. Obviously, such an analysis is a complex, multi-level one, given the obvious lack of direct, one to one correspondence between text structures and social functions. This becomes more obvious, when it comes to creating and maintaining differences in power relations.

The relatedness of the complex mechanism of discursive practice and their social function is frequently and willingly left opaque, at least at the point of creating and maintaining differences in power relations. Hence, one of the motivations for this study is to create a framework for decreasing this said opacity. This is perhaps what led Fairclough (1993: 135) in his definition to recognize CDA as:

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

A cursory notice indicates that the relationship is bi-directional. That is, it is not only the language use that is affected by its groundedness within certain frame of cultural or social practice, but also the use of language influences and shapes the social and cultural context in which it finds itself. It can be said further that discursive practices are constitutive of social structures in much the same way as the social structures determine discursive practices. CDA recognizes both directions, and in particular Fairclough (1993: 134) insists that CDA "explores the tension between these two sides of language use, the socially shaped and socially constitutive". Language is a constituent of the society on various levels. Fairclough proposes a division: that of social identity, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief. All of these levels are effected, only with a variation as far as the strength is concerned (1993: 134-136).

It is possible to describe CDA as a school of discourse analysis concerned with incorporating an explicit socio-political endeavour into Discourse Analysis. While, integrating social theories into Discourse Analysis and developing a multidisciplinary

focus of research, CDA brings about a critical turn in language studies, with a shift from descriptive analyses to a critical perspective of language. Van Dijk (2001: 352) expresses this shift by underlining the innovative perspective of CDA for "theorizing, analyzing and applying throughout the field, which does not exist or exist to a limited extent among areas such as Pragmatics, Conversation Analysis, Rhetoric, Stylistics, Sociolinguistics, Ethnography or Media Analysis". Within this elements of broader social institutions, structures or situations, the functions of discourse as a discursive and social practice implies that discourse shapes the relationship between a discursive event and a particular social structure or situation. It reflects how power and ideology affect dominated groups at the same time.

Discourse is then an active proponent for constituting, reproducing and transforming the social relations, knowledge, power and subjectivity in Critical Discourse Theory. Thus, it is possible in CDA to highlight the implicit power and ideology links shaped by and shaping discourse, which makes it a comprehensive theoretical framework for the critical discourse study of the APC manifesto. This positioning of discourse and its conceptualization within CDA is best represented by Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak (2011: 358)):

> Discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially influential, it gives rise to important issues of power. In a dialectical understanding, a particular configuration of the social world (e.g. relations of domination and difference) is implicated in a particular linguistic conceptualization of the world; in language we do not simply name things but conceptualize things. These discursive practices may havemajor ideological effects; that is they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, men and women, and ethnic groups through the ways in which they represent things

> or position people. Both the ideological loading of particular ways of using language and relations of power which underlie them are often unclear to people. CDA aims to make more visible these opaqueaspects of discourse as a social practice.

More so, there are other features of discourse within CDA. One of these is the argument by Wodak (2001a) that discourse is structured by dominance; produced and interpreted historically; situated in time and space; and includes dominance structures legitimated by ideologies of powerful groups. This position is fully enunciated in her Discourse Historical Approach to CDA. In this sense, it is explicit that CDA largely deals with power relations, dominance, ideology, politics, ethnicity, discrimination, gender and several other issues and their interplay in discourse. Van Dijk's (2001: 353) buttresses this position artfully that discourse "focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society". Thus, a significant consideration in CDA is that it embodies and requires a diverse and multidisciplinary point of view in order to understand the ideological agenda in discourse beyond what is told or written. This is besides analyzing text from a linguistic perspective.

Another distinctive feature of CDA involves its position with respect to objectivity in linguistic studies. CDA takes an explicit position on the side of dominated and oppressed groups against dominating groups in the research. It is biased; since the foundation of CDA is based on the attempts to understand, expose or reveal discursive practices, inequalities and domination resulting from the power relations in social structures (van Dijk (2001). He explains this position elaborately thus:

> Crucial for critical discourse analysts is the explicit awareness of their role in society. Continuing a tradition that rejects the possibility of a "value-free" science, they argue that science, and especially scholarly discourse, are

> inherently part of and influenced by social structure, and produced in social interaction. Instead of denying or ignoring such a relation between scholarship and society, they plead that such relations be studied and accounted for in their own right, and that scholarly practices be based on such insights. Theory formation, description and explanation, also in discourse analysis, are sociologically situated, whether we like it or not (van Dijk, 2001: 352).

This explicit perspective of CDA, due to some limitations, is criticized by non-critical discourse analysts, two of which are mentioned here. Schegloff (1997) challenges these positions by arguing that Discourse Analysis should refuse to impose political or other categories because they would encumber the task of analyzing text in an unbiased manner (cited in Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 39). Likewise, Widdowson (1995) is a well-known critic of the CDA paradigm. He questions the legitimacy of critical approaches by claiming that CDA is unsystematic and adopts a selective approach to the Data to be analyzed. He condemns CDA as reductive, partial, politically biased and an attempt to reduce Discourse Analysis to a single interpretation of texts. In an equally explicit rejoinder, CDA scholars refute these criticisms by asserting that CDA is not a less scholarly paradigm of research because of its political interests and biases. On the contrary, CDA is a careful, systematic analytical framework, equal to other approaches in the literature. For instance, Fairclough contests those criticisms by questioning the neutrality or freedom of individuals' interpretations of the texts and emphasizes the fact that the purpose of CDA is not to reach a predetermined result but the critical interrogation of the discourses and texts' intention at both linguistic and social domains.

CDA manifests different tendencies in the approach of its different schools. Nevertheless, for this study's goal, some common key principles as summarized by Wodak and Fairclough (1997) are highlighted below: (a) CDA addresses social problems, (b) power relations are discursive, (c) discourse constitutes society and

culture, (d) discourse does ideological work, (e) discourse is historical, (f) the link between text and society is mediated, DA is interpretative and explanatory, (h) discourse is a form of social action (cited in van Dijk, 2001: 353). In another effort, Wodak (2006) presents what she terms as the principles of CDA. Her depiction of these principles suggests for the present study: first, CDA is an interdisciplinary approach entailing various dimension of social issues to be dealt with by avoiding a single perspective; second, the approach is problem oriented in which social problems such as racism, social identity, sexism are focused upon; third, the theories and methods of CDA are eclectic, it requires the combination of theory and empirical data and the incorporation of field work and ethnography; forth, multiple genres, intertextuality, interdiscursivity and recontextualization are placed at the centre of investigation; fifth, the historical context of discourse is essentially analyzed and integrated into the interpretation of the discourses (Wodak, 2006: 188).

2.3.2. Approaches to CDA

This subsection highlights four out of the several approaches to doing CDA. These approaches are of Gunther Kress, Teun van Dijk, Ruth Wodak and James Gee. The approaches by these four offer bountiful resources for the critical discourse analytical studyof the APC's manifesto. Any particular approach provides sets of methodological elements that tend to be associated with it. However, appropriateness of an approach depends on one's research problem and theories, as there may be methodological constraints that require the researcher to draw on other procedures. The aim here is less an attempt to apply their tools and designs in a context that is meaningful to this study than it is an endeavour to present alternative procedures that there are and highlights the contributions of these scholars to the multidisciplinary nature of CDA as both a theory and method.

2.3.2.1. Gunther Kress's Social Semiotics

Gunther Kress was inspired by Marxist philosophies which attempt to understand the connections between material relations represented in the socioeconomic base and superstructures such as Literature, Law, Religion, Politics, and Education as mediated through ideology. His articulation of how language itself mediates the relationship between the base and superstructure is represented in his book *Language as Ideology* (1979) co-written with Roger Fowler, and in an earlier paper entitled "Models and Processes" also coauthored - (Kress & Hodge, 1979). The work is concerned with how power gets realized in linguistic forms. The possibility of a linguistic construction of powerespoused in those works makes it pertinent to this study's investigation of power in the discourse of the APC's manifesto.

He also gained inspiration from a study of Michael Halliday, whose approach to language centres on the connection between form (structure) and function (social practices), and views a speaker as a socially located individual who uses semiotic systems to achieve particular functions or goals. This orientation toward speakers as social and motivated beings, embedded in contexts and making choices, appeals to Kress. Kress brings this Hallidayian schema into the world of CDA. He became interested in developing a theory of motivated signs that rests on the agentive action of sign makers to show how images are ideologically constructed (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001; 2006), how subjectivities are constituted, and through what modes (Kress, 2009). He, like Halliday, calls his perspective Social Semiotics.

A social semiotic approach is concerned with how meanings are made in both the outward representation of signs and also the inner interpretation of signs. The analytic procedures for understanding and representing discourse which Kress proposes are multimodal. These procedures are arguably less developed than those for interpreting and representing language. Upon looking at a social practice say, a political system or any manifestation of language such as the APC manifesto's discourse, the researcher might identify which modes are being used and then ask: What are the signs being made through this mode? Depending on the social practice, this could mean that body kinesthesics or gestures as opposed to language are most salient in meaning making (Norris, 2004).

2.3.2.2 Ruth Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach

The Discourse Historical Approach to CDA adheres to the socio-philosophical orientation of Critical Theory. This makes it follow a complex concept of social critique which embraces at least three interconnected aspects, two of which are primarily related to the dimension of cognition and one to the dimension of action (Reisigl and Wodak 2001).

The approach has three fundamental tenets:

1. Text or discourse immanent critique aims at discovering inconsistencies, (self) contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures.

2. In contrast to the immanent critique, the socio-diagnostic critique is concerned with the demystifying exposure of the manifest or latent, that is possibly persuasive or manipulative character of discursive practices. With socio-diagnostic critique, the analyst exceeds the purely textual or discourse internal sphere. She or he makes use of her or his background and contextual knowledge and embeds the communicative or interactional

structures of a discursive event in a wider frame of social and political relations, processes and circumstances. At this point, the researcher is obliged to apply social theories to interpret the discursive events (theory of context).

3. Prognostic critique contributes to the transformation and improvement of communication (for example, in the APC manifesto or other public institutions) by elaborating proposals and guidelines for reducing language barriers in hospitals, schools, courtrooms, public offices, and media reporting institutions as well as guidelines for avoiding sexist language use (Wodak 2001:66).

This approach suggests the principle of triangulation as one of its most salient distinguishing features. This is the endeavour to work with different approaches, multimethodically and on the basis of a variety of empirical data as well as background information (Wodak et al., 1999). In its investigation of historical, organizational and political topics and texts, the Discourse - Historical Approach would integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive `events' are embedded.

In practice, when theapproach engages the APC's manifesto it would first analyze the historical dimension of discursive actions by exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change. In other words, the approach would in the course of analysis integrate social theories to be able to explain the so-called context. The concept of history as espoused by Wodak helps to situate this study, its primary data – the APC's manifesto and the ensuing analysis in a proper historical perspective. Indeed, to do CDA one needs to be acquainted with the relationships and interconnections existing in a particular social problem under study, how it relates to

other fields, the present and prior texts and discursive practices which frame it so as to provide a holistic explanation and evaluation of the problem.

Wodak (2005:22) posits that "every discourse is said to be historically embedded, and to have repercussions on current and future discourses. It is usually located in space (sociocultural context) and time (diachronically and synchronically)". Wodak, therefore, advocates taking into account the historical development of discursive practices (how they have evolved and the changes overtime). This way of locating at a text in time and space has been referred to as the Discourse Historical Approach and is credited to Ruth Wodak (2005:67-69). The implication of the concept of history in CDA is this: for example, to analyze the phrases:

APC change

Vote Buhari, vote for change

the researcher would need to put the texts in context that is, in time and space; and then interrogate. For example,what background knowledge or memory (presuppositions or schema) about the 'agents' in the texts is shared by members of the sociopolitical institution – APC? Whence these expressions emanate? How will this knowledge affect present and future discourses since they have been so represented in prior discourse in the APC manifesto?

2.3.2.3 Teun van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Approach

Van Dijk's model is outrightly critical. CDA, he asserts:

> is a critical perspective on doing scholarship: it is, so to speak, discourse analysis 'with an attitude'. It focuses on social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination. Wherever possible, it does so from a perspective that is consistent with the best interests of dominated groups. It takes the experiences and opinions of members

> of such groups seriously, and supports their struggle against inequality (van Dijk 2001:95)

This means, CDA research combines what he calls “solidarity with the oppressed” (2001: 95) with an attitude of opposition and dissent against those who abuse text and talk in order to establish, confirm or legitimate their abuse of power. Unlike much other scholarship, CDA does not deny but explicitly defines and defends its own sociopolitical position. That is, CDA is biased. In this approach, theory formation, description, problem formulation and applications are closely intertwined and mutually inspiring.

van Dijk who majorly writes on racism (van Dijk 1984; 1987; 1991 and 1993) and on ideology (1990) proposes a Discourse – Cognition – Society triangle which no doubt elucidates this study’s analysis of the APC’s ideology. He shows in both previous and later writings that such issues as racism and ideology are both cognitive and social phenomena. It goes without saying, then, that the complex, real-world problems CDA deals with also need a historical, cultural, socio-economic, philosophical, logical or neurological approach, depending on what one wants to know.

van Dijk also believes that given the fundamentally verbal nature of discourse, explicit CDA also needs a solid `linguistic' basis, where `linguistic' is understood in a broad structural - functional sense. In other words, whatever other dimensions of discourse CDA deals with, being a specific form and practice of Discourse Analysis obviously always needs to account for at least some of the detailed structures, strategies and functions of text and talk, including grammatical, pragmatic, interactional, stylistic, rhetorical, semiotic, narrative or similar forms of verbal and paraverbal organization of communicative events. For its analytical techniques and emphasis on the role of discourse

in the production and reproduction of power abuse and domination, van Dijk's model lends the critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto a working tool.

2.3.2.4. James Gee's Approach to Discourse Analysis

James Gee's approach to Discourse Analysis draws on three traditions: first, the American Anthropological Linguistics and Narratives represented by Gumperz, (1982) and Scollon & Scollon, (1981); second, the Social Discourse theories represented by Foucault (1972, 1977) and third, the Cognitive Psychology represented by Holland & Quinn, (1987) and Strauss & Quinn (1997). This background influences the development of his approach to the social and cultural study of language.

Gee (2011) brings to the fore his theory of language with theoretical devices for inquiry. Situated meanings, Social languages, Figured worlds, and Discourse models may be thought of as "tools of inquiry". These, he insists, are the social and cultural frameworks for understanding how people use language to accomplish social goals, and by extension, how the APC uses language to express her ideologies and maintains unequal power relations. The concept of "Situated meanings" evokes Bakhtin's notion of genres and dialogues (Bhaktin 1986) and refers to the historical, intertextual and social trappings of sign systems. "Social languages" refers to grammar and the function of language as a social practice. That is, grammar is not something that people inherits, but something they design to create certain identities and relationships. "Figured worlds" refers to the narratives and images different social and cultural groups of people use to make sense of the world. "Discourse models" are the storylines, narratives, and explanatory frameworks that circulate in a society (Rogers 2008).

Gee's approach also contains what he calls the "seven building tasks" which include seven entry points that aid this research in constructing meaning from a network of the APC's discourse patterns. The tasks include significance, activities, identities, relationships, politics, connections, sign systems, and knowledge (Gee 2011). However, Gee's approach is not applicable here because the Discursive Psychology which he draws upon can be replaced by Fairclough's Common-sense Assumptions incorporated in the Members Resources (MR).

It is important to remark that there is a great deal of synergy across these approaches. This synergy makes it almost impossible to assign each scholar to oneapproach to Critical Discourse Analysis because each scholar, as already indicated, has developed and drawn on different theories and methods over the years; many of which overlap. It is equally undesirable to associate one person with one set of analytic tools as if this were "Fairclough's methods" or "van Dijk's methods" for CDA. These scholars, going by their admittance that their methods are drawn from a wide range of scholarships, and that they adopt and adapt analytic methods according to the needs of a particular inquiry, would all embrace the concept of methodological hybridity. All the approaches, it can be inferred, have a dualist view of discursive practice. They all recognize that in every discursive practice, it is necessary to draw on earlier productions of meaning in order to be understood, but that some elements may also be put together in a new way, bringing about a change in the discursive structures.

It is of import to say that the CDA method enunciated in the four scholarly traditions above does not pass on without some criticisms. CDA's integration of critical and poststructuralist theories has been considered problematic (Widdowson 2004; Toolan

1997; Pennycook 2001). Pennycook (2001), for instance, critiques the way critical discourse analysts have taken a political view of society but have not necessarily taken a similar stance on the nature of knowledge. He points out that "the modelling and systematizing' in Fairclough's work (discussed below) as attempting to 'construct a scientific edifice around CDA', arguing that such contradictions demonstrate 'a blindness to the politics of knowledge" (Pennycook 2001: 84, 85). Although Fairclough (2001b:.4) describes his work as a "scientific investigation of social matters' and has identified critical social science as needing a scientific basis,he defines 'scientific' in terms of rational and evidence-based arguments. Thus, he explains that"being committed does not excuse you from arguing rationally or producing evidence for your statements" (2001b:.4).

In considering some of the debates that have occurred in discourse research, Wetherell (2001) highlights criticisms of CDA that demonstrates concern about objectivity and what might constitute 'good' scientific practice. He for example, questions the potential for bias in critical and political approaches to discourse. Widdowson (2004) and Toolan (1997) criticize CDA for being uncritical of its own discursive practices. In Widdowson's (2004:150) opinion, the application of CDA to issues relating to social justice and domination has meant that some research "carries conviction because it espouses just causes".

Commentaries like theforegoing, that raise much broader questions about the validity and intellectual accountability of CDA research, seem to highlight the need for the present study's use of CDA to show how theory has been, and can be, used and to demonstrate

that CDA is much more than 'method'. This researcher is mindful of these critiques and shall attempt to demonstrate this recommendation at the point of analysis.

2.4. Micro Analysis of Textual Practice

The analysis of the text aims to explore the linguistic and close textual representations within discourse at the text level. By the standard of Fairclough (1992) and Wodak (2001), a linguistically oriented in-text analysis is defined as "description" while discursive and broader social analysis falls under the category of "interpretation". This type of linguistic analysis is significant to the present study since it is the most salient language productions representing and depicting ideologies or discriminatory practices. One point to note is that such a micro analysis of the texts contains a wide range of linguistic categories embodying the interactional analysis of language (not applicable in the present study) (e.g. turn-taking, intonation), lexical analysis (e.g. wording, word meaning), grammatical analysis (transitivity), analysis of speech acts (not applicable in the present study) (e.g. illocutionary force of utterances) and cohesion (e.g. linkage, conjunctions). Fairclough (1992: 75) categorizes the groups of analysis at textual level as vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure.

van Dijk (2001: 99) however advises that rather than investigating the whole categories in the research, one "must make choices, and select those structures for closer analysis that are relevant for the study of a social issue". Undoubtedly, this selection requires the knowledge of text-context relationship. van Dijk determines the content of the textual analysis with the following statements:

> ...the overall strategy hereby is in line with ideological polarization and other structures, suchas self-serving positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. This overall strategy may be implemented by a large variety of forms and meanings that emphasize (or mitigate) positive (or negative) properties of the in- group and the out-group, respectively, for example through

> intonation, stress, volume, clause structure, lexical selection, implicitness, presuppositions, local coherence, overall topics, rhetorical devices (e.g. metaphors), schematic organization (argumentation, fallacies), the selection of speech acts, and conversational and interactional management (e.g. politeness). (2001: 317)

Within the analysis of textual practice, the transitivity analysis of the clauses based on the Systemic-Functional Grammar model offered by Halliday (1985, 1994, 2004) is extensively used in CDA theories. Transitivity, according to Fairclough (1992: 178) deals with "the types of process which are coded in clauses and the types of participants involved". Put it in another way, transitivity is constituted by two factors (i) the types of processes and (ii) the roles of human participants involved in the processes. The main process types are material (action, event), mental, behavioural, verbal and relational processes (Halliday, 1994). The participants are divided into two groups in relation to the processes to determine whether (i) they are performing the process actively, or (ii) they undergo the process or are affected by it. That is, the role allocation of the participants is realized through transitivity choices in a particular discourse. This study also benefits from Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of Representation of Social Actors which belongs in Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar. It turns out as an important device to understand the reason why some participants are signified and activated in processes while some others are passivized or excluded from the process.

In Van Leeuwen's view, representations can assign participants to both active and passive roles in discourses and the role allocations based on agency may re-shape the social practices of actors through their assigned grammatical roles.Van Leeuwen's model of transitivity analysis shows the representations mentioned above occur through the strategies of inclusion and exclusion. Exclusion of a participant from the context is realized through strategies such as passive agent deletion, nominalization, using non-

finite clauses or de-emphasizing of the actor and pushing him/her to the background. That is, there is no reference to the social actor in the text. As for the inclusion, role allocation of participants is of utmost importance. Participants may be presented through either active or passive grammatical categories to emphasize or de-emphasize particular power structures and ideological positioning of the participants. What can be gleaned from the foregoing is that when activation of participants are aimed at in the APC manifesto's discourse, they are coded as 'actors' in material processes, 'senser' in the mental processes, 'behaver' in the behavioural processes, 'sayer' in the verbal processes and 'assigner' in the relational processes. Other participants are placed as patient, goal or the affected in case of the passivization (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 33).

In this model of transitivity investigation, passivation occurs through the subjection of the passivized actor by positioning him as the goal of a material process and through the beneficialization of the passivized participant by allocating the role of receiver to the participant. As implemented in this study, investigation of transitivity choices in relation to the social representations enlightens the theoretical, political and ideological factors to understand which process types or participants are signified or foregrounded and which are back-grounded. Therefore, suppressed dominant structures or power dynamics on subordinated groups become visible in the choices of transitivity structures in the discourse of the APC manifesto.

Another noteworthy part of textually oriented Discourse Analysis relevant to this study is the analysis of the lexical practices in discourse. Lexical practices may vary and be implemented in many different ways. The focus of Fairclough in his three- dimensional model of analysis consisting of the study of words under in-text analysis is upon the

alternative wordings or re-wording of meanings. This is in addition to the analysis of their political and ideological purposes; word meaning dealing with "how the meanings of words come into contention within wider struggles" and metaphors with their political imports (1992: 77). In a similar perspective, van Dijk investigates the ideological implications of lexical selection under the heading of 'local meanings'. In his meaning-based category, meanings of words, propositions with their structural and relational overview, coherence, presuppositions and implications are involved in respect to the contextual preferences of the researcher (van Dijk, 2001: 103).

Although the study of lexical items varies in CDA discipline, this study is mostly centred upon the socio-politically constructed meanings and wordings or "ideologically biased discourses, and the ways these polarize the representation of us (in-groups) and them (out-groups)" in van Dijk's (2001: 103)sense. In accordance with the text and context relevance, the investigation draws upon the representation of the social actors in discourses and seeks the answers of the following questions cited in Wodak- (2001: 72): (a) how are persons named and referred to linguistically? (b) What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them? (c) From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?

2.4.1. Macro Analysis of Discursive Practice

According to Fairclough (1992: 78), “a discursive analysis of a particular discourse draws upon the processes of text production, distribution and consumption in broad terms”. It elaborately analyses the varying nature of those three concepts in different discourses; different interpretations of discourses that is the interpretation and production of participants; transformation of texts into other texts or shaping of texts' meanings with

reference to prior texts which is called intertextuality; and linking discourses to other discourses which is called inter-discursivity referring to the link between discourses through other topics or sub-topics (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 90). In the sense of Fairclough (1992: 124), the principle of inter-discursivity ensures that "orders of discourse have primacy over particular type of discourse". This re-contextualization of discourses may be applied for legitimization, justification or persuasion of a number of discriminatory practices.

The discourse type referring to genres, styles and ~~discourse~~ topics hold a fundamental role in the discursive practices, which van Dijk (2001: 101) calls “semantic macrostructures”. To him, semantic macro-structures are "the global meaning that language users constitute in discourse production and comprehension, and the gist that is best recalled by them" (2001: 102). Thus, the analysis of semantic macrostructures is the reasonable starting point for analyzing discursive practices since it provides the overall idea of the texts' content.

2.4.2. Analysis of Wider Socio-Political Practice

From this study’s position, it is impossible to isolate text analysis from the wider societal, political and ideological perspectives and practices. Ideology, power and hegemony are three main concepts proposed by critical linguists to frame the investigation of discourse as a social practice (Fairclough, 1992: 86-7). The manifestation of power, ideology and hegemony within discourse practices are investigated through a multidisciplinary perspective concerning critical and social issues handled in CDA. This study does not provide further discussion of the wider socio-political analysis since the theorizations of

ideology, power and hegemony which shape the intention of CDA have already been discussed.

2.5 Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic Functional Linguistics (Grammar) was propounded by J.R. Firth but developed by M.A.K. Halliday. This theory is regarded as a tool for giving a descriptive and interpretive analysis of language by looking at the semantic features, mood and other apparatuses embedded in it. It is based on the principle that language be looked at or seen in its contextual usage. Halliday (1994:65) states that "language is structured the way it is because of its functions in social structure".This Hallidayan perspective examines the structure, forms and syntactic organization of a text and how these produce its functions. To Halliday, texts are not seen as single sentences, but as something that depict context and other extralinguistic information. Thus, the text not only shows the linguistic information but the contextual, non-linguistic, and extralinguistic details, which makes it amenable to the present study.

SFL as a theory of language is recognized by many scholars working in the field of CDA as a powerful explanatory and evaluative framework for analyzing language use in context. The SFL framework sees discourse that is, language use in text and talk as a strategic meaning making and text-forming resource which enables people to accomplish their purposes in life, make sense of their experiences in the world and act out their personal and group relationships (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 29-30).The fundamental tenets of the theory is that language is part of the social semiotic; a resource for the social man/woman for making meaning by choosing and this meaning resides in

specific contexts and in the systemic patterns of choice of linguistic items. Halliday and Matthiessen explain this principle thus:

> Texts vary systematically according to contextual values… thus recipes, weather forecasts, stock market reports, rental agreements, e-mail messages, inaugural speeches, service encounters in a local deli, news bulletin, media interviews, tutorial sessions, walking tours in a guide book, gossip during tea break, advertisements, bedtime stories and all the innumerable text-types we meet in life are all ways of using language in different contexts. (2004:27)

This point makes SFL distinguishable from other kinds of grammar in a number of ways. It is a grammar orientated towards meaning, and towards language as a social phenomenon as against an individual phenomenon. It is constructed specifically for the purposes of text analysis to enable users to say useful things about spoken and written texts (Halliday 2004). To achieve this aim, Systemic Functional Grammar rests on some theoretical orientations.It believes that language is functional; by which it is meant language is used by people to satisfy human needs and to achieve social goals. This makes language a veritable political tool; for the enunciation of ideologies in the APC's manifesto. Thus, SFL is semantically oriented. It is concerned with language in use: How do people use language to make meanings, and how is language structured to make meanings. In this sense it represents a major contrast to the theory of language that is assumed in the Chomkyian tradition, which is that of language as a system of rules.

In SFL language is a resource to make meanings, not a conduit to convey pre-existing meaning making SFL a fundamental-theoretical appeal for the critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto. In fact, for mainstream CDA, Chilton (2005: 21) states that "Halliday"s Systemic Functional Grammar has supposedly provided the toolkit for deconstructing the socially-constructed (and thus linguistically constructed) machinery of

power". Hence, SFL resources such as Transitivity and Modality are tools of the tomb in this study's framework for analyzing the APC's manifesto.

2.5.1. The Tristratal Functions of Language

Language is a tristratal system of meaning (to mean) wording (to say) and sounding. These are respectively the semantic stratum, the lexicogrammatical stratum and the phonological/graphological stratum**.** The first two deal with the content level of language while the third is the expression mode (Halliday 1994: 29). The semantic and lexicogrammatical strata functionally relate to the "context of situation" and to the intent and content of this study. The phonology stratum is outside the scope of this study. The researcher shall therefore discuss the first two strata and their relevance to the present work.

The concept of 'meaning' (the semantic stratum) is essentially the basic component of the Systemic Theory. Language is seen as a meaning –making resource which helps its users to make sense of their experiences in their social environment and also act out their social roles and relationships. In *Explorations* 29, Halliday identifies three meaning potentials which language conveys simultaneously in the grammar of the clause and refers to them as 'macro-functions' or 'metafunctions'. It is at this 'macro'level SFL connects with this study in that political discourse, political systems and the APC manifesto are all 'macro' level manifestations of language.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen, 'metafunction' presupposes that the term 'function' is integral to language and that the whole architecture of language is arranged along functional lines (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 30-31). The term *meta*

presupposes that “metafunction” goes beyond the ordinary functions of linguistic elements in their various environments to the functions which language performs in social and political contexts. He calls these metafunctions ‘the formalized meaning potential of language’ or ‘the functional components of the grammar’. These include: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textualmetafunctions.

The ideational function is described as the ‘informative function’; language in its representational aspect, a means of reflecting on things (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:168). It is concerned with the potential of a language to express content or subject matter of discourse in terms of the writer’s/speaker’s experiences of the world and that of the speech community. It represents the speaker’s meaning potential as an observer, (Halliday 1994*:* 112) and has two components; the experiential and the logical metafunctions.

The interpersonal metafunction is the ‘participatory function’, the grammar of personal participation which expresses the speaker’s role in a speech event, his personal commitment, his beliefs, attitudes, judgements and his interaction with others. It involves the use of language to enact and maintain personal and social relationships including persuading people to do things, to believe in things and the speaker’s intrusion into the speech act (Halliday quoted in Ezeifeka 2010:52). It represents the speaker’s meaning potential as an intruder, a means of acting on things. Halliday (1978) cited in Ezeifeka (2010:52). This metafunction is key especially as the APC’s manifesto is a campaign kit wherein language is used to persuade, dissuade and manipulate the electorate. It is the means of the relation between the APC and Nigerians. The ensuing analysis establishes how language functions in this manner.

This interpersonal function relates to the grammar of the clause as an exchange (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 106). However, the one out of all the SFL functions that comes closest to relevance in this study is the textual metafunction. It is regarded as 'the speaker's text-forming potential', 'the enabling or facilitating function' for the other two meaning potentials. It relates to how text is created, how language relates to itself (cohesion) and to its context of use (coherence) and how the interaction of cohesion and coherence creates what Eggins (2004:23) calls "texture". It helps to build up meaningful sequences of discourse and discursive flow in relation to the wider context of culture. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:64) refer to this metafunction as the grammar of the clause as message.

This elaboration on SFL is intended to show the affinity between it and the CDA methods as they apply to the critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto. However, being concerned with the clause as against the discourse proper the supposed SFL relevance is limited at least as an applicable theory in the present study. However, some significant reference shall be made in due course to some of its tools for analysis in the present study. This is necessary since, as already mentioned, Fairclough's theory and method was influenced by two major theorists: Michel Faucoult and Michael Halliday.

2.6 Text and Context

Text and context are two crucial components of discourse. In CDA the context needs to be explicitly integrated to allow understanding and explaining of the impact of the various texts under investigation (Panagl &Wodak 2004; van Dijk 2005). This is more evident in Norman Fairclough's illustration and explanation of why two texts from Romania after

1989/1990 are realized the way they are; that is according to existing conflicting tendencies in the "new" Romanian society which is undergoing salient social changes (Ruth Wodak 2006:5). For (Halliday, 1994: xxii; 2004) text is the form of data used for linguistic analysis; all description of grammar in the present study is based on text. In the second edition of the same title he says: "the grammar then is at once both a grammar of the system and a grammar of the text" (Halliday and Matthiassen, 2004: 33). He explains further that analysis works on two levels:

> One is a contribution to the understanding of the text: the linguistic analysis enables one to show how, and why, the text means, what it does. In the process, there are likely to be revealed multiple meanings, alternatives, ambiguities, metaphors and so on…. It is one that should always be attainable provided the analysis is such as to relate the text to the general features of language. (Halliday in Henry Widdowson 2004: 18).

Thus in this study's analysis meaning is internal in the text and understanding derives from analysis. This type of analysis, it would seem, does not contribute to, but actually constitutes understanding. However, there is another level, a higher one:

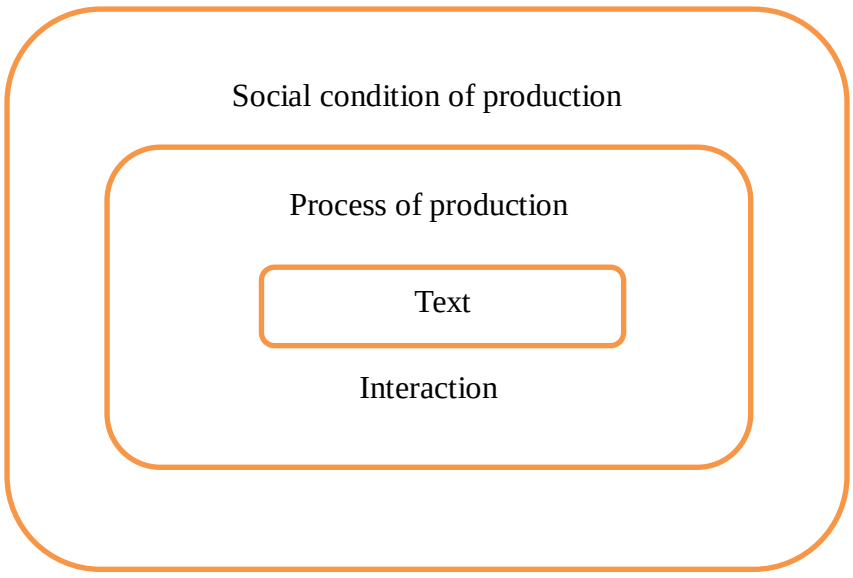
> The higher level of achievement is a contribution to the evaluation of the text: the linguistic analysis may enable one to say why the text is, or is not, an effective text for its own purposes – in what respect it fails, or is less successful. This goal is harder to attain. It requires an interpretation not only of the text itself but also of its context (context of situation, context of culture), and of the systematic relationship between context and culture. (Halliday in Henry Widdowson 2004: 18).

This is the level that should concern this study the more. For at this level the text is externally interpreted in relation to its context. The concern here is not with what texts mean but what users mean by texts in the realization of their communicative purposes. By extension, the concern is less what the APC's manifesto mean than what it has been constructed to mean. It is likely that at this level of analysis the multiple meanings and ambiguities which emerge from the lower level get resolved by reference to contextual factors.

CDA is almost always impossible without context. It is a prerequisite in any analysis. John Gumperz argues: "contextualization 'comprises all activities by participants which make relevant, maintain, revise, cancel . . . any aspect of context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of occurrence' (cited in Jan Blommaert 2005:41). The notion of contextualization is developed to account for the ways in which people 'make sense' in interactions and, taking on board both broad ethnographic concerns as well as narrower conversation-analytic ones.

Discourse is both text and talk. Interpretation therefore involves people picking up quite a few 'unsaid', indexical meanings in such interaction. Hence, a Faircloughian CDA is understood in this study to have taken cognizance of the connections between language form in the APC's manifesto and social and cultural patterns. People detect these indexical meanings because speakers and writers provide verbal and nonverbal, behavioural 'cues' that suggest a fit between utterances and contextual spaces in which they become meaningful. Consequently, text analysis is a part of Discourse Analysis. This can be schematized thus:

Figure 2: Discourse as text, interaction and context. (adapted from Fairclough 1989:25):



The significance of the diagram to this study is in showing that the text is the product of the process of text production and interpretation. Any discussion about texts makes reference to the past discursive practices in the form of conventions which underlie their production. The discursive practice involves the processes of text production, consumption and interpretation. It deals with the ways in which the text is produced and how these ways affect their consumption and interpretation. According to Fairclough these processes vary according to social factors, and are socially constrained in two ways: "by the available 'Member's Resources' " and "by the specific nature of the social practice of which they are parts" (Fairclough in Dalley-Trim, 2005: 130).

By 'members' resources'(MR) Fairclough means those socially generated schemas whichreside in the brain and upon which language users draw during the production and interpretationof texts. They include "… their knowledge of language, representation of the natural and socialworlds they inhabit, values, beliefs, assumptions and so on" (Fairclough, 1989: 24). The lastof the dimensions in the above diagram, the social conditions of production and social conditions of interpretations,refers to the social factors that lead to the production of a text and the effect of these factors onits interpretation. It therefore deals with the interrelatedness of discourse, power and ideology. Texts areproduced in specific social situation, and the processes of production and interpretation aresocially constrained. The interdependence and interaction of Fairclough's model is exemplifiedby the embedding of the three boxes.Fairclough's

model shows that it is also important to take into account the surrounding society when conducting CDA. Hence the three stage of analysis: description involves text analysis; interpretation involvesprocessing analysis, while explanation deals with social analysis. Accordingly, the critical study of the APC manifesto's discourse entails the knowledge of the interrelatedness of text, interactions and contexts.

2.7 Genre

Discourse types consist of discourses and genres. Jorgensen and Phillips define a genreas a particular usage of language which participates in, and constitutes, part of a particular social practice (2002:67). Fairclough lists an interview genre, a news genre or an advertising genre as examples of genre (1995: 56). This list can be expanded to include language use in the APC's manifesto and political speeches, if Jorgensen and Phillips' definition which is,by this study's position, a rereading of Fairclough (1995; 1998), is contextualized.

However, Examples of orders of discourse include the order of discourse of the media, the health service or an individual hospital (1998: 145). Now within an order of discourse, there are specific discursive practices through which text (and talk) are produced and consumed or interpreted (1998: 145). For example, within the APC's order of discourse, the discursive practices which take place include the APC's manifesto and Nigerians, a party aspirant – party leaders' consultations, the politician – voters campaign message/language (both written and spoken) and in general the APC's written campaign language. In every discursive practice – that is, in the production and consumption of text and talk - discourse types (discourses and genres) are used in particular ways. "We can

distinguish different genres as different ways of (inter)acting discoursally" (Fairclough 2003: 26).

2.7.1 The Study of Political Discourse

The application of CDA in politics as in the present study is termed Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) (Chilton 2004; van Dijk 2000; Wilson 2001). Commenting on the scope of Political Discourse, van Dijk (2001:13) remarks that:

> …for simplicity's sake, we assume that political discourse is the discourse of politicians. This rules out, for the moment, even those discourse genres at the boundaries of the domain of politics with other domains, such as the discourse of a student demonstration, the messages of an anti-abortion campaign, corporate talk intended to influence tax or investment legislation, or an everyday conversation about politics. That is, these discourses belong to other social domains, even if their intention may be to influence political decision making. Conversely, a bill about education policies is a genre of political discourse, even if it has or intends to have influence in the domain of education.

So, while explaining the importance of Political Discourse to democracy, Gastil (1993) states the need to learn about the democratic process and the means by which a small group or society moves toward democracy, but that it is certain that discourse plays a vital role in creating and maintaining democratic norms and institutions. Accordingly, both academia and society would benefit from a systematic analysis of the origins, forms and effects of democratic and undemocratic political discourse. Meridji (2003) is a clear exposition of the ambiguities he claims are related to both the term 'Political Discourse' and the notion 'Political Discourse Analysis'. He says Political Discourse is a set of genres, and not only one single genre. It conveys two possible meanings. Therefore, it is ambiguous. Concerning the first interpretation, the term means that the discourse is itself political. The structure 'Political Discourse' is the output of three ordered transformational rules. At first, the relative clause transformational rule is applied. This

results in the next restrictive relative clause: ‘a discourse which is political’. Second, the segment ‘which + be’ is deleted by the relative pronoun deletion rule. The remaining structure is the following: ‘a discourse political’. Third, the post- modifier ‘political’ is moved by the noun modifier shift to a pre-modifying position, and is eventually inserted between the indefinite article ‘a’ and the noun ‘discourse’. The occurrence of an adjective in such a position shows “... a permanent or characteristic feature” Meridji (2003:172). This indicates that discourse has the characteristic feature of being political on the ground of which the APC’s manifesto is a political discourse.

The second meaning the term ‘Political Discourse’ expresses is in the idea that Political Discourse is analyzed as a discourse type. This indicates that the researcher’s attention throughout the study is focused on the discourse itself, and reference is neither made to political context nor to political content. At this level, it is worth mentioning that a political discourse could be studied from different points of view namely, from pragmatic, syntactic, semantic, lexical, sociolinguistic or critical discourse analytic perspectives as in the present study.

Furthermore, a second ambiguity related to the notion ‘Political Discourse Analysis’ is identified by van Dijk (1998). According to him, the notion means two things. At first it tells that a linguistic analysis is applied on a political discourse. Second, it means that a given discourse is politically analyzed, that is a political approach is followed in the analysis of a discourse (van Dijk, 1998:11). It is in the former sense that Political Discourse or Political Discourse Analysis is understood and implemented in the present study because both linguistic description and interpretation are applied in the analysis of

the APC manifesto. (See Meridji, 2003:171-179; van Dijk, 2001:13-15 and Baylon, 1991:23, for an extensive discourse).

Also, both van Dijk (2001) and Baylon (1991) stress the point that given the fact that political discourse is produced by a politician, then it must be produced in an institution. In short, political discourse is an institutional discourse. For discourse to be political, it must be uttered or written by a politician in an institutional setting. In addition, political discourse must also reach a political act in an institution, such as governing. However, Meridji debates further that "before a discourse could be qualified as being political, it must contain at least the next elements. First, the speaker or writer must be a politician by profession. Second, the discourse must be communicated in an institution. Third, the discourse must achieve a result" (Meridji 2003:177). On this benchmark the APC's manifesto also qualifies as a political discourse. It is the product of the party, a political institution. However, what accounted for the APC's victory could not have solely been the manifesto. That the manifesto was no doubt a key factor in the campaign is not disputable if references in media discourses a few months into the APC's government were anything to go by. Note also that an impact study to determine the actual influence exercised by the APC's manifesto in that historic victory is a subject of another study and goes beyond the purview of the present exercise.

Further, van Dijk (1998) elaborates more on the characteristics of political discourse and notes that "another, but overlapping way of delimiting the object of study is by focusing on the nature of the activities or practices being accomplished by political text and talk rather than only on the nature of its participants. That is, even politicians are not always involved in political discourse, and the same is obviously true for most other participants,

such as the public or citizens in general, or even members of social movements or action groups.This goes to mean that categorization of people and groups should at least be strict, that is in the sense that their members are participants of political discourse only when acting as political actors, and hence as participating in political actions, such as mobilizing, governing, ruling, legislating, protesting, dissenting, or voting. Specifically interesting for the present study is that many of these political actions or practices are at the same time discursive practices. In other words, forms of text and talk in such cases have political functions and implications.van Dijk (1998) distinguishes further on the domain of political discourse, that:

> however, whether more or less public, or more or less 'about politics', there are many types of discourse which do have such a function or effect (like news and editorials or background articles and TV programs in the media). For instance, an editorial commenting on a government decision, a parliamentary debate or the actions or antics of politicians, obviously has a possible political condition and consequence. However, we would not categorize editorial, news, or most TV programs as 'political' discourse as defined here, but essentially as media discourse, even when also directed at politicians. If not, large part of the news (when about politics) would also need to be categorized as political discourse if we would ignore the contextual hierarchy of goals according to which media discourse does not primarily have a political goal beyond the information of the public at large.

But on whether there is a distinct structure of Political Discourse, van Dijk (1998) stresses that one question in such an inquiry is whether there are any structures of text or talk that are exclusively or prototypically 'political' in the sense that they appear primarily in political discourse, and precisely signals or constitutes the political nature of such discourse. Although this seems ultimately an empirical question, there are theoretical reasons why it will be quite unlikely for the following reasons. Most, if not all, discourse structures may have many functions, in many different contexts and in many different genres. Except for the obvious case of lexical jargon (typically political words), we can

hardly expect that structures that have so many functions could be reserved only for political genres and contexts.

In other words, once the particular properties of political contexts are analyzed, political discourse analysis in many respects will be like any other kind of discourse analysis. The specifics of political discourse analysis therefore should be searched for in the relations between discourse structures and political context structures. Consequently, whereas metaphors in classroom discourse may have an educational function, metaphors in politics will function in a political context, for instance in the refutation of political opponents or the presentation of policies or the legitimation of political power in the APC manifesto, for example. Such a celebrated metaphor in the APC's manifesto is: "Healthcare is a flight ticket abroad". An account of the structures and strategies of say graphics, modality, nominalization, passivization, transitivity, metaphor, among other properties of text is therefore necessarily part of political discourse analysis only if such properties can be politically contextualized.

The study of Political Discourse is, therefore, one of the major concerns of CDA research; it concentrates mainly on the hegemonic right-wing rhetoric in Europe which includes indirect strategies to legitimize discrimination, dominance, racism or anti-Semitism (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 18). Interrogating what Political Discourse is or is not constitutes the basis for discussions in Political Discourse research. The ambiguous nature of the concept makes it difficult to determine the content, boundaries or limits of Political Discourse. One view asserts that all discourses for analysis are potentially political due to the analyst's overt opposing stance and the fact that Discourse Analysis deals with domination, subordination, power, control or conflict. Yet another perspective asserts that

Political Discourse is the discourse of the political actors/politicians and political participants (Wilson, 2001: 398). In other words, it is ambiguous whether Political Discourse means a political approach to discourse or discourse of political actors, governments, parliaments or political parties. At this point, Wilson's perspective which offers that the analyst's explicit political goals targeting a Political Discourse as in the case of this study would become a solution to resolve the ambiguity.

In such an approach, the main goal is to consider political language first as discourse, and only secondly as politics (Wilson, 2001: 398). van Dijk (1997) brings a similar view on Political Discourse as follows: Without collapsing Political Discourse Analysis into Critical Discourse Analysis, this study would like to retain both aspects of the ambiguous designation: PDA is both about political discourse, and it is also a critical enterprise. In the spirit of contemporary approaches in CDA this would mean that critical-political discourse analysis deals especially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance. In particular such an analysis deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality that result from such domination (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1993 as cited in van Dijk, 1997).

In order to identify the understanding of the present study's meaning of Political Discourse, it is crucial to indicate that Political Discourse is used to refer to the discourse of the APC as an influential political institution or actor in the country. The critical approaches to Political Discourses -as employed in this study analyses socially important issues such as power and ideology in the APC manifesto. Other socially important issues which attract the attention of scholars are immigration, ethnicity, nationalism, human rights and antimilitarism. Gender inequality, sexism, oppression or positioning of women

are other noteworthy components related to the representation and construction of gender in political discourses since those issues are not merely social but political at the same time (van Dijk, 1997: 43).

These renditions are crucial to the present study as they position CDA as starting out as a reaction to the descriptive nature of scientific observation in language research.The approach challenges the trend of language analysis in isolation from its social context. On this reading, the present study represents a change from the study of constructed linguistic units to studies of how social and political factors influence linguistic behaviour.

2.8 APC, Communicative Event and Orders of Discourse

In considering the relationship between the order of discourse and its social context, Fairclough relates orders of discourse to specific institutions (as in the order of discourse of the university or the order of discourse of the political party). However, discourses and orders of discourse can operate across institutional boundaries. In *Didscourse in Late Modernity,* Fairclough and Chouliaraki, make a rethink; the concept of 'order of discourse' becomes fruitfully coupled with Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'field' (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 101). They state that a field is a relatively autonomous social domain obeying a specific social logic. Actors within a specific field, such as the field of politics or the media, struggle to attain the same goal, and they are thus linked to one another in a conflictual way whereby the individual actor's position in the field is decided by his or her relative distance from the goal. For the purpose of this study, for example, in the political field the different political parties and politicians struggle to gain political power and they are distributed across the field in terms of their relative strength. Society, for this very fact, consists of a range of such fields, governed by an overarching

‘field of power’ and interconnected in a complex network of relations(Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999)..

Fairclough understands the relationship between the communicative event and the order of discourse as dialectical. The discourse order is a system, but not a system in a structuralist sense. That is, communicative events not only reproduce orders of discourse, but can also change them through creative language use (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002:71). For instance, when the APC presidential torch bearer uses a consumer discourse at a town hall meeting, he would be drawing on a system; that is an order of discourse. However, in so doing, he would also be taking part in constituting the system.Thus, the order of discourse is the sum of all the genres and discourses which are in use within a specific social domain. First of all, the order of discourse is a system in the sense that it both shapes and is shaped by specific instances of language use. So, it is both structure and practice. To buttress this argument Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:72) assert that “the use of discourses and genres as resources in communication is controlled by the order of discourse because the order of discourse constitutes the resources, discourses and genres that are available”.

While delimiting what can be said, language users can change the order of discourse by using discourses and genres in new ways or by importing discourses and genres from other orders of discourse. Orders of discourse are particularly open to change when discourses and genres from otherorders of discourse are brought into play.As a matter of fact, the APC manifesto, to a greater extent, uses discourses that promote healthcare services, employment, counter terrorism, and security as though they were goods and services which appeal to patients, job seekers, northeast Nigeria and internally displaced

persons (IDP) as consumers rather than fellow citizens. This can be seen as a reflection of, and a driving force in, a change in the wider social practice that Fairclough views in terms of the 'marketization of discourse' - a societal development in late modernity, whereby market discourses colonize the discursive practices of public institutions (Fairclough 1998).

2.9. Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity

Here, there is almost a metonymic relationship because interdiscursivityoccurs when different discourses and genres are articulated together in a communicative event. Through new articulations of discourses, the boundaries change both within the order of discourse and between different orders of discourse. This createsdiscursive practices in which discourse types are combined in new and complex ways; that is in new 'interdiscursive mixes' – are both a sign of, and a driving force in, discursive and thereby socio-cultural change (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002:73).

Conversely, discursive practices in which discourses are mixed in conventionalways are indications of, and work towards, the stability of the dominant order of discourse and thereby the dominant social order. According to Fairclough (1995: 56) "discursive reproduction and change can thus be investigated through an analysis of the relations between different discourses within an order of discourse and between different orders of discourse". For the purpose of this study, therefore, interdiscursivity is a form of intertextuality since the latter refers to the condition whereby all communicative events draw on earlier events. Fairclough posits that "one cannot avoid using words and phrases that others have used before. A particularly pronounced form of intertextuality is manifest intertextuality, whereby texts explicitly draw on other texts, for instance, by citing them

(Fairclough 1992: 117). Consequently, a text can be seen as a link in what Fairclough calls an "intertextual chain". He remarks further:

> a series of texts in which each text incorporates elements from another text or other texts. An example is the intertextual chain that binds a scientific report to a media text and to audience texts and talk: the journalist incorporates elements of the scientific report in the production of the media text; and in the consumption process, receivers incorporate elements from the media text in the construction of a new text (Fairclough 1995: 77).

Kristeva (1986) says "intertextuality refers to the influence of history on a text and to a text's influence on history, in that the text draws on earlier texts and thereby contributes to historical development and change" Kristeva (1986) is cited in Fairclough 1992: 102). Although there is tendency for some poststructuralists, particularly Fiske (1987) to see intertextuality and interdiscursivity as a manifestation of the extreme instability and changeability of language, Fairclough would insist it is a mark of both stability and instability, both continuity and change.

Change is created by drawing on existing discourses in new ways, but the possibilities for change are limited by power relations which, among other things, determine the access of different actors to different discourses. The concepts of power relations and access to discourse are central to the present study as many of the same kind of meaning relations that exist between texts also exist between different parts of what may be considered to be a single text. So the principles of intertextuality are also fundamental resources for making meaning within texts. Lemke argues that "every text, the discourse of every occasion, makes its social meanings against the background of other texts, and the discourses of other occasions". This is the principle he calls general intertextuality (Lemke 1990 cited in Fairclough 1992: 103).

Intertextuality is an important characteristic of the way language is used in social communities and in political party discourses – as in the APC's manifesto. The meanings that are made through texts, and the ways they are made, always depend on the currency in the communities of other texts which are recognized as having certain definite kinds of relationships with one another. Thus meanings can be made through the relations between two texts; meanings that cannot be made within any single text (Fairclough 1992).

2.10. Language and the APC as an Institution

As against private language, which is primarily subjective and individualistic, institutional texts are predominantly the language of political and professional sectors (van Der Valk, 2003). Institutional texts are the focus of this study as it is argued here that those in elite positions in Nigeria have the power and the resources to initiate, monitor and control the majority of the most influential forms of 'dominant' discourses.Those occupying these influential positions include political elites: for this study's purpose, members of government, as well as leaders of the political party under focus. Others, according to van Dijk (1987: 358) are economic elites (corporate directors and managers), and cultural elites (educators, media workers, religious organizations, and sports bodies). Most notable for the present study is the authoritative ability that institutional texts – the APC's manifesto holds in directing how the public think about certain topics. Through societal institutions such as the APC and the texts and discourses it produces political elites have indirect access to the minds of Nigerians. It follows, therefore, that the language use in the APC's manifesto *viz a viz* the discourses emanating therefrom are influential and capable of directing public 'mentalities' and attitudes.

It does not follow, however, that political elite ideologies are simply imposed upon the Nigerian people, but the discursive resources of this group are such that they have more influence than other social groups to disseminate their world views, to direct social beliefs, and to suppress alternative ideologies; this is what accounts, in the view of the presentstudy, for the slogan: APC change. The 'Dominant' discourses created or generated by Nigerian politicians need to be continually reproduced and renewed over time, and institutions like the APC provides a perfect medium for the continuous dissemination of ideology laden texts in accessible language forms. The impact institutional texts can have on the perceptions of Nigerians is distinctly evident when the concept of ideology is linguistically analyzed. This is because Nigerians gain a substantial level of their information, misinformation and 'knowledge' of ideology and other social practices from institutional texts (in addition to the news media).

The level of influence that elites have over institutional texts and over public opinion is exacerbated and intensified when parallel ideologies are disseminated in varying and multiple ways through a number of institutions (van Dijk, 1995: 4). Indeed, there is a distinct reciprocal relationship in the production of ideology-laden discourses between institutions such as the APC and other political parties. The present study concentrates on the (re)production of 'dominant' discourses from one of Nigeria's dominant political parties.

2.11 The Discourse of Political Manifestoes

There have been efforts since 1999 to rebuild the democratic institution in Nigeria which was truncated and hijacked by the military, first in 1966 and later in 1983. From 1999, the period of rebirth of democracy in the country until now, five general elections have been

held and none of these elections was perceived by the generality of Nigerians to have been free and fair. Each election was characterized by different degrees of malpractice and violence. Prior to the elections, as expected, there were intense campaigns through various means by the political parties involved in the contests. Such means include podium speech-making and various kinds of campaigns through the broadcast and print media. Political scientists have observed an evolving pattern in campaign activities in the country, which is largely negative. Opeibi (2006) terms this as 'political macheting'. According to him, the political parties or candidates abandoned positive, issue-focused, image-building discourse for direct attacks on their opponents. In this sense, the APC's manifesto is a more refined and intellectual representation of this fragrant political 'macheting'. Since the goal of this study is not only to identify the discourse structures and strategies in the APC's manifesto as a campaign document, it probes further into how language is used to enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and mediate ideology in society (Van Dijk, 2001a: 353).

Discourse is a foremost instrument of power and control and this researcher feels the need to investigate, reveal and clarify how power and discriminatory value are inscribed in and mediated through the linguistic system. System is represented in this case by political discourse that is language use in the APC's manifesto. To illuminate this point is Gunther Kress' definition of discourse cited in Caldas Coulthard and Coulthard (1996:7):

> Discourses are systematically-organized sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution…. A discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organizes and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about.

It is for this reason Discourse Analysis is essentially political with intent to act upon the political landscape in order to transform it and thereby help create a society where people

are not discriminated against because of sex, colour, creed, age or social class. Yet discourse is not register; but it relates to the more recent Hallidayan formulation of register as "the configuration of semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associates with a situation type. It is the "meaning potential that is accessible in a given social context" (Halliday, 1978:111).

CDA is used in a range of fields both in the humanities and in social sciences, and can be said to be part of the linguistic and the discursive turn that took place in the 20th century. Its objective is to de-mystify ideologies and power through systematic and retroductable (- retroductable means that critical discourse analysis should be transparent so that any reader can trace and understand the detailed in-depth textual analysis (Kendall 2007) analysis of semiotic data (Wodak, 2009).

Moreover, CDA aims to disentangle discourse, that is, to look into what can be said and what cannot be said in a given society at a given time, and "to uncover the techniques through which discursive limits are extended and narrowed down" (Jäger/Maier 2009: 34). In order to do this, CDA is oriented towards discourse in two senses where 'discourse' is understood both as 'language in use' and as "patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures" (Wodak, 2011: 39), that is, what makes the world meaningful.

The notion of discourse as language and language in use is important and germane to the present study in that it is seen as a form of social practice, which in turn implies "a dialectical relationship between a specific discursive event and its situation(s), institution(s) and social structures where discourse is socially conditioned as well as socially constitutive" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258).This notion of discourse as socially constitutive means that it can help to reproduce or sustain the *status quo*, or it can

help to transform it. In respect to issues of power and ideologies, discursive practices can help to (re)produce unequal power relations through the ways things and people are represented and positioned, and similarly, they can work to challenge them (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258.). These elements are particularly interesting for a critical discourse analysis study of the APC's manifesto with intent to uncover some supposedly concealed 'properties of language' which should reveal implicit ideologies and unequal power relations.

A major feature of the manifesto as a campaign tool is that it is a product of careful thought, and it explores a possible number of historical and social issues that tend to persuasively convey its message. The authorship and ownership of the APC's manifesto requires that it serves as a trajectory for both short and long term messaging to cross sections of the literate audience.The researcher looks at how the APC as a political party or as a political institution and therefore as a form of social practice produces or generates discourses by constructing power and encoding ideology using language and then reproduces or challenges what is given/taken for granted in the propositions by others within the political context.

2.12. Language and the Nigerian Political Context

Nigeria as a new capitalist society is a knowledge-driven socio-economic order. Being knowledge-driven also implies that it is discourse-driven. This suggests that language plays a significant role in the socio-economic changes that are taking place and the change the APC's manifesto evinces (or promises to bring about). The significance of language in the ongoing transformations in what Norman Fairclough (2003: 5) calls "New Capitalism" has not gone unnoticed. For instance, Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) cited in Fairclough (2003: 6) point to a "new vulgate", which they characterize as vocabularies or terms such as (globalization, flexibility, governance, employability, exclusion), to list a

few). These lexical iterms, according to them, are endowed with some performative power to bring into being the very realities they claim to describe.

George Orwell, though famous with the *Animal Farm*, may be said to be the first to draw attention to the political potential of language. This is seen in his classic article "Politics and the English Language", where he considers the way in which language is used to manipulate thought and suggests that "political speech and writing are largely the defense of the indefensible" (cited in John Wilson 2003: 400). His examples are, philosophically speaking, types of inverted logic (reflected in literary details in his book *Nineteen Eighty Four*) and they echo through much of the later works on political discourse. Instances include the use of "pacification" to refer to the bombing of defenseless villages, or the use of "rectification of frontiers" to refer to the relocation or simply removal of thousands of peasants from their homes.

While language, as already indicated, is always clearly central to political discourse, what shifts is the balance between linguistic analysis and political comment. Distinguishing the direction of this balance, however, is not always straightforward. It is beyond the scope of the present study; the study shall evade dabbling into these shifts. The focus is on the APCmanifesto's representation of desires as facts and imaginaries of interested policies as the way the world actually is. This relates to why the systemic literature places huge premium on the social functions of language;function is interpreted not only as the use of language but as a fundamental property in itself. It is something that is basic to the evolution of the semantic system. This goes to say that the organization of every natural language is to be explained in terms of a functional theory.

2.13 APC, Language and Opposition Politics in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

The APC, according to its home page on the internet visited on 31stOctober, 2013, was formed in February 2013. This formation, as already hinted, is the result of an alliance by Nigeria's four biggest opposition parties – the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and a faction of the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA). The resolution was signed by Tom Ikimi of the ACN, Senator Annie Okonkwo on behalf of APGA, former governor of Kano, Malam Ibrahim Shekarau, the chairman of ANPP's merger committee, and Garba Sidi, the chairman of the CPC's merger committee. The party received the approval of the nation's electoral umpire, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) on July 31st, 2013, to become a political party and, subsequently withdrew the operating licenses of the three merging parties (ACN, CPC and ANPP).

Prior to Nigeria's return to democratic civil rule on May 29, 1999, the Abdulsalami military regime had registered three political parties to contest the elections that ushered in the Fourth Republic. These were the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the All People's Party (APP) which later changed its name to the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), and the Alliance for Democracy (AD). The PDP won the presidential election with its candidate, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo defeating the APP/AD accord joint candidate, Chief Olu Falae. In addition, reports by Epelle (2005:146) reveals that the national assembly result showed the PDP winning 209 seats in the House of Representatives to APP's 77 and AD's 68. For the Senate, the PDP had 68 seats, APP 26 and AD 20.According to Tony Edoh and George Genyi (2014:159) the result has a number of implications for both governance and (particularly) opposition. While the PDP enjoyed a strong mandate to provide the quality governance for which Nigerians hungered and thirsted since

independence, the opposition (APP and AD) had enough muscle to keep a productive check on the process. However, the evaluation of how well the latter took advantage of the results to mount an effective opposition or position itself to checkmate any real or potential appetite for power brigandage on the side of the political party in governance will be left to political scientists.

The Nigeria's constitution of 1999 created a strong president with enormous powers that directly or indirectly touched on every facet of society. This, according to Edoh and Genyi (2014), manifests in the president being not only head of government, but also father of the nation as well as leader of the governing party. Any discerning eye can see that the latter role clearly carries implication, if not contradictions for the latitude and space within which the opposition can be allowed to operate especially in an environment where the civic culture is yet to be fully imbibed. Such contradiction can become acute and dysfunctional for democracy and the odds against the opposition become more highly stacked.

What is of a definitive interest for this study is an enquiry into the extent this alienation, domination and oppression are transported in the language of the opposition party's manifesto? In other words, to see how the marginalized position the opposition APC suffered in the political landscape directly or indirectly imbued the ideology concealed in her discourse. Also to see how this socio-political figurine of the party directly or indirectly underpinned the discourse of the APC's manifesto in such a way to enable this researcher unmask unequal power relations.

2.14. Review of Empirical Previous Studies

The critical study of discourse has produced an impressive amount of works by researchers/scholars in the last 30 years. The review in this unit covers both Nigerian and foreign-based works in the areas of DA and CDA. The researcher observes that the works reviewed are thematically varied, though discourse analytic. Strikingly, some are socially, economically and politically, instead of linguistically, motivated. Wilson (1990:15-16) in Gastil (2014) argues that "the important question is how people produce political discourse, not whether they should have done it or not…. We are interested in describing what happened, not in prescribing what should happen". van Dijk (1998b),in explicating how Political Discourse Analysis works opines that "…doing a discourse analysis of political discourse is not yet the same as doing political analysis. PDA will only be accepted by political scientists if it has something to offer, preferably something that political scientists would not otherwise (get to) know - at least not as well - through other methods, such as polls, participant observation or content analysis using solely social science methods.

However, the empirical review of previous research provides some way of seeing discourse analysis not merely as a 'method', like content analysis, but as a new (also theoretical) cross-discipline in its own right, a discipline in which political science is also involved. In other words, to assess the political relevance of Discourse Analysis there is the need to examine in some more detail the contextual functions of various structures and strategies of texts.Also there are researchers and scholars whose researches centre on political discourse using the tools of PDA, and not by engaging in political analysis as van Dijk (1998b) would argue. Therefore, some of these are examined not only because they employ the framework of Discourse Analysis or Critical Discourse Analysis but also because they are attempts at solving some social and political problems within and

outside of the country. These are Taiwo (2007), Ajibola (2011), Okpah (2011), Ahmed, (2012), Sadiq (2011), Alagbe (2010), Amodu (2011), Michael (2009), Simon (2013), Josie (2006), Ellaine (2012), Smythe (2006), Thomas (2002), Garretson and Ädel (2008), Alo (2012), Daramola (2008), Amusan (2013), and Baker (2006). By carrying out a study on the relations between discourse, knowledge and power, van Dijk (2008) applies these ideas in a systematic (largely semantic) analysis of Tony Blair's speech in the British House of Commons on March 18, 2003. He also focuses on the issue of power and power abuse on the more specific problem of political domination and manipulation in contemporary democracies. This is an essential sign post to the present study.

Taiwo (2007) provides an account of the ideology that lies in the construction of newspaper headlines from a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. The finding shows that the headlines portray the attitude of those who will benefit from the headlines as against those who will be negatively served. His analytical framework is similar toGraham and Luke (2011) who employ Critical Discourse Analysis to deconstruct the material shifts in the political economy of communications. They show how Discourse Analysis can play a significant role in understanding the reshaping of political economic relations and how CDA can be used further to explain and elaborate the current material reorganization of political economy more generally. They conclude that the present financial and regulatory 'crisis' cannot be adequately resolved without a new analytic framework for examining the relationships between corporation, discourse and political economy. The present research advances from where these two studies stopped and critiques and establishes the complex relation between language, power and ideology in the Nigerian political context.

Alo (2012) analyses the political speeches of prominent African leaders with intent to seeing how African leaders persuade the African people on the expediency of various political and socio-economic policies and plans that are capable of enhancing African economic recovery and development. He carries out a rhetorical analysis of selected political speeches of prominent African leaders and gathers that their speeches are preoccupied with the political and socioeconomic problems of the continent and the need for change. The study reveals that the four dominant ideological preoccupations in the speeches are (a) economic growth and independence in Africa, (b) national unity and nationalism, (c) globalism and (d) self-reliance. Alo's data, political speeches and this study's, the manifesto are both tokens of Political Discourse. The revelation by Alo that ideological preoccupations are underpinned in political rhetoric is a justification for the present study which investigates ideology and power in the APC's manifesto.

Amusan (2013) gives some insight into how ideological moves are presented as reality in the jurisdiction of a political speech. She carries out a Critical Discourse Analysis of Fidel Castro's address to the University of Havana, Cuban Students on September 4th, 2010 and opines that political speeches embodies meaning and the speaker, Fidel Castro, expresses this through the encoding of pragmatic and semantic meaning in his speech. Amusan (2013) also notes that language is a very strong device in promulgating religious bigotry, jingoism, nationalistic self-glorification, subliminal seduction, fallacious arguments, specifying religious and political taboos, political conflicts, suppression of minorities, denigration of the underprivileged, cracking down on the dissidents, religious domination over the masses, manufacturing consent and mental slavery, distorting the unwelcome realities, construction and imposition of ideologies, launching smear campaigns, putting positive and negative spins and so on. The point of view on language

projected here is shared by this study though it goes further to investigate how language expresses unequal power relations which is missing in Amosun's work.

Daramola (2008) engages in an analysis of aspects of the linguistic features of discourses which engender the diverse problematic, economic, socio-cultural and political events in the Nigerian polity, and the political implications for putting in place adequate democratic principles in a developing nation. He notes the emergence of the metaphorical use of the word 'child' in the farewell speech of the deposed Head-of-State, Chief Ernest O. Shonekan, when the latter spoke of the interim regime as 'a child of circumstance' and in the inaugural speech of the then new Head-of-State, General Sani Abacha, as 'a child of necessity'. These expressions, according to him, were used not only as part of the reasons for either taking up or rather seizing the mantle of leadership but also as descriptive signals both to the state of the nation and the kind of government that they purport to lead. Though the object of study by Daramola can be situated in Discourse Analysis, the failure to adopt an adequate theory of CDA such as van Dijk's Discourse – Cognition – Society triangle or Wodak's Discourse Historical Perspectives, and so forth for the analysis makes the findings philosophically suspect.

Ajibola, Adejoke (2011) offers an investigation into the extent of the manifestation of gender marker in every day male and female discourse and how these distinctions inform and shape the society's perception about the status of the woman. The study uses Fairclough (1985) model of analysis which considers discourse to be a specific historical product and Greenberg's (1966) markedness theory which assigns marked and unmarked to opposing entities. It finds the use of prefixes (Dr. Mrs.) (Engr Mrs) etc, and the expressions: female politicians, women police etc, as gender bias and condition society's

perception of the identity and ability of women to the performance of certain duties. This study implemented only an aspect of Fairclough's Discourse Theory. It is nevertheless, valuable and beneficial to the intent and content of the present research.

Yella-Hoepfner's (2006) *Analyzing the Beauty Advertisement Discourse: Dove's Campaign for Real Beauty* is an empirical study. It investigates the intentions and techniques of Consumer Product Companies to reach more consumers and sell more products. The methodology adopted for the study is CDA with Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model of discourse as research tool. The study reveals that the modeof advertisement chosen by Dove ties customers to their product/brand, and therefore responsible for increase in sales. The study relates to Amodu (2011) in the nature of its data but differs in research instrument and theory.

Amodu (2011) provides an analysis of presupposition and overstatement in the language of advertisement of sampled one hundred advertisements. The aim is to explicate the presence or absence of these items, and show how presupposition and overstatement work to trigger the persuasive elements in those advertisements to achieve effects on the target audience and provide a systemic pattern of analysis and interpretation for adverts. The study finds that presupposition and overstatement are the magic that makes the message persuasive, strong and attractive. It recommends that advertisers should consider the target audience's life style, values, rituals, aesthetic standard and advertisement regulations in crafting their advertisements. Amodu (2011) is a striking example of how Discourse Analysis differs from Critical Discourse Analysis. For example, he shows that language is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life such as Advertising Discourse (his

object), Medical Discourse, Political Discourse (this study's object), and so forth. DA is the analysis of these patterns. On the other hand, CDA provides theories and methods for the empirical study of the relations between discourse and social and cultural developments in different social domains. CDA goes on to shed light on the linguistic – discursive dimension of cultural and social phenomena and processes of change in late modernity. However, DA lends this study a fruitful theory for research in communication, culture and society, and the APC's manifesto, as already indicated, is a product of these domains. Finally, as the present study shows, CDA can be applied in Political Discourse which is traditionally the subject of DA.

In a study entitled *Opinions and Ideologies in the Press*, van Dijk (1998b) examines some of the theoretical properties of the complex relations between ideology, opinion and discourse. The study utilizes the Socio-Cognitive theory alongside a discourse analytical framework. The result shows that, like language and knowledge, ideologies too are very complex social phenomena which require independent conceptual analysis and empirical description of various theoretical levels. van Dijk (1998b) differs from the present study when it argues that in line with contemporary Cognitive Science, beliefs, opinions and ideological belief systems need to be accounted for in terms of mental representations and neurological structures of the brain. Again, unlike the present study, van Dijk stresses that elements of social structures like groups, institutions (– APC), power and everyday social practices of discourse are systematically related to constructed dimensions of the brain. This is why the present study avoids integrated Socio-cognitive theories in explaining the details of how social ideologies are salientin the everyday practices of social actors like politicians. In addition, this study treats ideologies as categories that are formed and changed through societal contexts of group relations and institutions like the APC.

Kolawole (2010) is an attempt at Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama's inaugural speech. According to her, Obama's political speech is found to contain some rhetorical elements which familiarize readers with his ideology and that of his party. The study discovers that the lexical elements in the speech serve to show the oppositeness in the American nation, which Obama pledges to correct. This is another CDA approach to political discourse. But its choice of an eclectic analytical procedure makes it differ from the present study which favours Fairclough's methodology in its analysis.

Ayeomoni (2004) is a linguistic-stylistic investigation of the language of the Nigerian political elite. The study analyses the speeches of such notables in the Nigerian political landscape as Chief Obafemi Awolowo (South West), Chief Nnamdi Azikiwe (South East), S.G. Ikoku (South East), Chief Nwafor Orizu (South East), Mr Tunji Braithwaite (South West), Uncle Bola Ige (South West), Chief Ebenezer Babatope (South West), Tafawa Balewa (North East), Alhaji Shehu Shagari (North West), General Aguiyi Ironsi (South East), General Olusegun Obasanjo (South West), General Badamosi Babangida (North Central) and Major Kaduna Nzeogwu (South East). A stylistic study is purely linguistic; it cannot serve as tool for the investigation of the dynamism of language and its intersection with environment. It is not relevant to this study, as a result.

Sadiq M. Tajudden's (2011) study is on Discourse Analysis of the language of interrogation in police / criminal investigation in the Kano Metropolis. It describes the structure and organization of the content of police/ accused discourse and observes the communication strategies and motivation of the participants in negotiating the interaction. It uses the Eclectic Model of Grice (1975), Cooperative Principle, Sinclair and

Coulthard's (1975) Discourse Analytic Principle and Brutons (1981) work to reveal that the prototypical pattern of discourse acts in police criminal investigation are question/answer sequences, which are common and much institutional discourse; and questioning are used to control the flow of discourse in police/accused investigation. Tajuddin's research shares the objectives of the present study since it helps to highlight how language, in its everyday as well as professional uses enables users to understand issues of social concerns.

Alagbe Adewale Adigun's (2010) study explores the level of student's understanding in terms of systematic and meaningful use of the modal verbs in English. 200 students across four universities in north central Nigeria were examined. He uses Test administration to collect data and nine common modal verbs were used. The finding reveals that the SFG theory's specification of contextual usage of grammatical items makes it difficult for students to understand the meaning of some modals when placed in different contexts of situation other than where they should occur so as to express other meanings. The SFG applied byAlagbe is almost synonymous with CDA as it is their object to examine how the ways in which people communication are constrained by the structures and forces of those social institutions in which they live and function. There is a gap as the study fails to establish link between the students' linguistic behaviour and the social conditions of their existence.

Michael David Post (2009) uses Critical Discourse Analysis to analyze six campaign speeches of Barack Obama and John McCain from the 2008 US election to address the candidates' utilization of textual personas to frame ideological positions via representations of social actors and social actions. He uses Van Leeuwen's Social Actor

Network and Socio-Semantic Inventory framework. The analysis demonstrates that not only do political figures utilize representations of social actors to shape the perceptions from within the ideological stances of their discourse, but they also utilize representational categories to hide their identity by aligning their viewership with the perceptions of themselves that they desire to be reproduced via the audience's interaction with the textual personas fabricated from within the text. The study, though based on van Leeuwen's CDA method of Social Actor Network, highlights features that are also taken up in the APC's manifesto.

Simon Elias Bibri (2013) accounts for the social construction of ICT for sustainable development (ICT4SUD). He employs a Foucauldian-Faircloughian discursive approach to discover the underlying ideology about the ICT potential in advancing environmental urban sustainability. This approach consists of nine stages: (1) surface descriptors and contextual elements; (2) historical-diachronic dimension; (3) epistemic and cultural frames; (4) discursive constructions and discourses; (5) social actors and framing power; (6) discursive strategies; (7) discursive mechanisms; (8) political practice, knowledge, and power; and (9) ideological standpoints. The study postulates that ICT, supported by policy, will achieve SUD while it falls short in considering social behaviour and socio-economic relationships. The study's emphasis on the underlying ideology about the ICT potential for sustainable urban development is akin to this research's proposition that ideology is pervasive in society, hence its presence in the APC manifesto's discourse. The significance of Bibri's approach is located in his marriage of Foucault's theory of Social Criticism which bares the most relevance for understanding and examining scholarly content with Fairclough's which this study employs.

Ike-Nwafor (2015) investigates how texts producers sustain power and unequal power relations in campaign texts and how ideological and political undertones are projected in gubernatorial campaign speeches. The data for the study were purposively sampled from gubernatorial campaign speeches made in four states during the 4th republic: 2007 -2014. The study draws from Fairclough's Members Resources (MR), van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Approach and Halliday's system of Mood and Modality as theoretical framework. The findings show that the South-Western gubernatorial candidates use language as a strategy of domination and supremacy by exploiting lexical items and strong imperatives which allow them to impose their views on others. Like the present study, Ike-Nwafor shows how politicians create, by means of their campaign texts, asymmetrical power relations of privileged "We" and less privileged "Other".

Elaine Burroughs (2012) is a study that investigates how illegal immigration was responded to and discursively represented in Irish institutional texts between 2002 and 2009. Through a Foucauldian understanding of power and identity formation, the study argues that institutional texts casts light upon how power operates and how aspects of national identity occurs in conjunction with discourses of migration. It concludes that discourses are utilized by those in positions of influence to exercise power and to maintain the status quo. It espouses the textually - mediated nature of contemporary social life which is relevant to the focus in this study of advocating the relationship between discourse, knowledge and social change in an information – based society.

Smythe S (2006) conducts a CDA of Literacy Advice to Mothers in the 20th Century. Based on the analysis of over three hundred literacy advice texts published in Britain and North America since the Nineteenth Century, the study demonstrates that contemporary

literacy advice to parents is deeply rooted in the cultural ideal of the "good mother." Discourses of domestic pedagogy, intensive mothering, and the "normal" family normalize middle class domesticity and the ideal of the good mother as essential to children's literacy acquisition and academic success. The findings suggest that reliance upon women's domestic literacy work to promote children's academic success not only reproduces gender inequalities, but has implications for equity in literacy learning opportunities among diversely situated children and families. Though CDA – based, the study differs from the present work due to its inclination to a Feminist Post Structuralist Discourse theory.

Thomas Huckin (2002), is a study of CDA and the discourse of condescension. He argues that teachers, students, scholars, and others engaged in composition studies all stand to benefit from being able to analyze written texts and discursive practices in ways that encourage students to address and, ideally, act onimportant social problems. Using Critical Discourse Analysis, Social Linguistics and Social Semiotics, he demonstrates the silent and often non-deliberate ways in which rhetoric conceals as much as it reveals through its relationship with power/knowledge". The blending of the three theories which are 'not detached and impersonal' has "consequences" in "identifying the possibilities of future action available to the participants", has got some implications for this study.

Baker (2006) analyses a corpus of newspaper articles on the use of the words 'refugee' and 'refugees'. The study shows that the powerful members of the society construct an unpleasant image of the refugees which the latter (i.e the refugees) could not refute due to lack of access to the media. He observes that data from a newspaper is 'a very useful area of producing and reproducing discourses.' Using Concordance Analysis within CDA, he

observes that the terms *refugee* and *refugees* produce different types of discourses where refugees are referred to 'as victims, as the recipients of official attempts to help, as a natural disaster and as a criminal nuisance. Baker seems to pursue the same argument as this study in recognizing that language is a means by which hegemony, dominant cultures are established in the society.

Garretson and Ädel (2008) studies some US newspapers in search of evidence of political bias (whether intentionally or unintentionally) in their reporting of news about what some people have heard with regards to the 2004 US presidential election. They analyze 'the sources to whom statements in the corpus are attributed, in order to determine *who* gets to speak through the press, and whether there is balance between the two sides in this election'. They reiterate the opinion of some linguists who argue that it is virtually almost impossible for a news reporter to report what somebody has said without inserting his or her (reporter's) own point of view. The overall result of the study indicates that bias is not evident in the corpus even though there is suggestive preference for one candidate over the other. This work agrees with Taiwo (2007) in the argument that the ideologies news reports evince are traceable to media ownership and that access to public discourse supports the differential power relation in the society.

The foregoing empirical review covers some twenty two scholarly works on Politics, Political Discourse, Rhetoric, Critical Discourse Analysis, Systemic Functional Grammar and Communications related topics. This study finds that these various scholars have carried out studies on these topics. All of these studies in one way or another serve as guiding sign post to the present attempt. It can therefore be said that there have been researches on Political Parties and Discourse and their role in politics and democracy, but the language use by opposition parties have not been subjected to linguistic and empirical

analysis. It can also be said that research on political parties generally should be based not only on subjective views but also on objective analysis.

Thus, this study contributes to the body of studies on political parties, Political Discourse, Political Communication and Rhetoric by using the tools of Critical Discourse Analysis to study the APC's manifesto. This study believes that this little contribution to existing scholarship via the critical analysis of the APC's manifesto in Nigeria helps to create the much needed awareness in Critical Language Studies.

2.15. Theoretical Framework

CDA is essentially eclectic; it provides theories and methods for the empirical study of the relations between discourse and socio-economic developments in different social and political domains. It is also used in two different ways, Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:60). One usage by Fairclough (1995a, 1995b) and Fairclough and Wodak (1997) apply it both to describe the approach that they have developed andas the label for a broader movement within discourse analysis of which several approaches, including their own, are parts (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). This broad movement is a rather loose entity and there is no consensus as to who or what belongs to it.

While Fairclough's approach consists of a set of philosophical premises, theoretical methods, methodological guidelines and specific techniques for linguistic analysis, the broader critical discourse analytical movement consists of several approaches among which there are both similarities and differences. However, the framework set by Fairclough suggests a more or less stable set of methodological elements that tend to be more suitable for application in the present study. His strands of CDA provide a set of

tools and resources for understanding the linguistic elements, social events and practices which this study takes up in the APC's manifesto. Thus, a Faircloughian approach is preferred over the other approaches such as Ruth Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach or Teun van Dijk's Social Cognitive Discourse Analysis, as the theoretical framework for this study.

The choice of Fairclough's model for this study is informed by the strength and validity of the way it unites complex, wide ranging, interpretative social theories and insights with a critical linguistic analysis of specific discoursal exchanges. His approach incorporates elements from van Djik's and Wodak's approaches but also goes beyond them;the Faircloughian modelis neither a complement to them, nor another branch or subdivision of Linguistics. It is rather an alternative orientation to CDA. This is because a critical approach to discourse analysis must be central to, not additional to, linguistic or social theory studies. By favouring the Hallidayan SFG principles in the stead of a transformational, formalistapproach, and subsuming van Djik's Social Cognition and de Tracy's Science of Ideas in 'Commonsense Assumptions', Fairclough argues for the centrality of CDA as the core of a social analysis of language. Thus, Fairclough's approach complements cross disciplinary trends in Critical Discourse Analysis. It respects the practical, involved, hands-on approach for CDA. At several points in the development of his theory, Fairclough (1989/2004, 1992/2001, 1995, 2003) makes reference to prominent social theorists such as Bourdieu, Foucault, Habermas and Bakhtin by harmonizing their macro-social insights with his own micro-critical analysis (and social semiotics). This strong affinity created by Fairclough with these critical social theorists tends to fulfil CDA's advocacy for theoretical eclecticism and methodologicalmultidisciplinarity. It thereby makes Fairclough's model for CDA

singularly more amenable for adaptation and adoption in the present critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto.

Norman Fairclough, the British sociolinguist and one of the key figures in CDA is the proponent of this study's framework, a dialectical – relational approach (wodak and Meyer, 2001). It is also known by other names such as Discourse as Social Practice (Fairclough, 1992), and Critical Language Study (Fairclough, 1989). His approach sees CDA as a method for examining social and cultural modifications that could be employed in protesting the power and control of an elite group on other people. He believes that language, which shapes social identities and interactions, knowledge systems, and beliefs, is, in turn, shaped by them. Like Kress and Van Leeuwen, Fairclough anchors his theory on Halliday's Systemic-Functional Grammar.

In *Language and Power*, (Fairclough, 1989) considers the first aim of his approach as helping to correct the vast negligence in relation to the significance of language in creating, maintaining and changing the social relations of power. This goal constitutes the theoretical component of a Faircloughian approach. His second aim is to help to raise awareness on the question of language being able to influence the dominance of one group of people over the other. This is considered in this study as framing the practical aspect of his approach. He believes that awareness is the first step towards emancipation. Therefore, to attain the latter goal Fairclough puts a great emphasis on raising the level of people's consciousness. This seems to follow from his assumption that in discourse, the subjects do not, strictly speaking, know what they are doing, and they are unaware of the potential social impact of what they do or utter (or do not do).

Fairclough's framework is characterized by an explosion of concepts whose unstable meanings vary slightly across Fairclough's numerous works. For this reason, this study's adaptation of Fairclough's theory draws on Fairclough's seminal publications, *Language and Power* (1989), *Discourse and Social Change* (1992), *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995) and *Discourse in Late Modernity* co-authored by Lilie Chouliaraki (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999) as well as on *Analyzing Discourse* (2003). An important factor in Fairclough's CDA is that it sees discourse not only as constitutive but also as constituted. That is there is an assumed dialectics between discourse and social practice. It is central to Fairclough's approach that discourse is an important form of social practice which both reproduces and changes knowledge, identities and social relations including power relations in political formations. At the same time it is also shaped by other social practices and structures. This figures discourse as being in a dialectical relationship with other social dimensions. Social structure, according to Fairclough (1992: 64) is social relations both in society as a whole and in specific institutions, and as consisting of both discursive and non-discursive elements. A primarily non-discursive practice is, for example, the physical practice that is involved in the construction of a bridge, whereas practices such as Journalism, Public Relations and Political Campaign are primarily discursive (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002:65).

Thus while coming closer to a more poststructuralist position in claiming that discursive practice not only reproduces an already existing discursive structure but also challenges the structure by using words to denote what may lie outside the structure, Fairclough distances himself from structuralism. At the same time, by concentrating on building a theoretical model and methodological tools for empirical research in everyday social interaction and by stressing the importance of doing systematic analysis of spoken and

written language in, for example, the Mass Media and Democracy and Politics, he however, diverges in a significant way from poststructuralist discourse theory.

Fairclough (1992: 72) outlines his discourse theory as a text-oriented form of discourse analysis that tries to unite three traditions:

a. a detailed textual analysis within the field of linguistics which relies on Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar.

b. a macro-sociological analysis of social practice which follows Foucault's theory but does not provide a methodology for the analysis of specific texts.

c. a micro-sociological, interpretative tradition within sociology which draws inspiration from ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, where everyday life is treated as the product of people's actions in which they follow a set of shared common-sense' rules and procedures.

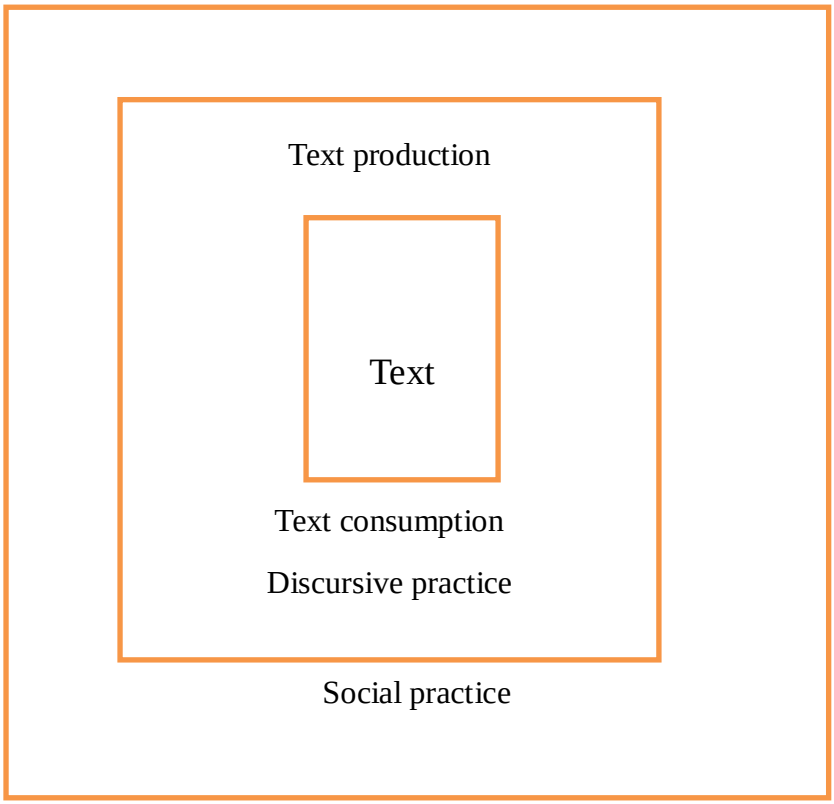
Commenting on Fairclough's tricycle traditions of text-oriented discourse analysis, Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) opine that detailed text analysis is to gain insight into how discursive processes operate linguistically in specific texts. The only snag, Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:66) observe, is that those linguistic approaches tend to concentrate exclusively on textual analysis and work with a simplistic and superficial understanding of the relationship between text and society. Hence, text analysis alone is insufficient for discourse analysis, as it does not shed light on the links between texts and societal and cultural processes and structures.

Therefore, an interdisciplinary perspective is needed to combine both textual and social analysis. This is the benefit this study derives from drawing on the macro-sociological tradition which takes into account that social practices are shaped by social structures and

power relations and that people are often not aware of these processes. The contribution advanced by the third tradition - the interpretative tradition is to provide an understanding of how people actively create a rule-bound world in everyday practices, relics of which are retrievable in the APC's manifesto.

These are connected to the three stages of analysis this study is concerned with analysis, the nature of which varies in each stage. For example, analysis of the APC's manifesto in the first stage limits its boundaries to labeling the formal properties of the text by regarding the text as an object; dealing with patterns that are typically the concern of Stylo-linguistics or Corpus Linguistics. In the second stage, the study goes through the analysis of the cognitive process of the participants and their interactions. And finally, at the last phase of analysis, the aim is to explain the relationship between social events and social structures that affect these events and also are affected by them. This is schematized below:

Figure 3: three dimensional model for CDA (adapted from Fairclough 1992:73).



This Faircloughian three dimension model for CDA can be read thus: every instance of language use is a communicative event consisting of three dimensions namely:

first: it is a text (written);

second: it is a discursive practice which involves the production and consumption of texts – the APC manifesto; and

third: it is a social practice – the constellation of systems which produced the APC manifesto (including Democracy, Politics, Society, Nigeria, and so on). All three dimensions are covered in a specific discourse analysis of a communicative event. The analysis focuses, then, on (a) the linguistic features of the text (text), (b) processes relating to the production and consumption of the text (discursive practice); and (c) the wider social practice to which the communicative eventbelongs (social practice).

This is consistent with Fairclough's (1992: 73) position that text and discursive practice represent two different dimensions in his model and, consequently, should be separated analytically. For this reason the analysis of discursive practice focuses on how authors of texts draw on already existing discourses and genres to create a text, and on how receivers of texts also apply available discourses and genres in the consumption and interpretation of the texts.

To demonstrate this point: the APC's manifesto is a political communication genre that deploys different discourses such as socialist discourse, welfarist discourse or a neoliberal

discourse; and genres such as the factual reports about the socio-economic conditions of Nigerians – narrative genre (in fact the manifesto under study reproduces pictures of Nigerians to depict their social conditions and it goes ahead to propose a solution to the problems – what Gee (2004) calls "multimodal discourse". Furthermore, text analysis concentrates on the formal features of text such as vocabulary, grammar, syntax and sentence coherence, from which discourses and genres are realized linguistically. The relationship between texts and social practice, Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:68) insist, is mediated by discursive practice. Hence it is only through discursive practice that is situation whereby people use language to produce and consume texts - that texts shape and are shaped by social practice. In the same token, the text (the formal linguistic features) influences both the production and the consumption process (Fairclough 1995: 60).Now these discourses and genres which are articulated together to produce a text, and which receivers draw on in interpretation, have a particular linguistic structure that shapes both the production and consumption of the text. The argument sounds cyclic, but Fairclough calls it the dialectical feature of discourse.

It is for this Fairclough's position that this study draws on both social and cultural theories to explain the APC's manifesto. In order to remain focused the aim of this argument is to explore the links between language use and social practice in the APC manifesto's discourse. The model is based on, and promotes, the principle that texts cannot be understood or analyzed in isolation. This means that they can only be understood in relation to webs of other texts and in relation to social context.

2.15.1 Analytical Procedure

The critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto draws on models set out in Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach. However, as already indicated in previous sections, the multidisciplinarity of CDA makes any chosen approach multifaceted, variable and interrelated to others within the CDA paradigm. Accordingly, this study's analytical procedure draws and uses the following elements set out by Reah, Halliday, Fowler and Fairclough, among others.

2.15.1.1 Graphology

The graphological make-up of the APC's manifesto is akin to that of a news magazine. Like the news magazine, the position of each chapter or title is based on the event it describes and its structure and/or rendition reflects a hierarchy of importance. For instance, the title and the introductory paragraph are considered the most important parts.This study analyses the vocabularies used in the titles, the attention they receive and their effectiveness (Reah, 1998:18).

2.15.1.2 Textual/Sentence Structure

This section looks at differences between discourse types which are usually ideologically significant. A writer expresses evaluation through drawing on classification schemes, which are in part systems of evaluation, and there are ideologically constructive schemes embodying different values in different discourse types(Fairclough, 1989:119). To demonstrate this, the following elements are analyzed in the APC's manifesto: genre, framing, foregrounding, and so on.

2.15.1.2 Modality

The intention here is not to problematize Angelika Kratzer's influential theory of modal auxiliaries. It is to treat the semantics of modals as determined by mainly the power

structure of the participants in a linguistic exchange in the APC's manifesto. So this study stresses the contribution of modality which has control over values(Kress & Hodge 1979: 122).

2.15.1.3 Transitivity

Fowler, Halliday, Fairclough and Simpson all emphasize the relevance of transitivity for CDA because of its capacity to help identify the different nuances of meaning represented in the clause. Transitivity analysis shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality.On his part, Fowler describes transitivity as being the foundation of representation. It thus, facilitates the analysis of the same event in different ways; a feature of transitivitythat is of interest to the critical study of the APC's manifesto.Transitivity is also seen as a process of transforming sentences from active to passive forms Halliday (2004). Transitivity thus, helps to unpack unequal power relations in the APC's manifesto.

2.15.1.4 Passivization

Active or passive construction plays key function to determine the role of the participant in an action. This role assignment may be accentuated, diminished or omitted in the sentence. Usually, the active voice is employed when the writer wishes to focus on the agent. Conversely, the passive form creates a different effect, the agent becomes less prominent and the person or thing affected by the action is the focus of prominence(Nordlund, 2003: 100). In the APC's manifesto, the actor may be suppressed because the party is able to imply illegal conduct without explicit accusation that could leave it vulnerable to legal action. Deletion is also associated with the fact of the actor not known.

2.15.1.5 Nominalization

The critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto also dwells on the process of nominalization, which according to Fairclough is ideologically motivated. Nominalization is a process converted into a noun. In the APC's manifesto nominalization is used to delete information from a sentence and is the process of exchanging a verb for a simple noun or NP(Fairclough, 1989:124). It is crucial for this study especially as it allows power relations to be hidden, concealed or obfuscated in the clause.

2.15.1.6 Relational Values

This relates to how texts choose words, how such choices depend on, and help to create social relationship between participants in the clause. In the APC's manifesto relational verbs describe the relation between someone and something or indicate quality between two nouns. With relational values a relation is usually set up between separate units. One source of relational value of text involves its level of formality (Fairclough, 1989:116).The formality of the situation demands on the formality ofsocial relations, which in turn is traceable to the choice of vocabulary.

2.15.1.7 Metaphors

Metaphor is a linguistic device that helps to represent one aspect of experience in terms of another, and is by no means restricted to literary text or discourses it is usually stereotypically associated with. This study believes that there are ideological attachments in the way metaphors represent aspects of experience(Fairclough, 1989:119). The APC's manifesto uses metaphors to make it text more interesting and rich, and to inspire certain feelings in the readers or the electorates.

2.15.1.8 Vocabulary / Experiential/ Existential Values

The experiential values of a text or discourse show how ideological differences inthe texts' representation of the world are hidden in the vocabulary or use of words (Fairclough, 1989:113).. One of the most significant expressions of ideology in the APC's manifesto is the wording or vocabulary. Often words become the field of ideological struggles or contests. Thus classification schemes may differ quantitatively, with a larger or smaller number of wording. Sometimes, over wording, an unusually high degree of wording, often involving many words, which are near synonyms is obvious in the APC's manifesto. Such over wording reveals an inclination toward some aspects of reality which may indicate that it is the focus of ideological contest.

2.15.1.9 Cohesion

The cohesive tie of text is indicated by the links between clauses and sentences. In the APC's manifesto cohesive devices include the repetition of words or the use of related words. They also involve connectors, which mark relation between sentences or clauses. The ensuing analysis shows how grammatical cohesion in APC's manifesto's text evinces ideologies. The study looks up words which refer back to a previous sentence or idea, or concept, or to a future one, such as pronouns, (Fairclough 1989: 130).Thus, in the analysis and discussion the study turns to in the next chapter, thorough and careful attention are paid to details on each of these elements.

2.16. Summary of the Chapter

The chapter discusses the various topics and concepts that informed, and have some bearing on, this study like the difference between Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis and between Discourse and Text. Other theoretical frameworks which

informed this study are the functional view of language with particular reference to Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar, van Dijk's Discourse-Cognition-Society Triangle and Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach. Also discussed are the various strata of language and the meaning potentials carried by discourse: ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions.

The chapter's exposition also touches on the concepts of power, ideology, hegemony and what makes CDA "critical". The goals of CDA also forms part of the study's conceptual framework. Theoretically, the study adopts the Dialectical Relational Approach as advanced by Fairclough and explores Political Discourse Analysis as it relates to the Nigerian context through the APC"s manifesto. The study also draws insights from the Critical Social Theory of Karl Marx, Louis Altthusser, Michel Foucault and the Frankfurt School of Linguistics. Finally the study reviewsempirical studiesin DA and CDA and the various methodologies and approaches in order to find out the extent of existing scholarship in this area of enquiry in Nigeria.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Preamble

This chapter explains the methodological considerations of thisstudy. It describes the study's research design by accounting for the chosen method for data collection, method of analysis and analytical procedures which concludes the chapter.

3.2 Data Collection

It is a non-experimental research design based on linguistic and qualitative methods of analysis of the selected text. The study involves a text that is indigenous to Nigeria; the APC's manifesto. It is so chosen because today it is the campaign document of the ruling party of Nigeria. It was also the manifesto of the only opposition political party that defeated the erstwhile ruling PDP in a well contested general elections. The text is therefore deemed to be politically and culturally influential given it topicality and recency but how language figures in it is most crucial. It represents the intellectual component of the APC's election campaign toolkit. The language of such a document is of tremendous interest to linguists. It is a Forty-Seven full page document that was purposively chosen for this study. The manifesto has four major sections and fifteen sub-sections. It a compendium of all the programmes the part had promised Nigerians it would execute upon forming government. In it, every policy issue is first presented as a challenge, and then shown as a problem acutely faced by Nigerians needing urgent solution, and lastly, an APC commonsense solution is proffered.

3.3 Method of Data Analysis

Consistent with the above conceptualization of the theoretical framework, this study's method embodies a three-layered method of analysis corresponding to the three dimensional conception of discourse. The method draws from three analytical traditions namely, (i) analysis of the text or the analysis at the micro level, comprising of the text analysis and the description of the text in terms of formal linguistic features; under this the study considers metaphor, modality, vocabularyand nominalization, (ii) analysis of the discursive practices at a macro level focusing upon inter-discursivity; that is the relationship between text, co-text and context, inter-textual relations between interaction and discourses;the study considerscohesion and transitivity, (iii) and the analysis of the broader social practice expressing the relationship between text and social context, the social interpretations of discourse beyond linguistic elements within a socio-political perspective; the textual analysis comes in here – genre, register, framing, cohesion, etcetera. Though Fairclough presents the stages of analysis in a linear fashion, the stages of discursive analysis, social analysis and interpretation and explanation are often simultaneous process. Thus the ensuing analysis integrates all three stages. This is done to enable this study achieve a unified analysis of how the ideological and political interests underpinning the accounts of the APC manifesto's representation of Nigeria are linguistically constructed.

The three stages of analysis are outlined thus:

Stage One: This is the stage of description. Description focuses on vocabulary and grammar. This stage of the analysis "describes the formal properties of the text"(Fairclough, 2001: 21). It involves a description of the actual words used andthe

meaning of these words. It also looks at the values that the words signal. Values can be negative, positive or neutral, and can be determined by the connotations that are associated with the words. These values of words can also imply a specific ideology held by the text(s). Finally, the way words are used can also tell something about their influence. For example, if certain words are used frequently, this is suggestive of a preference for these words, which again tells something about what the text wishes to emphasize.

Stage Two: this is the stage of interpretation which establishes the relationshipbetween text and interaction. Interpretation determines the discourses of the text and interprets the findings of the description stage. In this respect, the notion of Members' Resources (MR, for short) is crucial (Fairclough, 1989). For example, viewing certain words as positive ornegative depends on a person's MR. Similarly, MR are constantly changing, and therefore prominent people such as politicians can help change people's MR by virtue of the authority they command. On the other hand, what they say can also say something about their own MR andthus their world view (Fairclough, 2001: 20). By this means, the APC manifesto's discourse as an actor in society can have a huge influence on the perception of socio-cultural and economic issues like education, employment, security, etc. and the way it frames a specific notion becomes a part of the reproduction of the general understanding of the issue/concept.

Interpretationalso happens at the level of presuppositions, which is closely linked to MR and Commonsense Assumptions. This implies the type of presuppositions Peter Grundy categorized as a pragmatically conditioned assumptions (Grundy, 2008). Presuppositions tell something about whether a speaker speaks sincerely or manipulatively (Fairclough,

2001:128). A presupposition is, therefore, something that lies behind a text/utterance and which requires an antecedent in either logic or fact. In this regard Chilton, (2004: 64) says "having presuppositions is like taking something for granted". For instance, when a person says "the APC's*tsunami*", that person takes for granted (or presupposes) that the APC was/is in fact a*tsunami*. However, different intertextual contexts determines the validity of this utterance; the APC might not have been a *tsunami* to all people, because people interpret utterances/text differently, and therefore,an utterance or a text will not mean the same to every person.

For this reason, the ensuing analysis considers presupposition. For, according to Fairclough, the way the most powerful people interpret utterances/texts can be imposed on the less powerful, and in this way,powerful people can determine presuppositions in a context. He notes that presuppositions are not explicit, which makes it hard for people to accept or reject, and therefore they can be used by powerful people to manipulate the audience into accepting their views on certain issues (2001: 128). Explainingpresuppositions requires looking at the historical context in which an utterance takes place (Fairclough, 2001: 129). For this study, the purpose of this stage is to establish whether the verbal cues in the text contain certain assumptions or other hidden elements that are not obvious at a first glance. Therefore, in order to understand power relations, it is important to take the societal factor into consideration.

Stage Three: this stage involves this study in explanation. At this level, the effects of the analysis of the previous two stages are explained in a societal context. The stage clarifies the connection between discourse and society. Fairclough (2001: 135) says the purpose of the explanation stage is "to portray a discourse as a part of a social process, as a social

practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effectsdiscourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them". As already indicated the reproduction of MR takes place whenever discourses are drawn upon in different contexts. The objective of the explanation stage is "a matter of seeing adiscourse as part of processes of social struggle, within a matrix of relations of power" (Fairclough 2001: 13).

These three stages of critical linguistic analysis are adopted in this study thus: the first stage, description of text, is the level of textual analysis. The second and third stages are the integration of contextual analysis and interpretive analysis. Thus, the method of analysis employed in this study is the interaction of these three levels of analysis. In this way, the framework not only helps to reveal the social function of language but also interpret language and meaning in social context. This study believes that language can be explained only as the realization of meanings that are inherent in the social system. On this reading, one aspect of meaning worth studying is what is called 'ideology' that is the ways in which meaning serves to sustain asymmetrical relations of power. The workings of ideology in the APC's manifesto are, thus, discernible through linguistic analysis.

In furtherance of the ideological analysis, the study considers the following linguistic resources as outlined in the theoretical framework. These are cohesion, textuality, modality, metaphor, nominalization, vocabulary, passivization and transitivity.

The analysis of cohesion involves looking up words which refer back to a previous sentence or idea, or concept, or to a future one, such as pronouns, among other cohesive elements that ensure texture in text.

The analysis of textuality deals with the large scale organizational structure of the text which reveals genre, framing, foregrounding, topicalization, and so on.

Through metaphor analysis the representations of certain aspects of experience in terms of another are revealed; it among other things, shows that the device is not restricted to literary discourse which it tends to be stereotypically associated with.

Modality is analyzed not only to show the different ways an attitude may be expressed but also to indicate how modals contribute to the establishment of degree of certitude or otherwise.

The analysis also dwells on the process of nominalization to reveal the extent of the ideological motivation involved in converting a verb to a noun phrase in the APC's manifesto.

In terms of vocabulary, the study considers how the frequency of use of certain words differs quantitatively and how such is informed by ideological consideration in the APC's manifesto.

The analysis of activization or passivization is to determine not only the role of the participants in an action by also to reveal how such role assignment is motivated by ideological factors in the APC's manifesto.

Lastly but not the final point, transitivity analysis involves processes and participants which shows how the participants encode their mental picture of reality in the clause. The processes identify the different nuances of meaning (including ideological meaning) indicated in the APC's manifesto.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF DATA, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Presentation of Data

This chapter presents data analysis and discussion of findings. The analysis is based on the texts excerpted from the APC's manifesto. It covers Sentence / Textual Analysis, Cohesion, Modality, Metaphor, Nominalization, Vocabulary, Passivization, and Transitivity. These linguistic resourcesconcern the three metafunctions – textual, ideational and interpersonal meanings, so the analysis will be conducted at the cline of word, clause and sentence.

4.2 Textual Analysis / Sentence Structure

The following excerpt from the APC's manifesto is the data for analysis in this section. The headings for the analysis in this unit is adopted from Huckin (1997).

Section Three: Reform

In the last fifteen years, the federal government has become a by-word for incompetence and corruption. Public resources have been grossly mismanaged and there has been a steady decline in its ability to address the myriad of the socio-economic and political challenges that has reduced the human security of Nigerians to an untenable level. There is a high level of distrust in the populace for the government which threatens the legitimacy and survival of the current dispensation.

Nigeria has always suffered from the scourge of corruption. The APC is proud of its leadership role in the states under its control. However, under the PDP, corruption and looting of public resources have become gigantic, on a scale which has alarmed most Nigerians and non-Nigerians alike. Nigeria is consistently ranked as one of the most corrupt countries in the world – we must eliminate the badge of shame.

There is an urgent need to institute radical reform of the Nigerian government based on good governance precepts – transparency, accountability, fiscal responsibility, the rule of law, human rights, civic and political liberties. We must install a government whose leaders are responsive to the needs of Nigerian citizens and delivering effective and efficient service to the citizens equitably in all the three branches of our governance realm

– the executive, judiciary and the legislature. We cannot achieve these reforms without strengthening our public institutions and away from the 'Strong Man' model, which has devastated our economy and institutions (pp. 36-37).

4.2.1. Graphology/ Genre

The cover of the APC's manifesto tilts it towards a certain genre – a news magazine. It embodies some graphology that manifest a characteristic set of features which serve some definitive interests of the APC. The analysis in this section draws on Reah's (1998) study of headlines. According to him "a reader can skim the headlines and have an outline of the news of the day and some idea of it relative impact and importance (Reah, 1998:14). For example, the manifesto is immediately recognizable by four topographies viz, (i) the use of attention-getting diction, (ii) the use of visual images, (iii) the way texts extol the virtues of the APC, (iv) the artificially personal tone. These topographies converge to make the manifesto amenable to readability and encourage Nigerians to buy-in into the APC project. In terms of attention-getting diction, the front cover page is a semiotic relic containing various photos without a caption that represent Nigeria in diverse ways and beneath these are simple, catchy phrasal inscriptions to the effect of: APC Change; A New Party, for A New Nigeria; The APC Manifesto.

In respect of visual images, the manifesto is awash with photographs, sketches, diagrams, formatting devices and other visual embellishments from the cover through inside to the back page. For the remaining two points, it suffices to point out that the manifesto is foreworded by its National Chairman, John Odigie Oyegun, with a closing paragraph that begins with "I invite you to read our manifesto and share our message with all those who genuinely care about Nigeria…" (3). In a word, it is highly stylized with sharp and impressive images and lettering aimed at captivating the target audience. Through this

semiosis, the APC frames itself as a product to be bought by the public. Such an amalgam of visual embellishments conveys "particularly strong connotations that carry an emotional loading beyond their literal meanings" (Reah, 1998: 18).

The aim of these stylization, graphics and aesthetical font size and colour in the APC's manifesto is to attract readership and arouse interest using a minimum number of words. Theyperformthe function in electoral campaign of enabling the ideas and promises of the APC to reach a broad spectrum of the literate public.The focus of the words deployed in cover page and their meaning in relation to the pictures are intertextually important since any culture will have a range of familiar phrases and sayings. They point considerably to how words sound to attract attention. Reah says a special way to make words memorable is to use the reader's awareness of sounds and relate same to pictures (Reah 1998:18). For this purpose, words may carry special connotations that convey an emotional loading beyond their literal meaning. In this regard, lexical words are more easily used than grammatical words which may cause ambiguity in certain cases.

4.2.2. Register

Register is affected by the choice of persons – first person (we, our), second person (Nigerians, addressee), and third person (represented in this instance by the PDP) through expressions like - under the PDP, federal government, and so on. A further look at this text shows that the narrative typically has a top-down or inverted pyramid structure with information presented in descending order of importance. Thus, whatever the APC chooses to put first is interpreted by Nigerian voters or most readers of the manifesto as most important, and whatever appears last is interpreted as least important. In this respect, the APC chooses to periodize and foreground particular incidents: incompetence and

corruption, and not the reasons for this conclusion. Indeed, the indices which, according to the APC, make 'Nigeria a by-word for incompetence and corruption are mentioned only at subsequent sentences and paragraphs.

From the first paragraph to the second, barring the last sentence of that paragraph where the first person plural pronoun appears – 'we must…', the text carries a formal tone of neutrality and objectivity. This is made possible by the cluster of expressions like – the federal government, public resources, under the PDP (which occupies the subject position and functions as theme). And in the third paragraph are the use of personal pronouns such as - we must, we cannot, our public institutions, and our economy. It is this admixture of formal and informal registers that qualifies the text as semi-formal; this inducement of skepticism through the tools of genre and register help set a frame for the APC's discourse. One's register is a style or variety of language determined by such factors as social occasion, context, purpose, and audience, also called stylistic variation. Practically, the term refers to the degree of formality (or informality) with which populations or (institutions) use language (Nordquist, 2017).

Thus, most of this text (and by extension, the APC's manifesto) is written in the standard, semiformal register of political discourse. The semiformal register of the text, the study would argue, serves to accord the APC's manifesto a human face that seeks to appeal to the masses or electorate. Such an appeal is neither incidental nor neutral, but ideological; thereby making a favourable impression in the minds of Nigerians and presaging the party as one capable of bringing home the auspicate change the nation yearns for.

4.2.3. Framing

The inverted pyramid formula described above obliges the APC to order information in a top-down sequence of sentences, with the first sentence serving to create a frame for the story. Thus the APC clearly chooses to frame the state or event as a simple 'them – us' polarity; between the PDP who for fifteen years 'mismanaged public resources' and the 'APC" who is proud of its leadership role in the states under its control. Also between 'under the PDP, corruption and looting have become gigantic' and 'we must eliminate the badge of shame'. The APC also chooses to depict the PDP in unfavourable terms and the APC in favourable ones. This framing is ideological and succeeds in drawing attention away from the PDP who represents 'bad governance' and to the APC, 'a radical reformer and harbinger of change'. The framing of the APC's discourse also involves some form of what Huckin (1997) calls "classification", that is how the APC chooses in this text to code or name and label things. For example, the decision to use the labels – incompetence, corruption, decline, challenges and security in the text above is one that positions the APC as favouring one side – itself, while at the same time embellishing the other side – the ruling party, with derogation. These codes, as it were, bear some unavoidable connotations of castigation; which is the ideology of 'emphasis their bad things'.

4.2.4. Foregrounding/backgrounding

As indicated above, this text foregrounds the Them vs Us frame. In so doing the APC` backgrounds more important political issues in respect of the 2015 general elections, such as succession, political character concordance, and so on. The ideology in this case is covered in the tendency as seen in the above excerpt to put certain information in some important position and so draws attention to it. Both the foregrounding and backgrounding, in this sense, are ideological; highlighting the 'I' in some instances and

backgrounding the 'other' in others. That is the 'I and other' ideology. As it were, in choosing what to put in the topic position, the APC is able to create a perspective and slant that influences Nigerians' perception in respect of the 2015 presidential election. A favourable perception of the APC and an unfavourable perception of the then ruling party, the PDP.

4.2.5. Omission/ Deletion

A check of what has been left out of this text involves the question, what could the APC have said here? That is, what kind of information does this genre allow? This text could have included information about the APC's political will or clout; what attributes make the APC different as a political party; what mechanisms the APC would have adopted or will adopt to better the lot of Nigerians which the PDP did not, and so on. The fact that the APC did not include such vital information in a genre supposedly dedicated to informing the electorate gives this researcher ample reason to raise suspicions about the definitive interests of the APC. This study would argue, therefore, that political parties as represented by the APC, in order to secure the support of the electorate, are more interested in entertaining and titillating than in genuinely informing and educating them. Such omission is ideological as it seeks to deemphasize 'our bad things'. Thus, textual silences are prominent in the text above. This is in keeping with politics as the art of suppression (concealment), which reveals more through what it fails to say than through those things it actually says.

Closely related to omission is deletion. It is correct to say that the government has the power in this text, but this power is somewhat concealed from view. For instance, the sentence, 'Nigeria has always suffered from the scourge of corruption', does not mention

who caused this or is responsible for it. Presumably, it is the government of the day, but the readers are forced to guess this. In a sentence like 'public resources have been grossly mismanaged…' the APC could have added, by the PDP or government officials. Instead, the APC probably assumes that readers could infer this, and so left it out. The case is true for many other sentences and noun phrases in this text which also omit specific mention of the PDP as agent. This study would argue that this tendency has the overall effect of backgrounding the PDP's responsibly for any of these actions or events or states said to have been committed by the ruling party. Ideology is concealed in such suppression of responsibility.

4.2.6. Presupposition

Presuppositions help to represent certain propositions as convincing realities. The way this particular section of the APC's manifesto is framed presupposes that the major feature of the manifesto conforms to van Djik's (2006: 734) strategy of "emphasis their bad things and de-emphasis our bad things". The text above presupposes that opposition political parties are more correct in their actions than ruling parties, and more reliable in their accounts of events or state of affairs.

A good number of sentence level presuppositions operate in the verbal comments embedded in this text. For example, by 'in the last fifteen years' the APC implies that the PDP had ruled for fifteen years. The proposition, 'the federal government has become a by-word for incompetence and corruption', presupposes that the PDP is incompetent and corrupt. The study would argue that ideologies lie in the fact that there are more presuppositions attached to sentences relating to the PDP, but the one presupposition that the APC is more capable to bring about the desired change may actually carry more

weight because it is framed differently. Every other sentence presupposes the suggestion that the APC is the party of choice during the 2015 elections.

4.2.7. Topicalization

A close look at the individual statements suggests a pattern of sentence topics that support the Them – Us ideological frame:

- The Federal Government
- Public resources have been
- There is high level of
- Nigeria has always
- The APC is
- Under the PDP
- Nigeria is consistently ranked
- There is urgent need
- We must eliminate
- We must install
- We cannot

A count indicates that all but the fifth and the last three clauses have topics referring to the APC which authors the text. The text is clearly, therefore, about the PDP largely; it is not about the issues of what the APC is capable of doing largely. The study would argue that topicalizing the Other in unfavourable frames as above and the Us in favourable ones as in the last three clauses is ideological; the ideology of foregrounding self-good image.

4.2.8. Agency

Suppression of agency is also ideological. As already indicated, more than half of topic sentences in the text are no doubt about the PDP. The PDP is, nevertheless, not endowed with much power. Worthy of note is how agent-patient relations are depicted; one can see that in almost all the sentences, the then ruling party does not initiate any of the actions associated with it. For example, 'the federal government has become a by-word for incompetence and corruption'. It is only in 'we must install' a government whose leaders are responsive that the agents are empowered with any initiative of their own; the same applies to 'we must eliminate'. However, in those sentences about the PDP, agency is suppressed; social subjects thus lack social power. This situation brings to light the subject who writes or speaks and the subject who is written or spoken (Barthes, 1986). The former is endowed with power, the latter lacks any. This is the distinction between the agentive subject who produces a well-formed generic text as opposed to the subject positioned or constructed in discourses which are incorporated in the text he or she produces. Interestingly, this sequencing of the narratology of events is the direct opposite of the actual chronology and responsibility of events in the country at the time the manifesto was presented; the actions described were actually undertaking by the PDP or its officials as the then ruling party.

4.2.9. Insinuation

Artful suggestion of unpleasant events permeates the discourse of the manifestoas the APC makes a key insinuation in this text. In the third sentence of the second paragraph, the APC notes that corruption and looting have attained a level that alarmed Nigerians and foreigners. This statement is embedded in a sentence about performance comparisons, and so the APC (also the author) could argue that it is simply making a statement of fact

regarding service delivery under one of two contending political parties – the PDP controlling the centre and APC in charge of Lagos and Edo states. This study would argue, to the contrary, that there is also an implied judgment of quality here, too. Through it the APC is able to express an ideology. Readers of this text, this researcher believes would be wondering about whether the PDP administration in Nigeria's fourth republic is a fail or success. The text never answers that question directly, but since it describes the events or state of affairs under PDP largely in terms of incompetence, corruption, loot, decline, mismanagement, the voters or readers are likely to interpret PDP rule as failing to match their expectations; an insinuation, ideologically, that the PDP is something of a failure.

4.2.10. Connotation

At the word/phrase level, the researcher notes some of the connotations employed in this text. Although the discourse of a manifesto is not supposed to be objective, being the vector of political ideologies, the APC indulges in a number of metaphorical excesses. For example, all the purported actions of the PDP government are described in derogatory (if not animalistic) terms: incompetence and corruption, grossly mismanaged, steady decline, distrust in the populace, corruption and looting, badge of shame, 'strong man'. These metaphors, which are also collocations, serve to trivialize the PDP rule. The animalistic one 'strong man' depicts the party as irrational especially when this is juxtaposed with the militaristic ones used to describe the APC – the APC is proud, we must install, and we must eliminate, and so on. Here, ideology lies in how the construction erects a polarity of 'good versus bad' with the APC being framed positively and the PDP being depicted in bad frame.

4.2.11. Mood

This text, and by extension the entire APC's manifesto is written in the indicative mood and simple present, also called historic, tense. Therefore, it has the same modality as that of historical discourse. It narrates and describes a whole series of events and state of affairs in a highly factual tone, with trace of certainty. The text is factual because there are not instances of conditional, hypothetical or subjunctive modality. This has the overall effect, this study would argue, of making all issues pervading the 2015 general elections atmosphere completely closed to discussion or negotiation; all issues were supposed to be taken and comprehended or consumed as presented. Also this makes the electioneering campaigns themselves seem more like an ineffectual ritual than a meaningful clash of alterative ideologies.

From the preceding analysis, it is clear that the APC, by framing their text as presented above, have the intention of using the power they possess as producers of text/discourse to control the minds of Nigerians to have a positive perception about the party. This is because the framing of the text, the presupposition, connotation, insinuation, modality, and so on, are pro APC and used to propagate and sustain ideologies in favour of the APC and her policies.

4.3 Sentence Structure

This study is also interested in the different structural options for the creation of text. For the purpose of this study, therefore, sentence structures have to do with the means by which the grammatical forms in the discourse of the APC's manifesto code happenings or relationships in the world, the people or animals or things involved in those happenings or relationships, including their temporal circumstances, manner of occurrence, and so on. In

making policy statements and textually representing actions, events, state of affairs and relationships, the APC makes choices between different grammatical process and participant types, and the selection made is ideologically significant. For example, the following patterns as can be seen in the data below are typical structures in the manifesto.

Data for analysis:

> We outline eight pledges (6)
> Healthcare management is chaotic (11)
> Many die (11)

The following syntactic patterns apply to the data above:

S V O – we (s) outline (v) eight pledges (o);

S V C – healthcare management (s) is (v) chaotic (c);

S V – many (s) die (v).

The ideological possibilities of the choice between process types as shown by the three extracts from the texts: outlining of pledges is clearly carried out by a human subject and the APC stands to take responsibility. The state of the healthcare is described as muddled and frenzied. The APC distances itself from the situation by reporting it while at the same time maintaining silence in respect of agency. That is left to the reader to decipher. Such choices to highlight or background agency may be consistent, automatic and commonsensical, and therefore ideological; or they are what Fairclough (1989: 122) calls "conscious hedging or deception".

4.4 Analysis of Cohesion

Cohesion plays an extended role in the relationship between the grammatical form of a sentence and the context in which it occurs. This unit analyses cohesion and its ideological implication in the APC's manifesto. Reah (1998: 102) says that "the

grammatical cohesion identified in text allows the ideological approaches of the text to develop coherently".

4.4.1 Reference

One of the options the grammar of English offers authors like the writers of the APC's manifesto is creating surface links between sentences which is called reference. This feature cannot be semantically interpreted without reference to some other features in the text, and the commonest linguistic element for referring in a textual environment is pronoun. There are only two instances of the personal 'I' in the APC's manifesto. However, there is over 300 use of 'We', and incidences of demonstrative and conjunctive references. Of the personal references, majority is through the use of personal pronouns and 'it' references of either fact or things. All of the examples extracted are instantiations of anaphoric reference, the most relevant kind of referencing for cohesion within text (Halliday and Hasan 1976 cited in Sanders and Pander Maat, 2006:591). However, the two instances of 'I' are cataphoric. For example:

> I am pleased to present this manifesto and invite you to share our perspective on how we can come together to free our country from the grip of the ruling party that clearly has noagenda for Nigeria beyond prolonging its lawless rule by all means' (2).
>
> I invite you to read our manifesto (3)

The meaning of 'I' can only be retrieved forwardly in 'our' and 'we'. The two together establish a cohesive chain, Halliday attests that this type of referencing is the most cohesive (1994: 312). Personal reference as in the above text acts to keep tract of participants throughout the text. For example 'we can' refers back to 'our perspective', 'Nigeria' to 'country', and 'it lawless rule' to 'the ruling party'. All of these examples of personal reference indicated above exist as ties to presupposed participants and occur within the referring clause. This text taken from the Foreword of the APC's manifesto

clearly evinces an ideology of bias toward the ruling party. Fairclough notes that the link between sentences also involves references – words which refer back to a previous sentence or concept, or to a future one, such as pronouns (it, she, he, this, that, the) (Fairclough, 1989: 130).

Regarding demonstrative reference, Halliday says it is a 'verbal pointing' to indicate a 'scale of proximity' to the presupposed reference (Halliday and Hasan, 1976:57 cited in Sanders and Pander Maat, 2006:591). With respect to the use of 'the' several instances are noted. This use of 'the' commonly referred to as a definite article, acts to specifically identify, which makes it, in the words of Halliday and Hassan (1976: 71 cited in Sanders and Pander Maat, 2006:591) "semantically selective" and since the APC's manifesto is a written text, the references are mostly endophoric which creates a cohesive textual environment. An example:

> The federal government's response to the Boko Haram insurgency has been grossly inadequate and ineffective and cries for a new strategy: the recent botched attempt by the federal government to negotiate a ceasefire, illustrates clearly the need for a long-term multi-pronged national security strategy to address this scourge (18).

In this text there are two instances of'the federal government'; the second identifies the first 'federal government' which began the text, and 'this scourge' refers to 'the Boko Haram insurgency'.

There are also incidences of comparative referencing in the APC's manifesto. The role of comparative reference is to act to show similarity or likeness, which in itself, is a referential property (Halliday and Hassan,1976:78cited in Sanders and Pander Maat, 2006:591). Examples of their use in the manifesto are non-structural and therefore cohesively significant. The following text illustrates this point:

> This crisis is not just about Bako Haram. It goes much deeper than that with communal violence flaring up all too regularly across a number of different states. On a daily basis ordinary Nigerians increasingly experience militancy, kidnapping, armed robbery and an inability to obtain legal redress…'(18).

Here, the phrase 'much deeper' compares with militancy, kidnapping, armed robbery to highlight the low depth to which Nigeria has degenerated in terms of security under the ruling party. This makes the text ideologically significant,and the APC goes on to identify with the people of Nigeria who are at the receiving end of this predicament.

Also, the superlative 'most' in:

> we will coordinate most or all of work of the eight federal health bloated and unnecessary parastatals through a single body - healthcare Nigeria (32)

refers to the Health sector which the APC promises to reform on page 30 with the heading - Reforming the public sector.

4.4.2 Substitution and Eclipses

Although these are basic features of spoken text, and according to Halliday (1994:310), are confined to "contagious passages," they exist in the APC's manifesto. They exist so that the presupposed reference is not unnecessarily repeated. To exemplify this are the following texts:

> Nigeria needs a modern health care system where every citizen has access to the basic health service. Our first focus will be preventive care, as it is cheaperand easier to stop people becoming ill than curing them once they are.
>
> However, we also need to urgently improve our healthcare infrastructure, with a new network of local clinics and dispensaries providing free drugs and services. The recent Ebola outbreak only emphasized the importance of this (12).

In the first paragraph, 'they are' substitutes for ‘ill’ and in the second ‘this’ refers to ‘need to urgently improve our health care’. Because of this anaphoric referencing function seen above, substitution creates a sense of cohesion throughout the APC’smanifesto’s discourse. On the contrary, in ellipsis something is left unsaid’ in the passage and the reader must supply the missing information. No instance of this effect is noted in the APC’s manifesto. This researcher would argue that the reason cannot be far from the need for political communication (which the manifesto is) to be explicit and specific; an author cannot afford to delete (except for ideological reasons) a phrase or clause which is needed to complement the syntactic organization of discourse. This nonappearance is crucially deliberate and thus ideological.

4.4.3 Conjunction

Conjunction acts to link meaning across a larger boundary of text. Halliday defines it as “a clause or clause complex, or some longer stretch of text, which may be related to what follows it by one or other specific set of semantic relations” (1994:310). This means that conjunction does not necessarily create a semantic tie with just one part of the text. Therefore, it differs from reference, substitution and ellipsis in that these are cohesive due to their specific anaphoric reference function. Example:

> By virtue of its size, population and resources, Nigeria should be the leading actor in the continental and global arena. For many years however, our foreign policy has been weak and ineffective at least. There is no consistent strategic focus. Our influence is far below our potential given our endowments. Most African states expect Nigeria to take the leadership role on behalf of Africa and are disappointed by the fact that we have abdicated this responsibility (40).

Here, the retrieval of conjunctive information does not require the reader of the manifesto to go back too far in the passage to identify the presupposed reference. Hence, 'and resources' links back to ‘its size, population’, likewise, ‘however’ a contrastive

conjunction links ‘our foreign policy has been weak’ to the previous line 'Nigeria should be a leading actor in the...' Generally, conjunction functions extremely well to create cohesion in the manifesto, it also helps, as often used, to reveal the APC’s attitude toward the ruling PDP as in the use of ‘however’ above, thereby exposing an ideology of emphasize ‘their bad things’.

4.4.4 Lexical cohesion

Lexical cohesion in the APC’s manifesto differs from the four components of cohesion already discussed. The basic difference is that it is a non-grammatical function. By the use of words, cohesion exists when ties between lexical terms can be identified. In the APC’s manifesto, this system of wordings proves to be the most cohesive element. This happens through the different forms of reiteration and sometimes through collocation, and a very identifiable choice of lexical patterns become apparent. Reiteration is the repetition of a lexical item even if the repetition does not exactly match the presupposed lexical item. In the APC’s manifesto, it takes the form of repetition of the same word or by the use of synonym, antonym, metonym or even hyponym. However, collocation differs from reiteration because it is not usually about the semantic relations between words but rather it, according to Halliday and Hasan (1976:286), refers to the tendency of words to share the same lexical environment.

Below is an attempted general word list that is used to generalize the overall patterns of lexical cohesion in the APC’s manifesto. About 22 general categories of lexis are identified. Of these, the largest in terms of quantity of either reiterated or collocated lexis are Security, Mismanagement, Employment, Healthcare, Restoration and Creation, Economy and Policy, which were also the major themes of the 2015 general elections

campaign and the APC uses them to express vast arrays of ideologies. For example, notice that any lexis with derogatory or negative connotation is associated with, or talks about, the ruling party and the positive lexis with the APC. The categories are presented:

Jobs – job creation, unemployment, work, permanent jobs, employment, create millions, (9), natural resources (3), employ (6), job creation (10), poverty and unemployment (2),

Management – macro and micro policy (9), relief from mismanagement (8), government, a failing Nigeria, establish, manage, administration, coordinating agency, inappropriate economy, construction, infrastructure, economic policies, financial management, (2) modern roads, airports, (6) schools (13), housing, portable water, massive public works, (15), poor governance (3),

Industrialization - agricultural expansion, public works, creation, industrial policy, private sector, diversify economy, manufacturing, production, industries, transport, airports, waterways, roads, rail networks, job opportunities, (10), development policy (17), local content, dilapidated infrastructure, natural resources, (26),

ICT – IT professional, telecom services, outsourcing, destination hub, technical manpower, tradesmen's skill, local capacity, technology transfer, (10), mass communication, fibre optic network, electrification, technological capacity, superhighway, techno city, (25),

Healthcare – treatment, treatable diseases, routine treatment, death, care, maternal mortality, infant mortality rate, life expectancy, health insurance, (11), healthcare infrastructure, modern healthcare, health services, preventive care, ill, illness, preventive strategy, local clinics, dispensaries, free drugs, ebola out-brake, (12),

Education – school age, out of school, read and write, education system, students, primary, secondary schools, illiteracy, tertiary education, basic education, talented workforce, develop skills, reduce unemployment, government spending, growth, universal schools, relevant education, potentials, quality education, knowledge economy, school meals, (13 -14),

Housing – cities, urban areas, sprawling slums, makeshift houses, sewage, poor roads, homes, accommodation, migration, urban centres, descent housing, affordable homes, reduce slum living, upgrade housing, water/sanitation services, national housing policy, urban planning, housing schemes, developers, projects, mortgage, land ownership, titles. Deeds, rural development, urban migration, (15),

Poverty – penury, economic hardship, grinding poverty, tackling poverty, subsistence farms, urban slums, struggle, dwindling middle class, edge of fear, losing jobs, serious illness, social security, people centred development, tackling corruption, social insurance, welfare payments, unemployed, the disabled, disabilities, pension veterans, without jobs, (16-17),

Security – Boko Haram insurgency, bold attacks, security crisis, communal violence, militancy, kidnapping, armed robbery, protection from abuse, wracked by chaos, civil war, grossly inadequate, ineffective, ceasefire, scourge, fundamental causes, disempowerment, law enforcement, regional security, standby force, military, police, personnel, equipment, military force, national security, service delivery, antiterrorism, peaceful coexistence, (18-19),

Sports/culture – instruments, social cohesion, national integration, youthful population, neglected sports, quality of life, boost economy, provide jobs, engage, occupy, empower, sports facilities, promotion, cultural activities, film, music and fashion industries, brand ambassadors revitalize, school sports, athletics, training, sporting infrastructure, creative industry, culture industry, (20-21),

Recovery – new infrastructure, transform, economies, living standard, educated middle class, indicators, stagnated, regressed, largest economy, global oil prices, needed resources, endemic, massive corruption, social development, massive programme, production cost, generation opportunity, modern economy, economic strategy, industrial powerhouse, (22-23),

Building – infrastructure, roads, rail network, power stations, communications, modernizing economy, improve links, economic centres, boosting, growth, investment goals, attract investment, domestic sources, development plans, electrification programme, power plants, power grid, gas pipelins, rehabilitation, maintenance, reconstruction, superhighway, fibre optic network, inland waterway, (24-25),

Restoration – reforming, efficient administration, reform agenda, service delivery, accountability, corruption and impunity, restore, ethos, integrity, honesty, meritocracy, patriotism, sabotaged, weakens. Stripping, political will, track record, fight corruption, self-effacing humility, societal values, lifestyle, mismanagement and bad performance, predictable funding, prosecutorial powers, devolve control, (28-19),

Funding – earned, trillion dollars, waste, mismanagement, revenues, misplace priorities, figures, spending, disproportionate percentage, investing, massive waste, duplication, bloated, amalgamation and abolition, parastatals, agencies, GDP, public spending, capital spending, jointly funded, managed, growth fund, paid security, electoral commission, development agencies, (30-31),

Oil and Gas – export and foreign exchange, over reliant, oil company, NNPC, honey pots, government spending, raw materials, domestic use, global energy trends, mining, drilling rights, exploration, investment funds, government revenues, petroleum industry, gas master plan, associated and non-associated gas, mining legislation, mining sector, (32-33),

Agriculture – farming extension (25), producer of cocoa, rubber, oil palm, food production, small scale farmers, fertilizers, processing plants, land reforms, empower farmers, freehold, leasehold leases, incentives, grants, land use act, title registry, subsistence farming, largescale farming, value added processing plants, cooperative unions, mechanization, modern farming techniques, (34-35),

Temporal relations – last fifteen years (36), since, when, in 1999, today, there is, a half later, in July 2003, in the past, first term in office, (2), 50 years of independence (8), in the short term, a decade, (9), by 2013 (11), on a daily basis, our first civil war, our last, recent, last decade, the 21st century, (18),

Politics – a new party (1), the APC, our party, historic merger, our vision, PDP, the federal government, ruling party, party at the centre, (2),

Human rights – justice, fear, demands, protection, the poor and other, abuses, equitable and speedy access, rule of law, impunity, judiciary, reason, systems of justice, high and mighty, culture of impunity, powerlessness, uphold, enforce, dispensation, (38-39),

Foreign policy – international relations, trade, continental, strategic focus, influence, rightful leadership, global scene, multilateral institutions, regional and global, international decisions, global governance, trade negotiations, climate change, economic strength, (40-41),

Women – backbone of Nigeria, youth, farm labour, rural communities, children, economic empowerment, political participation, systemic discrimination, equal property, affirmative action, gender equality, equity strategy, women and youth, (42-43),

Environment – climate change, industrial pollution, population growth, environmental challenges, sustainable, environmental crisis, desertification, deforestation, environmental problems, sanitation services, environmental polluters, eliminate, water sector, water supply, commitment, (44-45),

The analysis of the APC's manifesto at the vocabulary level shows a very tight pattern of cohesion as repetition through synonymous lexical items and collocation are very

dominant and create what Halliday and Hasan call texture in text. Repetition of particular lexis in more than one category in the above list shows the extent of reiteration which shows that the preference for certain lexical items over another is ideologically significant.How some of these words collocate with other participants in the discourse of the APC's manifesto is suggestive of how the APC constructs an impression of those participants; a suggestion which is also ideological. Additionally, they appear to take the pattern of the ideological expressions of emphasize 'Our good things' and 'Their bad things', and 'deemphasize Our bad' and 'Their good'. Examples of this abound all over the manifesto in words and word combinationsas in the table below, which is based on the word list above.

Table 1: showing differential wording patterns

PDP	**APC**
Unemployment	Jobs creation
Nigeria has stagnated	Move our nation forward
Nigeria needs relief	APC will provide this relief
Ineffective and inefficient	Effective and efficient
Nigeria's infrastructure is crying	Rebuild and modernize roads
Nigeria needs a modern healthcare	Improve our healthcare infrastructure
Over 100 million live in poverty	Creating safety net for every citizen

These two different dimensions of wording also reveal differential power relations. For example, the difference between a subject who writes or speaks and a subject who is written or spoken becomes apparent when one contrasts 'Nigeria needs relief' with 'APC will provide this relief'. Apparently, the suppression of agency in the first instance is ideological to the extent that the 'the APC…' is endowed with the power to initiate action. Accordingly, the PDP is represented as powerless or as a social actor which is incapable of initiating any action of its own. This is a major discourse structure evincing unequal power relations in the APC's manifesto.

4.5 Analysisof Modality

Modality simply means to put an attitude into what is being said and thereby changing the tone or strength of a statement; putting an attitude into what is being said makes modality a conduit for conveying ideology. Fairclough explains how modality is used by the text or text producer to shape the position on what is being said. In other words, by means of modality, a text or sentence can change its validity or seriousness (Fairclough, 2003: 165). In the ensuing analysis Modality has two dimensions; it can be relationalor expressive. Either of these shows something about writer authority. For example, the relational dimension shows something about the writer's authority in relation to others. The expressive shows how the speaker/writer, (for the purpose of this study, how the text producer) evaluates the truth. According to Fairclough (2001: 105), this Modality can be expressed in three ways: 1. By modal auxiliary verbs such as *may, might, must, should, can, ought,* and negated versions of these words as in this study. 2. By tense. Tense can express the speaker's version of the truth. 3. By adverbs either used alone or in combination with modal auxiliaries in patterns as *are probably…*or *may possibly….* However, it suffices to consider only the first group for the purpose of this study.

Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) establish nine central modal verbs in the grammar of English.These are can, could, may, must, need to, shall, should, will, and would. However, not all of these find expression in the APC's manifesto even though 'will' appears to have been used in more than half of its sentences. The APC's manifesto contains 491 sentences. This number excludes phrases as titles or section headings. 'Will' appears in about 278 sentences or clauses. The semantics of linguistic modality is argued to be determined mainly by the power structure of the social agents in the discourse of the APC's manifesto. In the deontic uses of the modals, another determining factor is the expectations of the participants' attitudes towards the relevant action. By viewing the evidence as a power in its own right, this analysis can be generalized to the epistemic uses in a coherent way. The epistemic uses are seen as pragmatic strengthening of the deontic uses, rather than as metaphorical mappings. The table below presents distribution of modal verbs use in the APC's manifesto.

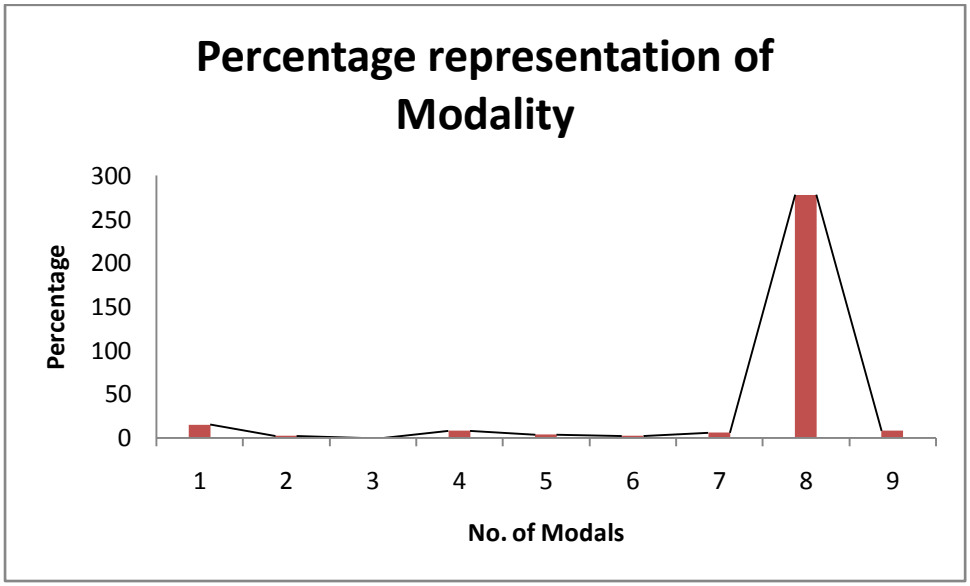
Table 2 showing the frequency distribution of Modality in the manifesto.

S/N	Modal Verbs	Frequency	Percentage
1	Can (not)	15	5.1%
2	Could	2	2,5%
3	May	0	0%
4	Must	8	1.8%
5	Need to	4	1.1%
6	Shall	2	0.4%
7	Should	6	2.2%

8	2ill	278	84.1%
9	Would	8	2.9%
10	Total	323	100%

This information is represented in the chart below.

Chart 1: shows the frequency of occurrence of modal verbs in the APC manifesto.



From table 2 and the chart 1, it can be gleaned that item 8 has the highest frequency of occurrence; occurring 278 times. Item I follows this as the modal with the second highest frequency of occurrence, with an appearance rate of 15. Item 9 also occurs a good number of time, 4 times in total. While 'will' enjoys an overtly preponderant usage, the other modals like can (occurring 15 times), could (occurring 2 times). May (not) (occurring 0 time), need to (occurring 4 times), and shall (occurring 2 time), are minimally used.

The preponderance or otherwise of specific modals in the APC's manifesto is neither a coincidence nor randomization, but by the specific objectives of the manifesto and its genre. Logically, the point to make is that modality as realizable by these modal verbs are contextually deployed to achieve specific communicative intents and purposes of the APC as an opposition party. These substantiate the fact that the use of certain modal verbs is more frequent than others. It leads to the argument that the use of modal verbs can be conditioned by the nature and type of discourse – in this case, the APC's manifesto. The researcher provides below the specific contextual meanings and semantic functions of these modal verbs and follows up with the analysis of their ideological and power relations implications.

Can (not): thisoccurs 14 times in the APC's manifesto, representing a total percentage of 5.1. Thus, it occurs quite often. As a modal verb, can is used by the APC to express ability and theoretical possibility. It is used to express ability in these clauses:

> …workforce that can get Nigeria back to work (13)
> We can transform the lives of millions of Nigerians (17)

The use of can, instantiated in these two examples, nullifies any form of uncertainty or even possibility, and emphatically presents the propositions as factual and wholly true. Given this, the message put forward is to be taken seriously and accepted by the Nigerian voters and party members. The factual proposition advanced by the use of *can* here instigates a lack of confidence in the ruling PDP by Nigerians.

Could : there are only seven instances of the use of *could* in APC's manifesto. It serves to express a strong possibility, specifically to strongly suggest an expectation whose outcome is almost certain. The use of *could* in this regard buttresses Quirk et al.'s (1973)

assertion that *could* can be used to express a possibility (theoretical or factual); an assertion which nullifies Newson's (2008) position that the traditionally considered tense forms of modal verbs-*could, should and might* convey weaker propositions. This supposed repudiation of Newson's position reinforces the attitude adopted in this study that the various English modals cannot be generalized in their semantic underpinnings; instead, they are largely influenced by the different contextual indices, discoursal determinants and situational factors. Indeed, if the APC manifesto's tone or diction or persuasive power were weak, it would not have attracted the attention it got before, during and after the 2015 general elections. Examples are:

> …the next ten years *could see* Nigeria begin to fulfil her potentials (24)
> …having a serious illness *could* cast them into poverty (16)

May (not) : *May (not)* did not occur in the APC manifesto, it therefore has no instantiations. This omission is ideological especially as a manifesto's discourse which presents factual propositions cannot afford to speak or write in probabilistic terms, which is the traditional meaning 'may' conveys.

Must: as a strong deontic modal verb, *must* is used in the APC's manifesto to express strong obligation and/or compulsion and logical necessity. In these sentences below, *must* expresses strong obligation; compulsion, necessity and obligation reinforce the factuality of what the APC's manifesto proposes. The excerpts are:

> These projects must commence early … (10)
> We must ensure that we provide quality education… (13)

Need to: this modal occurs only three times in the APC's manifesto. However, it is used to express necessity. Usually, *need to* signals a sense of urgency (if not emergency) of the tasks mentioned. The examples below expatiate on this claim:

> Nigeria *needs* to engage… (21)
> We also need to put in place a robust and well thought out security (18)

Shall: itappears twice in the APC's manifesto. The usuality of its semantic underpinning seems to be the invariable expression of intention. In fact, in all the meanings that can be attributed to *shall*, the intention function is widespread and most prevalent (Greenbaum and Nelson, 1996). The only examples in the APC's manifesto are these:

> The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government (18)
> We *shall* develop a code of conduct… (29)

Should: occurs six times in the APC's manifesto. It appears in constructions where it serves obligation and putative uses. This is exemplified in the excerpts below:

> The law should be a protection for ordinary people (38)
> There is no reason why Nigeria *should* not be Africa's food-basket (34)

Will: this is the modal with the highest frequency of occurrence in APC's manifesto; 278 times in total. There are several instances of the uses of *will* – sometimes to express intention, other times to make a promise. Yet another times, as Greenbaum and Nelson (1996) would say, it is used to convey certainty. Examples are:

> We *will* embark on macro and micro economic policies (9)
> Job creation *will* be the APC government's first priority (9)

Would: this occurs eight times. It is one of the modals Newson (2008) posits is weak; expressing weak propositions. However, this study's investigation contradicts this postulation. The opposite is found in all instances in which *would* is used. Specifically, *would* is used to express willingness and intention. For example:

> African countries *would* boost our economic growth (24)
> Our new government would conduct a nationwide audit (24)

The use of 'would' in these two cases is not as the past tense form of 'will' in the traditional conception of modality. In fact, the context of use describes futurity. This is plausible since 'our new government…' means the government that would emerge after the APC's expected victory at the 2015 general elections. From the foregoing, and following a general principle, this study endorses the distinction between modalities that evaluate the truth or certainty of a proposition and other forms of modalities, such as obligation and desire. The former are characteristics of the interpersonal or denunciative dimension and they are theorizable only in that context. The other types of modalities – will, shall, should, can - reflect (albeit implicitly) attitudes of the APC – mediate power and construct values, that is ideologies. Their to "establishes the degree of authority of an utterance" (Kress & Hodge 1979: 122). Modality refers to different ways of expressing attitude such as *can, must, should, will* and soon. Modal verbs carry a range of meanings and it is a mistake to try to identify a fixed one-to-one relation between verbs and meaning since context is vital to meaning (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).

4.5.1 Discussion on Modality

Different modal expressions carry different values of power with them. This can be easily seen from the table below (which takes three modal verbs as examples). If the APC's commitment to her propositions is taken as a continuum, with positive at one end and

negative at the other; high-valued modal words express strong commitment, and by extension, strong power, getting closer to the positive polarity; low-valued modal expressions indicate reserved commitment corresponding to weak power, coming closer to the negative polarity.

Table 3: Showing Values of modal power expressions.

S/N	Values	Modals
1	High	Must
2	Median	Will
3	Low	May

From this table, it is not surprising therefore, that 'will' which falls between two extremes of values, that is high and low power, is the most predominantly used in the APC's manifesto. This is to show that the power which the APC wields is one enabled by the consent of the social partners in the communicative situation (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). It is not power influenced by coercion. Thisis not unconnected with the fact that modality is related to one of the three metafunctions of language (ideational, interpersonal, and textual). Similarly, the foregoing analysis shows that modality is one of the most important means of expressing interpersonal functions. Its deployment in the APC's manifesto further points out that political party ideology can primarily be decided by the use of modal verbs through commitment, obligation, strong will and necessity as seen above.

Furthermore, there are justifiable reasons why *will* is the most preponderantly used modal verb in the APC's manifesto. There are several instances where *will* is used to express intention, reinforcing Quirk et al.'s (1973) stance that *will* indicates an intention or a promise. Examples are presented below:

> Our first focus will be preventive care, as it is cheaper and easier to stop people becoming ill than curing once they are (12)

Greenbaum (1996)'s postulation that *will* is used to convey certainty is also made evident severally in the APC's manifesto - this function is illustrated below:

> The new APC government will put Nigeria to work (10)
> Job creation will be the APC government's first priority (9)

Again, in the APC's manifesto, *will* is used to express determination, as is demonstrated by the example below. Thus determination, obligation, commitment and necessity help to construct a positive ideology in favour of the APC.

> We will also create millions of permanent jobs (9)

In the consideration that *will* is a strong modal verb (Newson, 2008), it is used in the APC's manifesto to express strong intentions, certainty, determination and promise as has been indicated all show the power to bring to pass the tasks pledged in the proposition. Essentially, all the uses of *will* reinforce the exact objective of the APC as a political party to win the 2015 general elections and form a government. The APC's manifesto exceptionally demonstrates this rule; hence, the consistent use of *will* to reassure the electorates of a 'new party for a new Nigeria'; a better country when the APC is given the mandate to govern, this is not an objective telling or retelling of events by the APC. Therefore, that the manifesto is replete with the modal *will* is ideological; it is not surprising. Indeed, it can be considered deliberate, intentional and strategic given that by

bombarding the Nigerian voters with an avalanche of realistic promises, the APC is given a chance by the Nigerian people to govern. *Will,* and not the remaining modals, appears most suited, ideologically, for this kind of task.The analysis affirms a cross-linguistic understanding that modal auxiliaries are used in the different flavours of epistemic, deontic, ability, teleological modalities as in Kratzer (1981). But it also reveals that modal verbs are linguistic elements used in the construction of ideologies. Also the analysis suggests that the epistemics are a subset of deontics and are interpreted higher than the remaining flavours - Might, could, should, would-to slant information so as to create an angle or perspective, which as indicated is usually ideological.

The main justification of the semantic claim of power residing in linguistic expressions of the modal verbs derives from the fact that language is not autonomous. It is a tool to be used in a social context. The social context is partly determined by the power relations between the agents. This informs the conviction that linguistic modal expressions are primarily expressions of such power relations; linguistic power, as already indicated, is expressed through ideology, which makes it non coercive. They illuminate ways in which the APC tries, prior to, and during, the 2015 general elections, to construct versions of reality that favours her interests. Every instantiation of the construction of this reality as seen above instigates perspectives (or is a perspectivization) which in turn construct particular forms of ideologies; favourable, positive for the APC and unfavourable, negative for the PDP. The concomitant impact is a huge win for the APC and an incalculable loss for the PDP. Hence, this researcher would argue, that modal values, in terms of expression of commitment, intention, pledge, truth condition, necessity, also express, epistemically, specific APC ideologies. This is because modality as seen above, in both epistemic and deontic uses, is employed to make the APC favourably committed to the mission of wrestling Nigeria from the hold of the ruling PDP.

Significantly, the choices and uses the APC makes of these modal verbs reveal these lexes as having meaning in a particular historical, social, and political condition. Here, modality is politicized, even if the APC is not aware of it. This is not only because they carry the power that reflects the interests of the party but also because they play a crucial role in shaping issues and in setting the boundaries of legitimate discourse (what is talked about and how) which fetters the 2015 general elections atmosphere. Given this scenario, this revelation challenges the claim of van Dijk (2000) that the words of those in power are taken as "self-evident truth" and the words of those not in powers are taken as irrelevant, inappropriate, or without substance. Indeed, if the words of the APC as enunciated in her manifesto were irrelevant, inappropriate and without substance, she would not have made any impact during the 2015 elections. The study asserts that the APC as an opposition party, on the contrary, mobilizes and propagates populist rhetoric.

Therefore, it is the APC's manifesto which becomes the dominant discourse through framing, cohesive chain of texts, modality and other linguistic elements already highlighted above; if one of the central attributes of dominant discourse is its power to interpret conditions, issues and events using nominalizations, passivizations, transitivity (to be discussed in due course) and modality, in favour of the governed. It is for this reason CDA helps make the connections between the use of language and the exercise of power and mediation of ideology.

4.6 Analysisof Vocabulary

Vocabulary items of prominence in the APC's manifesto are, in most cases, transformations, in the sense of converting processes into nominals. For the purpose of

this study, the use of the above lexis constitutes diverse illustrations of various strategies by which the APC manifesto's discourse presupposes (an imagined) homogeneous population which is threatened by various trends – disillusionment, corruption, and so on, which in turn makes their use ideological. The following are examples of these words:

> dispensation, disillusionment, corruption, merger, intention, (2) employment, governance, development, management, commitment, computerization, promotion, desertification, engagement, decision, emergence, (3) investment (10) , integration (20), treatment (11), duplication (30), security (18), discrimination (42), direction (44), capability (46), to mention only a few.

Regarding these words, two patterns can emerge. These are meanings of words and wording of meanings. In respect of the first – meanings of words, most of these words are found to have more than one meaning, and meanings can differ to various extents. The following table illustrates this claim:

Table 4: Showing differential patterns of word meaning

Word	**Ideological meaning**	**Figurative meaning**
Dispensation	Order	Exemption
Disillusionment	Disappointment	Discouragement
Employment	Work for pay	Use of something
Corruption	Dishonesty for gain	Putrefaction
Discrimination	Unfair treatment	Development something for benefit
Engagement	Battle	Agreement to marry

Integration	Equal access	Acceptance into community
Production	Creation	Supervision of recording/filming

When lexes are susceptible to relexicalization or ambiguity as in the table above, the meaning a reader makes of these words will depend on two factors: competence and context. Skilled users of English language are usually able to select the APC's intended meaning at once without much difficulty. However, the same is not true of lower-level users. This group may experience difficulty with some of these words which present no difficulty for the more advanced readers of the APC's manifesto. Most importantly, which meaning the readers or electorates make depends on where he or she stands in the ideological divide between APC and PDP. This corresponds to the argument being made in this study that the choice of these words and the specific author-meaning is neither neutral nor random, but ideological.

In the other respect - wording of meanings, it appears that the APC's use of specialist – subject related vocabulary in the manifesto is quite deliberate. This usage serves two purposes. In the first instance, it helps the core readership (that is members of the party) to identify with the party and establish some trust in the party's opinions. In the second instance and more importantly, it helps the general reader of the manifesto (that is Nigerian voters) to identify with the subject of the APC manifesto's discourse (which is politics and the 2015 general elections). Hence, this researcher would argue that it is in this context 'dispensation' is used: 'when this democratic dispensation commenced in

1999, the federal government that emerged did not tell Nigerians what its vision was for the country'. This text makes a starkly apparent reference to the PDP which had been in government since the inception of the fourth republic in 1999, and the text establishes an empathy with Nigerians who grudge and wallow under the dispensation. The study would argue that themeaning of words and wording of meanings as illustrated above reveal the APC's ideology of pro-people (Nigerians) which aid and abet the unprecedented win of the 2015 elections. This pattern of wording amounts to the rhetoric normalized by the manipulation of public fear of threats to the construct of "us" (Wodak, 2015). An "us" which enables the APC pitches its tent with the electorates.

The collocations-'employment and governance' and 'development, management' also lend the APC's manifesto some experiential values. The experiential values of a discourse are "how ideological differences between texts in their representation of the world are coded in their vocabulary" (Fairclough, 1989:113). One of the most significant indications of ideology in the APC's manifesto, as already indicated, is the wording or vocabulary. For Fairclough (1989:114) says "some words are ideologically contested". Thus classification schemes may differ quantitatively, with a larger or smaller number of wordings. Sometimes, over wording, an unusually high degree of wording, often involving many words, which are near synonyms is obvious in the APC's manifesto. For example, 'too' does not add any semantic quantity to 'many.' Such over wording, Fairclough (1989:115) posits "shows a preoccupation with some aspect of reality which may indicate that it is the focus of ideological struggle".

4.7. Analysisof Nominalization

The APC manifesto's text suggests that nominalization (along with passivization) has important ideological functions such as deleting agency and reifying processes. The following texts excerpted from the manifesto are instantiations of this claim:

> Not enough jobs are currently being **created** (9)
> Nigeria has **stagnated** in many respects (18)
> Job **creation** and radical **reduction** of unemployment (9)
> **Industrialization** to achieve (10)
> Too many people do not get any **treatment** (11)
> local healthcare **provision** (12)
> government **spending** dedicated to education (13)

The first extract contains a verb in the passive tense: 'created:' in using it, the APC omits agency - leaving unspecified who does the 'creating'. By the omission, the APC conveys that everyone might do so or the ruling PDP is responsible. Syntactically, agency is omitted. Fairclough (1992: 27), in introducing the concept of nominalization, writes that 'nominalization is the conversion of a clause into a nominal or noun. He goes on to say that nominalization, along with 'passivization' may be associated with ideologically significant feature of texts such as the systematic mystification of agency; both allow the agent of a clause to be deleted'. Fowler et al (1979: 40) suggest that nominalization can involve the creation of new specialized words 'relexicalization'. They state further that many derived nominal can be spotted by their ending in -ion,-ition,.-ience.-ness.-ment, - as in creation, reduction, industrialization, treatment, provision and spending, in the above excerpts.

In the nominalization phrase 'government spending dedicated to education, the word 'spending' facilitates lexicalization, the coding of a new, specialized, set of concepts in a new set of lexical terms. Nominalization is therefore, a radical syntactic transformation of

a clause which has extensive structural consequences, and offers substantial ideological opportunities. To understand this, in the selected extracts above, reflect on how much information goes unexpressed in the derived nominal. Compared with a full sentence; compare, for example, 'local healthcare provision' with the fully spelt-out proposition in structures like 'X provides healthcare to Y', and so on. Deleted in the nominal form are the participants ('who' did 'what' to 'whom'?), and indication of time – because there is no verb to be tensed and any indication of modality – the writer's views as regard the truth or the desirability of the proposition (Fowler et al, 1979: 85-7). It is the mystification and concealment that are ideologically motivated. Fowler claims that nominalization is, inherently potentially mystificatory: that it permits habits of concealment, particularly in the areas of power relations and writers' attitudes,…". If mystification is one potential with nominalization another is reification. In reification, processes and qualities assume the status of things: impersonal, inanimate, capable of being amassed, counted like capital, paraded like possessions (Moltmann, 2007).

As already indicated, Fairclough (1992:144) describes nominalization as a process of 'conversion', which permits the deletion of agency. In the extract 'too many people do not get any 'treatment' the nominal 'treatment' rather than 'treat' or 'treating' also 'excludes participants' from the clause. This conversion of processes into nominals, Fairclough (1992: 179) argues, has the effect of backgrounding the process itself - its tense and modality are not indicated and usually not specifying its participants so that who is doing what to whom is left implicit'. By using nominal terms such as 'treatment,' industrialization, provision, and reduction' in this context, the APC avoids using phrases that draw attention to the activities that language users must accomplish linguistically. Concealment, reification and mystification are thus ideological, in the sense of their use in this context. It is in this light that Reah divides the verb into actional and relational.

The actional verbs are further subdivided into transactional verbs that have agents causing the action and a recipient affected by the action. The non-transactional verbs are agents only (Reah, 1998: 78)

Nominalizations like justice (18), freedom (39), infringement (38), representation (38), transparency (38), equality (42), development (20) and democratization (22) are repetitively used and point out the fundamental moral values of the APC which supposedly would also be shared by the readers. In using these nominals the APC locate ideologies in thow agencies are suppressed in keeping with Fowler's assertion that nominalization permits "habits of concealment, particularly in the areas of power relations and writer attitude" (1991: 80).

Nominalization is also viewed as a "process converted into noun. It is reduced in the sense that some aspects of meaning are missing" (Fairclough, 1989: 124). Further examples are accountability, responsibility, governance, (37,) reforms, performance, (29), government, spending, manufacturing, (23), and liberation (2) give some clues about policy-making strategies of the APC. Even a cursory look shows that these processes and conversions which systematically omit the agents of the actions are not innocent summaries of reported events or state of affairs. In the contexts of their use, the choice of passive over active, or of noun over verb, is not ideologically random. For the use of a whole series of nominalizations as in the above, Fowler (1991) contends that choosing noun phrases over verbs and the passive voice over active voice was often ideologically charged.Similarly, the agency is suppressed in these extracts:

> it means therefore that poverty has remained endemic: the income gap and illicit capital are growing alarmingly: and manufacturing is being held back by a lack of available credit to pay for investment.

The lexical items ‘remained.’ growing and held’ are conversions or processed nouns to show that the production of nouns/noun phrases, or nominalization in this way occurs in the APC’s manifesto simultaneously with the producing of passive constructions or ‘passivization’. Hence. Fowler and colleagues describe both as processes or transformations. This qualifies nominalizations as, for instance, turning verbs into nouns as a process of syntactic reduction. Fowler et al (1979: 39) write: “nominalization is a transformation which reduces a whole clause to its nucleus, the verb, and turns that into a noun.” The ideological features associated with nominalization and passivization will come up during discussion.

4.7.1 Analysisof Passivization

Some aspects of nominalization discussion above concerns some analysis of mystification which is the ability of the clause to defocus or altogether conceal aspects of the realities described in discourse to different ideological effects. In relation to mystification, passivization can primarily concentrate on the obfuscation of responsibility in the excessive exercise of power. Hence, the discussion which proceeded identifies the two grammatical devices (nominalization and passivization) as particularly ideologically load-bearing in this way. To illustrate the ideological functions of this discursive strategy, are the same example clauses drawn from the research sample data presented for nominalization. These are:

Nigeria has **stagnated** in many respects
Not enough jobs are currently being **created**
Job **creation** and radical **reduction** of unemployment
Industrialization to achieve:
Too many do not get any t**reatment**
Local healthcare **provision:** and
Government **spending** dedicated to education

However, in the system of voice, the APC selects between active and passive forms. The difference concerns the organization of the message. All of the clauses above are in the passive form. This implies that instead of the actor (in a material process) to occur in the subject of the clause and the goal occur in the complement, the actor is relegated and the goal is fronted.

Conventionally, the active voice is usually treated as the 'unmarked' construction. In the passive voice, the ordering is reversed and the subject slot is taken by the goal and the actor appears in the complement. It is in the system of voice, therefore, that the ideational and textual functions of language can be most clearly seen to interact, in the textual function. SFG distinguishes two major 'constituents' the Theme and the Rheme. The Theme is defined positionally as the point of departure of the message (Halliday, 2004: 64). That is, the Theme is the first functional element of the clause and the Rheme is the remainder: Functionally, the Theme thus serves to locate and orient clause within its context (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 64). Ideologically, it serves to 'topicalise' the entity given as Theme (van Dijk 1991). In unmarked declaratives, the Theme coincides with subject and, in material processes, actor. In marked declaratives such as the passive voice however, it is the goal, in material processes that functions as Theme. The ideology in these constructions therefore resides in topicalizing certain information and suppressing the other chunk of the information. By so doing, the concealed ideology is revealed as the APC draws readers' attention to the aspects of the information she wishes to make prominent. Thus, stagnated, being created, and so on, ideologically polishes the ruling party in negative imageries.

4.7.2 Discussion on Nominalization and Passivization

Passivizing and nominalizing are two ways of systematically de-emphasizing and defocusing responsibility, and even disguising power. The study highlights these examples where they appear to be especially relevant. The passives are arguably one of the gauges of the obfuscation of agency. This is consistent with Halliday's position in Halliday and Martin (1993: 78) that nominalizations are the main sources of ambiguity in scientific texts in English, and as in the example Halliday gives – "the announcement of Mary's acceptance" – often a way of obscuring agency. However, it is difficult to get all the information; in the example considered, (and as in the APC's texts), it is not known who gave the announcement. The reader is left to assume or deduce. This means that nominalizations are prevalent and are an integrated part of language.

The significance of describing nominalization and passivization as processes or transformation in the APC's manifesto demonstrates that choosing noun phrases over verbs and the passive voice over active voice is often ideologically charged. Such constructions tend to transform readers' understanding of common discursive phenomena. Nigerians no longer view texts such as 'Nigeria has stagnated in many respects' as innocent summaries or evaluations of 'state of the nation: the point being made is that 'Nigeria has stagnated in many respects', systematically omits the agent of the action. In this case, the agents would be the ruling party or other entity which 'stagnated' Nigeria. The APC's manifesto omits this information by using an agentless noun such as 'stagnation'. Or by using a passive verb: 'has stagnated'. A sentence, which says 'PDP stagnated Nigeria in many respects' as an active voice, would have identified who was doing or causing the stagnation. Ideologies are cloaked in such concealments.

Following Fowler and his colleagues, who argue that in these contexts the choice of passive over active, or of noun over verb, is not ideologically random, this researcher identifies four major ideological features associated with nominalization and passivization as indicated above: (i) deleting agency: (ii) reifying: (iii) positing reified concepts as agents: (iv) maintaining unequal power relations.

First, deleting agency, as already indicated, the APC's manifesto uses nominalization or passivization to transform statements that identify agents of actions into agentless statement that convey less information. While a sentence that describes an agent performing an act can be easily transformed by nominalization into a statement about the act, the reverse will not hold. For instance, 'PDP has stagnated Nigeria in many respects can be easily transformed by anyone with knowledge of the syntactic rules of English into 'Nigeria has stagnated in many respects'. Hence the linguist, Langacker (1999) describes nominalization as an asymmetric process.

However, knowledge of the linguistic rules of syntactic transformation does not enable the native speaker to construct the former sentence from the latter, because nominalization has ensured that the latter sentence contains less information than the former. Thus concealing information in this way or suppressing agency is ideologically charged.

Second is reification. Through the transformation of verbs into nouns, the APC's manifesto conveys that the entities denoted by nominalization, have a real and material existence. SFL distinguishes between processes and entities; by means of nominalization speakers/writers turn processes into entities and typically assume the existence of such entities. Moltmann (2007) writes that by means of nominalization 'processes and qualities

assume the status of things,impersonal, inanimate, capable of being amassed and counted like capital, paraded like possessions' – making nominalization to behave like passivization. These linguistically created things have a privileged discursive status as a result of their presumed existence. To buttress the point, Halliday and Martin (1993: 39) opine that the presuppositions that justify the existence of these entities are harder to contest because 'you can argue with a clause but you can't argue with a nominal group. The APC's manifesto uses nominalizations in this way, thereby conveying (albeit paradoxically) that the present social and political architecture of the country are objective, unchangeable thing, even as she was poised to change things.

Third is positing reified concepts as agents. The APC's manifesto also uses the abstract, reified concept as agents of processes. Instead of talking about government or its agency creating jobs or reducing unemployment, the APC's manifesto simply says job creation and radical reduction of unemployment. The nominal terms creation and reduction' are thus used as the subject for verb that denote agency. This complete the transformation of processes into entities and these nominalized entities then become posited as the agents of processes. This, too, is similar to concealment. As a result, it is ideologically laden.

Fourth and last is maintaining unequal power relation. It is no accident that the APC's manifesto uses nominalization and passivization together in many instances. These processes also reveal relations between 'normalization' and lexicalization by which new lexical terms are created through nominalizing verbs. Examples of lexicalizations in the APC's manifesto are reduction – reduce, creation – create, stagnation – stagnated, and so on. The effect of creating new terms, Fowler et al (1979) say, that is control through the one –way flow of knowledge'. As such, political discourse belongs in, and helps

reproduce, a social context of inequality. Control in this sense, stimulates unequal power relations especially as power means control of A over B or B's action or opinion. Given these four properties, it is no surprise that Fowler et al (1979) warn that nominalization and passivization lend themselves to ideological uses. Fowler (1991:80), referring to the argument of *Language and Social Control,* comments that 'we claimed nominalization was inherently potentially mystificatory; and that it permitted habits of concealment.

4.8 Discussion on Metaphors

Metaphor is one element for analysis in the vocabulary for its different ideological attachments. It analysis tells something about the ideological position of the text (Fairclough, 2001). At this level of grammar of the text, features like agency are analyzed. It involves this studyin looking for cues to the ideological position of the text. Agency deals with how the text represents events. For example, there is a marked difference between saying 'all the people were killed' and '*Boko Haram* killed all the people'. Fairclough (2001: 101) argues that "choices to highlight or background agency may be consistent, automatic and commonsensical, and therefore ideological; or they may be conscious hedging or deception".

Data for the analysis and discussion of metaphor:

APC change (cover page)
Healthcare management is chaotic (11)
The teeming millions who have migrated to the urban centres (15)
The best healthcare in Nigeria remains a plane-ticked abroad (11)

CDA views discourse structures as linguistic representation ordered to realize certain strategies. Metaphor is important, then, both in constructing representations by, for example, metonymy, and personification and by language that emerges from underlying conceptualizations connecting different domains of human activity. Metaphor is a figure

of speech that is typically used in persuasion because it represents a novel way of viewing the world that offers some fresh insight. It seems to this researcher that it is this basis of metaphor that informs its frequent deployment discursively in rhetorical and argumentative language which the APC manifesto's discourse typifies. Metaphor is conceived as Davidson argues. The question of metaphor, he says "is pragmatic, not semantic; that it is the use of a literal statement in such a way as to suggest or intimate or lead us to notice what we might otherwise overlook" (Davidson 1978 is cited in Abrams and Harpham, 2009: 191).

In keeping with this functional view of metaphor, Wodak and Sedlak (2000: 233) suggest that metaphor also can function as a standard argument realizing an evaluative strategy. An example: in the cover page of the APC's manifesto, the title reads. APC Change - APC is presented metaphorically as change; a metonymy is constructed in which a political party and an abstraction Change are linked. This construction is an example of the topos of force/threat. The party is introduced as a hurricane or 'tsunami' which is coming to sweep away extant, unwanted political formation and establishes a novel, desired substitute. By this token, the very existence of the then ruling party is threatened by 'change'. There is a metonymy that goes hand-in-hand with the APC - as - Change metaphor: the Governor stands for the Government, the President for the State. Thus, Nigeria can be referred to as Buhari (or 'Buharism'), and so have a single social agent, not just an amorphous entity, to play the victor or villain in the enterprise of government. Accentuated by the symbol of a broom, it is this metonymy that was invoked by the then opposition party to transform PDP from a ruling party into an opposition group and costs it the presidential villa that it had occupied for sixteen years. A good number of the aspects of experience are represented in terms of any number of metaphors, but it is the

relationship between alternative metaphors that is of particular interest for this study especially as different metaphors have different ideological attachments. For example, 'healthcare has become a plane ticket abroad'.

'Healthcare management is chaotic.' An argumentation schema like this one is defined in terms of a topos of chaos. These metaphorical structures clearly realize an evaluative strategy. The use of 'chaos' may also be considered a topos of danger, where chaos involves particularly a disordered, muddled, frenzied, anarchic and tumultuous state. Again 'Healthcare management is chaotic', fits into Lakoff's (1991) category of the Causal Commerce System. The Causal Commerce System is a way to comprehend actions intended to achieve positive effects, but which may also have negative effects.Thus, 'Healthcare management is chaotic' – a negative effect of a presupposed good venture - can be seen as comprising three metaphors. The first is Causal Transfer: an effect is an object transferred from a cause to an affected party. For example, effective and efficient healthcare is seen as "giving" Nigerians wellbeing. Correspondingly, danger, frenzy, chaos is seen as "coming from" the chaotic management of healthcare. As a result, this metaphor turns purposeful actions into transfers of objects.

The second is the Exchange Metaphor for Value: the value of something is what you are willing to exchange for it. Whenever a vote is solicited in exchange for good healthcare, wellbeing, it is the Exchange Metaphor for Value plus the Causal Transfer metaphor that are drawn upon. And the third is Well-being is Wealth: things of value constitute wealth. Therefore, increases in wellbeing are 'gains', decreases in we-being are 'costs'. The metaphor of well-being-as Wealth has the effect of making qualitative effects quantitative. It not only makes qualitatively different things comparable, it even provides a kind of

arithmetic calculus for adding up costs and gains.Taken together, these three metaphors portray actions as commercial transactions with costs and gains. Seeing actions as transactions is crucial to applying ideas from the domain of economics to actions in the domain of politics.

The teeming millions who have migrated to the urban centres. The concept 'teeming' connotes: be full of, extremely large, rain heavily, or discharge something. This sense projects the metaphor of migrations as 'flow' or 'flood' when migration is considered a process as against an event. The movement of people is metaphorically conceptualized as the movement of water. Following the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, it is not possible to conceive of metaphor as serving a strategic function and the further ideological consequences of such construction can be observed in the following illustration in light of Hart (2008): Here, prompted by 'teeming' and 'migration/migrated', two mental spaces are constructed which enter into a conceptual integration network. What Hart (2008:5) calls "emergent structure" arises in the blended space in which the two counter-part elements in each input space are fused through composition.

The blending process, then, produces "emergent structure" in which the migration of people is conceptualized as discharge of water or heavy rainfall or flood. Worthy of note here is that flood is an event whereas migration is a (demographic) process. Events and processes are closely related, where events are often the consequence of processes. This relation is captured in a generic space. In the blended space, emergent structure arises in which migration is conceptualized as an ongoing event, or an *event-process.* This conceptualization is only possible through the juxtaposition of some two input spaces. Importantly, the kinds of action one is likely to take during a flood is different from that which one would take after the event. The conceptualization of an ongoing flow of

‘teeming millions of youth into urban centres’, expresses an ideology which immediately warrants the implementation of restrictive migration policy or programme by the APC upon forming government with a view to curtail or stop the ‘flow/flood’.

Furthermore, while the themes water and people are both entities of some kind, they are different kinds of entities. Note that part of knowledge stored in the conceptual frame for water, activated by the water element includes the fact that it is a mass noun such that the movement of water is conceptualized as the movement of a single entity. When projected into a blended space, this knowledge will produce emergent structure in which the migration of people is also conceptualized as a single moving entity. The configuration of such a network has a number of significant consequences. One consequence is that the migration of people conceptualized as a single moving entity masks the plight of individual youth. It carries the inference that migration is a simple phenomenon and makes available the ideology that all cases may be treated in the same way.

In addition to enhancing rhetorical force, stylistic vividness and pleasantness of the APC manifesto’s discourse, these metaphors also serve ideological function. To this end, Santa Ana (2002: 72) states that to characterize the movement of people as moving water might seem quite natural, but such a formulation of movement of people is not the only possible image that can be employed. Also ideological is the fact that the structure available for recruitment from the general water frame, such as its importance in sustaining life, does not get projected.

Ancillary to ‘Healthcare management is chaotic’ is the metaphorisation of healthcare as plane-ticket abroad in the frame ‘the best healthcare in Nigeria remains a plane-ticked abroad’. The metaphorical representation of healthcare as plane-ticket abroad illustrated

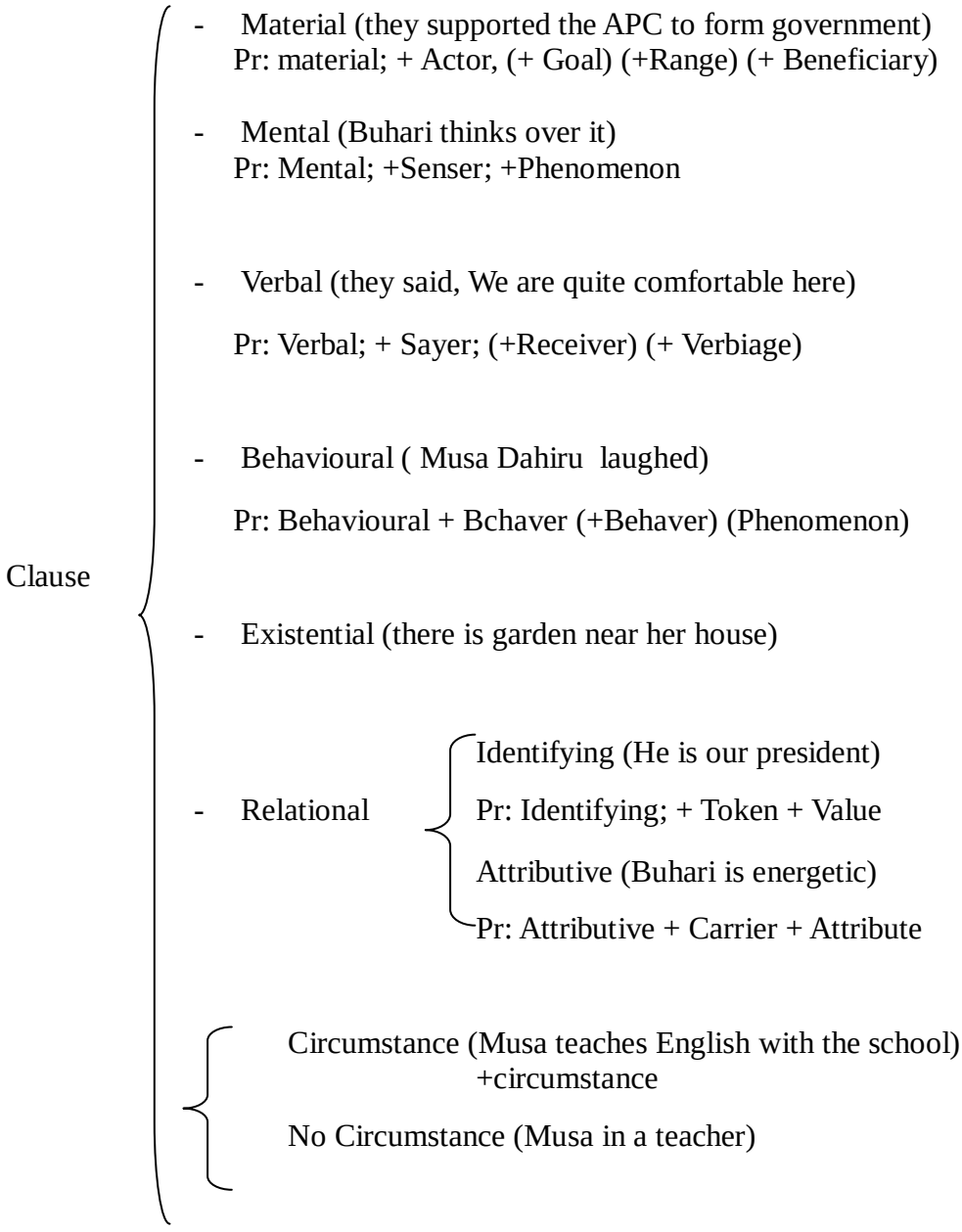
here is extremely common. The ideological significance of such conceptual frame is that they tend to take dominant interests to be the interests of society as a whole, and construe expressions of non-dominant interests (a plane-ticket abroad) as undermining (the health of) society per se. Different metaphors, as it were, imply different ways of dealing with things emerging from the underlying conceptualizations connecting different domains of human activity. Therefore, Metaphor is ideological since it is concerned with forming a coherent view of reality. Where CDA is concerned with ideological and mystificatory structures of discourse, metaphor is just such a structure. Hodge and Kress (1993: 15) contend that ideology involves "a systematically organized presentation of reality". Metaphors are ideological, then, in so far as they "define in significant part what one takes as reality" (Chilton and Lakoff, 1995: 56). According to Chilton (1996: 74) metaphors "can contribute to a situation where they privilege one understanding of reality over others". Hence, the APC' use of language in a way that appears to take certain ideas for granted, as if there are no alternative, is ideological suspect. The ideological effects of metaphor lies in the ability to "represent one aspect of experience in terms of another, and is by no means restricted to the sort of discourse it tends to be stereotypically associated with… it is the relations between alternative metaphors which have different ideological attachment" (Fairclough, 1989: 119).

4.9 Analysisof Transitivity

One of the three metafunctions of language identitied by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) is the ideational metafunction which involves two main systems, namely: Transitivity and Ergativity. The concern of this study in this unit is with the former. The Transitivity system is relevant to this study because it helps in identifying the different ways meaning is represented in the clause. Following Halliday, Transitivity is seen as the grammar of experience. He posits that this domain is "the cornerstone of the semantic organization of

experience". It subsumes 'all participant functions' and 'all experiential function relevant to the syntax of the clause" (Halliday 1981:134). The following figure adopted from Eggins (2004: 214) illustrates the Transitivity system as applied in this study.

Figure 4: Transitivity System Adopted from Eggins (2004).



This is further adapted as keys for the purpose of analyzing processes and participants as well as other aspects of Transitivity. Thus the following keys as given in Box I are used.

Box 1: key for Transitivity Analysis

P=Process: **Ph**= Behavioral,**Pm** =Material, **Pme** =Mental,**Pv** = Verbal

Px = Existential

Relation processes.

Pea= Circumstantial–Attributive **Pci**=Circumstantial- Identifying **Pea**= Intensive-Attributive: **Ppi**= Possessive-Identifying

Pcsa= Possessive-Attributive; **Pcsi**= Causative –Identifying

A= Actor; **G** = Goal **R**=Range

S= Senser; **Ph**= Phenomenon

Sy = Sayer: **Rv**= Receiver **Vb**= Verbiage

X= Existent, B= Behaver

Cr= Carrier; At= Attribute

Ag = Agent C= Circumstance

Source: Authors Original Concept 2017

4.9.1 Data for Transitivity Analysis

Material Process

Nigeria (G) has stagnated (PM) in many respect (C) (23)
Small elite (A) live (PM) in unimaginable wealth (C) (8)
APC government (A) will embank (PM) on process of rapid industrialization (G) (10)
We (A) outline (PM) Eight pledges (G) for a better Nigeria(G) (6)

APC government (A) will employ (PM) at least an extra 100,000 police officers (G) (6)

Behavioral Process

Nigerians (B) have been killed (PB) due to government's neglect of security (C) (2)
Our (B) intention (PB) has been to develop a set of guiding principles (PH) (2)

Mental Process

Our (S) focus (Me) is on six priority areas (Ph) (2)
I am (S) pleased (Me) to present this manifesto (Ph) (2)
We (S) listen (Me) (3)
The Nigerian people (S) need (Me) relief (Ph) (8)

Verbal Process

The statistics (Sy) speak (PV) for themselves (Vb) (11)
We (sy) promise (PV) (3)

Relational Process

The best healthcare (Cr) in Nigeria remains (Att) a plane- ticket abroad (Att) (11)
Only 3% of the population (Cr) has (Att) health insurance (Att) (11)

Existential Process

Unemployment is (Px) at crisis point (X) (9)
The situation is (Px) only getting worse (X) (9)
Nigerian infrastructure is crying out to be rebuilt (10)
Yes, there is (Px) a federal government (X) in Nigeria (C) (2)
Too many of our girls (X) are (PX) denied access to the most basic level of education (13)

4.9.2 Discussion on Material Process

The material processes in these clauses are 'has stagnated', live', 'will embark'. 'creating'. By using the verbs in the material processes above, the APC conveys messages that are ideological. For example, 'Nigeria has stagnated in many respects' is the then opposition party's assessment of the ruling party's management of the 'state of the union's' economic and political affairs. This is ideological since the writer of the text implicitly relates stagnation to the government that is managed by an opponent political party. Even though, the agency in that clause is suppressed, the APC uses it to call on

Nigerians to realize that the ruling party is responsible for the nation's socioeconomic woes.

'Nigeria' here is assigned as Goal, which is affected by something or the entity on whom an actor acts upon. It means that Nigerians would not have been suffering were it not for the PDP's mismanagement of resources or political misrule. So, in that clause, the text writer wants to say to the readers that there is a more powerful dominance, the suppressed (actor), which is the PDP. It also means that the implied actor would not exercise their power of acting upon and stagnating Nigeria if not due to the power exercised by the writer of the text. From this clause, it can be seen that whatever comes from the APC is powerful and so authoritative that it exercises power and domination over the other group, the PDP.

With this explanation, the study argues that the assignment of Nigerians as goal in a transitive material process make them seem as the victims. This depiction of Nigerians as victims aims to evoke reader's sympathy towards them so that they support the efforts of the APC to wrestle power from the PDP. This leads to the conclusion that from this explanation of material process the APC is a pro-people party by the expression of a pro-people, welfarist ideology. This is in tandem with Halliday's opinion that "transitivity is the way the clause is used to analyze events and situations as being of a certain types (Halliday, 1994: 71).

Material processes in this sense are related to causation – sentience and agency. This confirms van Dijk's (2008: 94) assertion "that events are a function of the underlying involvement of actors (eg: their agency, responsibility and perspective). thus, van Dijk is

in support of Fairclough's (2001: 43) view that "this given-by-discourse view of causality may help perpetuate an idea of a state of affairs".

On - Small elite live in unimaginable wealth

The material process in this clause is 'live'. By using the verb 'live', without omitting the agency, the APC wants to convey the message that some small elite live in unimaginable (stupendous) wealth at the expense of the majority of Nigerians. It shows that 'small elite' is the actor in the clause. The assignment of small elite as the actor in the clause above is ideological as it is shown that small elite exercises power as the privileged Nigerians who are expected to do what is right for the country. Thus the small elite exercise their power to act materially.

From this explanation, the study argues that the assignment of 'small elite' as actors in a transitive material process depicts them as corrupt politicians who do not have the welfare of the populace at heart. This depiction aims to evoke readers' sympathy towards the populace. Therefore, the study contends that from this explanation of material process that the APC holds a pro-people ideology.

On - APC government (A) will embark (PM) on a process of rapid industrialization (G)

The material process in this clause is 'will embark'. By using the verb in this way, the APC wants to convey the message that the APC's government which is the actor in the clause will embark on a process of rapid industrialization upon forming government. The use of the verb 'will embark' is ideological because it reflects the situation that Nigeria deserves industrialization which is lacking at present. So, the APC wants to say to the readers that the government seems to have neglected the vital sector of industrialization

and the electorates need to vote the APC into government in order to attain industrialization.

The study would argue that the assignment of 'industrialization' as Goal in the clauses above means that it has been affected by the material process which is conducted by the APC's government (actor). The goal in a transitive material process does not exercise any power but rather it is acted upon by another participant. This means that industrialization is the one that is acted upon materially by the APC's government, apparently volitionally. This aims to evoke reader's sympathy toward the needs, wants and lacks of the Nigerian state and people, and thereby support the efforts of the APC to clinch the presidency. It is argued that in instrumentalizing 'industrialization' (meaning under-industrialization in the context) as a dangerous threat to "us", that is to our homogeneous nation, the APC conceals ideology.

On - Creating (PM) a safety net (R) for every citizen (G)

The material process in this clause is 'creating'. By using this verb in the material process, the APC conveys the message that that is what she would do when supported to form government. she would bring the people succor since the current realities do not tell the readers so. The realities, by this text, are that the PDP's government has failed the people in all facets of nation building. By this construction, the APC appeals to common sense in what Wodak calls "appeal to anti-intellectual thinking" (Wodak, 2015 is cited in Routledge 2017: 569).

The usage is ideological since the APC wants to say to the readers that the PDP is not of a party that is expected to fix the mess of its own misrule. This implies that the APC as a collection of progressives would be wiser for the citizenry but apparently the PDP is not

wise enough. This explains why the citizens are assigned as Goal in the clause, as it is an entity which is acted upon by the incoming APC's government. As alluded to previously, depriving an entity of power is ideologically similar to the suppression of agency in a clause. Thus the clause conveys the message that the suppressed agency acts materially and volitionally by using a Range (safety net). It is expected that the citizenry will obey the call to support the ascension of an APC rule. The dominance of the APC here is ideological as indicated by their exercising of power in this clause. From this explanation, the study argues that the assignment of the citizens as goal in a transitive material process depicts that it is a tool used by the APC to control the mind of Nigerians as the general elections approach. This depictionevokesthe electorates' disenchantment with the PDP over what it fails to do.

4.9.3 Discussion on Behavoural Process

The ideology of the APC can be seen from the lexical choice used for the processes and assignment of the participants in behavioural processes. It can be seen in these texts excerpted from APC's manifesto:

> Nigerians (B) have been killed (PB) due to government's neglect of security (C)
> Our (B) intention (PB) has been to develop a set of guiding principles (PH).
> We (B) intend (PB) to develop a set of guiding principles (Ph)

The behavioural process in the first of these clauses is the verbal phrase 'have been killed'. By using the verb 'killed' in a passive voice, the only participant on whom the behavioural process impinges is the Behaver (Nigerians); it can be seen that there is no other participant mentioned here, as the Behavers who experience 'killed.' This clause shows a miserable fact that there are many Nigerians being killed in the country through an act of collusion or omission of the ruling party.

This clause is ideological since the APC does not mention the agent who makes them dead. It is just stated here that they are killed by the neglect of security but the agent who does this is suppressed. The researcher thinks that the APC wants to point specifically to what may have happened to Nigerians under PDP's rule and not who is responsible. Perhaps, readers do not know what may have happened but it surely evokes the question of what or who is behind the neglect of security; an invocation in which ideology is cloaked.

More so, the assignment of Nigerians as behaver in this behavioural process depicts helplessness and unimportance because it seems like it is a common thing that they die and thus is unimportant to deal with. This depiction aims to evoke readers' sympathy towards themselves. Therefore this behavioural process shows that the APC is a pro-people party, and possess a pro-people ideology.

We (B) intend (PB) to develop a set of guiding principles (Ph)

The behavioural process in this clause is 'we'. By using the verb 'intend', it is shown that the actors exercise their powers to act but the action does not impinge on another participant. 'Intention' is an activity which does not affect anyone else. In this clause, it can be argued that the assignment of 'we' as the behaver shows that they hope and wish to be responsible and responsive leaders when the APC forms government. Hence, 'to develop a set of guiding principles' is assigned as the phenomenon, since it is what is hoped for by the opposition APC. In contrast to instances where the PDP is the implied agent, 'we', which implies the APC is depicted as initiating the behavioural process, thus exerting power. Therefore, this phenomenon has the power to impinge on the consciousness of the behavers. So it appears that the phenomenon has stronger power

than the Behaver in behavioural process because phenomenon impinges on the Behaver but the behaver does not impinge on the phenomenon.

From the explanation, it follows that the assignment of 'we' as Behaver depicts them as dreamers, the ones who wish for something without knowing whether it will come true or not, as they have no physical control over the system of intention. Interestingly, the participant which has power here is the phenomenon which can impinge on the consciousness of the behaver. This phenomenon is what the APC dreams about and what she hopes to come to pass. By those associations and depictions, the APC wants to evoke reader's sympathy towards herself thereby solicit their support to succeed in the general elections.

4.9.4 Discussion of Mental Processes

The ideology of the APC can be seen from the lexical choice used for the processes and assignment of the participants in mental processes in these four texts excerpted from the APC manifesto as follows:

> We (S) are focused (Me) on six priority areas (Ph)
> I am (S) pleased (Me) to present this manifesto (Ph)
> We (S) listen (Me)
> The Nigerian people (S) need (Me) relief (Ph)

The mental process in the first clause is 'are focused'. The verb phrase 'are focused' is a mental activity which is of thinking activity. By using this verb, the APC conveys the message that she is not only mentally prepared about forming government but also preoccupied with the preparation for governmental activities. The assignment of 'we' which is the APC as the senser in this clause shows that they exercise their power to respond to an external stimulus, which is 'on six priority areas. However, they apparently,

only focus on that, without doing exactly what they focus on. Ideologically, this conveys the message that they are already engaging six core areas the incumbent government has neglected. The phenomenon here is 'on six priority areas', and has the power to impinge on the consciousness of the Senser.

Furthermore, the study would argue that grammatical assignment of participant as senser in this clause depicts that the APC realizes the importance of focusing on six priority areas. Once more, this mental process shows that the ideology of the APC is pro-people. The next clause comprises the same elements with one just considered, and will behave the same way.

We (S) listen (Me)

The mental process in this clause is 'listen'. And by using the verb 'listen', the APC wants to emphasize that she empathizes with Nigerians by sharing their sorrow and distressed situation and that the party is different because she listens. The assignment of 'we' as the senser in this mental affect process shows that they respond to an external stimulus, which is not stated in this clause. The external stimulus is of phenomenon, but any phenomenon is not mentioned here.This explanation shows that the assignment of (we) as senser in this mental affect clause invokes a sense of helpfulness. The APC uses the text to evoke feelings in the readers of the manifesto to support the victory of APC. This mental process once again portrays the APC as a pro-people party with a pro-people ideology.

The Nigerian people (S) need (Me) relief (Ph)

The mental process in this clause is 'need', while 'the Nigerian people' as the senser in this mental inclination clause exercises their power but only to the extent of responding to an external stimulus. Unfortunately, this has no effect on another participant. Another

participant here is phenomenon 'relief'. This phenomenon has the power to impinge on the consciousness of the senser. The study would argue that relief is something that is needed by the Nigerian people in the context. It also means that the phenomenon has power to exercise on senser. This explanation indicates that the assignment of the Nigerian people as senser here depicts helplessness that involves them as what they need to come true. Therefore, it is expected that the electorates are influenced to give their support to the ascension of an APC rule who ideologically makes favourable impression on their thinking. This agrees with Simpson's opinion that "transitivity shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them" (Simpson, 1993: 88).

4.9.5 Discussion on Verbal Process

The ideology of pro -people can be seen from the lexical choice used for the processes in these texts excerpted from the APC's manifesto as follows:

> The statistics (Sy) speak (PV) for themselves (Vb)
> We (Sy) promise (PV)

These processes are used for a number of reasons: say, thank, appeal, - what to do. It is useful in holding the discourse together. The clauses are meant to capture the attention of the voters as the party outlines programmes. The verbal process in the first of these two clauses is 'speak'. By using this verb, the APC wants to convey the message that the misrule of the PDP is glaring and the suffering occasioned by this 'bad administration' on Nigerians is manifest. The sayer in this clause is 'the statistics' which exercises power to act semiotically, apparently volitionally. It has an effect on the consciousness of the receiver. However, the researcher did not find any receiver in this clause, and it will mean that the power exercised by the sayer is considered as less powerful. The clause sensitizes the Nigerian electorate on the indices of good governance. From this verbal process, it

would be argued that the depiction as such portrays the stance of the APC as a pro-people ideological party.

We (Sy) promise (PV)

The verbal process in the second clause is 'promise'. By using this performative verb, the APC wants to convey the message that the then mega opposition party and the potential alternative to the incumbent PDP, promises, that is pledges to give to the electorates all the dividends of democracy which they lack, but are desirous to have. This is because we promise in this context means to vow to someone to do or not do something in a very sincere, emotional and determined way. The assignment of 'we' as the sayer in this verbal process shows that the APC pays a critical attention upon 'the state of the nation'.

So it is expected that by 'we promise' an APC administration will respond to the needs of the people. From this explanation, the study argues that the assignment of 'we' as the saver in this verbal process, ideologically represents the APC is a party of liberal political stance which cares for Nigerians. This depiction portrays the APC as pro-people.

4.9.6 Discussion on Relational Process

This follows from Fairclough's (1989:116) description of relational values as the way " a text's choice of wordings depends on, and helps create social relationship between participants. The ideology of the APC can be seen from the lexical choices used for the processes and assignment of the participants in these two relational processes excerpted from the APC's manifesto:

> The best healthcare in Nigeria (Cr) remains (Att) a plane-ticket abroad (Att)
> Only 3% of the population (Cr) has (Att) health insurance (Att)

These processes are used to describe a number of entities related to the election, governance. They also help to outline some visible entities. The relational attributive process in the first of these two clauses is 'remains.' This assigns the quality of 'a plane ticket abroad'. The APC's lexical choice of 'a plane ticket abroad, evinces negative connotation of a government that does not work well to 'fix' the healthcare system for the benefit of her citizens. By drawing the electorates or readers' attention to a health sector in a dilapidated shape, APC arouses the expectation that she has what it takes to make the healthcare system efficient and effective when voted to power. This relational process once again reflects the APC's pro-people ideology.

The second clause of the unit has the same transitivity elements as the first. For example, 'Only 3% of the population (Cr) has (Att) health insurance (Att)'. Here, 'has' is a relational process which assigns the quality of 'health insurance'. This attribute 'health insurance' in the face of the carrier also connotes an ideology against the PDP as it evokes the feeling of failure in the populace. This becomes clearer when the whole sentence is recontextualized to consider that out of a conservative population figure of 180 million, only 3% of the people has health insurance under a government that prides itself as the largest political party in Africa. The APC uses that statistics to mock the ruling party in the face of an election that would make or mar it. As it were, the result is that the 2015 elections marred the PDP as it made the APC the first opposition party in Africa to overthrow a government by the ballot box.

In keeping with this study's argument above, Fairclough (1989:166) describes relational values as the way "a text's choice of wordings depends on, and helps create social relationship between participants. In the APC's manifesto, relational verbs describe the relation between someone and something or indicate quality between two nouns. Halliday

(1995:199) argues that "there are two parts to the 'being'; something is being said to 'be' something else. In other words, "a relation is being set up between separate entities". One source of relational values of text involves its level of formality. According to Fairclough (1989: 117):

> The formality of the situation here demandsformalityofsocial relations, and this is evident in the vocabulary, which consistently opts for more formalchoices as against less formal available alternatives, expressing politeness concern from participants for each other's face, respects for status and positions.

4.9.7 Discussion on Existential Process

The APC's ideology of pro-people can be seen from the lexical choices used for the processes and assignment of the participants in the following existential processes. However, it suffices to use only two of these as exemplar expositions of the APC ideology.

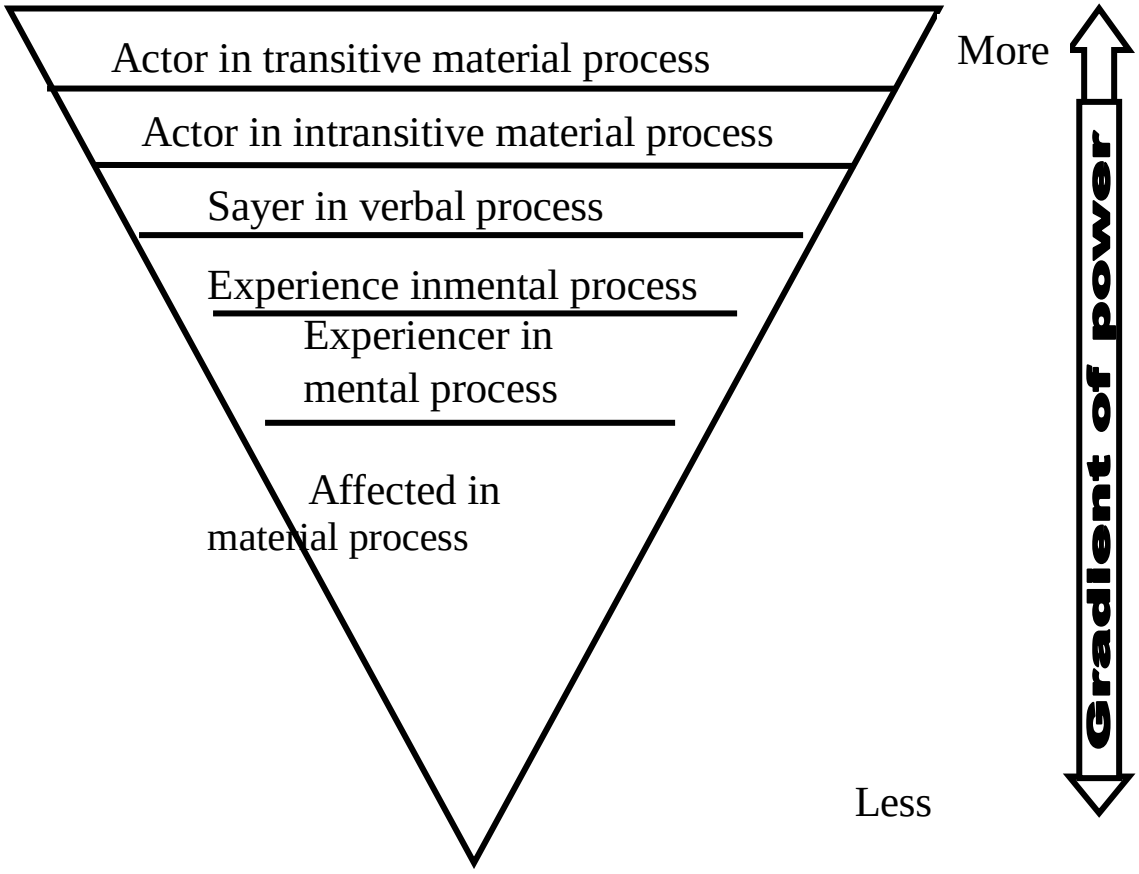
> Unemployment is (Px) at crisis point (X)
> The situation is (Px) only getting worse (X)
> Yes there is (Px) a federal government (X) in Nigeria (C)
> Too many of our girls (X) are denied access to the most basic level of education (Px)

The APC's manifesto chooses processes of being as an appropriate way of explaining the complex relationships between some abstractions because they sound definite. These processes elaborate the relationship between ideals and the APC's beliefs (ideologies), which reach their aim of making the reasoning naturally and consciously accepted by the audience (electorates). The existent in the first of these existential processes is 'crisis point'. This is to show that a crisis point exists. Apparently, unemployment becomes enigmatic under the PDP's rule and the APC seizes the opportunity to empathize with the electorates to not only decry the situation but to also qualify its size and to say the zenith it has reached can have a devastating effect on the Nigerian voters. From this explanation, it can be seen that this existential process reflects the pro-people ideology of the APC.

The existent in the last existential process above is 'Too many of our girls'. This is to show that such entity exists, which not only lacks but is denied access to most basic level of education. This is made conspicuous to remind Nigerians of their predicament. By this clause the APC wants to evoke reader's sympathy by showing that such 'our girls' exist. From this explanation of existential process, it can be seen that the APC professes a pro-people ideology.

Transitivity analysis enables this study to consider the pattern of participant representation in the APC's manifesto from the perspective of ideology. This offers some general sense of the sorts of participation which tend to be constructed grammatically as powerful and of those which are constructed as less powerful (or even powerless). This may be represented schematically in an inverted pyramid of power thus:

Figure 5: The Inverted Pyramid of Power



Source: Author's Original Concept, 2017

According to this schema, Actors are presented as having the most power, in a gradient, when they act on some other participants in a transitive clause. The power of Sayers lies in the ability to send message and thus exert an effect on the consciousness of some sentient participants.Phenomena (also called Experiences) initiate power through the capacity of impinging on the consciousness of other sentient participants, non-volitionally. Sensers (also called Experiencers) have a relatively weak ability to respond to outside stimulus. Lastly, Goals (also called Affected) are constructed as powerless because (in the analysis) they are simply acted upon by the actors, thereby being victims of an external force (force - in a Newtonian Physics sense). So, the present study agrees partly with Goatly (2000:288) that power is exercised in a hierarchy. However, it disagrees partly in that the inverted pyramidal representation is a more faithful demonstration of differential (unequal) power relations in clauses in the APC's manifesto. This is because the power differential in the clause is not expressed simply in a hierarchy of top-bottom or bottom-top as affirmed by Goatly (2000). What the inverted pyramid of power affirms is that power decreases as one steps downward through a gradient and increases as one mobilizes upward in the gradient. Hence, the Inverted Pyramid of Power is offered to provide a better understanding of the nature of power structures in the APC's manifesto in particular and in discourse (that is language) in general.

4.10 General Discussion

The Dialectical-Relational Approach employed in this studyblends easily with Halliday's SFG as, according to Chilton (2005a:21), SFG supposedly provides the toolkit for deconstructing the socially-constructed(and thus linguistically constructed) machinery of power.The preceding analysis shows that political ideologies are relevant properties of political situations, namely as being shared by participants (members of the APC, the PDP and Nigerians), are expressed and reproduced by the linguistic structures of the APC

manifesto's discourse. However, it is obvious that not all properties of Political Discourse that are influenced by underlying ideologies (the use of the personal pronoun I is not linked to any ideology). It is only those properties that could be contextually variable that are influenced by ideologies. Thus, confirming van Dijk's contention that the choice of more or less polite pronouns is contextually variable, whereas much of syntactic structure, such as the position of articles in front of nouns in English, is not (van Dijk, 2000).

To illustrate this, is the preponderant use of pronouns especially 'we' and vocabulary, what Halliday and Hasan (1976) call "lexical cohesion". At the level of pronouns the study looks at the following clauses:

> We listen, we promise, we deliver (3)
> Our roads and rail systems are in disrepair (8)
>
> The Nigerian people need relief, relief from mismanagement, relief from grinding poverty many of us face, relief from a failing Nigeria (8).
>
> This manifesto outlines our side of the social contract with the people; what APC will do to change Nigeria. We cannot do it on our own; we need the people's consent and participation. Below we outline eight pledges for a better Nigeria. They form a new, honest contract with Nigeria(6).
>
> We will coordinate more effectively the work of the numerous Federal healthcare agencies (12).
>
> We will build a network of local and mobile clines providing free health service and drugs, with the aim of ensuring that no Nigerian lives further than 5km from a free clinic (12).

The pronoun 'we' as exemplified by the first clause is preponderantly used in the manifesto. A count of this lexis in the manifesto shows that it appears 301 times. At the surface, it shows a close association between the APC and Nigerians (the electorates). It also ensures perfect collocation. However, as a means of persuasion, its use is systematic and theory-driven; it serves in-group and out-group markers. It most ideological variation

is found at the level of meaning. 'We' profoundly includes all adherents of the APC perspective, persuasion and extends to the electorate but excludes the PDP. Yes, this study will insist 'we' excludes the then ruling party and argues as with Halliday and Hasan (1976 cited in Sanders and Pander Maat, 2006: 592) that "present in the context of situation does not necessarily mean present in the interactants' field of perception, it only means that the context of situation permits the identification to be made. This is significant because the person system is the means of referring to relevant persons and objects as Halliday and Hasan would say, "making use of a small set of options centering around the particular nature of their relevance to the speech situation (Halliday and Hasan cited in Sanders and Pander Maat, 2006: 592).

These underlying semantic structures tend to appear in more specific political attitudes – for instance, APC's attitudes towards PDP – and ultimately in the biased personal mental models of the authors of the APC's manifesto. These mental models control the contents of the APC's manifesto, which is why the manifesto's discourse shows various types of polarization erected by – we, our, us, and so on. This is consistent with van Dijk's (2000) position that ideological discourse often features the following overall strategies of what he calls the ideological square:

> Emphasize our good things
> Emphasize their bad things
> De-emphasize our bad things
> De-emphasize their good things

The use of 'us' in the following sentence underscores this ideological bias towards the then ruling PDP:

> The Nigerian people need relief, relief from mismanagement, relief from the grinding poverty many of 'us' face, relief from a failing Nigeria.

The meaning of ‘us’ in this context, going by van Djik’s postulation and as Halliday and Hasan claim above, includes every franchised Nigerian but PDP because she already sits across the ideological divide by being the target of the APC;s campaign. This is because for the use of ‘we’ for example, to be meaningful in this context, it must be related to who is speaking, where and with who or to who, that is, according to van Dijk (2004: 13), “to specific aspects of the political situation”. The position being taken here conforms to van Dijk’s (2004) two main discursive strategies of “positive self-representation” which is a (semantic macro-strategy of in-group favouratism) and “negative other-representation” which is a (semantic macro-strategy of derogation of out-group).

For the choice of vocabulary, and lexical cohesion, it is expedient to begin with the three clauses already presented in this unit. In the first ‘we’ is used three times in short clauses that are linked by commas and in the last ‘relief’ appears four times. They, for instance, serve to underscore four basic elements of grammatical and lexical cohesion respectively – reiteration, parallelism, collocation and reference. However, by showing APC’s preoccupation with the referents, these lexical items helped to facilitate the encoding of the APC’s ideology. They reveal (by so doing) how ideological differences between texts in the APC manifesto’s representation of the world are coded in its vocabulary.

Further, the data above is represented and deconstructed from another perspective to underscore Fairclough’s interconnected stages of analysis of interpretation and explanation – the macro analysis:

> This manifesto outlines our side of the social contract with the people; what APC will do to change Nigeria. We cannot do it on our own, we need the people’s consent andparticipation. Below we outline eight pledges for a better Nigeria. They form a new,honest contract with Nigeria (6).

> We will coordinate more effectively the work of the numerous Federal healthcare agencies (12).
>
> We will build a network of local and mobile clinics providing free health services anddrugs, with the aim ensuring that no Nigerian lives further than 5km from a free clinic (12).

The wordings: social contract, change Nigeria, people's consent, all in the first sentence, express political humanism, and as such a humanist ideology. What is ideologically significant about a text is its vocabulary items. Thus, social and consent belong to 'left' ideological framework and their occurrence tend to ideologically place the APC's text. In addition, the way the words co-occur or collocate produces the same effect. For example, in the second sentence, coordinate collocates with effectively and network with local, to give an ideologically specific and dominant scheme for the classification of social policy issues.

More so, the APC's manifesto is a discourse type in which the participants are separated in place and time. This is probably true of all written language. It is an interesting discourse because the nature of the power relations enacted through the distance between the author and the reader is, largely, indistinct, and as a result, should be seen as involving hidden relations of power in some instances. The difference between the APC manifesto's discourse and interpersonal discourse (or communication) is the 'one sidedness' of the former. For instance, in face-ta-face interaction (a feature of interpersonal communication) or oral political campaign or speech delivery, participants alternate between being the producers and the interpreters (or receivers) of text, but in the excerpted text above, there is a sharp disconnect between producers and interpreters – or, since the manifesto takes on some of the nature of a commodity, between producers and 'consumers'. This situation presupposes that the nature of the power relations between the

producer and consumer of text, that is between the APC and the electorates is hidden in some scenarios.

It serves the purpose of this study to consider another difference, or to say it differently: that is the ability of discourse producers to design their contributions for the particular people they are interacting with – they adapt the language they use, and keep adjusting throughout an encounter in the light of 'feedback' got from co-participants. However, the excerpts above are designed for mass audience, and could be impossible for the APC's discourse producers to know who is in the audience, let alone adapt to its diverse sensibilities or sections. And since all discourse producers must produce with some audience or interpreters in mind, what the APC does (or has done) is address an ideal subject, or reader. Therefore, as Fairclough would say, the APC's manifesto, in the circumstance, has built into its readership a subject position for an ideal subject, and actual readers have to negotiate a relationship with the ideal subject.

One more point to make on the above excerpts in this sub-unit, is to reiterate that one covert nature of power relations in the APC manifesto's discourse is such that 'author' exercises power over the audience in that the former seems to have sole producing rights and therefore determines what is included in and excluded from, the text of the APC's manifesto. Power is also exercised, therefore, in how the APC represents events, circumstances and states of affairs, and the subject positions of audience/electorates or social subjects, which relates to how power is enacted and maintained and manipulated in the APC manifesto's discourse.

On a general term, the analyses and discussions presented so far from textual through cohesion and modality to transitivity identifies the APC's use of language (that is

discourse). This use is shown to be grounded in a set of beliefs, or what Fairclough calls ideologies and relations of power. Because ideologies are belief systems, they tend to vary according to groups or political parties. This explains why the APC as a political party or group holds ideologies that strongly support alternative security measures, healthcare systems, economic policies, agricultural mechanization, and so on, on the one hand, and strongly opposes the measures taken by the ruling PDP on those subjects, on the other. This analysis proves that the APC or authors of the manifesto influence readers, and by extension, Nigerian voters on particular topics, events and state of affairs. This is done by advancing a particular ideology, through choice of lexis (a discursive act) and subtle use of specific features of language. Hence, the use of the word 'however', as already indicated, belongs in what Fairclough (1989) calls a discursive act. In order to appreciate the linguistic context or co-text of the said 'however', the excerpt is represented:

> Nigeria has always suffered from the scourge of corruption. The APC is proud of its leadership role in the states under its control. However, under the PDP, corruption and looting of public resources have become gigantic, on a scale which has alarmed most Nigerians and non-Nigerians alike. Nigeria is consistently ranked as one of the most corrupt countries in the world – we must eliminate the badge of shame (37).

In this context, 'however' has the propensity to subordinate, in very subtle ways, one ideology in favour of the other. Other illustrations of discursive acts, as already indicated, include the use of passivization, nominalization, and so on. This pattern of wording or framing, the analysis shows, offers landmarks that point to differential power relations and ideologies. This study, therefore, agrees with Fairclough (1989, 1992 and 2003) that language (discourse) constructs power relations and conceals ideologies. And that social phenomena are also linguistic; which makes discussion or description of events or state of affairs such as security, healthcare, unemployment in the manifesto by the APC as an

opposing group or political party, often a war of words; to agree with Wodak that discourse (language) is a field for social struggles.

Specifically, regarding the textual elements that enable the framing of the APC's discourse (first research question), the study looks at genre and register, presupposition, omission, topicalization, etc. the result is that the discourse of the APC's manifesto is a complex one, which involves many strategies of language use to influence the reader toward a desired attitude or thought. The elements as forming textuality occurred at all levels of analysis – word, sentence and text. In this process, the study discovers that the same way a text can be framed, so also can a sentence, called topicalization. Hence, in choosing what to put in the topic position, the APC constructs a perspective or slant that influences the readers or voters' perception of both the party and the PDP at different levels of cognition. For example, of the four topics in the following text, only one is about the APC who authors it, the remaining three refer to the PDP, the arch-rival in the 2015 elections:

> Nigeria has always suffered from the scourge of corruption. The APC is proud of its leadership role in the states under its control. However, under the PDP, corruption and looting of public resources have become gigantic, on a scale which has alarmed most Nigerians and non-Nigerians alike. Nigeria is consistently ranked as one of the most corrupt countries in the world – we must eliminate the badge of shame (37).

If in a campaign manifesto about general elections, 3 out of 4 sentences are about the PDP, then it is largely about the PDP, but constructed with a perspective that emphasizes the Other's bad things (image).

Furthermore, the analysis of the textual elements helps to establish the sort of slant or angle the APC presented, corresponding to the contextual and lexical elements that shape

the APC's discourse (in response to the second research question). This is what Huckin (1997) calls "framing". In other words, it is framing the details into a coherent whole. The framing of the APC's language, that is the slant or angle or points of view which generated the various ideologies, in turn, is accomplished using varied textual elements, as mentioned earlier. To illustrate: first, the APC uses certain keywords to emphasize certain concepts by giving them textual prominence. The result is, if the text is emphasized in the process, it is called foregrounding, and backgrounding if the text is there but de-emphasized or minimized.

Second, framing the APC's manifesto occurs by leaving certain things completely out of the manifesto through omission. This is seen as the tendency to avoid a complement (semantic or syntactic) while counting on the average Nigerian voter or reader of the manifesto not to notice its absence, and thereby not scrutinize it. Closely related to this, is using certain words that take certain ideas for granted, as though there is no alternative. This is revealed in the analysis of textual elements as presupposition.

Third, framing the APC's discourse or language is seen to have been induced by manipulating the reader of the manifesto by the use of selective voices to convey the message that the APC's points of view are more correct, legitimate, reliable and significant while leaving out the PDP's points of view on the events or states of affairs being represented. Following Huckin (1997), the study establishes that these textual elements, already mentioned, framed the language of the APC's manifesto.

With respect to how power relations are enacted and maintained in the APC's manifesto (research question three), the study investigates how the APC's manifesto utilizes the concepts of modality, nominalization and passivization. With nominalization and

passivization “the role of a participant may be emphasized, minimized or omitted entirely (Nordlund, 2009: 9). The analysis, on the one hand, reveals the tone of the text regarding the use of specific words to convey the degree of certainty and authority. Although the modality that usually could be used to express dubiety, dubiousness, hesitancy or lack of surety – may – did not appear in the manifesto, the remainder of the modals are used to proclaim a tone of surety and sometimes high handed authority constructed in structures bearing such words as could, can, must, should, etc.

The study reveals that the two main features which related modality to ideology (and a justification for the analysis of modality) are subjectivity and indeterminacy. The motivation to analyze ideology in this regard corresponds to the multifunctional view of language where language is regarded as a tool at the textual level, for communication at the ideational level, and of social interaction at interpersonal level and in what Hodge and Kress (1993: 6) refer to as “an instrument of control” which in the context of this study is power, which incidentally, is a subsection of the interpersonal level. In this light, language becomes a distinctive and central site of struggles (Wodak, 2004) since it is used by the APC to reinforce (her beliefs) a dominant ideology. The analysis of modality focuses on modal auxiliaries such as will, can, could, would, shall, should, need to, etc. but not on various other formal features like adverbs and tense. Hence, the study notices that authority and power relations on the basis of which the APC imposes obligation are not made explicit. It is in accordance with Fairclough’s (1989: 127) view of a precisely implicit authority claims and implicit power relations. By the same principle, when modality is combined with a pronoun as in ‘we will…’ analyzed above, the APC claims to speak for other Nigerians – empathizing with the electorates thereby alluding to a welfarist, humanist and populist ideologies.

In response to the research question four, the prominent ideology and power mediating elements in the APC's manifesto are summed up as firstly, pronouns which enabled participant choices. This aspect of framing considers the means by which pronouns are used in the text. The study finds that (our, us and we) are deployed inclusively to spell out how the reader and other participants are positioned as social subjects or allies or in-group members with the APC, thus assuming shared knowledge, beliefs and ideologies. This manner of deployment of participant choices also shows how the PDP is marginalized in the text as 'outsiders' or 'others' with different beliefs and ideologies. Thus, pronouns in the APC's manifesto are central to the way individuals and groups are named and, therefore, ideological in the way they ascribe power relations, thereby endorsing Fairclough's (1989; 2001) seminal propositions. For the inclusive 'we' refers to the reader as well as the author, as opposed to the exclusive 'we', which refers to the author plus any others, but does not include the addressee. In the case reported, the APC is speaking on behalf of itself, its readers and well-meaning Nigerian voters. In so doing, the APC is making "an implicit authority claim (Fairclough, 1989: 128)".

Secondly, transformation of active forms into passive constructions are seen to have been motivated by the desire to elide or suppress agency and therefore systematically background responsibility for actions in some cases and foreground responsibility in other instances. This is the situation when actions associated with the PDP are backgrounded and those related to the APC, the author are foregrounded. This way of manipulating agency transparency serves to construct a world of various responsibility and power. For example, 'Nigeria has stagnated under the PDP'. By removing the agent in this example, the use of a particular grammatical form – the present perfect – is given unquestionable universal function, in spite of its context of use and the political dimension thrown up.

Thirdly, the ideological effect of modality in the manifesto also corresponds to Hunston and Thompson (2000). They refer to modality as evaluation and define it as "the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about, the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about (Hunston and Thompson, 2000: 5)".

Fourthly, metaphor also plays a role in constructing power and mediating ideology. By playing a part in the way the APC represents social reality, metaphor is more than a mere literary device. This use of metaphor is crucial in the way it positions what is described and the readers' relationship to this. This is seen in the description of individuals or the personification of entities such as 'the best healthcare is a plane ticket abroad'. The ideological function of metaphor lies in its potential to construe a differently foregrounded meaning than its alternatives.

A correlate to metaphor in the preceding analysis is nominalization. In fact, the study finds that the trio of metaphor, nominalization and passivization share a central feature of agency elision. Relating metaphor to nominalization in this way agrees with Halliday (1985: 319, 1994 and 2004) that metaphor needs not be lexical; it can be grammatical. A good example of grammatical metaphor is also nominalization, or presenting as a noun or noun phrase something that could be presented with other word class like 'the construction of modern roads and rail network'.

Responding to the research question five, the study examines nominal groups that have been assigned acting roles in various material processes. It establishes that a closer observation of actors and their roles is also ideologically motivated. The analysis discovers certain social actors – I, we, us, in-coming APC's government – as being

endowed with power. However, some of these clauses are found to be agentless and thereby devoid of power. Actors are sole doers of main processes. It gives the impression that the in-coming APC's administration will heal the nation and perhaps 'turn stone into bread'.

To end this discussion, note then, that the interest in "language as social practice" and in the "Context of its use" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997), which is asalient defining feature in the present study and of the various frameworks and studies in CDA, generate a continuous attempt to identify, analyze and describe various aspects and dimensions of the dialectics between discursive events and social structures, situations and institutions.Therefore, this study establishes that populist rhetoric is not necessarily dominant and that opposition party manifesto discourses are more dominant and hegemonic; and argues that political ideologies are largely reproduced by discourse in the APC manifesto. Given the role of language in the APC's manifesto in constructing power and sustaining ideologies, this study agrees with Habermas that:

> language is also medium of domination and social power. It serves to legitimate relations of organized force. In so far as the legitimations do not articulate the relations of force that they make possible, in so far as these relations are merely expressed in the legitimations, language is also ideological. Here it is not a question of deceptions within language but of deception with language as such (Habermas cited in Kopytowska 2012:111).

4.11 Summary of Findings

The APC manifesto's network of lexical selection, wording of meanings, and structural relations make her texts highly readable, comprehensible and enjoyable. The mediation of ideology and relations of power are realizable through the analysis of resources as diverse as nominalization, vocabulary, textuality/sentence structure, modality, passivization,

transitivity and cohesion in the APC's manifesto. Like in Alo's (2012) analysis of the speeches of African leaders, the APC's manifesto is preoccupied with the political and socioeconomic problems of Nigeria and the need for change. However, unlike Alo, the study reveals that the dominant ideological preoccupations in the APC's manifesto which in turn produce specific APC's ideologies are (a) economic growth and development in Nigeria, (b) national unity and nationalism, (c) globalization and (d) self-reliance and these are depicted through language use.

The study discovers that while almost all the nine modals identified by Greenbuam such as will, shall, must, can, would, and so on, are generally used in the APC's manifesto, the modal 'will' is more predominantly used. Essentially, it is deployed to indicate political will and commitment, promising and pledging, and persuasion. It'suse also relates to political obligation and conviction, possibility and appeal. Above all, it is used to communicate political ideology and political ideas and elicit public support for the 2015 general election. Beyond conventional usage, commitment, persuasion and obligation tend to indoctrinate specific belief systems that are inherently ideological.

The study of meaning of words and wording of meanings through nominalization and passivization, investigation of metaphors and the analysis of processes and participant types and textual ties facilitated by cohesion, reveals that ideologies are packed in these elements. The conclusions drawn are that the APC professes pro-people ideology that is neither rightist nor leftist. It subscribes rather to liberal or neo liberal and humanist, welfarist and populist ideologies. Specifically, the analysis of vocabulary and ancillaries like nominalization and metaphor show that language can indicate underlying ideologies by representing and reshaping events and state of affairs in different ways. The presence or use of these resources in the APC's manifesto redefines propositions through a

calculated ambivalence that allows for various reading of the text to achieve the aim of this study.

Textual analysis reveals that transitivity can be a simple heuristic device for the measurement of social power and ideology. The results of the analysis demonstrate that transitivity provides a useful indication of the participant power assigned to participants and processes and that this can be related, successfully, in most cases to the actual degree of power that social agents have or are represented as having by the APC manifesto's discourses.

Some examples of the different structural patterns found in the APC's manifesto are SVO, SVC and SV. The analysis shows that political ideologies are relevant properties of political situations, events and state of affairs as are expressed and reproduced by these structures of texts. At this level, therefore, this study identifies the grammatical structure of language involved in the representation of social realities in the APC's manifesto.

Furthermore, this study examines modality from CDA's perspective whose interest is in unpacking the power relations that it expresses. The study also shows the reasons for use of certain modals and identifies the ones that are prevalent and the possible reason(s) behind such prevalence.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Preamble

The chapter summarizes the findings of this study, provides a conclusion and subsequently offers suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary

This study entitled A Critical Discourse Analytical Study of the Manifesto of Nigeria's All Progressives Congress (APC's Manifesto) examines the linguistic structures or grammatical forms used for propagating specific ideologies through which discourses of the APC's manifesto construct ideological representations of political events and situations in Nigeria during the Peoples' Democratic Party Government. It aims, among other things, to identify the significant linguistic resources used to define, construct and articulate the APC's ideologies. This hinges on the belief of this study that an analysis that reveals how political parties through manifestoes linguistically construct ideological representations and how such representations exercise power in shaping people's interpretation of events are bothimperative and necessary.

The study deploys Fairclough's Dialectical Relational Approach to CDA to posit in its central argument that language use in the APC's manifesto facilitates the encoding of ideologies. The Fairclough's model comes from the perspectives of critical linguistics which explores the social functions of language. It is so chosen not only because it is an amalgam of philosophical premise, theoretical methods, methodological guidelines and specific techniques for linguistic analysis, but also because it draws insight from three

analytical traditions. Namely, a detailed textual analysis within the field of linguistics which relies on Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar, a macro sociological analysis of social practice which follows Foucault's theory, and a micro sociological – interpretative tradition within sociology which draws inspirations from ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis. These three analytical traditions produce for this study the three levels of analysis: description of the text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction and the explanation of the relationship between interaction and social practice. Consistent with this theoretical conceptualization, the method of analysis employed for the study is the interaction of these three levels of analysis. This leads to the analysis of eight linguistic resources: textuality, cohesion, modality, metaphor, nominalization, vocabulary passivization and transitivity.

The study has five chapters. Chapter one focuses on the general background to the study. It also examines the study's research problem, research objectives and questions, justification and the significance of the study and scope and delimitations as well as the relations between language and politics in the Nigerian context. Chapter two theorizes Discourse, Political Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis and the ancillary conceptual frames impinging on this study. It also reviews related literature and empirical previous studies to properly contextualize the need for the present study, and explain its theoretical foundations. Chapter three deals with research methodology and design and method of data analysis. The data presentation and analysis in Chapter four establish the APC manifesto's discourse genre and how genre orientation enables manipulations, allows the texts go beyond normal boundaries to produce effects such as constructing, reproducing and sustaining unequal power relations and mediating ideologies. Chapter five concludes the investigation by showing that the APC manifesto's preference for nominalizations and the passive form, the preponderance of material and mental

processes, the choice of modal verbs as against adverbials and phrases for the assertion of degree of certitude and authority, the suppression of agency via passivization, deletion, among others, facilitate the encoding and sustaining of favourable ideologies. Thus these linguistic elements in the APC manifesto also help to instigate and erect good versus bad frames and a polarity of favourable 'self' presentation and derogatory 'other' representation.

5.3 Conclusion

This study confirms that language is a vehicle of hidden interpretation in a supposedly neutral proposition, the APC's manifesto (Fairclough, van Dijk, Wodak). Therefore, readers of the APC's manifesto should approach the text critically to expose the packed power and ideologies passing through language. The study shows how the art and craft of language can facilitate the construction of power and ideology stylishly and systematically. This can drastically enhance the potency of the APC's manifesto to persuade the minds of readers through catchy and flowery use of language. Hence, language use in political manifestoes is a strong factor that could make or mar success.

The main objectives in undertaking the critical discourse analytical study of the APC's manifesto are to: identify the discursive features of the APC manifesto's language and relate same to the socio-political context of its discourse; discuss the ideologies which contextually shape the APC manifesto's discourse; identify the significant linguistic resources used to define, construct and articulate the APC's ideologies; analyze how the APC manifesto's discourse articulates and maintains unequal power relations: and examine the effects of the APC's language use on subjects or subject position.

This study links ideology and social practice. In one of her major publications, Hasan (1996:113) opines that "ideologies live through the common everyday actions – both verbal and non-verbal-of a host of social actors who are far from thinking consciously about it". At the backdrop of this, the analysis instantiates the pervasive role of ideology as is most evident in the APC's manifesto.This study reveals the relations between language that is discourse and ideologies. These are seen in terms of choice of lexical items such as preferences for nominalizations, syntactic structures such as active and passive forms, pronouns such as us and them, metaphors or topoi, as properties of discourse.

As for the representation of events and state of affairs at the micro-structural level, this study analyses transitivity and modality. The transitivity processes found in the APC's manifesto are material, relational, behavioural, mental, verbal and existential processes. The participants found are actors, goal, attribute, sense, sayer, verbiage, initiator and range. Ideologies are found to reside in these processes and assignment of participants. The study would, therefore, aver that the APC's ideologiesare pro-people, neo-liberal and humanist, populist and welfarist. At the other extreme, the APC expresses favourable ideologies to 'self' and unfavourable ideologies toward 'other'. This follows from the political attitude of APC in tending to align with the people-electorates or voters and at the same time distances self from the then ruling PDP when reporting events sometimes using the polarization pronouns of us and them and we. The APC's pro-people stance as her use of language reveals is partisan as seen dominantly in the material and relational processes which are the most preponderant processes in the manifesto.

Fairclough's approach to Critical Discourse Analysis has been useful in the analysis of the APC's manifesto to define the relationship between language use and ideologies. By using CDA, the study contributes to the area of critical sociolinguistic research in that the theoretical and methodological framework the study adopts reveal the role of language in politics in sustaining the relations of power. Thus, it belongs in the category of, and in keeping with, the dialectical relational approach to CDA.

5.4 Contribution to Knowledge

This study's schema, the Inverted Pyramid of Power is original and stands as a major contribution; it modifies Goatly's (2000) proposition. It also contributes to knowledge in the linguistics field of CDA in general and PDA in particular, in the discovery that unlike its counterparts in the first republic which have quite vivid public images based on regional, ethno-religious and ideological spectrum, the APC, as much as this study of its manifesto shows, has its ideologies concealed in language use/discourse unmasked by the analysis of textual elements, cohesion, metaphor, transitivity, vocabulary, nominalization, passivization and modality.

Another contribution of this study to knowledge is that the analysis of both modality and transitivity shows that the duo, by expressing power relations and mediating ideologies, transcends semantics. The study also contributes to the area of critical sociolinguistic research in that the theoretical and methodological frameworks this study adopts reveal the role of language in politics in sustaining the relations of power.

Furthermore, the study contributes to the understanding of the ideological role of language in political manifesto's discourses in constructing ideological representations of the social world.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Studies

The critical discourse analytical study of Nigeria's All Progressives Congress' manifesto focuses on CDA through the systems of transitivity, modality, nominalization, metaphor, passivization and structural pattern which can be regrouped under ideational, interpersonal textual and meta-functions. So, it is suggested that other researchers who want to conduct CDA may wish to undertake it by looking at a single meta-function such as textual meanings.

The study adopted the theory propounded by Norman Fairclough, Dialectical Relational Approach. So the study suggests that future researchers who would want to use the CDA paradigm can use thesis from other linguistic experts in the literature such as Ruth Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach and Teun van Dijk's Discourse Cognitive Approach for experimentation and a change.

This study analyzed a written data – the APC's manifesto. Since discourse involves text and talk, subsequent studies may want to conduct CDA using the spoken data such as political speech and political interview both of which are campaign tools as well.

It is suggested that similar studies in the future can, for instance, be conducted on the manifesto of other political parties in Nigeria in order to ascertain the extent to which the findings of the present study can be generalized. In this regard, subsequent studies could adopt a comparative approach to examine the manifestos of other Nigerian political parties with intent to establish, for instance, whether or not the use of modality in the APC's manifesto is conditioned by party-specific tendencies.

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