

**USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO  
(POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL)**

**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED POLITICAL CAMPAIGN  
ADVERTISEMENTS IN ELECTRONIC MEDIA IN THE 2019 PRESIDENTIAL  
ELECTION IN NIGERIA**

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**BY**

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## **DEDICATION**

**This work is dedicated to  
Dr. Buhari Bello, Galadima Nadi Gwandu,  
Who has always been there for me.**

## CERTIFICATION

This dissertation has been read and approved as meeting part of the requirements for the award of a Master of Arts Degree in English Language in the Department of Modern European Languages and Linguistics, Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Nigeria.

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## **ABSTRACT**

In order to win the hearts of the electorate, politicians and indeed, political parties engage in some ideologically discursive practices in their campaign advertisements and speeches. Usually, these discourse events are surreptitiously embedded in their adverts that many viewers hardly detect. This study examines how much these discursive events are employed in the political campaign adverts, particularly those aired on television. Eight campaign adverts aired on television each for the All Progressive Congress (APC) and the People's Democratic Party (PDP) were collected and subjected to critical discourse analysis. The study shows and indeed concludes that the producers of the advertisements employed various techniques, such as symbolism, accusation, common sense, ideological enactment and marketization as well as implicitness and explicitness not only to woo voters but also to enact their ideology and hegemony.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter introduces the central focus of this study: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Political Campaign Advertisements in Electronic Media in the 2019 Presidential Election in Nigeria. It provides the background to the study, states the research problem, defines the objectives and describes the research methodology adopted. The chapter concludes by providing a summary of the main issues discussed in the introductory part of the dissertation.

#### **1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

The 2019 elections in Nigeria have come and gone, but one cannot underestimate the power of the various campaign advertisements employed by either the incumbent All Progressive Congress (APC) and the major opposition party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) in an attempt to convince the electorate to vote for them, on one hand, and avoid the other political parties, on the other hand. In this sense, one is inclined to reason that advertisements generally are designed for a purpose and that that purpose is to control the mind and the thinking of the masses. Politicians and indeed political parties employ several methods to mobilize the electorate to their side. But there is no gainsaying that advertising is one of the most effective weapons they will rather not take with levity. This is because it reaches the masses more than any other methods. This can be seen in the opinion of Sunny and Uwem (2013:34), who assert that 'mass production requires mass consumption, which in turn requires advertising to the mass market

through the mass media.’ Because of this, political advertisements have to be designed and packaged in order to lure the masses into supporting the paymaster and at the same time reject opposition parties. This opinion is shared by Olujide et al (2011) when they noted that advertisements are now commonly used by politicians to create favourable image for themselves while creating a negative one for their opponents. In an attempt to achieve this, discursive elements find their way into the political campaign advertisements. Some of the consumers of the advertisements are lay people and therefore would not suspect the political parties’ real intents.

Advertisement, according to Sheyholislami (2019:3), has been aptly viewed as ‘any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods and services by an unidentified person.’ I have described the definition above as being apt because most political advertisements often appear non-personal and the sponsors are usually unknown. This opinion is supported by Emmanuel and Adebayo (2013:45) when they assert that ‘one of the more common political uses to which the media is put is that of molding the citizens’ perception of political reality in line with the preferences of the political leadership.’

The first known political advertisement on screen was displayed in the United States of America in 1950 (Cristen Conger). The advert was placed on screens set up in public places, such as shopping centres and street corners only. This was largely because very few Americans had a television set at home then. The advertisement was very efficacious as the beneficiary, Senator William Benton representing Connecticut then, who was also an advertising executive, consequently narrowly won the election.

In Nigeria, political advertising started as early as the 1960s (Amifor 2015). But the advertisements then were carried out on pages of newspapers and pamphlets. Later, with the establishment of radio and television stations in the country, politicians began to take advantage of them. And subsequently, competition set in. Later in the life of the country, State Governments began to establish state owned television stations. At a point in time, the Federal Government in whose control was the NTA (Nigeria Television Authority), made effort to stem the competition by limiting the state owned television stations to UHF while solely retaining VHF to its own NTA. This was in an attempt to limit the state television stations' coverage. However, it was only in 1992, according to Amifor (2015), when political advertising, in the real sense of it, started due to the advent of graphic designing and advancement in technology and ostensibly due to the influence of what was obtainable in other more advanced countries. And since that year up till the last national campaign activities, which took place in the country in 2019, discursive practices have increasingly been used by all the political parties and actors. At some times, they were effective and at some other times, they were not as we shall later see in our literature review.

In view of the above, Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA) was chosen to investigate these discursive practices embedded overtly or covertly in political advertisements used in the last general elections. CDA has, in the recent times, gained considerable attention, not only in the written but also in the spoken texts. CDA has also been discovered to be the highest peak of language analysis. This is because it views language use beyond syntax and semantics, which hitherto were considered as the highest levels of language analysis. It is also an inter-disciplinary field of sociolinguistics studies

interfacing with psychology, political science, sociology, philosophy, journalism and a host of other disciplines. Perhaps, the most intriguing feature of CDA is its ubiquitous nature. This is the ability of CDA to be applicable to all the various platforms in which language is used. This is the view Wodak (2001:2) expresses by saying ‘one of the CDA’s volitional characteristics is its diversity.’ The obvious reason for this is that discourse is a social practice. And just as Simpson and Mayer (2007) have opined, language is a means of social construction and as such, it shapes the society just as the society also shapes language. In view of the above, all human activities are inseparable from language, CDA will therefore fit into any aspect of the human interactions in order to unveil any possible discursive practices. For instance, the Western world is fond of putting forward a pointed nose as a symbol of attraction, while relegating the spread nose as being inferior. This is no doubt discursive so much that some Africans whose noses are naturally and commonly spread often feel inferior to the extent that some of them choose to do plastic surgery in order to have pointed noses. But then, is there any justification for the pointed nose being a symbol of beauty?

In this work, therefore, the analysis will focus on the discursive elements in the presidential campaign advertisements of the two largest political parties which participated in the last general elections conducted in Nigeria in the year 2019. The two parties are the All Progressive Party (APC), whose candidate is President Muhammadu Buhari, and the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), whose candidate is Alhaji Atiku Abubakar. However, the method to be adopted in carrying out the analysis will be described later in this work.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM**

As was stated earlier, the primary concern of this work is to unveil the discursive features in the political campaign advertisements placed by both the APC and the PDP on the electronic media, precisely television. Considering that discourse is a social practice just as the political activities, there is a very strong connection between them. Therefore, there is no doubt that the practices of the political parties as well as those of politicians in trying to gain the support of the electorate will be shrouded with discursive elements.

Following the incidents recorded in the campaign advertisements of, particularly, the two political parties in the previous general elections, which took place in the year 2015, the country's body regulating all broadcasting activities, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), and the body regulating advertisements in the country, the Advertising Practitioners of Nigeria (APON) spelled out their various dos and don'ts of every political campaign advertising on the media generally. NBC went further to place a heavy fine on any media house found wanting. But, the two bodies could not stop certain discursive practices in the campaign advertisings of the political parties. In the light of this, none of the political parties could claim innocence as far as the use of these discursive elements was concerned. That is to say the elements have advertently been used by the parties concerned. These elements, among others, included name calling, hate speeches, nominalization, symbolism, foregrounding and backgrounding, and so on.

Against this backdrop, certain questions are yearning for answers and these are: How are the presidential candidates and their parties portrayed in advertisements? What are the discursive strategies often employed to achieve the portrayal? And, how much do

political campaign advertisements employ discursive strategies? Thus, finding answers to the above questions is the statement of the problem of this research work.

### **1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The major aim of this research work is to unveil the discursive features in the political advertisements placed by both the APC and the PDP on the electronic media, precisely television. Its specific objectives are:

- i. To examine the portrayal of presidential candidates and their parties in the advertisements
- ii. To determine what discursive strategies are employed in the process
- iii. To investigate the extent at which discursive elements are employed in the adverts

### **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

This study is guided by the following research questions:

- i. How are the presidential candidates and their parties portrayed in the advertisements?
- ii. What are the discursive strategies employed in the process?
- iii. How much do the advertisements employ discursive elements?

### **1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This study collected data from the campaign advertisements of both the APC and the PDP aired on television in the 2019 presidential election. Eight video clips of political campaign advertisements for each of the two political parties in the 2019 presidential election were purposively collected. In total, sixteen campaign advertisements by the

APC and PDP were collected and analyzed. The campaign advertisements were downloaded from YouTube. The data was collected in March 2020.

Owing to the huge amount of political campaign advertisements of the two political parties (APC and PDP) on YouTube and the practical constraints imposed mainly by the availability of time and other limitations, a decision was taken to select campaign advertisements based on their saliency to the research topic. Even at that, a “Quota sampling” method (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009: 235) had to be employed, in order to produce a corpus that can serve as both a representation of the huge data collected and at the same time be analysable within the time frame allowed for the conduct of the research. Quota sampling method is a non-probability sampling technique that involves gathering representative data from a group of subjects. This method of sampling is chosen because it appears to be very useful in selecting the most salient articles for analysis and it does not involve probability calculations. Saunders et al. (2009: 235-236) explain that using this sampling method can ensure that the sample selected represents certain characteristics of the total campaign advertisements or texts chosen by the researcher for analysis.

The data were analyzed using the Fairclough’s (1989, 1995) three-stage procedure of CDA, namely description, interpretation and explanation. The stage of description treats the formal features of the text while interpretation is concerned with the connection between the text and the processes of its production and comprehension. On the other hand, the explanation deals with the bearing of the social context with the text and its interaction. This model is favoured over recent models because of its potential to account for the critical micro features of the reports, such as lexicalization (vocabulary),

grammaticalisation and large scale textual structures at the description stage, and relate them to the macro aspects (social concerns of the study) at the stages of interpretation and explanation. The merit of Fairclough's model could be seen in the fact that it is commended for "providing a more accessible method of doing CDA than alternative theoretical approaches" (Richardson 2007: 37).

However, as CDA is generally known for being multi-disciplinary and hermeneutic (van Dijk 2001, Meyer 2001), the study will directly use the elements of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar that may not have been captured by Fairclough's model in analysing certain grammatical manifestations of the reports. In addition, semiotic analysis will be employed to account for the relevant semiotic features of the campaign advertisements.

## **1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The study is situated in the context of the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter, CDA) as represented in works, such as: Fairclough (1989, 1995), van Dijk (1998, 2001), Wodak et al (1999). CDA investigates the use of language as an instrument of social control. Wodak et al (1999:8) indicate that: "The aim of Critical Discourse Analysis is to unmask ideologically permeated and often obscured structures of power, political control and dominance, as well as the strategies of discriminatory inclusion and exclusion in language use." The focus of CDA is, therefore, on the link between power and discourse structures; that is, how linguistic resources are used to manifest social and political power differentiations. This orientation of CDA is based on the assumption that language is not a neutral tool of communication (see section 2.4 in Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on CDA). This makes the framework of CDA very suitable for this kind of study. Furthermore, since this study is also interested in how APC and PDP

presidential candidates were represented in the political advertisement aired on television in the 2019 general election in Nigeria, it draws insights from Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). SFG provides critical discourse analysts a useful tool of studying meaning in texts (see Fairclough, 1995). Its functional view of language, which allows for the examination of how the relationship between the structural elements of language and their social contexts can be used “to uncover and interpret systematically the underlying motivations, intentions and goals of language users along with the attitudes, perceptions and prejudices that manipulate them” (Oktar, 2001:323). Thus, by drawing upon SFG as an analytic framework, this study intends to unearth the underlying meanings and motives behind the choice of particular lexico-grammatical elements at the clausal (or simple sentence) level. Specifically, the study employs the SFG’s tool of transitivity in order to examine how the presidential candidates are represented in political advertisements. Transitivity refers to the way meaning is encoded in the clause.

## **1.7 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

Theoretically, this study seeks to test some theoretical assumptions of CDA in the use of English to construct social reality in a non-native speaker context or what Kachru (1985) describes as “the outer circle” of English. The importance of this is considering the fact that most of the theoretical assumptions of CDA on language of political advertisement were developed from the data produced by native speakers of English. Furthermore, the research illustrates also how a discourse approach to the study of political campaign advertisements in electronic media can reveal the way in which language is used to woo voters. It exposes the discursive practices embedded in political advertisements by (a) helping to understand how presidential candidates are portrayed in the political campaign

advertisements, (b) helping us to know what and how linguistic resources are employed in persuading potential voters and (c) helping to be conscious of how advertisements are deliberately structured in specific ways to create particular effects.

## **1.8 THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

This study is limited to the analysis of political campaign advertisements in the 2019 presidential election in Nigeria. The research is also limited to only sixteen political campaign advertisements aired on television. Its focus of inquiry is essentially on the linguistic resource and discursive strategies employed to market the candidates to the electorates. This study is also restricted only to campaign advertisements used to ‘market’ presidential candidates of APC and PDP. Moreover, only campaign advertisements delivered in English were considered. The analysis is limited to only eight campaign advertisements used by each of the two political parties (i.e. APC and PDP).

## **1.9 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has provided us with an insight as to what the research really entails. It states the reasons considered by the researcher for carrying out this research. It also discussed the research methodology adopted by the researcher in collecting and analyzing the data. It also specifies the type of text we are to look out for in carrying out the analytical study. The chapter also highlights the scope of the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

#### **2.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter is devoted to a review of the related literature. It is divided into two subsections. The first explores the concepts of discourse, text, political advertisement and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) because they provide the domain of operation where the topic of the present study is located. The second part reviews some relevant and related previous research works done in the area by other researchers and scholars in order to form the basis for the emergence of the gap that the present study attempts to fill.

#### **2.1 DISCOURSE**

The term ‘discourse’ is originally from the Latin word ‘discursus’, which literally means conversation or speech. The term refers to a wide area of human life. That is why Wodak (2001) notes that discourse has been subject to many usages in the social sciences. Therefore, she views it as “anything from a historical monument, a lieu de memoire, a policy, a political strategy, narratives in a restricted or broad sense of the term, text, talk, a speech, topic-related conversations to language per se” . Because of this, it is not uncommon to find notions, such as racist discourse, gendered discourse, media discourse, political discourse, populist discourse and so on. To demystify what discourse is, Wodak (2001) notes that ‘ CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of social practice. Here, Wodak believes there is a dialectical relationship between every discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and the social structure(s) which shape it.

Wodak further quotes the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) as having viewed discourse as ‘structural forms of knowledge about social practices, which may be aligned to different ideological positions.’ Stubbs (1983) sees discourse as ‘language above the sentence or above the clause.’ While Fairclough (1992) says that ‘discourse is language use, whether speech or written, seen as a type of social practice’.

## **2.2 TEXT**

Just like discourse, the ‘term’ text is attached to many meanings. Christopher (2019:2) believes the reason for this is because ‘it applies to any form of communication, whether it’s words or visuals.’ According to him, it includes written texts (whether literary, scientific or journalistic), speech and image.’ He also explains that a text may include two or more of all of the above. From Christopher’s view of the term, we can deduce that text, more especially in discourse analysis, is any form of communication. Lemke (1995) sees text as the concrete realisation of the abstract form of knowledge. Wodak (2001) further highlights the Discourse-Historical Approach’s (DHA) view of the difference between discourse and text, saying that ‘discourse’ is the structured form of knowledge about social practices, which may be aligned to different ideological positions whereas ‘text’ refers to concrete oral utterances or written documents. However, it is important to note here that ‘text’ can also refer to other things as images and colors, as this opinion, according to Simpson and Mayer (2007) is supported by Hedge and Kress (1988), Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), Forceville (2006), and Machin (2007), who have ‘consistently emphasized the importance of incorporating visual images into textual analysis, arguing for a broader multimodal conception of discourse.’

A text can also combine all these various forms of communication. This is what is referred to as a multimodal text. A perfect example of this is television advertisement. In it, there are audio, visual and even written media. With this, Simpson and Mayer (2007) observe that people rarely communicate ‘monomodally;’ instead they communicate ‘multimodally’ by combining visual images, languages, sounds and even body language. They believe that ‘just as language, choices in visual communication can be equally ideological’. Analysis of this kind of communication is what is referred to as Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA).

Simpson and Mayer (2007) express how impossible it is now for one to make sense out of a text without considering the contributions which other features may be adding to the understanding of that text. For example, in an *Airtel* advertisement in Nigeria, Mama Rainbow, a popular Nigerian actress has gone to a party with a headdress of a particular colour, different from that of every other woman at the party. When she begins to dance, her headdress gets loose and she feels embarrassed. It is at this point that other women present to her another headdress of another colour aligning with their own. At the background, a kind of music is playing in Yoruba, saying ‘My headdress is greater than yours.’ Throughout the advert, no SIM card or phone is displayed to indicate that it is all about a mobile network provider, except for the last statement from a masculine voice saying, ‘3G is good; 4G is better!’ But then, the message is simple and clear with the help of just colour. It is not also by coincidence that every character in Dettol adverts has to be in light green clothes, which is the official colour of Dettol products. This is what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) refer to as ‘the grammar of visual design’. This shows how

ideology can be sold to people with the use of these other features apart from written and spoken texts.

Simpson and Mayer (2007) also support this opinion when they assert that ‘analyzing visual communications is therefore an important part of critical analysis, be it in the media, advertising, or any other text accompanied by visual designs.’ Wodak (2001) states that ‘social semiotics highlights the multi-semiotic and potentially ideological character of most texts in contemporary society and explores ways of analyzing the intersection of language, image, design, colour, special arrangement and so forth’ By and large, this research work is on television political advertising, which is entirely multimodal, combining visual images, audios, jingles, colours and so on. Because of this, our analysis will not be complete without taking into account all these features.

### **2.3 POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT**

Just like the concept of text, political advertisement has attracted much attention, most especially in the recent years from many scholars. This has led to the various definitions which now abound for the concept. McNair (2003), for instance, defines political advertising as ‘the use of media space, paid for at commercial rate, in order to transmit political messages to a mass audience.’ Sunny and Uwem (2013) give their own similar view of political advertising to be ‘the use of paid media (newspaper, radio, television, internet etc) to influence the political decisions made for and by the group’. In another definition by Olujide et al (2011), the concept of political advertising is viewed as ‘the use of the media by political candidates to increase their exposure to the public.’ They also observe that political advertising has now been discovered by politicians to be an effective alternative to the usual campaign rallies. They further note that advert is an

avenue for politicians to sell their favourable images to the electorate while projecting the negative images of the opposition to the same public. From the few definitions of political advertising we have considered thus far, we can deduce that the concept is the use of any form of media to canvass for votes from the electorate.

Sunny and Uwem (2013) however highlights three different categories of advertising, which are summarized as follows.

**Political advertisement:** this is used to project the positive image of a candidate without explicitly referring to his opponent.

**Contrast advertisement:** this is used to juxtapose the positive image of a candidate as against the negative image of the opponent.

**Negative or Attack advertisement:** this is used to only project or bring to the fore the negative image of the opponent.

As far as the Nigeria political scene is concerned, all of these three are employed by politicians and been that there is no anyone of them devoid of discursive practices, they will therefore form perfect data for this research work.

### **2.3.1 HISTORY OF POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT IN NIGERIA**

Political advertisement began in Nigeria as far back as when politicking started in the country. But then, at different phases, politicians used different methods. As Opeibi (2004) asserts, political parties and candidates used to rely on political rallies, speeches and direct contacts with groups and individuals in order to garner support from the electorate. Meanwhile, advertising in the media began with the establishment of the West African Pilot and the Western Nigeria Television (WNT) by Nnamdi Azikiwe and Chief

Obafemi Awolowo, respectively. The duo were inspired and influenced by the development happening then to the media in Europe (Amifor 2015). Amifor further observes that at the time, campaign activities were limited to the individual region of the politicians concerned. But then, the advent of the media contributed to the success of political parties. He categorizes campaign activities into two. These two he has referred to as above-the-line and below-the-line media. While television, radio and newspaper are categorized as above-the-line media, the distribution of fliers, customized soap and matches, etc is classified as below-the-line media. Amifor (2015), states that many of the politicians used below-the-line media advertisement.

Between 1966 and 1979, politicians began to switch to radio and posters as well as other graphic materials. The use of sky-writing and trail sign, which characterized the campaign of the previous elections, had disappeared. The 1983 political campaign marked a new beginning in the history of the political advertising in Nigeria. This was because opposition parties started establishing their own television stations in order to compete with the Federal Government, which was in control of the state NTA. In fact, it was the establishment of the opposition television stations that forced NTA to change over to analogue (Amifor 2015). Amifor also notes that ‘following the competitive edge, the Federal Government resorted to dichotomy to stem competition in a desperate policy that reserved VHF only for its station and UHF for the state TV stations.’ This was an attempt to limit the coverage of state-owned television stations. But then very few Nigerians had a television set then.

However, Amifor (2015), believes that political advertising on television and radio, in the real sense of it, began in Nigeria in 1992, with the campaign of MKO Abiola of the

Social Democratic Party (SDP) and Bashir Tofa of the National Republican Council (NRC) when the duo were contesting for the presidency of the country. This was because activities moved away from mere news propaganda to real advertisement spiced with graphic designs and jingles. It was also the first time television debate was introduced between the contesters and their running mates. It was in the same election campaign that Attack or Negative political adverts were introduced. Apart from all of these, virtually all the television and radio stations in the country were put to use and by then, most Nigeria homes had acquired television sets.

With the wake of democracy in the country in 1999 after many years of military rule, campaign activities began again among the political parties and their candidates. By then, technology had improved and hence better graphic designs in the media advertisements. The major contenders then were Chief Olusegun Obasanjo of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and Chief Olu Falae of the All Progressive Party (APP). By 2003, mobile telecommunication had arrived in the country and that marked the slight difference recorded in the campaign activities that year with the introduction of SMS, voice messages and toll free call adverts. With that, the electorate could call certain numbers to listen to campaign advertisements on their phone toll free. There was no much difference in what played out between 2003 and the subsequent campaign years of 2007 and 2011. This was because technology had come to stay.

Meanwhile before 2014, technology had assumed a new dimension with the advent of social media networks. In Nigeria, the most popular of the social media networks are *Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Instagram* and *whatsApp*. And all of these are maximally used by politicians. Campaigns therefore took a new dimension with many subscribers of

the social networks taking part in disseminating adverts by sharing them with other people. Consequently, this made it easy for people to spread fake news about a particular candidate or a political party. This is what persisted up till 2019 when the last general elections were conducted.

From the history presented thus far, it can be deduced that currently, the above-the-line methods used by political parties and their candidates to garner support from the electorate are television, radio, newspaper, magazine, posters and billboards, campaign rallies and social media networks or the internet.

## **2.4 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS A RESEARCH PARADIGM**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of language. Wodak (2001) traces the root of the term to rhetoric, text linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, socio-psychology, cognitive science, literary studies and sociolinguistics as well as applied linguistics and pragmatics. The sole aim of CDA is to expose discursive practices surreptitiously shrouded in any text. Scholars have offered varied views as to what CDA is all about. But for the sake of this work and due to limited space, only five definitions by different scholars will be presented here.

Fairclough (1993) has defined CDA as:

Analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationship of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts and (b) wide social and cultural structures relations and processes; to investigate how much 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 relationship between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (p. 135)

Kress (1996:23) presents his own view of CDA thus: Critical studies of language, Critical linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) have from the beginning had a political project: broadly speaking that of altering inequitable distributions of economic, cultural and political goods in contemporary societies. The intention has been to bring a system of excessive inequalities of power into crisis by uncovering its workings and its effects through the analysis of potent cultural objects- texts – and thereby to help in achieving a more equitable social order.

To van Leeuwen (2006) however, CDA is founded on the insight that text and talk play a key role in maintaining and legitimating inequality, injustice and oppression in society. It employs discourse analysis to show how this is done and it seeks to spread awareness of this aspect of language use in society and to argue explicitly for change on the basis of its findings.

Yet in another view, van Dijk (2012) sees CDA as discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose and ultimately challenge social inequality.

Simpson and Mayer (2007:47) describe CDA as a means of ‘unraveling or denaturalizing ideologies expressed in discourse and revealing how power structures are constructed in and through discourse. They believe that the “encounters often employ linguistic strategies that appear normal or neutral on the surface; strategies which are naturalized

but which may in fact be ideologically invested”. They further express their opinion that language is a means of social construction and that language shapes the society just as the society also shapes the language.

Simpson and Mayer (ibid) observe that what is distinctive about CDA is that it intervenes on the side of dominated and oppressed group and against dominating groups and that it openly declares the emancipating interests that motivate it. This is the reason why Wodak (2001:12) also opines that ‘CDA frequently detects the linguistic means used by the elites in power to establish or even intensify the inequalities in society, in public and in private domains, frontage and backstage’.

Clearly then, from the foregoing, we can deduce that CDA is all about unveiling the manner in which language is covertly used as a social practice with the primary aim of manipulating people’s thinking in order for them to see a situation as being normal or abnormal. In other words, CDA is concerned about how people try to advance a particular ideology through the use of certain features of language.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) outlined the following eight theoretical and methodological characteristics of CDA:

- **CDA is problem oriented.** This is to say CDA addresses social problem. With this principle, it means if there is no any discursive problem in the society, CDA may be irrelevant. This is the reason why, according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), many critical discourse analysts are politically active against racism, marginalization or as feminists or within the peace movement. They also believe that CDA has the characteristic tendency of intervening on the side of the dominated and oppressed against the dominating groups.

- **Discourse is intertextual or historical.** Fairclough and Wodak (1997) believe every discourse is necessarily connected to other discourses that come before or after it in order to be understood. This is in a sense the way a discourse can be analyzed and understood with the help of the context in which it is produced. This notion is in line with the approach of Wittgenstein (1984) who holds the belief that the meaning of an utterance can only be understood based on its context.
- **Power relations are discursive.** CDA is concerned with power in discourse and power over discourse. Simpson and Mayer (2007) believe that this notion means that the primary focus of CDA 'is on how power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse'.
- **Discourse shapes society and culture.** This means that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and society as well as culture. For instance, the South African society is engulfed in xenophobia. There is no doubt that the xenophobic culture must have been triggered by some form of discursive practices from some quarters. This is just the evidence of how discourse is capable of molding a society.
- **Discourse could be ideological.** Discourses, if investigated, may carry certain ideologies. Here, the ideology may be that of hegemony or power control vested in some people, not because of domination but because consent is given by the supposed dominated group. For example, this is the principle obtainable in most traditional settings in the world where it is believed monarchy is hereditary. The people in these kinds of society see it as a taboo to appoint the king from a family other than the existing royal family. With that ideological belief, power is retained within the same family circle.

- **There is an indirect link between text and society.** Fairclough and Wodak (1997) believe that there is a link mediated between text and society. With this, CDA has interest in showing the connection between text properties and social and cultural structures.
- **Discourse is a social practice.** This principle holds that texts are discursive and every discursive practice takes place in society. It is therefore, the role of CDA to bring these practices to the fore and strive to correct them.
- **Discourse analysis can both be interpreted and explained.** For CDA to be carried out there are three methodological stages of the analysis. These are description of the text, interpretation of the text and explanation of the text. The essence of this is that CDA always has a method of interpreting and explaining every discursive practice. Here, Wodak (2001) suggests that in order to give room for transparency and retroduction, it is important for analysts to keep description and interpretation apart.

Meanwhile, Beaugrande (1981), as highlighted by Graduateway (2019), suggests seven different criteria necessary to qualify a text as being discursive. These are summarized as follow.

**Cohesion:** this means that parts of the text must grammatically be related for its integration.

**Coherence:** the arrangement of words in the text must make sense

**Intentionality:** the message of the text must be seen to have been conveyed intentionally.

**Informativeness:** there must be some sort of new information in the message of the text.

**Intertextuality:** the text must be related or referring to some texts before or after it.

**Situationality:** the context in which the text is made must be important.

**Acceptability:** the message of the text must be approved by the target audience.

However, according to Graduateway (n.d), not all the seven criteria mentioned above are equally important in discourse studies. The paper notes that some of them are only valid in certain types of research methods.

## **2.5 FAIRCLOUGH'S MODEL OF DISCOURSE AS A SOCIAL PRACTICE**

As was explained earlier, CDA is an interdisciplinary study with theoretical contributions from various fields of study forming it. Because of this, there are several approaches to the study of CDA. This is what prompted Wodak (2001:14) when she asserts that 'the approaches of CDA have been and are continuously being taken up by other neighbouring disciplines; inter- and transdisciplinarity lead to new innovative ideas some of which are included in the manifold methodologies.' She also claims that 'CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory' she quotes Van Dijk (2008) to have pointed to the 'lack of theory about the norms and principles of its (CDA's) own critical activity'. In support of this opinion, van Leeuwen (2006) opines that 'critical discourse analysts engage not only with a range of discourse analytical paradigms, but also with critical social theory. In more recent work social theory may even dominate over discourse analysis.' Wodak (2001) asserts that what unites CDA and analysts is not a restrictive or dogmatic methodology and neither is it an orthodox theory, but obvious common goals which include critique and challenge of hegemonic discourses which produce or reproduce inequalities, injustice and oppression in society.

It is then clear that there is no just one-way approach to the analytical study of discourse. But there are many approaches. However, this research work will adopt Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of discourse analysis. These are *text*, *discourse practice* and *social practice*. To do an appropriate analysis, these three have to be considered. Simpson and Mayer (2007) opine that every discursive event is at the same time a three-dimensional phenomenon. This means the discursive event is a piece of spoken or written text or even visual image, it is a discourse practice and it is also a social practice. These three are summarized as follow:

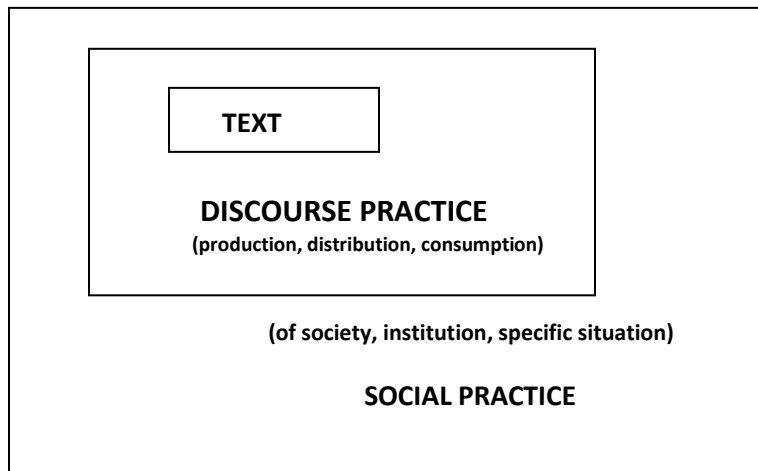
**The text dimension:** This dimension has to do with the analysis of the language of the text. This will include the properties such as choice of words, grammatical constructions, cohesion and text structure. Text can either be written, spoken or visual as in image or even colour. Simpson and Mayer (2007) explain what van Leeuwen (1996/2006) means by his 'grammar of visual design' to mean that, just like linguistic structures, visual structures can also give meaning and even contribute to the general message of the text. By and large text is the object of linguistic analysis.

**The discourse practice dimension:** This dimension is all about the nature of the text produced and its distribution as well as its consumption in society. This means that in analyzing a text one has to look at the possible intertextuality and consider the target audience or those who have access to the text.

**Social practice dimension:** This dimension has to do with the important social issues enacted or produced by the discourse. This may be power relations, hegemony, ideological struggle, dominance or emancipation. In other words, when we say discourse is a social practice, we mean to say that discourse can be used by a society, institution

and individual to enact or re-enact an ideology in such a way that the community built by the discursive practice will begin to see the ideology as being normal or natural, even if it is not.

Fairclough (1992) represents this with the diagram below.



To be able to carry out the analysis of the text satisfactorily, Simpson and Mayer (2007) posit that the analysis of the other two dimensions of discourse practice and social practice must be done. They therefore, highlight the method of analysis to be:

*A linguistic description of the text, an interpretation of the relationship existing between the text and the discourse practice, and an explanation of the relationship between the discourse process and the social practice.* Therefore, to carry out the analysis of the texts in this work, these three methods are going to be used. These are linguistic description of the text, an interpretation of the relationship between the text and the discourse practice as well as the explanation of the relationship between the discourse process and the social process bearing in mind the advice of Wodak (2001) when she suggests that an analyst

must have *self-reflection* at every point of their work as well as keep *description* and *interpretation* apart in their analysis in order to be transparent enough.

## **2.6 CDA AND GRAMMATICAL THEORIES**

Discussion on CDA may not be complete without making reference to certain grammatical theories. This is because analysts so much rely on them. Wodak (2001) also opines that ‘researchers in CDA rely on a variety of grammatical approaches’. Therefore, some of the grammatical approaches we will consider here are Noam Chomsky’s *Transformational-Generative Grammar (TG)* as well as M A K Halliday’s *Transitivity*. This is because the two are very germane to our research work.

### **2.6.1 TRANSFORMATIONAL-GENERATIVE GRAMMAR IN CDA**

It is important to note that a speaker is only able to engage in discursive acts with the help of language dynamism. This is what Transformational-Generative Grammar entails. This grammatical theory was first introduced in 1957 by Noam Chomsky when he published his *Syntactic Structures* (Robins 1964). While describing what Transformational-Generative Grammar is, Robins states that ‘these transformational rules (from which the transformational of transformational-generative is taken) involve, not the division of the sentence or its parts, but, as the name implies, the alteration or rearrangement of a structure in various ways’ This is simply the native speakers’ intuitive knowledge of the relations between sentences of different basic types. The rules of TG may involve changing the order of a sentence, additions and deletions. Robins cites the examples of how a speaker can associate the active and passive sentences, positive and negative sentences and statements, commands and questions based on native speakers’ recognition of their semantic relations. For example a speaker may choose to say either *I*

*have eaten my food* or *My food has been eaten*. If he chooses the former, it is clear who ate the food. But if he decides to use the latter, he may be hiding who actually ate the food and this is the concern of CDA.

As Paul and Andrea (2007) have observed, ‘a question Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) often asks is why some information is omitted from a text’. This leads us to another instrument of discourse practice which is *Transitivity*.

## **2.6.2 THE PLACE OF HALLIDAY’S CONCEPT OF TRANSITIVITY IN CDA**

Transitivity was propounded by MAK Halliday in his seminal presentation in 1994 (Paul and Andre 2007). Transitivity is all about the semantic structure of clauses. The term, according to Paul and Andre (2007), simply means ‘who does what to whom, and how?’ So, when we talk of transitivity, we really mean who is the doer, who is the receiver and what is the action like. Paul and Andrea (2007) distinguish this concept from the traditional grammar’s concepts of *verbs that take objects* and *verbs that do not take objects*. While explaining the Halliday’s idea of transitivity, Paul and Andrea (2007) assert that ‘the grammar of a language is a system of opinions from which speakers and writers choose according to social circumstances, with transitivity playing a key role in “*meaning making*” in language.’ With this, Paul and Andrea believe that ‘the choice of certain linguistic forms always has significance, the roots of which are arguably often ideological.’ This is why it is easy for the media to foreground or background any piece of information to the public. That is why Paul and Andrea assert that transitivity is a powerful tool not only in analyzing what is in a text but also for exposing what is omitted in it. Therefore, when analyzing with transitivity, the first thing one wants to consider is the participant, then the process and the circumstance. The participants are the doer and

the receiver in a clause. The process is the action which the doer does to the receiver, whereas the circumstance could be an adverb or a prepositional phrase telling us more about process. For instance, on Tuesday, 24<sup>th</sup> of July, 2018, there was a major political event in Nigeria which attracted the attention of virtually all the national dailies in the country. The following day, two of the newspapers considered here released the following headlines.

**(A) 14 Senators, 37 Reps dump APC: PDP expecting more defectors as APC claims majority in Senate, Reps** (Tribune, 25<sup>th</sup> July, 2018)

**(B) APC keeps majority as 14 Senators, 37 Reps defect** (The Nation, 25<sup>th</sup> July 2018)

In analyzing the two headlines above using transitivity, they will better be parsed into the number of clauses forming them. (A) has 3 clauses while (B) has only two. Meanwhile, two of (B) seemingly carry the same meaning as two of (A). In (A) we have ‘14 Senators, 37 Reps Dump APC’ while in (B) we have ‘14 Senators, 37 Reps Defect’. (A) indicates the doer or actor (14 senators, 37 Reps), the process (dump), and the done-to (APC) while (B) only indicates the doer (14 Senators, 37 Reps) and the process (defect) without the done-to. Therefore, there is an obvious attempt to background certain information here by (B) while in the same vein, (A) is also making conscious effort to foreground the same information. If the *Nation* newspaper’s headline was the only information one was exposed to on that day, it means one might not know from which political party the assembly members had defected and to which political party.

In the second equivalent clauses, (A) says ‘APC Claims Majority in Senate, Reps’ while (B) says ‘APC Keeps Majority’. Our concern here is the processes the two newspapers have chosen to adopt. It might not be out of unconsciousness that the two media houses

have adopted the verbs '*claims*' and '*keeps*.' Certainly, the two are discursive and thus ideological. While the former wants readers to believe the APC does not truly have the majority by using the word '*claims*', the latter projects the party to the readers as the one still maintaining the majority in the house with its use of the word '*keeps*'.

## **2.7 REVIEW OF RELATED WORKS**

Language use in the Nigerian political arena has increasingly been attracting the attention of scholars, researchers and students of CDA in the recent past. For this reason, many researchers and students have carried out different research works on political activities in the country. Some of these studies have been done on the aspects ranging from campaign rallies, campaign advertisements, political speeches and newspapers coverage of political events. Therefore, this section of the literature review examines some of the CDA works, which are closely related to this particular research work, bringing to the fore the similarities and the differences between the previous studies and our own research work, and subsequently establishing the justification why carrying out this research is necessary.

Mika'ilu (2017) carried out a critical analytical research work on Nominal Groups and Ideologies in Daily Trust and Nigerian Tribune: A CDA of Reports on O'odua People's Congress (OPC) and Boko Haram. The research focused on the inherent dialectical relations between language, media and ideology within the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It did this by adopting Norman Fairclough's three-tier model of analysis interfacing it with Halliday's Functional Grammar. The study therefore discovered that the Yoruba ethnic historical connection and South-western operational context of the *Nigerian Tribune* is the major determinants of the structures of its nominal groups on

O’odua People’s Congress and Boko Haram. Similarly, the Northern Nigerian roots and interactions of *Daily Trust* determined the structures of nominal groups used in reporting the activities of the two groups. The research work is related to our work in that they both adopted the same approach of analysis, which is Fairclough’s three-tier-model. Meanwhile, Mika’ilu’s work is on regional ideological representation of newspapers reports on Boko Haram and OPC. Hence, that is the justification for our research, which is on presidential campaign advertisements.

Muhammad and Moji (2015) also did work on Multimodal Discourse Analysis of some Visual Images in the Political Rally Discourse of 2011 Electioneering campaigns in Southwestern Nigeria. The study considered political visual images often used in political campaign rallies in Nigeria. These however include the images put on vests, caps and customized Ankara textile materials. The study found out how political parties consciously dominate all these materials with their official colours such that even a glance at the materials quickly suggests what political party the materials belong to. The study concluded that semiotic resources are an important aspect of political rallies in Nigeria because of the inherent ideological communications that are revealed through them.

In a sense, this study is relevant to our own research work because they both have issues concerning multimodal or semiotic in common. However, given that the work is broader than this study in question, having to do with both visual and audio and considering that their work is just on the visual images at the gubernatorial campaign rallies in the south western region of Nigeria, whereas our study is on the electronic advertisements of the presidential election in Nigeria, that makes our work different and hence necessary.

Another work closely related to our research work is the study carried out by Emmanuel Sharndama (2015) on the topic: Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of President Muhammad Buhari's Inaugural Speech. This study did the analysis of the speech delivered by President Muhammad Buhari when his government was being inaugurated in 2015 after winning the year's election. The study used Norman Fairclough's three dimensional analytical models, comprising description, interpretation and explanation. The analysis revealed how the inaugural speech was carefully composed to reflect the ideologies or plans on which the government would operate. The study revealed how the speech had given commitment to good governance, polices and democracy, fight against insecurity and corruption, and improve power supply and the nation's economy.

It is, however, pertinent to note that Emmanuel's work is on the presidential inaugural speech, whereas our own work is on the presidential campaign advertisements for which reason our work is necessary. Yet, another work closely related to our study is the research work carried out by Ngozi (2016) on the topic Political Manipulation in Nigeria Presidential Discourses. This study is a critical analytical research work on discourse which considered the self-portrayal by both President Olusegun Obasanjo and President Goodluck Jonathan to the Nigeria populace. The study did this by adopting Norman Fairclough's model of CDA analysis. It applied the CDA approach on the ways in which the two formal presidents deliberately portrayed themselves to the Nigerian populace in order to appeal to the ideological sense of the people so as to consequently control their thoughts and perception. For instance, the study revealed how the two past presidents have grossly used manipulative linguistic resources in marketing their agenda, ideology

and programs to their audience. For instance, the two personalities claimed to be ‘humble servants’, ‘political redeemers’ and ‘aligning with the suffering of the masses’. While Obasanjo claimed ‘he walked through the valley episode’, Goodluck painted his picture of humble childhood experience and concluded he was one of the suffering majority. All of these, the study revealed are manipulative strategies designed to deliberately manipulate the unsuspecting members of the public in order for the masses to accept their candidacy.

Of all the works carried out which have come to our knowledge so far, this is about the closest to our research work. This is because the two studies, apart from being on presidential candidates, also examine how politicians manipulate discourse in order to appeal to the electorate. However, Ngozi’s work only concentrated on the utterances of the presidents, rather than the campaign advertisements canvassing for votes for the two presidents, which is the main concern of our own research work. Apart from this, considering that our research work is concerned with the 2019 presidential election campaign advertisements, that makes this work necessary.

Ajakaiye and Ojeka (2015) conducted a research work on the title: Political Advertising and Election: An Overview of 2011 Presidential Election in Nigeria. This study examined the influence of political advertising on the Nigerian electorate. The study actually sought to know how the political advertising influenced the choice of the electorate in the 2011 presidential election in the country. The study however found out that political advertising has a great influence on the electorate in choosing which candidate to vote for. Although the study is not a CDA research work, it is only related to our work being

that the two are on the political campaign advertisements of presidential elections in Nigeria.

In yet another research work carried out by Tejumaiye, Simon and Obia (2018), the study, with the title: *Political Advertising in Nigeria's 2015 Presidential Election* examined the influence of the political advertising in the year's election in Nigeria. It sought to know the role played by the adverts in that year's presidential election. The study did this with the use of survey research method. With this, questionnaires were administered on the various respondents in order to collect data. The study however revealed that 49% of the respondents believed that political advertising significantly influenced their decision in choosing a candidate during the presidential election. This was however the largest percentage, as the remaining 51% was split among other three factors such as religion, ethnicity and other considerations. Just like the previous work reviewed, this too is not a CDA work. It is only related to our research work as the two are on political advertising in the presidential election in Nigeria.

## **2.8 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has reviewed the key concepts underlying the present study. It examined the concepts of discourse, text, political advertisement and CDA. A review of some related previous research works brought the chapter to its conclusion. In the next chapter, data analysis and interpretation will be conducted.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

#### **3.0 INTRODUCTION**

As it has been stated in the previous chapters, the concern of this chapter is to analyze and interpret the data to unveil the possible instances of discursive practices in the political campaign advertisements of both the APC and the PDP being the major actors in the general elections which took place in Nigeria in 2019. The chapter gives an insight on the linguistic resources used to represent the political actors.

#### **3.1 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

The aim of this section is to analyze and interpret the data. To do this, the work employed Fairclough's three-stage procedure of CDA namely description, interpretation and explanation (Fairclough 1989). The stage of description is dealing with the formal features of the text while interpretation is concerned with the connection between text and the processes of its production and comprehension. On the other hand, the explanation deals with the bearing of social context with the text and its interaction. Using this CDA model, the study analyzes a total of 48 excerpts taken from the data. The full descriptions of all the advertisements are presented as Appendices on page 69-83. Meanwhile, for easier identification, the discursive practices in each of the advertisements in the Appendix section have been underlined and numbered 1 to 48. These are what we will be referring to as excerpts in our data presentation.

### **3.1.1 ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENTS USED BY THE APC**

This subsection analyzes campaign advertisements used by the APC in the 2019 presidential election. Therefore, excerpts 1- 23 were extracted from the political advertisements in the electronic media sponsored by the APC.

#### **EXCERPT 1:**

‘Vote for Change Agent’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 1)

**Description:** This statement is metaphorical. This is because it presents the party’s candidate to the viewers as an agent who is capable of and who is determined to bring about change. Apart from this, the sentence is imperative, talking to the viewers as if it is a command.

**Interpretation:** Knowing fully well that the Nigeria populace need change in virtually every facet of the country’s life, the text surreptitiously presents the party’s candidate to the viewers as the one capable of bringing about the much needed change.

**Explanation:** The effect of this discursive practice on the society is that people are made to believe that if actually they want things to change, it is only President Buhari, portrayed as being interested in bringing about changes, who they must vote for. Consequently, the advert seeks to re-enact the hegemony of the ruling APC.

#### **EXCERPT 2:**

‘He, as the chairman, PTA was credited for impacting on the lives of Nigerians through implementation of many developmental projects.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 1).

**Description:** This sentence is passive in nature. If the text is claiming Buhari was credited. That was by whom? There is no doubt that the writer has deliberately adopted it in order to hide something as generally is the case with passive voices.

**Interpretation:** What the writer is trying to achieve here is what Andrea and Paul (2011) have referred to as ‘*see sense*’ method, coming from the Fairclough’s idea of common sense. The viewers are made to reason that if the party’s candidate could do it as a PTF Chairman, he should be able to do it again when given another chance.

**Explanation:** The social process this is likely generating is the massive belief that the candidate is an achiever. As a result, he is considered for the second term in office and power is thus reproduced.

### **EXCERPT 3:**

‘Vote for great man, Muhammadu Buhari for president.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 1).

**Description:** This is also an imperative sentence. The text seems to be commanding the viewers on what they should do. With this, viewers are engaged in thought.

**Interpretation:** A person is ‘great’ if they are important and loved by many people. This is a positive notion. The writer has deliberately adopted the word ‘great’ in order to paint President Muhammadu Buhari as a good person. One will then wonder why the writer has not used an alternative discreet statement such as ‘Vote Buhari for president’ instead of ‘Vote for great Buhari...’

**Explanation:** The relationship between this discourse practice and the social practice can be seen in what Fairclough refers to as ‘commodification’ or ‘marketization’. This is an

attempt to sell president Buhari to the viewers as a positive candidate because everyone wants to be associated with greatness. This social practice seeks to breed hegemony.

**EXCERPT 4:**

‘It is an open secret that many of our so-called “leaders” fear the General because nowadays, in our society, one is feared when one stands up for the truth.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 1).

**Description:** The text opens with an oxymoron (open secret) and it is a complex sentence. The speaker has chosen to adopt the sentence type as well as the causal text-building device (because) in order to show the viewers his reason as to why President Buhari is feared.

**Interpretation:** Usually, people are inclined to believe a notion when that notion is supported by a quotation from, most especially, an important personality. Meanwhile, this particular quotation portrays president Buhari as a person feared by people because of his honesty and uprightness. Automatically, people will want to prefer him and his party to anyone or party opposed to him because his opponents are now being portrayed as dishonest people.

**Explanation:** This text is deliberately produced to lure viewers into believing in President Buhari as an advocate of anticorruption and discipline thereby by voting for him so that power could be reproduced

**EXCERPT 5:**

‘Change may seem a little tough. But things change from one level to another.’  
(APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 2)

**Description:** This text is made up of two sentences and the two cohere with each other with the use of the adversative text-building device ‘but’. It helps in setting the distinction between the idea in the first and the second sentences.

**Interpretation:** Amid the ‘next level’ campaign of President Buhari and his party, the APC in 2019, the country was in economic hardship. Therefore, adverts of this nature were thought of to convince the viewers that the perceived hardship was a necessary sacrifice and that it was about to be over so that the country would be better for everyone in the next level.

**Explanation:** the social practice intended with this discourse practice is to seek the endurance of the people. The viewers are inclined to endure by voting for President Buhari for the second term with the hope that all would be well after all.

#### **EXCERPT 6:**

‘Nigeria is on a journey to greatness driven by a visionary leader.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 3).

**Description:** This statement has two parts. Each of them is an independent clause. But then, the statement is metaphorical, likening Nigeria to a human being capable of setting out on a journey and President Buhari as the driver with the full knowledge of how to take Nigeria to its promised land.

**Interpretation:** There are two beliefs here that the text seeks to spoon feed us with. One, that Nigeria is heading for greatness and two, that president Buhari is visionary. Again, the method used in this discourse is *commodification* or *marketization* because it seeks to market President Buhari to the viewers as someone who is visionary.

**Explanation:** Here, the text is trying to reproduce hegemony by creating the belief that if President Buhari is re-elected, the country will get to its destination of ‘greatness’.

**EXCERPT 7:**

‘Let the transformation continue.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 3).

**Description:** This text is an imperative sentence, sounding as though the writer is giving directive to the viewers.

**Interpretation:** If an individual reads this text, he feels as though he is the only one being addressed by the text. This is what Fairclough calls ‘*conversationalization*.’ It is a method of getting a person’s attention attracted to the text. Conversationalization is a method of talking that makes every viewer feels as if you are talking to them individually. More so, the text is also presented in a way to make the viewers to believe the ‘transformation’ has started already. After all, it is only what has started than can continue.

**Explanation:** Even if the electorate or the viewers are unaware of any ongoing transformation in the country, with this statement, they are brainwashed to think that some form of transformation has already commenced. Consequently, they may be inclined to vote for the APC thereby re-enacting the party’s hegemony.

**EXCERPT 8:**

‘But God don send better people wey dey fight for us make we fit dey chop again.’ (God has sent better people fighting for us so that we may eat comfortably again) (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 4).

**Description:** This is Nigerian Pidgin English, an informal means of communication among the low-income earners in the country.

**Interpretation:** First, the text has deliberately been rendered in Pidgin English in order to build the community of low-income earners who form the majority of the population in Nigeria. However, the text is an extract of the dramatic advert which is symbolic. The drama paints the major opposition party members as the ‘bad people’ who are selfish while it portrays the ruling APC members as the ‘better people’ who are even ‘God-send’. If anything is God-send, it means it is divine. That means all the APC members are divine.

**Explanation:** A text of this nature is a common phenomenon in the advertisements of most political parties. If a viewer sees this, he or she is inclined to see the opposition party whose logo (umbrella) is portrayed here as being dishonest, selfish and untrustworthy while the APC portray themselves as the party emancipating people. The effect of this social practice is the re-enactment of hegemony by the APC.

**EXCERPT 9:**

‘Now they wan carry us go another level’ (now they are taking us to the next level) (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 4).

**Description:** Just like the previous text considered, this is also Nigerian Pidgin English popular among the low-income earners in the country.

**Interpretation:** This is discursive in a sense. The speaker cunningly is presenting himself as one of the viewers by saying ‘they wan take ‘us’... instead of presenting himself as one of the party members by saying ‘we want take ‘you’... Yet, as far as the

Nigeria political system is concerned, it is unheard of for any person, who is not a member of a political party, to place a media advert for a party. Moreover, with this text, it is an obvious way of attracting the community of Pidgin English speakers which is the largest in Nigeria.

**Explanation:** With this discourse practice, the viewers are inclined to believe that the producer of the text is one of them and they may tend to give some credence to what he is saying by eventually supporting the APC. This move is to re-enact the APC hegemony.

**EXCERPT 10:**

‘After 3 years, the APC is taking Nigeria to the next level. Let’s re-elect President Buhari and Professor Yemi Osinbajo for 2019. Why????’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 5).

**Description:** This text is made up of three separate sentences. The first one is a pure statement rendered in the active form, while the second sentence is an imperative sentence. The third is just simple But they are followed by a simple interrogative statement.

**Interpretation:** This text is divisible into three parts. Each of them is a separate sentence. The first is telling us what the APC has done and what they are going to do next followed by the appeal to vote for the party again and then a question which is answered by the producer himself. The tool used by the producer here is that of common sense which strives to encourage the viewers to reason in a particular way and consider re-electing President Buhari and his vice. Therefore, after asking why, the text goes on to list various reasons why Buhari and Osinbajo should be reconsidered.

**Explanation:** The implication of this discursive act is that the electorate may feel obliged to consider the reasons highlighted and therefore re-elect President Buhari and thus, the APC's power dominance is reproduced.

**EXCERPT 11:**

‘Surely APC is taking Nigeria to the next level’. (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 5).

**Description:** This is a statement in its active form. Meanwhile, we are more concerned with the choice of the adverb ‘surely’ in the sentence which makes the idea in the sentence sound assuring.

**Interpretation:** Generally, texts talking about ‘next level’ are discursively claiming that certain achievements have already been attained. Meanwhile, in a bid to convince the electorate of the efficiency of the APC to take the country to that so-called next level, this text uses such desperate word as ‘surely’ in order for people to believe in it. This is as good as swearing to the viewers about the certainty of getting better governance in the promised next level.

**Explanation:** This discourse practice seeks to obtain peoples consent in order for the hegemony of the APC to be reproduced. Hegemony, according to Fairclough, is not necessarily about dominating a people by overpowering them, but of the people willingly giving their consent in order to be integrated politically, culturally and socially.

**EXCERPT 12:**

‘At the next level, our children, our young, our old, our women, the artisans, the entrepreneurs, the traders, all go higher in the next level.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 5).

**Description:** This sentence has been constructed with all-inclusive nominatives. The speaker has chosen to mention all these various people of the society in order to carry every one of them along.

**Interpretation:** In the previous text the producer is promising the ‘next level’ to the generic term ‘Nigeria’. In this text however, the speaker has chosen to mention the individual group of people who the party would take to the next level. In this sense, the text is trying to build the community of all women, all children, all artisans, all young and old people as well as entrepreneurs. This is because people prefer to be personally recognized and this is what this text has chosen to do for these individuals in order to lure them into voting for the party for the second term.

**Explanation:** Just like Excerpt 11 considered above, this is the attempt by the party to maintain its hegemony by remaining in power.

**EXCERPT 13:**

‘Next level is about people’s money and people’s growth.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 6).

**Description:** Our interest here lies in the producer’s choice of ‘people’ as adjective qualifying money and growth instead of an adjective like ‘national’. This makes it look as if in the next level the state money will be spent on people so that they will grow.

**Interpretation:** This text is discursive in the sense that it seeks to lure people into believing that all money expected in the second term would go to them, most especially with the display of ‘Trader Moni’s’ logo. (Trader Moni is a Federal Government social investment scheme through which money is shared to traders across the country) The text seeks to make people believe more of such money will come their way in the next level.

**Explanation:** The social effect of this discursive act is making people vote for the APC for the second term thereby reproducing the party’s hegemony and power dominance.

**EXCERPT 14:**

‘Next level, our women and youths are given more responsibilities.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 6).

**Description:** This text is made up of a passive sentence. The implication of this is that with this voice, it is not clear who will give the so-called responsibilities to women and youths. This shows that the text producer may be hiding something.

**Interpretation:** At the time when women in Nigeria are agitating for ‘35% Affirmative Action’ (i.e., advocate for women constituting the 35% of the government appointments) and youths in the country are promoting ‘Not too Young to Rule’, any party which want the votes of these two groups would have to give them their needs. This is the most likely reason why this text is thought of.

**Explanation:** This discursive act seeks to build the community of women and youths, who form the majority of voters in the country. With their support, power re-enactment is sure.

**EXCERPT 15:**

‘We are all going higher to the next level’. (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 6).

**Description:** This text is a simple sentence; whose subject is first person plural pronoun (*we*).

**Interpretation:** This text has two instances of discursive act. One, the claim that a certain level has been attained in the previous tenure and the country is now moving to the next. Two, the use of all-inclusive pronoun (*we*) as the subject in the statement. This makes it sound as if everyone is going to be beneficiary of the next level when eventually attained.

**Explanation:** The social practice the discourse is aimed at achieving is power dominance through.

**EXCERPT 16:** ‘A report by OPEC shows that Nigeria earned \$877.3 billion between 1999 and 2017 from the sales of crude oil out of which \$783.3 billion accrued by 1999 to 2015 while Buhari’s administration earned \$94 billion as at 2017.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 7).

**Description:** This text is a complex sentence which has adopted various text-building devices to make all the clauses therein cohere. These devices such as out of which and when have deliberately been employed for easy comparison. For instance, at a glance one knows that Buhari’s administration got only \$94 billion while the previous administrations got \$783 billion.

**Interpretation:** This text is an example of what Fairclough calls intertextuality. That is when a text is making reference to quotations from other people. This is discursive in that it helps in convincing viewers, most especially as the report is credited to OPEC. Apart from this the text is also discursive because it shows the sharp difference between the earnings by Buhari and his predecessors as a deliberate move to credit Buhari while discrediting his predecessors

**Explanation:** If Buhari got \$94 billion while his predecessors earned \$783 billion, that means, on the average, each of the four previous administrations got more than double of what Buhari earned. It therefore, calls for people's reasoning in voting for Buhari for the second time, thereby reproducing power dominance.

**EXCERPT 17:**

‘Despite the large amount earned by the previous administrations, there was under development in infrastructure, education and social service in the period of high oil revenue as a result of combination of corruption and weak institutions which dealt a lethal blow to our economy.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 7).

**Description:** This text is a complex sentence. More so, it has chosen to begin with the preposition ‘despite’ in order to justify the condemnation therein. Again, the text has also used past tense (was) in describing the country's situation of under development. This is an indication pointing to the claim that ‘under development’ is now a thing of the past.

**Interpretation:** In this instance of discursive act, there is outright claim or insinuation by the APC that the previous administrations, which were formed by the opposition PDP,

mismanaged the state resources despite the perceived higher revenue which accrued to the administrations.

**Explanation:** With this act, viewers may tend to discredit the opposition PDP and have sympathy for the ruling APC for earning relatively little. Eventually, the electorate consent is given for the APC to re-enact their hegemony.

**EXCERPT 18:** ‘Despite reduced oil prices earning, this administration has done far more with less revenue. We have made substantial investment in agriculture, solid minerals, the creative sector and the technology. Despite limited resources, over 13 million Nigerians are benefiting from the national social investment programs.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 7).

**Description:** Just like the previous excerpt treated, this text also opens with the preposition (despite), but this time around, to justify the achievement ascribed to the APC. This is direct opposite of what is obtainable in the previous text. Apart from that, the speaker has chosen to repeat ‘despite limited resources’ twice in order to constantly remind viewers of how the party has efficiently managed the state resources even in the face of relative reduced revenue.

**Interpretation:** What this discursive act is seeking to achieve is juxtaposition and it has done this while relying on the common sense of the people. It will be commonsensical for viewers to, on one hand, consider the achievements of the party with the reduced oil revenue. And on the other hand, viewers will also compare the achievement recorded by the APC within four years with those of the previous administrations.

**Explanation:** The social practice generated with this act is the reproduction of power dominance. We should however note that, power is not forced or imposed on people. It is given by the people through the giving of their consent.

**EXCERPT 19:**

‘We are one of the best economies in the world. The economy is back on the path of growth. We have unlocked the Nigerian economy for the benefit of our people.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 7).

**Description:** This text is made up of three active simple sentences, each of them relating with the other coherently. Let us pay attention to the repetition of the pronoun ‘we’ in the sentences. In the first instance, the speaker has used it to refer to the whole of Nigerians while in the second he has used it to refer to the administration alone.

**Interpretation:** The technique used here is what Fairclough calls marketization. Here the speaker is trying to market the administration or the party to the viewers with the achievements the party claimed to have recorded in the state economy. This is coming against the backdrop of the economic recession the country just survived as well as the little success recorded in the area of economic diversification. This is therefore ideologically discursive.

**Explanation:** It is intended to lure the viewers into subscribing to the claim of success made by the party. By so doing, they will see the administration as an achiever and consequently trust them with another term. Subsequently, power dominance is reproduced.

**EXCERPT 20:**

‘A vote for Buhari/Osinbajo and APC is a vote for the next level of economic growth and prosperity for all.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 7).

**Description:** This is a simple and declarative statement. The speaker has adopted what Halliday (1994) terms relational process (to say ‘ $x = y$ ’). With this construction, a vote for Buhari and the APC is now cunningly equated with economic growth and prosperity for all. That is to say if people really want economic growth and prosperity, they just have to vote for Buhari and the APC.

**Interpretation:** This is a common sense method of drawing people into political ideology of the APC. In a way, it tries to make the viewers believe that if they want the next level of economic growth as well as prosperity for the whole people of the country, they just have to vote for Buhari/Osinbajo and APC. In another way, just like the other next level adverts of the APC, it creates the impression in people that some level of achievements has been attained in the previous term which makes it necessary to move to the next level.

**Explanation:** What the text seeks is to implant the party’s ideology in the viewers in order to win their support in reproducing its power dominance as well as its hegemony.

**EXCERPT 21:**

‘Then came a time. Bad bad people came into the city and started eating all the building in the city. City was destroyed and everyone thought all hope was lost. (Image of shattered city displayed) then arrived a hero, who came into the city

and chased away all the bad people from the city' (image of President Buhari is displayed) (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 8).

**Description:** This text contains three sentences. The first is active, second is passive while the third is also active. But our linguistic analysis here is more concerned with the choice of words used in describing those who destroyed the city and the one who salvaged it. While the narrator has used 'bad bad people' to refer to those who destroyed the city, she refers to the one who salvaged the city as a 'hero'. These are two sharp contrasting ways of qualifying people.

**Interpretation:** The background information about this text is in the general information of the advert. The advert is somewhat symbolic. First, the story is narrated by a little child ostensibly to showcase the narrator's innocence and neutrality. Secondly, the story is portraying Nigeria as a society which was once beautiful for all. However, due to the nefarious activities of some people, presumably politicians, the country is destroyed until a hero comes to salvage the country. Meanwhile at the mention of 'hero', President Buhari's image is displayed to portray him as the hero who has come to salvage the country. Automatically the rulers who came shortly before him are the 'bad people' alleged to have destroyed the country.

**Explanation:** The message in the short story was the song which the APC and its supporters had sung since they took over power in 2015, painting the PDP and the politicians therein as 'evil' that should not be trusted again. The essence of doing this is to initiate viewers into the ideology of the APC and eventually re-enact its hegemony.

**EXCERPT 22:** 'When I grow up, I will like to be a hero like that man.' (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 8).

**Description:** This text is a complex sentence.

**Interpretation:** The text seeks to paint President Buhari, whose image is displayed when the little girl makes the remark, as a hero and a role model an average child should wish to emulate. This is somewhat discursive. If children are brainwashed to believe in and like the president, chances are that their parents will like what their children like.

**Explanation:** The social process being enacted here is ideological struggle, the struggle to catch the children young and the struggle to initiate the parents in the APC's ideology through their children since the children have pester power, even if they do not have voting power.

**EXCERPT 23:**

‘What story do you like your children to tell for the years to come? Vote for the future of our children. Vote Buhari and Osinbajo 2019.’ (APC 2019 Presidential Campaign Advert 8).

**Description:** This text is made up of three different sentences, an interrogative, followed by two imperatives. Both the interrogative and the imperative have the ability to engage the addressee in thought. For instance, the interrogative in this text is calling for the reasoning of the viewers on what they will like for the country in the future. The imperatives are however commanding the viewers to vote for the future of their children.

**Interpretation:** Interrogative and imperative sentences are used, according to Paul and Andre (2007), to create a personal relationship between the advertiser and the viewers by simulating an intimate interactive addressing of the viewers, rather than passing mere information. This is what Fairclough (2001) has referred to as conversationalization. In

this text too, the speaker is engaging an average viewer as though he is talking to each of them individually. The interrogative sentence, for instance, is calling for each viewer to reason on the future of Nigeria while the following imperatives sound as if they are persuading the viewers to vote for APC. More so, with this text, viewers are coerced to think that voting for the APC is all about the future of the country while voting order wise only cares about the present of the country.

**Explanation:** The social effect of this discursive act is just to change the political ideology of the people to that of the APC in order for the party to reproduce its power dominance.

### **3.1.2 ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENTS USED BY THE PDP**

This subsection analyzes campaign advertisements used by APC in the 2019 presidential election. Excerpts 24-48 were extracted from the political advertisements in the electronic media sponsored by the PDP.

**EXCERPT 24:** ‘Get Nigeria working again! Rescue Nigeria!’ (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 1).

**Description:** The text above comprises two sentences and the two are imperative sentences. Like all other imperative sentences this text too seeks to engage the viewers in an interactive manner.

**Interpretation:** This text is discursive in that it projects to the viewers as though Nigeria is in a big trouble, needing to be rescued and that the country is not working and people have to make sure it is working and the only way in which that can be achieved is by voting for the PDP. This is particularly intriguing because at the same time when the

PDP is saying this, the opposition APC is also claiming to have rescued the country (see Excerpt 21 above for instance).

**Explanation:** Just like their opponent, the party is poised at luring people into believing they are the only party that can fix the country, the social effect of this is that the party is planning to produce power.

**EXCERPT 25:**

‘My fellow Nigerians, I am Atiku Abubakar, the presidential candidate of the PDP. I am on a mission to get Nigeria working again and I need your support.’

(PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 1).

**Description:** This text is made up of two simple sentences which cohere. The second sentence is however made up of two main clauses conjoined with an additive text-building device. If we look at his choice of using ‘mission’, the ultimate objective of a mission is to accomplish. It makes it look as if he is absolutely determined to rescue the country.

**Interpretation:** This text is a short speech made by Alhaji Atiku Abubakar. By making the speech, it establishes an intimate relationship between him and the viewers, most especially, as he refers to them as ‘my fellow Nigerians’. Moreover, he goes further to tell the viewers of his mission to rescue the country. With this, it makes it appear that the country is in crisis out of which the country must be rescued. In a sense, one tends to find fault in the president in power that is unable to fix the country. In another sense, one is inclined toward thinking of an alternative to the president in power. By saying I need your support, it sounds as if he is addressing everyone individually.

**Explanation:** The social practice being enacted with this discursive act is to produce power by luring people into voting for the PDP.

**EXCERPT 26:** ‘He’s been a lovely man... very lovely man. He is so well relaxed you know. He has a listening ear.’ (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 2).

**Description:** This text has three different sentences and all of them are statements. However, as a wife to Atiku Abubakar, she chooses to describe him with the adjective ‘lovely’. And been that Atiku is contesting, she describes him as a person with ‘a listening ear’. This is to depict Atiku Abubakar as a caring and an approachable person to the Nigeria electorate.

**Interpretation:** It is a common practice among politicians globally to flank themselves with their wife. But we cannot rule out the possibility of some form of domestic tussles between some of these couples. Yet they go out to the public to smile at each other as if no problem exists. Titi Abubakar is a wife to Alhaji Atiku Abubakar. Even if there was a quarrel between them at home, her coming out to tell the viewers how lovely and approachable her husband is, was strategic. It will go a long way in convincing viewers that Atiku is truly a lovely and approachable man because those testimonies are coming from his wife. This makes it discursive.

**Explanation:** The social effect of this act is to make people admire and vote for Atiku Abubakar so that power could be enacted.

**EXCERPT 27:**

‘He is admired by various segments of this country and the citizens of the country. The type of leader that Nigeria needs is someone who unites the country together. I believe strongly that Atiku Abubakar is that type of leader.’

(PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 2).

**Description:** This text is made up of three sentences. The first is passive while the other two are active. The second and the third sentences cohere semantically. For instance, while the second sentence is talking about the quality expected in a good Nigeria leader, the third presents Atiku to the viewers as having that quality.

**Interpretation:** This, just like the previous text considered, is all about Intertextuality. This is what Fairclough (1989) calls manifest intertextuality. The advertiser has deliberately collected these interviews in order to convince the viewers to vote for Atiku Abubakar. It is more convincing in this way than for the advertiser himself telling the viewers of the good things about Atiku as a candidate.

**Explanation:** The essence of this is to ideologically brainwash the viewers, so that they can vote for the party.

**EXCERPT 28:** ‘[...] the ability to chart the course and steer the ship.’ (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 2).

**Description:** The advertiser is obviously hiding something in this text because it is just a noun phrase. Unlike the other interviews in the same advert which have subject and predicate, this text does not. So, who is the text referring to and what else is said about the subject are not clear? According to Simpson and Mayer (2007), this is a disjunctive

syntax without a subject and a verb. In Halliday's (1994) transitivity notion, we are supposed to have the participants (the doer and the done to), the process (the action) and the circumstance. But this text does not have the doer as well as the circumstance, an indication that something is being hidden.

**Interpretation:** This, perhaps, is the most intriguing discursive act in this advert. This is because the statement is credited to Bola Ahmad Tinubu, who is the leader of the main opposition party, APC. Even though it is not clear whom he is referring to with that short remark and when he made the statement, viewers will still find it convincing that Ahmad Tinubu is one of those talking positive about Atiku.

**Explanation:** This is a very strong and salient intertextuality. Its social effect is to convince the viewers to vote PDP and of course Atiku Abubakar so as to establish the party's hegemony.

**EXCERPT 29:** 'He has friends everywhere among Christians, among Muslims and also outside Nigeria.' [Voice of Solomon Lar] (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 2).

**Description:** This text is just a simple sentence and a statement. It is expressed with the possessive relational process (Halliday, 1994)

**Interpretation:** This statement is credited to Solomon Lar, an elder statesman. It is discursive, in the first instance, because it is intertextual. Then, the text seeks to portray Atiku as a man of many people and different religions. This is similar to the discursive practice employed by the APC in 2015 when the party had to market President Buhari as a candidate to the Nigerian Christians. It was publicized then that Buhari's personal cook

and driver were Christians. With this too, Atiku who is a Muslim will be seen as a lover of Christians for having Christian friends.

**Explanation:** The social practice being created with this discursive practice is the implantation of ideology in order to build hegemony.

**EXCERPT 30:** ‘He understands the problems of this country’ [Voice of Buba Galadima] (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 2).

**Description:** This text is a full sentence, active and statement. In analyzing this with Halliday’s transitivity, we have the doer participant (He), the process, which is cognitive mental process (understands) and the done-to participant (the problems of this country).

**Interpretation:** The text is credited to Buba Galadima. Just like Tinubu, Buba Galadima was a very strong political ally of President Buhari. Any statement coming from him in support of Atiku Abubakar carries a pregnant meaning and therefore discursive. No wonder, his words and those of Bola Tinubu have been chosen by the producer of the advert to create the impression in the viewers that the candidacy of Atiku was better than that of Buhari.

**Explanation:** With this discursive act, the party is trying to enact power by winning the hearts of the viewers in voting for the PDP and its candidate.

**EXCERPT 31:**

‘This man can be trusted. I have no hesitation at all in endorsing him and I can say without hesitation that the south-south from which I came from also give their support’ [Voice of Tom Ikimi, a politician] (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 2).

**Description:** This text has two sentences. The first is passive while the second one is active. While the first is also simple, the second is a compound sentence. The second sentence has two main clauses which cohere adequately with an additive text-building device (and). The speaker's choice of the word 'hesitation' which is also repeated twice has some implication of immediate or prompt decision. With this, viewers may feel obliged to also decide on voting for Atiku Abubakar without any hesitation or delay.

**Interpretation:** Tom Ikimi is a popular and prominent politician from the South-South geo-political zone of Nigeria. In a country where people, particularly of various ethnic groups, always prefer to know where their ethnic leaders stand politically in order for them to make their own decision, Tom Ikimi is a strong voice in luring, particularly, the people of the South-South into voting for Atiku Abubakar. This makes it a discursive practice.

**Explanation:** This is but implantation of ideological believe. The essence of doing this is to produce power by making people vote for the PDP and Atiku.

**EXCERPT 32:** 'Very much loved. Everyone is talking about him.' (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 2).

**Description:** This text has two sentences. The first is passive while the second is active. Even though the first sentence is a disjunctive syntax for not having a subject, it is clear whom the speaker is referring to. But then it is not clear to us who 'very much love him'.

**Interpretation:** Just like the previous texts, Solomon Lar is also a politician and an elder statesman from Benue state, a north central state. Being an elder statesman, viewers may unduly be influenced by words coming from him about a candidate. And again, by saying

everyone is talking about him, it makes it sound as if Atiku is more popular among all the people of the country.

**Explanation:** This is an ideological process. When the personality of Solomon Lar is saying, ‘everyone is talking about him’ one is inclined to think that one belongs to the minority if one does not support Atiku. The social effect of this discourse practice is to enact hegemony by the PDP.

**EXCERPT 33:** ‘The advocate for a better Nigeria’ (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 3).

**Description:** This text is just a noun phrase. An advocate is a person who strongly and publicly supports something. If Atiku Abubakar is described as an advocate of a better Nigeria, it portrays him as a person who sincerely wants the country to be better.

**Interpretation:** This is discursive in the scene that, in a situation where the entire Nigeria populace is clamoring for a better society, presenting Atiku as an advocate of that better Nigeria seeks to make people or viewers see him as a messiah.

**Explanation:** This act has the ultimate objective of producing power by luring people into voting for Atiku Abubakar and the PDP.

**EXCERPT 34:** ‘PDP na the party oh. Na you we go vote for 2019’ (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 4).

**Description:** This text is in Nigerian Pidgin English which is spoken by the vast majority of Nigerians, particularly the masses. It literally means ‘PDP is the party. It is you we will vote for’. The text comprises two sentences which are both declarative.

**Interpretation:** This text is full of discursive practices. It is rendered in Nigerian Pidgin English to build the community of the low-income earners who are the majority of the populace. By being rendered in pidgin, it means the low-income earners are the target. More so, the second sentence is expressed as though it is the voice of the whole of Nigerians, using first person personal pronoun, ‘we’. This will remind one of the methods adopted by the SDP for Chief MKO Abiola in 1993. The slogan then was ‘MKO na you we want oh’ One begins to wonder who the ‘we’ are and how many are they, considering the entire population of the country.

**Explanation:** This act is capable of enacting hegemony by luring the viewers into giving their consent in order to be dominated.

**EXCERPT 35:** ‘Naija will be great again. Atiku to restructure every sector.’

(PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 4).

**Description:** This text is made up of two declarative sentences.

**Interpretation:** A look at the first sentence in the first instance, reveals something. Naija will be great again. This implies that the country was once great before it later fell into the inglorious moment and now with Atiku becoming the president, the great moment will return. The text seeks to present Atiku to the viewers as a savior of the country. In the second sentence however, the producer of the advert knows how much the country is yearning for restructuring across all sectors and hence, Atiku is presented as the one who will bring it to reality.

**Explanation:** The producer of the advert knows what the country wants and therefore, he has chosen to use them to lure the electorate into believing that Atiku will achieve them for the country. This is in an attempt to establish hegemony.

**EXCERPT 36:** *'2019 man we all want na Atiku'* [The man we want in 2019 is Atiku] (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 4).

**Description:** This is also in Nigeria Pidgin English and it is in the declarative form. The text has adopted the affective mental process of want to describe their feeling for Atiku Abubakar.

**Interpretation:** Although, it is a line in the song advert, it is important to note the mixing of pure and Pidgin English in the song. This is what Fairclough tags interdiscursivity. This is the text which is made up of heterogeneous element or various discourse types such as formal and informal language. The primary motive of using Pidgin English in this kind of political advert is to reach the majority of the Nigeria populace whose lingua franca is pidgin. Meanwhile, we are also concerned with the choice of plural first person pronoun 'we' used in the text. This makes it sound as if the entire population of the country makes the declaration. In this case, anyone who does not support Atiku may have the feeling that they belong to the minority.

**Explanation:** This discursive act seeks to enact power by luring the viewers into voting for Atiku in 2019.

**EXCERPT 37:** 'Empowerment for Nigerian women. Job creation for all youths in Nigeria' (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 4).

**Description:** This text is made up of two lines of disjunctive syntax with no subjects and verbs. It also contains parallelism because the two lines are similar grammatical structures

**Interpretation:** The discursive practice evident in this text can be seen in the reference made to Nigerian women and Nigerian youths. These two categories of Nigerians have empowerment and employments as their basic needs respectively. So, the advertiser has carefully chosen those words to entice the people, knowing that they are the only things they can promise to the people to win their hearts.

**Explanation:** The social practice this text seeks to generate is power production voting for the PDP and Atiku.

**EXCERPT 38:** ‘We plan, we will invest in our failing infrastructure.’ (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 4).

**Description:** There are two areas of concern in this text. One, the use of plural first person pronoun and two, the choice of the adjective ‘failing’ to describe the current status of the country’s infrastructure. In the first instance, the speaker, who happens to be Atiku Abubakar himself, seems to have chosen ‘we’ instead of ‘I’ in order to make the promise look as if it is the party’s collective decision. In this case, the promise will sound more credible than when it is unilaterally proposed. In the second instance, he has used the adjective failing to discredit the ruling party. However, it will sound funny to know that it is at the same time the ruling APC is also claiming to have resuscitated the nation’s failed infrastructure. This is a clear indication that the two political parties are discursively in power struggle.

**Explanation:** The essence of all of this is to implant the party's ideology in the viewers. By so doing, the viewers will see the PDP and Atiku Abubakar as the alternative to the APC and Muhammadu Buhari.

**EXCERPT 39:** 'Our Nigeria, this was truly a great nation. When education was at its best, it was working. When health care was free, it was working. When agriculture was once our pride, our trade and commerce values, our pyramid of success and industries, Nigeria was working. Until now...' (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 5).

**Description:** This text has chosen to use past tense consistently to give the impression that the country once got it right. Subsequently, it goes on to mention the beautiful things about the various sectors of the economy. But then, it ends by saying 'until now'. This is to depict the current or present situation as being abnormal. If the country 'was' working before, that means it 'is' no longer working now.

**Interpretation:** This text is discursive in the sense that it seeks to portray the ruling party as a failure. Interestingly, this is the same allegation the ruling party is leveling against the PDP. Since the country returned to civil rule in 1999, the PDP has been the party in power up till 2015 when the APC took over the power. Therefore, if the PDP is now saying that the country was working, was it when it was in power or before it came into power in 1999? On the other hand, if the party says 'until now,' was it when the party took over power or after it eventually lost power in 2015? Maybe, it is the people of the country who will be able to judge.

**Explanation:** The social effect of this discursive practice is the establishment of the PDP's ideology by making the viewers have the belief that the party is the only solution to the problem of the country.

**EXCERPT 40:**

‘Corruption has become the order of the day, chaos. Poverty, hardship, joblessness, accident, violence, pain, agony, destruction and crime’ [At the mention of each of the words, related frightening and disturbing images are displayed concurrently] (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 5).

**Description:** All the words in this text have carefully been chosen deliberately to scare or frighten viewers about the ruling APC.

**Interpretation:** This is an instance of attack advert. By saying that corruption and all of these other social vices have become the order of the day; it implies that they all started during the period of the ruling party and that the party has not been able to do anything about them. For instance, at the mention of violence, some statistics are displayed on the screen, indicating the disturbing number of crimes recorded in the northern part of the country alone from 2017 to 2018, during which the APC was in power. Anyone who sees this will most likely be scared of the APC’s government. This is exactly what the producer of the advert seeks to achieve.

**Explanation:** The result of this discursive practice is power struggle and the attempt to enact the PDP’s hegemony. This can be achieved by creating the hatred of the APC in the electorate whereas the PDP is presented to the same electorate as the alternative party.

**EXCERPT 41:**

‘Nigerians need a credible leader that can work on security, health, empowerment, welfare, education, employment, engaging 40% of the youth and women in the

presidency, building and completing infrastructure. Let's get Nigeria working again. Vote PDP. Vote Atiku/Obi 2019.' (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 5).

**Description:** This text is made up of four different sentences. The first is active and declarative while the last three are imperatives.

**Interpretation:** The producer of the advert obviously knows the various problems of Nigeria as a nation and what different categories of its people really want. They know the country is contending with the challenges of insecurity, poor health care delivery, unemployment, lack of citizens' welfare, poor education and the rest. They also know that women and youths are agitating for inclusion in governance. In view of this, they are trying to convince the viewers that the PDP as a party is aware of those challenges. More so, by promising 40% appointment for women and youths in the presidency, this is to satisfy the popular agitation of '35% Affirmative Action' among we men as well as the 'Not too Young' agitation among the youths. By so doing, women and youths will be enticed into supporting and voting for the PDP.

**Explanation:** This text is thought of in a bid to change ideology of the people so that they will support and vote for the PDP. Consequently, the party's hegemony will be produced.

**EXCERPT 42:** 'Whether a raining or a sunny condition, what you need is an umbrella and not a broom. Join the moving train. Vote wisely.' (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 6).

**Description:** This text is full of imperatives thereby making it conversational. Although the first sentence in the text is declarative, it also adopts the conversation method by referring to the viewers directly as 'you' as though the whole conversation is on individual basis. When one is watching this, one feels as if the conversation addressed only to one alone.

**Interpretation:** Generally, the text is symbolic. It is the concluding part of a short drama portraying the umbrella as being more useful than a broomstick when it is either raining or sunny. Here, the umbrella symbolizes the PDP. The broomstick symbolizes the APC while the sunny and the rainy situations symbolize the various problems that may confront Nigeria. And now the drama is followed with the statement ‘whether a raining or sunny condition, what you need is an umbrella and not a broom’. This implies that people should choose the PDP over the APC. It then adds, ‘Join the moving train. Vote wisely’. Imagine a viewer being told to vote wisely. This makes it sound as if any contrary decision is not a wise one. Moreover, different political parties in Nigeria are fond of using the statement ‘join the moving train’. The idea of using it is to make it look as if the majority of people are on board in their support and therefore one should not be left behind.

**Explanation:** The whole of the text is ideological. This makes it discursive because the advert is seeking to brainwash the viewers such that they believe only in the PDP and that it is the only party that can save Nigeria.

**EXCERPT 43:** ‘Show me the change oh!’ (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 7).

**Description:** This is a simple and imperative sentence. Just like all imperatives, it seeks to engage the addressees in thinking by challenging them to do something.

**Interpretation:** If one was not aware of the campaign slogan of the APC in the 2015 general elections, one might not understand the essence of the above statement. Throughout the 2015 election campaign, the most popular slogan was ‘change’. And that has been the slogan of the APC. Nigerians believed the party was actually going to do things differently and thus massively voted for the APC. The PDP however, had spent the whole of the APC’s first four years in power to campaign that there was no any difference between them and the APC in

power. This text is a line from the song advert and with it, the singer is challenging the viewers to show him the change the APC promised or claimed they would bring.

**Explanation:** The text is ideologically discursive in the sense that it engages in power struggle. It is employed to enlighten the viewers to withdraw their support from the APC and give it to the PDP.

**EXCERPT 44:**

‘Show me the change oh, my brother.

I no see, I no know. (chorus)

Show me the change oh, my sister.

I no hear, I no see.’ (chorus) (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 7).

**Description:** This text is in Nigerian Pidgin English. It is made up of four sentences, two of which are lead songs and two of which are choruses. The first and the third sentences, just like the previous text considered above, are imperative sentences, challenging the viewers to show the speaker the change promised. The second and the fourth sentences are however the responses to the first and the third sentences. In Halliday’s Transitivity, the process types adopted in this text are cognitive and perceptive mental processes. In the second sentence for instance, the speakers have used both perceptive and cognitive mental process (*I no see, I no know*) while in the fourth they have used only perceptive mental process (*I no hear; I no see*).

**Interpretation:** Though a song, the text is ideologically discursive in the sense that it seeks to challenge the viewers to produce the ‘change’ promised to them by the APC in the campaign year. By so doing, the viewers’ reasoning is surreptitiously sought so that eventually, they may see no difference between the two parties.

**Explanation:** At the peak of power struggle between the APC and the PDP in 2019, the parties employed various methods one of which was this kind of advert. The essence of this act is to wrestle power from the ruling APC and establish the PDP hegemony.

**EXCERPT 45:** ‘I urge you to do the right thing.’ (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 8).

**Description:** This text is an imperative sentence in its active form. We can however see the cunning way of using second person pronoun (you) in addressing the viewers. This is an attempt to make it appear as if each viewer is personally addressed. This is what Simpson and Mayer call direct address. They quote Fairclough (1989) to have opined that ‘people do not like being addressed as part of a mass audience, as individuality is something that is culturally valued’.

**Interpretation:** This is a statement by Alhaji Atiku Abubakar himself. After introducing himself as the PDP presidential candidate, he goes further to urge people to do the right thing. This makes any decision to vote against him sound as though it is a wrong thing to do.

**Explanation:** The text is ideologically infested in that it seeks to lure the viewers into voting for the PDP thereby establishing the party’s hegemony.

**EXCERPT 46:**

‘Tough times for right decision. Because this is the time, time to break ground, time to reunite Nigeria, time to reorganize our security system, time to create good job opportunities for our youths, time to reorganize our health system’ (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 8).

**Description:** This text is full of disjunctive syntax. That is the use of sentences without verbs or subject. This is what Simpson and Mayer (2007) say ‘is a strategy to mimic a conversational

style in advs.’ However, we are more interested in the choice of words like reunite, and reorganize used by the speaker. In this context, this presupposes that the country was not ‘united’ and ‘organized.’

**Interpretation:** The discursive practice evident in this can be seen in the way the advert seeks to make viewers see the ruling APC as lacking the capability to unite the country and organize its security as well as its health systems. With this, viewers may tend to lose faith in the APC and seek alternative in the PDP.

**Explanation:** What the text is trying to achieve is to change the political ideology of the people by luring them into believing in the capability of the PDP.

**EXCERPT 47:**

‘I, Atiku Abubakar, I urge you to do the right thing. I am not here because I want to; I am here because I want to restore the lost glory of Nigeria and let our dream become reality and freedom our experience.’ (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 8).

**Description:** This text is made up of two sentences. While the first is simple, the second is a complex sentence blended together with various text-building devices like because as well as and in order to make it cohere.

**Interpretation:** There are a number of discursive practices in this text. The first is contained in the first sentence where Atiku Abubakar is urging people to do the right thing. This is one of the many adverts where he has said that. It is much ideologically infested. This is because anyone who hears this statement may be tempted to believe that choosing to vote against Atiku Abubakar is a wrong thing to do. The second sentence seeks to convince the viewers on how determined Atiku Abubakar is by affirming to them that he is not just contesting for no reason,

but with the determination of restoring the country's lost glory. This makes it look as if he is more determined than any other presidential candidates to give the country the needed glory. More so, by telling the viewers of his intention to make the country's dream become a reality and give its people freedom, it presupposes that the country has not realized its dream as much as the people of the country do not have freedom as a result of the failure of the government in power. In another sense, it also portrays Atiku Abubakar as being more visionary more than his major contender.

**Explanation:** The intention behind this discursive practice is to struggle for power from the ruling APC by luring people into believing Atiku can do it better than Buhari or any other candidates.

**EXCERPT 48:** 'Let's get Nigeria working again! Vote Atiku Abubakar for 2019' (PDP Presidential Campaign Advert 8).

**Description:** The text contains two different sentences and the two are imperatives. Just like most imperatives, these two are directly instructing the viewers on what to do.

**Interpretation:** Throughout the 2019 political campaign, Atiku Abubakar's slogan has remained 'Let's get Nigeria working again.' This is ideologically discursive because, on one hand, it presupposes that the country is not working and therefore needs to be fixed. On the other hand, it also implies that if people really want Nigeria working, they need to support Atiku Abubakar by casting their votes for him during the election. The text then goes further to tell the viewers to vote for Atiku in the upcoming election.

**Explanation:** This discursive act is seeking to establish the PDP's hegemony and dislodge that of the APC. This is as a result of the power struggle between the two major parties.

### **3.2 CONCLUSION**

The chapter has examined the different ways in which APC and PDP presidential candidates were represented in the data. The analysis has demonstrated that through the use of certain linguistic resources the two political parties (APC and PDP) structured their campaign advertisements in ways that enabled to portray their candidates positively.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

#### **4.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter draws this study to a close by discussing the major findings of the study. It also presents conclusions drawn from the research findings.

## **4.1 SUMMARY**

In the previous chapter, we carried out the CDA appraisal of the collected data constituted by the discursive events found in the advertisements of both the ruling APC and the main opposition, PDP in the 2019 presidential elections in Nigeria. To do this, Fairclough's three-dimensional model of analysis was adopted. The three tools are Description, Interpretation and Explanation. The description concerned itself with the linguistic analysis of the individual text. The interpretation tool focused on the contextual analysis of the text while the explanation tool x-rayed on the social process each text is capable of (re)producing.

As we have highlighted in Chapter One, eight different adverts for each of the APC and the PDP were drawn from the *YouTube*. Each of the adverts was then carefully examined to identify the possible discursive practices in them. These various identified practices were what our analysis focused on. At the end of it all, the following was discovered. As earlier stated, sixteen different adverts were examined, eight for the APC and eight for the PDP. Out of the sixteen advertisements, forty-eight (48) different salient discursive events were identified twenty-three (23) of which came from the APC while the remaining twenty-five (25) from the PDP. Meanwhile, before we go into full discussion, it is pertinent to state clearly here that this work was not conducted to determine whether or not the discursive practices adopted by either of the parties were efficacious. Therefore, we are not going to be concerned with the subsequent outcomes of the elections and what led into them.

## **4.2 DISCUSSION**

Now, for the purpose of explicitness, the findings from the whole analysis are discussed as followed. The work found out that all the discourse practices identified were employed by the two parties to **enact power** or to **re-enact power**. Wodak (2013) asserts that power is central to CDA. She says “CDA analyses the language use of those in power, who are responsible for the existence of inequalities.” This same opinion has prompted Gramscy (1978) to formulate his idea of *hegemony*, which believes that power is not only attained by coercive force but also through hegemony which means winning the consent of the people. At the return of Nigeria to democracy in 1999 after many years of successive military rules, the PDP emerged as the winner of the general elections which produced the power in the centre. And since then, the party had remained in power until 2015 when it was eventually dislodged by the APC in that year’s general elections with the help of some powerful discursive practices. In the political history of Nigeria, perhaps the 2015 election campaign would remain the most discursive one the country has ever recorded so far with accusations and counter-accusations from the two major frontline political parties, name-calling, incitement, fake news etc. Consequently, relevant bodies decided to put in place measures in order to stem the trend. By 2019, political parties were, to some extent, restricted. But then the restriction also had its limitation. Because the parties were struggling for power, some of the restrictions put in place were circumvented. While the APC was determined to retain power thereby reproducing its hegemony, the PDP, on the other hand, struggled to wrestle power from the APC. Because of this, the political parties adopted different techniques as they might achieve for them their various objectives. For instance, the two parties heavily relied on the *reason* or what can technically be called *commonsensical* type of advertisement (see

excerpts 5, 10, 16, 17, 18, 22, 39, 42, 43 and 44) as well as attack advertisements (see Appendices iv, vii, viii, xiii, xiv and xviii). Therefore, generally, the social process these acts sought to accomplish was either to reproduce power dominance, as in the case of the APC or to produce power, as in the case of the PDP. To achieve this, the two political parties had to desperately employ certain techniques in order to lure people into voting for them. By so doing, the electorate will willingly give its consent in order to be dominated by either of the parties. This is how Gramscian hegemony takes place.

Another major reason why the two parties have been discursive in their campaign advertisements is due to **ideological enactment**. In this sense, the two parties could be seen trying to make people believe only in their party. If we look at Appendix IV, for instance, the APC tries to indoctrinate people with the belief that only APC is trustworthy. The opposition party, PDP, is presented to the viewers as being very corrupt and selfish. All the APC is seeking to achieve here is for people to think and believe in only it. In Appendix XII, the advert seeks to achieve this indoctrination by shouting declarative sentences like: ‘PDP na the party. Na you we go vote for. PDP na the party we want.’ Statements such as these make supporters of other parties feel inferior. They make them feel as if they belong to the minority party. Since no one wants to be defeated, chances are that some people might choose to go for the PDP, thereby getting ideologically indoctrinated. Yet another example lies in Appendix xiv where the PDP wants people to believe that the opposition APC lacks the solution to the problems of the country and that it is the only solution to the problem of Nigeria all the times. This will remind one of President Goodluck Jonathan’s remarks during a campaign rally in 2015 when he claimed that many world leaders had called him to warn him that the PDP must not lose that year’s election.

This was to make it sound as though if the PDP lost, the country would plunge into crises, thereby luring people into sticking to the party. This is ideologically discursive.

Meanwhile, Wodak and Mayer (2009) listed four different characteristics of ideology as identified by political scientists. These are: (1) that ideology is more important than cognition (2) that it can guide individual's evaluation (3) that it guides adherents through action, and (4) that it must be coherent logically. Wodak (2001) also states that 'when people in a society think alike about certain matters, or even forget that there are alternatives to the status quo, one arrives at the Gramscian's concept of hegemony'. This is where we will know that the parties' attempt to enact their ideology is to make sure that the electorate is indoctrinated in such a way that they only think about their party alone.

However, to achieve the above, some of the identified techniques employed by the two parties in their campaign advertisements are as follows:

**Symbolism:** This can be seen in the way the two political parties used the opposition's symbol in alluding to the opposition party. This was born out of the realization that all stakeholders in the political campaign advertisement on the mass media had been warned against, among other things, name-calling by the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC). So, even if the political parties were not ready to comply with the rule, the media houses, through which their adverts could be aired, must if they did not want to be sanctioned by the NBC. Therefore, in order to circumvent the regulation restricting the broadcasting agencies from name-calling, the political parties have to resort to the use of symbolism which requires no effort to decipher that it is their opponent being referred to. This can be seen in Appendices iv and xiv. In the former, the APC has chosen to use an umbrella with the colours green, white and red, which is the official symbol of the PDP, painting the umbrella as being 'selfish' and 'untrustworthy' while at the same time,

it is presenting its own symbol of broomstick to the people as their saviour. Likewise, in the latter, the PDP has referred to broomstick, which is the official symbol of the ruling APC as being unreliable and incompetent in solving the people's problems, while portraying its own symbol as the solution to the people's problems all the times. No viewer will doubt which political party each of the adverts is referring to. This makes it clear how important and effective semiotics is in CDA. This is also the more reason why more scholars increasingly believe that CDA may not be complete without considering some of the other things around texts.

**Common Sense:** This is another tool widely employed by the two political parties. The parties made conscious efforts to make things look natural or commonsensical to the viewers so that they are encouraged to reason or think in the specific way favourable to each of the parties. Simpson And Mayer (2007) assert that "a common theme running through much work on language and power is the understanding that the linguistic structure of a text often works silently or invisibly to reproduce the relationships of power and dominance. We can see instances of this in data 5, 10, 16, 17, 18, 22, 39, 42, 43 and 44. The first six of these were employed by the APC while the last four by the PDP. Excerpt 5, for instances, is pivoted on the natural belief that every change comes with temporary hardship even though its result promises a better situation after all. With this belief, the advert producer hoped to convince the people of the country that the economic hardship being experienced then was as a result of the change the APC government was putting in place. It was like telling people to be patient. In Excerpt 10, after telling people to re-elect President Buhari, it then asks the question 'why.' Then it goes on to tell the reasons why Buhari should be re-elected. It is only commonsensical for people to consider what the advert listed Buhari had done in the past and what he would do next for

them to consider his re-election. In Excerpt 18, the APC has tried to justify why it is commonsensical to consider it in the next election due to the achievements recorded by the party 'despite' the various odds. The word despite has been used twice here to show how proficient and creative the party is in managing the state's resources efficiently in the face of the reduced revenue. It is only commonsensical for viewers to consider the party.

In Excerpt 39, the PDP brought to the fore the times when 'things were working' in the country until 'now'. Naturally, people would reason that the government in power during that 'now' was the one responsible for the country not working again. In Excerpt 42, the PDP is making it sound natural to the viewers that only umbrella is required in all weather conditions, not broomstick while in Excerpt 44, the party is challenging the viewers to use their common sense and show it the change promised by the ruling APC.

With all of these, we can see clearly how the two political parties tried to play on the viewers' intelligence, encouraging them to think or reason in the specific ways the parties really wanted.

**Implicitness and Explicitness:** With the searchlight of the Halliday's *Transitivity*, the research work found out that some of the texts considered were shrouded with implicitness and explicitness. This is the attempt to background or foreground certain information. An example of this can be seen in data 28 where certain crucial elements have obviously and advertently been left out in the text. Considering that the statement is credited to Bola Ahmad Tinubu, the leader of the ruling APC, the advert producer was just determined to showcase it for being strategic. So, what comes before and what comes after the statement are taken away from the people so that the meaning is distorted. This

is the reason why Simpson and Mayer (2007) assert that CDA “often asks why some information is omitted from a text, information which logically should have been there.”

**Ideological Enactment:** This, perhaps, is the most intriguing part of the two political parties’ campaign adverts. Throughout the 2015 election campaign, the PDP, which was the party in power, had maintained the country had been transformed socially, economically, politically and what have you. Therefore, the party’s campaign slogan that year was ‘Let the transformation continue’. But then, when the APC eventually defeated the party in 2015 and took over power, the APC had alleged that, contrary to the PDP’s claim, the country had been destroyed in all its ramifications in the hand of the PDP over the period of sixteen years in which the PDP was in power. This was the song sung by the APC throughout its four years in office. Therefore, the APC claimed it just started fixing all the sectors of the country’s economy. And by the end of its first four years in power, the party also claimed that it had succeeded in restructuring all the sectors of the economy and that its subsequent intention was to ‘consolidate on the successes’ recorded in the first term, hence the Next Level slogan. This can be seen in Appendices i, v and vii. Subsequently, the party began to copy the PDP’s 2015 slogan by saying ‘Let the transformation continue’. (See Excerpt 7). Meanwhile, at the same time when the ruling APC was laying claim to all these successes, the opposition PDP was vehemently campaigning that the APC had destroyed the good work done by it and that the party was only driving the country backward. This is what we will see in Appendices xiii and xvi. Fowler (1979) opines that the model of society is a conflict between contending forces.

With the trade blame between the two political parties and the claim of the credit for repairing the country, viewers of their adverts are then left to wonder which of the parties

destroyed the country and which of them actually fixed it. For instance, the biggest accusation which the APC leveled against the PDP was that of corruption. Throughout the four year rule of the party, it succeeded in convincing the people of how corrupt the PDP was by arresting many of its members, alleging them of stealing varied huge amounts of money in both local and foreign currencies. With this, the PDP's popularity became very low. This is the reason why many of the APC's adverts would accuse the PDP of being corrupt. We can see how this is portrayed in Appendices i, iv, vii and viii. Where the PDP is portrayed as being corrupt, the APC is portrayed as the party helping the masses to fight against corruption. Yet in Excerpt 40, the same PDP is alleging that 'corruption has become the order of the day', making it look as if there was no corruption when it was in power and that it was APC that just introduced it, although, that is the only advert where the PDP has managed to accuse the APC of corruption at all.

We can see these accusations and counter-accusations because each of the two parties was determined to make the viewers have certain beliefs: (i) that the country was destroyed by the opposition party and therefore it is free of any blame and (ii) that its ultimate concern is just to fix the country. The essence of all of this is the attempts by the two parties to implant their ideologies in the viewers.

**Intertextuality:** This is another technique which the two parties adopted heavily in most of the adverts in order to link texts to certain contexts. Simpson and Mayer (2007) explain that in analysing vocabulary, grammar and text structure, one has to pay attention to intertextuality. However, with Fairclough's distinguishing of intertextuality into manifest intertextuality and interdiscursivity (1992), we can see that the two types were also used by the parties. For instance, manifest intertextuality, which involves drawing

upon other texts such as quotations by the other people, can be seen to have been used in data 4, 16, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32.

The Excerpt 4 was employed by the APC, quoting one Dr Abubakar Muhammad to have said, 'It is an open secret that many of our so-called "leaders" fear the General because nowadays, in our society, one is feared when one stands up for the truth'. Just as we have analyzed this in chapter three, the quotation has been brought to the fore in order to create a context for the personality of President Buhari as a man of integrity and honesty. Apart from this, when important personalities are quoted in an argument, the effect is that people tend to believe the view of the one who quotes, thinking that that view is shared by that personality. A similar method was adopted by the PDP in Excerpt 31 where Tom Ikimi is quoted to have said, 'This man can be trusted. I have no hesitation at all in endorsing him and I can say without any hesitation that the South-South, from which I come from, also give their support'. This was to create certain contexts for the advert, (i) the context of Tom Ikimi, a popular figure from the South-South, throwing his weight behind Atiku. (ii) If Tom Ikimi is saying that Atiku can be trusted, the impression the advert is creating is that everyone else should also trust Atiku because the personality of Tom Ikimi trusts him.

The second type of intertextuality is interdiscursivity which involves constructing a text with heterogeneous or various discourse types. This can be seen in Appendices iv, viii, ix, xii and xv. In these adverts, we can see how the producers have used the Nigerian Pidgin English in addressing the viewers. The essence of doing this is ostensibly to build the community of Pidgin English speakers, which is the largest linguistic community in the

country. With this, the parties are sure of reaching more audience than using any other languages since the majority of Nigerians speak Pidgin English.

**Marketization or Commodification:** This is the major technique which the two parties have used throughout the adverts. Because of the strong competition mounting up between the two parties, each of them had to market their candidate and parties to the viewers in the most appealing ways, just in the same way household commodities are marketed by the producers. Simpson and Mayer (2007) believe this happens as a result of external pressures. This, according to Fairclough (1992), is one of the processes of establishing hegemony. For instance, if either of the candidates of the two parties was contesting unopposed, his party might not bother marketing him as a candidate.

Marketization is what one will see in Appendices i, iii, x and xiii. I have decided to choose only two examples for each party but it should be noted that the majority of the adverts have strong elements of marketization. In Appendix i, for instance, Muhammadu Buhari is marketed as the one whose administration reduced inflation rate..., who pursued the Chadian soldiers away from the Nigerian territory, who, as the PTA chairman, impacted on people's lives and so on.

In Appendix iii, President Buhari is portrayed as a visionary leader who is poised to drive Nigeria to greatness. What all of these sought to achieve was to make President Buhari appealing to the viewers. In figure Appendix x, Atiku Abubakar is portrayed as a good husband and father, and a trust worthy person who is loved by all while in Appendix xiii, he is presented as a credible candidate who can work on the security, health, education and welfare of the country.

**Conversationalization:** This is the method of addressing the viewers personally as though it is on an individual basis. Conversationalization is one of what Fairclough (1992) has described as hegemonic processes. Here you see the frequent use of second person pronouns such as you and your. Simpson and Mayer (2007) opine that ‘people do not like being addressed as part of a mass audience’. They also quote Fairclough to have referred to this attempt as ‘synthetic personalization’. Therefore, in most of the adverts, you see the use of you and your or imperative sentences such as Vote Buhari and APC or Vote Atiku and PDP.

### **4.3 CONCLUSION**

This study was aimed at unearthing and understanding the various possible ideologically discursive practices surreptitiously embedded in the political campaign adverts of the 2019 presidential elections in Nigeria. To do this, eight television advertisements were collected for each of the ruling APC and the main opposition PDP. Fairclough’s three-dimension model of critical discourse analysis was adopted. These are Description, Interpretation and Explanation. The study found out that the producers employed various techniques such as symbolism, accusation, common sense, ideological enactment, marketization as well as implicitness and explicitness. In most cases, many of the processors of these adverts (viewers) are unaware of all of these surreptitious moves and therefore unsuspecting of the politicians’ real intents, thereby falling into their beck and call. This is how political parties are eventually able to enact their ideology and hegemony.

Finally, the work is also expected to enlighten the viewers in order to be able to make informed decision as to whether or not a political text is ideologically discursive or

infested. In other words, with this work, viewers will be conscious of ideologically discursive practices embedded in any political text.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX I: APC PRESIDENTIAL ADVERT FOR BUHARI (1)**

*(A short Presidential Campaign Advert for Buhari)*

**DESCRIPTION:** No voice but instrumental and graphic displays

'Vote for Change Agent'<sup>1</sup>

Muhammadu Buhari: whose administration reduced the inflation rate in the economy from 23% to 4% within 2 years.

Muhammadu Buhari:

In 1983, it was also in record that when Chadian soldiers invaded and took 19 Islands in Lake Chad, within Nigeria territory, he was the General Officer Commanding the armoured division,

successfully cordoned-off the territory and pursued the Chadian army as far as 50km back to Chadian territory.

Muhammadu Buhari:

“It is an open secret that many of our so-called “leaders” fear the General because nowadays, in our society, one is feared when one stands up for the truth.”<sup>4</sup>

## **APPENDIX II APC PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ADVERT (2)**

**(Goldsmith Advert)**

### **DESCRIPTION:**

(No voice but instrumental and texts and graphic displays)

‘The process of change is inevitable.

During this process ...

(Now we are shown the footage of gold being heated and remolded)

Change may seem a little tough. But things change from one level to another’<sup>5</sup>

(And now we are shown the images of beautifully shaped pieces of gold)

## **APPENDIX III: APC PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ADVERT (3)**

**(Next Level Advert)**

### **DESCRIPTION**

*(No voice but sounds of a zooming car with text and graphic displays)*

*‘Nigeria is on a journey to greatness, driven by a visionary leader’<sup>6</sup>*

(Image of a car branded 2019 is displayed)

The process has begun

And beyond every obstacle

We are going to the next level

(We can now see and hear the car as it zooms away)

(The image of President Buhari is displayed)

Let the transformation continue’<sup>7</sup>

#### **APPENDIX IV: APC PRESIDENTIAL ADVERT (4)**

**(Next Level Advert 2)**

##### **DESCRIPTION:**

A boy is shown with a plate of rice with a couple of drumsticks of chicken on it. As he begins to eat, a folded umbrella with the colours green, red and white appears to hit his hand, preventing him from eating the food. ‘Wetin nah?’, the boy protests, meaning why are you stopping me? This is repeated three times until a broomstick appears in order to stop the umbrella from preventing the boy.

Meanwhile, while this is ongoing, a masculine voice underground is saying:

‘God don bless this country. But so many leaders wan dabaru wetin God don do. Leaders wey no want make we chop, no want make we enjoy life. Corrupt leaders wey dey chop alone. They want make we dey cry. But God don send better people wey dey fight for us make we fit they chop again.’<sup>8</sup> (The one holding the broom is now seen chasing the one holding the umbrella)

‘Now, they want carry us go another level’<sup>9</sup>

(The hand holding the broom is shown placing a whole chicken on the boy's food)

(Then the images of President Buhari and Vice President Osinbajo are displayed)

#### **APPENDIX V: APC PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ADVERT (5)**

**(Let Us Re-elect Buhari)**

##### **DESCRIPTION:**

(No voice but graphic and texts displays)

‘After 3 years, the APC is taking Nigeria to the next level. Let's re-elect President Buhari and Professor Yemi Osinbajo for 2019. Why ??? <sup>10</sup>

Buhari has in his heart fight for lives and properties.

Boko Haram insurgency is reducing

Osinbajo is touching the lives of millions of youths through the N-power Scheme and Tradermon. Farmers have increased the availability of food to Nigerians through Ancho-borrower Scheme. More rehabilitated schools and health centres are emerging. Transportation and infrastructure have been improved to the benefit of Nigerians. Power sector has been stable in the past 3 years like never before.

Surely APC is taking Nigeria to the next level <sup>11</sup>

Vote APC! Vote Buhari/Osinbajo for 2019!

#### **APPENDIX VI: APC PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ADVERT (6)**

**(Next Level Adverb 3)**

##### **DESCRIPTION:**

(A masculine voice speaks while relevant images and graphics are displayed)

‘At the next level, our children, our young, our old, our women, the artisans, the entrepreneurs, the traders, all go higher in the next level. <sup>12</sup>

Next level is about jobs, millions of it, N-power, jobs in agriculture, technology and industrialization.

Next level is about people’s money (Trader-moni logo displayed) and people’s growth. <sup>13</sup>

Next level connects people by roads and rails from Lagos to Ibadan and between one city and others.

Next level is about clean and uninterrupted power supply. Next level is about education.

Next level brings all our regulators together. (CAC’s, NAFDAC’s, SON’s logos displayed)

All our teachers will be retrained to train our children. 10,000 schools each year.

Next level, our women and youths are given more responsibilities. <sup>14</sup>

Next level... internet for all

Today points to future and next level. Buhari and Osinbajo offer the path to the next level for us all.

We are all going higher to the next level. <sup>15</sup>

Next Level!

## **APPENDIX VII: APC PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ADVERT (7)**

**(Next Level Advert 4)**

## **DESCRIPTION:**

(A masculine voice with the display of relevant images and graphics)

‘A report by OPEC shows that Nigeria earned \$877.3 billion between 1999 and 2017 from the sales of crude oil out of which \$783.3 billion accrued by 1999 to 2015 when Buhari’s administration earned \$94 billion as at 2017. <sup>16</sup>

Despite the large amount earned by the previous administrations, there was under-development in infrastructure, education and social services in the period of high oil revenue and increased revenue as a result of combination of corruption and weak institutions which dealt a lethal blow to our economy. <sup>17</sup>

To set us back on the path of economic recovery and growth plan, we adopted an Economic Recovery Growth Plan (ERGP) in April, 2017.

The mission is to restore economic growth and to invest in Nigerians. Through TSA, we have been able to block leakages and ensure complete and timely remittance of revenue.

Despite reduced oil prices earning, this administration has done far more with less revenue. We have made substantial investments in agriculture, solid minerals, the creative sector and the technology. Despite limited resources, over 13 million Nigerians are benefiting from the national social investment programs. <sup>18</sup>

We are one of the best economies in the world. The economy is back on the path of growth. We have unlocked the Nigerian economy for the benefit of our people. <sup>19</sup>

For the next level, we will deepen economic diversification, including investment in power, road and rail infrastructure and promote manufacturing through Agro-based industry.

A vote for Buhari/Osinbajo and APC is a vote for the next level of economic growth and prosperity for all.’<sup>20</sup>

(Images of Buhari and Osinbajo are displayed)

## **APPENDIX VIII: APC PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ADVERT (8)**

### **DESCRIPTION:**

(A masculine voice is heard while the footage of a little girl standing in her bedroom is displayed)

‘In a land, not very far away, a beautiful little girl tells a beautiful story’

(Then the little girl now begins to narrate the story in her bedroom)

‘Once upon a time, there was a big, beautiful city (Image of a beautiful city is displayed). The city was so lovely. People came from all over to visit the city.

Then came a time when bad bad people came into the city and started eating all the buildings in the city. City was destroyed and everyone thought all hope was lost. (Image of a shattered city is now displayed)

Then arrived a hero who came into the city and chased away all the bad people from the city. (Image of President Buhari is displayed)<sup>21</sup>

Once again, the city became beautiful. People who lived in the city were now happy (Image of the beautiful city is once again displayed with people’s cheerful voices heard underground)

When I grow up I will like to be a hero like that man.’<sup>22</sup>

(The masculine voice returns)

‘What story do you like your children to tell for the years to come? Vote for the future of our children. Vote Buhari and Osinbajo 2019.’<sup>23</sup>

(Images of president Buhari and Osinbajo are displayed)

## **APPENDIX IX: PDP PRESIDENTIAL ADVERT 2019 (1)**

**(Get Nigeria Working Again)**

### **DESCRIPTION**

(Text and Graphics displays are seen first)

Get Nigeria Working Again! Rescue Nigeria!<sup>24</sup>

BETTER LIFE FOR NIGERIANS

(Followed by the images of Atiku Abubakar and Peter Obi)

(Then Atiku’s voice comes, introducing himself)

‘My fellow Nigerians, I am Atiku Abubakar, the presidential candidate of the PDP. I am on a mission to get Nigeria working again and I need your support’<sup>25</sup>

Vote PDP! Vote Atiku in 2019!

(Music follows which eventually peters out)

Atikulate oooh!

Atiku for president

He go make life better ooh!

Vote Atiku Abubakar

He go make Nigeria better

## **APPENDIX X: PDP PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ADVERT (2)**

### **(Interview Advert)**

#### **DESCRIPTION:**

(Image of Atiku Abubakar displayed with his name, followed by interview by different people)

Titi Abubakar (Wife):

(‘AS A FAMILY MAN is displayed)

‘He’s been a lovely man ... very lovely man. He is so well relaxed, you know. He has a listening ear’<sup>26</sup>

Halima Atiku (daughter):

‘He’s cool isn’t he?’

(Then followed by a masculine voice)

‘Atiku said education started him on the road to success. He built primary and secondary schools and even established a university, the American University of Nigeria in Yola to give his nation’s young people the most important tool to succeed’.

(Atiku is now shown talking)

‘My hope for the youths of Nigeria is first of all to see that they are all educated because the youths are the future of the country.’

(‘AS A CANDIDATE...’ is displayed)

(Solomon Lar is seen talking now)

‘He is admired by various segments of this country and the citizens of the country. The type of leader that Nigeria needs is someone who unites the country together. I believe strongly that Atiku Abubakar is that type of leader’<sup>27</sup>

(Bola Tinubu is shown talking now)

‘Ability to chart the course and steer the ship’<sup>28</sup>

(Solomon Lar is shown again talking)’

‘He has friends everywhere among Christians, among Muslims and also outside Nigeria.’<sup>29</sup>

(Odumakin is now shown talking)

‘He understands the problems of this country’<sup>30</sup>

(Buba Galadima is shown talking next)

‘So I see hope in his leadership.’

(Tom ikimi is now shown talking)

‘This man can be trusted. I have no hesitation at all in endorsing him and I can say without any hesitation that the south-south from which I come from also give their support’<sup>31</sup>

(Solomon Lar is shown again talking)

‘Very much loved, everybody is talking about him’ <sup>32</sup>

(Then Atiku’s voice is heard with the display of the saying)

‘Support Atiku 2019’

#### **APPENDIX XI PDP PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ADVERT (3)**

##### **DESCRIPTION:**

(No voice, only texts and graphic displays)

‘ Nigeria...’

(Then the image of Atiku is displayed labeled ‘The Renaissance Man’)

‘The Advocate for a better Nigeria’ <sup>33</sup> (Images of young children displayed)

‘Building a future for the Nigerian child’ (Atiku is shown on a tractor)

‘A serial Entrepreneur.’ ‘The economy builder.’

‘Vote Atiku Abubakar for president’ (PDP logo is displayed)

#### **APPENDIX XII: PDP PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ADVERT (4)**

##### **DESCRIPTION:**

(The advert begins with the shout of the party name and its slogan)

‘PDP!’

‘Power to the people (chorus)’

(An umbrella is then displayed over the Nigeria map, preventing it from being beaten by the simulated rain drops. Then comes a song.)

*PDP na the party oh*

Na you we go vote for 2019 <sup>34</sup>

PDP na the party we want oh

Na you we go vote for 2019 (The image of Atiku is displayed)

Atiku for president 2019

*Naija will be great again*

Peter obi for vice president

Atiku to restructure every sector <sup>35</sup>

2019 man we all want na Atiku <sup>36</sup>

Empowerment for Nigerian woman

Financial stability

Job creation for all youths in Nigeria <sup>37</sup>

(Atiku is shown talking)

‘We plan we will invest in our failing infrastructure. <sup>38</sup>

We plan we will give Nigerian workers a living wage. We will give the Nigerian youths a world class education.

Vote Atiku Abubakar for president 2019.

#### **APPENDIX XIII: PDP PRESIDENTIAL ADVERT (5)**

**DESCRIPTION:**

(A masculine voice is talking while relevant graphics are displayed)

‘Our Nigeria, this was truly a great nation. When education was at its best, it was working. When health care was free, it was working. When agriculture was once our pride, our trade and commerce values, our pyramid of success and industries, Nigeria was working. Until now...<sup>39</sup>

*Corruption has become the order of the day. Chaos, poverty, hardship, joblessness, accident, violence, pain, agony, destruction and crime.* <sup>40</sup> (Frightening and disturbing images are displayed)

Nigerians need a credible leader that can work on security, health, empowerment, welfare, education, employment, engaging 40% of the youth and women in the presidency, building and completing infrastructure.

Let’s get Nigeria working again. Vote PDP! Vote Atiku/Obi 2019! <sup>41</sup>

**APPENDIX XIV: PDP PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ADVERT (6)**

**(PDP dramatic Advert)**

**DESCRIPTION:**

First family (comprising father, mother, the young boy called Junior and a little baby) comes out of a building while it is raining. Mother is concerned about her baby being beaten by the rain. Father calms her down and then orders Junior to go inside the car to bring an umbrella. The boy rushes to the car and moment later, he returns with an

umbrella which the family uses to shield themselves from the rain until they get to the car.

Shortly after, the second family comes out of the same building. While the mother in this family is panicking, her husband orders their own little boy to go inside the car and get ‘something’ with which they will cover themselves. The boy obviously cannot find any suitable object and he is confused. Then, father tells him to bring ‘anything’. In the meantime, the boy returns with a broom. But mother is bitter that the broom will not save them from the rain.

At this juncture, the father in the first family comes to join the second family with his umbrella. While walking them to their car, he advises them to switch to the right thing.

(Then comes a masculine voice)

‘Whether a raining or a sunny condition, what you need is an umbrella and not a broom. Join the moving train. Vote wisely!’<sup>42</sup>

(PDP’s umbrella logo is displayed)

## **APPENDIX XV: ATIKU’S PRESIDENTIALCAMPAIGN (7)**

### **DESCRIPTION:**

(Song with graphic displays)

Song: Show me the change oh<sup>43</sup>

Health care go dey oh

Vote Atiku! Vote Atiku!

Quality education

Vote Atiku! Vote Atiku!

Plenty job opportunities

Vote Atiku! Vote Atiku!

Our country go better

Vote Atiku! Vote Atiku!

Atiku for president

Vote Atiku! Vote Atiku!

## **APPENDIX XVI: PDP CAMPAIGN ADVERT (8)**

### **DESCRIPTION**

(A masculine voice speaks)

‘Life is a journey. This is reality. Nigerians...’

(Atiku Abubakar’s voice is now heard speaking)

‘I Atiku Abubakar, the presidential candidate of PDP, I urge you to do the right thing.

(‘Do the Right Thing! is displayed) <sup>45</sup>

Tough times for right decision. Because this is the time. Time to break ground, time to reunite Nigeria, time to reorganize our security system, time to create good job opportunities for our youths, time to reorganize our health system. <sup>46</sup>

I, Atiku Abubakar, I urge you to do the right. I am not here because I want to. I am here because I want to restore the lost glory of Nigeria and let our dream become reality and freedom our experience <sup>47</sup>

Let’s get Nigeria working again! Vote Atiku Abubakar for 2019! <sup>48</sup>