

**INVESTIGATING THE PERLOCUTIONARY THRUST OF LANGUAGE OF
PROPAGANDA IN THE POLITICAL WRITINGS ON NIGERIA'S
2015 GENERAL ELECTIONS.**

BY

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CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to God Almighty for endowing me with my parents and every other person who have been part of the successful completion of my course of study and this project.

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Looking back from where it all started, I cannot but express my profound gratitude to God, the creator of the universe, the alpha and the omega for the privilege and divine wisdom given me to commence and finish this project.

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Ojo Taiye Adebisi

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Abstract

Words perform actions. Language and in fact words have different functions and according to the speech act theory of J.L Austin, utterances both written and spoken have a particular effect it should have on the listener. Many researchers have written on political campaign speeches and a universal trend in them - propaganda in Nigeria. The researcher feels that the related works previously done on the field of enquiry did not probe into the underlying intentions beneath the speaker's mind neither did they succinctly address the effect the utterances make on the audience- the electorate. This makes the undertaking of this research important. The researcher also observed that the perlocutionary thrust of language use on the aspirants and the electorate with regard to campaign of calumny (propaganda) is yet to be fully studied. With this in mind, this study uses the Speech Act theory of J.L Austin to show that language has a great effect on both the voters and contestants as observed during the 2015 general election in Nigeria. This research takes into consideration most especially eight selected writings of party loyalists of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressive Congress (APC) during the 2015 presidential election. Data collected for this research spanned from the buildup of the campaign process in August 2014 to the eve of the elections in March 2015, feared in many quarters as the last Nigeria would ever had.

Key terms: perlocutionary thrust, propaganda, political writings, 2015 general election.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

The study of language is an intriguing enterprise; this cannot be untraced to the roles it performs in the human everyday life. Language encapsulates all the aspects of our daily thoughts and undertakings. It is one unique attribute of man that differentiates it from other creatures on earth. Several attempts have been made to define and describe language by numerous scholars and authors, Crystal and Davy (1987), describe language as the systematic and conventional use of sounds, signs or written symbols in a society, for communication and human expression. From his own standpoint, Barret (1973) sees good language as that which is suitable and adaptive in a given communicative situation (communicative competence). It is that which assists in achieving a meeting of minds with listener's and does not detract from the thought. Good language is language that serves to unify the speaker, the message and audience. It is language which gets the derived effect with the least friction and difficulty for the user. Chilton (1997), cited in (Rozina and Karapetjana 2009), is of the opinion that language is 'the universal capacity of humans in all societies to communicate, while by politics he means 'the art of governance'. It is no gain saying that not one of these brilliant scholarly definitions has been able to successfully capture the true essence of what language is. Notwithstanding this, a succinct description which is intriguing and at the same time very much relevant to this quest is given by Adedimeji (2005): Language mainly serves to form (or deform), inform, reform and transform man and his society all of which are harmonious with the goal of politics, making the two concepts symbiotic. He views language as being the most distinctive attribute of man; language has often exerted a lot of influence on the whole

gamut of human affairs: political, educational, socio- economic, cultural, etc. he goes on to point out significantly that language and politics meet at the threshold of power.

Mazrui (1975) sees politics as a constant search for methods of resolving conflicting interests. When politics was described as a struggle to determine who gets what, when and how, conflict was placed at the very heart of political activity in terms of inputs of demands, which are processed within a political system.

There is the chance of politicians taking advantage of the social context to manipulate, and even, deceive people through their use of language. Therefore, linguistic manipulation is the conscious use of language in a devious way to control the others'. Linguistic manipulation can also be considered as an influential instrument of political rhetoric because a political address is primarily focused on persuading people to take specified political actions or to make important political decisions. To convince the potential electorate in present time societies, politics basically dominates in the mass media, which leads to creating new forms of linguistic manipulation; examples are the modified forms of press conferences and press statements, updated texts in slogans, application of catchy phrases, phrasal allusions, the connotative meanings of words, a combination of language and sight appealing images. In other words, language plays a significant conceptual function because it is an instrument by means of which the manipulative intents of politicians become apparent.

Language is a powerful weapon and politics is itself concerned with the use of power (Bolinger, 1980; Fairclough, 1989). Indeed, men are engaged in politics as they try to define their positions in society, as they struggle for scarce resources, and as they try to convince others to accept their points of view (Anifowose, 1999, Adedimeji, 2005). The language of politics largely oscillates between deception and persuasion (rhetoric) (Jones and Wareing, 1999). In other words, the goal of political language is either to deceive or persuade in any

given context. Within the Nigerian context, as noted by Abati (2001) cited in Adedimeji (2005), there is a “gradual movement from the sublime to the ridiculous in the use of English language in Nigerian politics”.

Politically, Nigeria has her own fair share of upheavals and challenges which threatened her democracy and nationhood. Since independence in 1960, Nigeria’s aspiration towards democracy has materialized in various democratic transitions and dispensations, amidst sundry crises and contradictions. By the time Nigeria became a Republic in 1963, the parliamentary system of government was adopted and Sir Tafawa Balewa became the first Prime Minister. After the 1966 military putsch, the Military came into power and ruled for the next thirteen years characterised by high handedness, human right abuse and oppressive trends. The Military administration of Lieutenant General Olusegun Obasanjo, handed over to a democratically elected government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari in the second republic. His administration was also toppled by a military coup de tat in 1983 which ushered in another wave of the much abhorred Military rule led by General Muhammadu Buhari. This, was cunningly brought to an end by General Ibrahim Babangida in 1985 through a bloodless coup de tat. A botched attempt was made to hand over power back to the civilian administration at the wake of the third republic. This brought about the interim government headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan after the annulled June 12 1993 general elections. Shonekan was almost too quick and willing to hand over power to another military administration noted to be the most controversial regime led by General Sani Abacha. General Sani Abacha died while in office under suspicious circumstances in 1998. The then Chief of Army Staff, General Abdulsalami Abubakar was sworn in as the Head of State. His administration paved the way for the fourth republic which is still the dispensation we are still under.

(...) the controversial election of 1965 produced the coup d’état of January 1966. Again, the flawed elections of 1983 produced the military coup of

December 31, 1983. Finally, Babangida's flawed elections of 1993 produced the Abacha palace coup of that year and paved way for his memorable dictatorship. (Iyayi, 2004).

Since 1999, the presidential system of government has been adopted and practised in Nigeria. This gave rise to the activities of political parties who bring forth flag bearers as candidates to contest for elections which holds every four years in the country. The electioneering process gives room for prior campaigns where the candidates have the opportunity to present their manifestoes and get familiar with the people. During campaigns and indeed before elections different styles and techniques are adopted to pull the majority of the electorates on their side. Majorly, rhetoric and persuasion seem to be the most appropriate technique but in recent times, the tide has changed since fierce oppositions now exist in the clamour for the mantle of leadership and holding the reins of power. Also, the feature of democracy that has attracted various interests of groups and individuals across the globe is the opportunity it provides for citizens of a given country to among other things exercise their inalienable right to elect leaders of their choice in a competitive, free, fair and periodic election. Furthermore the electoral process is regulated by acceptable rules and regulations that accord legitimacy to winners of elections and acceptability of results by the losers. Politics therefore becomes a game where winners automatically are accorded the legitimacy to rule and the losers have to try again in the next election. The alternative to this is to bypass the rules and regulations governing the electoral process thus creating discord and lawlessness. Politics then becomes warfare; where winners take all and competitors are regarded as enemies to be eliminated. Leaders who emerge from controversial elections devote much of their time to seeking to secure legitimacy and may even resort to the use of force to suppress opposition to its power base thereby endangering political stability.

As observed by Ake (1976) in (Okoli and Iortyer 2014):“We are intoxicated with politics”. The premium on political power is so high that we are prone to take the most extreme measures in order to win and maintain political power; our energy tends to be channelled into the struggle for power to the detriment of economically productive efforts (as cited by Diamond, 1984). Ake puts it succinctly:

“The character of the state rules out a politics of moderation and mandates a politics of lawlessness and extremism for the simple reason that the nature of state makes the capture of state’s power irresistibly attractive. The winners in the competition for power win everything, the losers lose everything, Nothing can be worse than losing, nothing, better than winning. Thus, everyone seeks power by every means, legal or otherwise and those who already control state power try to keep it by every means. What emerges from this is a politics which does not know legitimacy or legality, only expediency”. Ake (1976).

This has prompted politicians to resort to all forms of vices including the blackmail of the opposition and making glaring their misdeeds to the public which in turn will win the heart of the electorate to the blackmailer since no one will want to be readily associate with the blackmailed especially if there are evidences no matter how half-hearted to corroborate the claims. This act is primarily known as propaganda.

Propaganda is a unique device used in politics. This is mostly observed in most electioneering campaign process. According to the Oxford Advanced Learner Dictionary (International Student Edition), propaganda are ideas and statements that may be false or exaggerated and that are used in order to gain support for a political leader, party, etc.

In his own view, Szanto (1978) sees propaganda as “a specific form of activated ideology.” He argues that propaganda is one of the manifestations of the ideology that involves the sales of specific concepts.

“Propaganda means information, doctrines opinion etc. that are often derogatory, as in political propaganda films and plays. These are said to be derogatory because they tend to damage or take away credit from

something or someone. The sole purpose of propaganda is to misinform and mislead and to consciously indoctrinate.” Longe and Ofuani(1996)

According to Longe and Ofuani, (1996) “... the sole purpose of propaganda is to misinform and mislead and to consciously indoctrinate.” Propaganda aims at deliberate slanting of facts and arguments as well as displays of symbols in ways the propagandist thinks will have the most effects. For maximum effects, the propagandist may deliberately withhold pertinent facts, and try to divert the attention of the people he is trying to sway from every other thing but his own propaganda. This is why Szanto (1978) argues that propaganda could be “total falsehood, on the one hand, and on the other a totally valid depiction of reality or truth.” Politicians attempt to persuade their audience by means of expressions that may damage the character of the opponent and discredit him through a conscious manipulation of language. Longe and Ofuani (1996) therefore, argue that propaganda is derogatory because it tends to “damage or take away credit” from something or someone. Propaganda could be in form of exaggeration, rhetorical questions, vague and abusive utterances, etc. The electioneering campaign of the March 2015 general elections in Nigeria was unarguably characterized by a massive use of propaganda propagated by the media and most especially the social networks.

Politics is one aspect of human activities that use by far the greatest amount of propaganda. The word is often associated with deceit because propagandists have seldom scruples to lie or to distort the truth in order to persuade and gather people behind them. In fact, propaganda can be honest or dishonest, while its purpose might be to elicit help or tarnish image. Propaganda is a fundamental instrument of the language of politics. It is used in moulding and changing opinion. The use of propaganda many times, present the propagandist (that is the person speaking) as a saint and the person the propaganda is aimed at as the devil that is not fit to rule.

The 2015 general elections that birthed the end of PDP's dynastic reign and emergence of Alhaji Muhammadu Buhari as the Commander-in- Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria also had a fair share of the use of propagandistic statements as the campaign strategy of the parties involved. Therefore, the focus of this research is to show how language plays a significant role in political propaganda as it relates to electioneering campaign in the 2015 general electioneering campaign process in Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

Words perform actions! Language and in fact words have different functions and according to the speech act theory of J.L Austin, utterances both written and spoken have a particular effect it should have on the hearer. Many researchers have written on political campaign speeches and a universal trend in them-propaganda in Nigeria. For instance, Opeibi (2006) worked on "Political Marketing or Political 'Machetting'?" in which he brilliantly concludes that political hopefuls in Nigeria focus more on promoting themselves and orchestrating "attacks on their opponents" rather than enamouring positive issues of national interest. He attributes this phenomenon to factors such as level of education of voters, political literacy, content and structure of the adverts, personality of the sponsor (and/or the political candidate), among others. He also examines the structure and functions of language use in campaign adverts. He classifies political campaign adverts into three. The first is positive advert, which focuses only on the merits of the candidate; the second is contrast advert, which, apart from highlighting the positive side of the candidate, also discredits the other opponent(s). The negative advert, which is the third category, sets out to attack the opponent(s) in full force.

Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2008) in their paper "A Stylistic Analysis of the Language of Political Campaigns in Nigeria" is another effort to expose the significance of the aesthetic

use of language in campaign speeches. They suggest that Nigerians consider “politics” as an exercise often associated with lies, deceits and propaganda. It is observed that political campaign language is characterized by propaganda through attack on party, overemphasis, ambiguity and denunciations. Furthermore, rhetoric in forms of promises, religious allusions, repetitions, figurative expressions, coinages, pidgin, are also observed as essential components characteristic of the language of campaign., etc. the seminal paper pointed out significantly the common propaganda techniques used in Nigeria, evident from the 2007 general election.

Also, Emmanuel Osewe Akubor (2015) in his paper *Campaigns and Electioneering: Reflecting on the 2015 General Elections in Nigeria*, points out that unlike what is obtainable in other parts of the world where democracy is practised, with policy issues forming the backbone of campaign message, the Nigerian situation was basically on persons, character assassination, violence and abuses (hate) speeches. The paper argues that this campaign strategy often leads to electoral violence before, during and after elections.

The Language of Politics in Nigeria: Conflicts and Resolution by Mahfouz A. Adedimeji (2005) is another paper that undertakes a descriptive appraisal of the language of politics in Nigeria and finds that it is marked by such features as rhetoric, bombasts, exaggeration, illiteracy, meaninglessness, lies, verbal violence, etc. all of which justify the Orwellian thesis that political language is designed to make lies sound truthful, murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind (Orwell, 1946). The conflict engendered by the linguistic behaviour of the Nigerian political class is analysed as the paper recommends sincerity, politeness and seeking the necessary trouble of communicative competence to the politicians in particular and all language users in general.

Similarly, writing on the Language of Politics in England, George Orwell (1946) observes that the language is characterised by lack of precision, perhaps, because either the speaker has a meaning and cannot express it or he unintentionally says something else, or he is almost indifferent as to whether his words mean anything or not. He describes this phenomenon as vagueness and sheer incompetence. He laments that political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible things saying that “political language is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable”.

So, while the first work is based on print advert, the second deals majorly with the deviation from the campaign norms by Nigeria’s politicians, the third is a stylistic review and the fourth points significantly to the composition of political speeches as rendered by Nigerian politicians. The researcher feels that the related works previously done on the field of enquiry do not probe into the underlying intentions beneath the speaker’s mind nor do they succinctly address the effect the utterances make on the audience- the electorate this makes the undertaking of this research important. The researcher also observed that the perlocutionary thrust of language use on the aspirants and the electorate with regard to campaign of calumny (propaganda) is yet to be fully studied. With this in mind, this study shall show that language has a great effect on both the voters and contestants as observed during the 2015 general election in Nigeria. This research will take into focus most especially selected writings of party loyalists of the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressive Congress (APC).

1.3 Objectives of the Research

The following are the objectives of this research:

1. To trace the link between rhetoric and propaganda.

2. To show that propaganda in politics makes use of linguistic devices in deciding where the podium of influence should swing towards.
3. To proffer likely effects that the selected propagandistic speeches will have on both the contestant and the electorate towards the 2015 general election.
4. Ultimately advance scholarship in this field of enquiry.

1.4 Scope of Study

This work will dwell on the perlocutionary thrust of language use, an aspect of J. Austin's Speech Act theory of 1962. The study will focus on the language use from the communication point of view and the effect it intend to have on the hearer, employing the propagandistic persuasive styles adopted by the politicians in political campaign as available in data collected as used in the 2015 general election.

1.5 Expected Contributions to Knowledge

This research is expected to do the following:

1. Give better insight to the effect of propagandistic statements on the general electorate and the person (s) it is directed at.
2. Ultimately bring to fore the idea that propaganda is a tool for convincing people and getting support, which hitherto was believed to be the sole effect of the aesthetics of rhetoric.
3. Lay claim to the fact that propaganda is not totally a negative phenomenon as previously and erroneously believed.

4. This study will be of benefit to the general electorate on the influence of the language of propaganda used by political leaders on their behaviour. It will also educate the stakeholders in the politics on the different types of propaganda and its effect in persuading voters.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter examines significantly related literatures and prior works done in this field of enquiry. It also attempts to do a review of basic concepts related to the topic. Finally, the theoretical framework adopted for this research work is discussed here in this chapter.

2.1 Party Politics in Nigeria

(Okoli, 2007) cited in (Okoli and Iortyer 2014), opines that party politics in Nigeria over the years, has to a large extent mirrored the proverbial rat-race. State power has been sought by many with crudest desperation, and with the least regard for decorum and etiquette. This is to suggest that, the desire to acquire the power of control over the country has become an open end affair where anyone who has the means (majorly liquid) is permitted to try out his mettle with any other aspirant using any means possible; an open-for-all fight for power. He goes further to say that the underlying logic of partisanship has been sort of Machiavellian expediency; hence "...the end justifies the means and the means being acquisition and appropriation of state power by all means and at all cost"(Okoli, 2007).

In effect, electoral politics in Nigeria has become a perplexing phenomenon, entailing the application of the most desperate and despicable tactics to clinch and maintain power. In this context, lawlessness, violence and impunity become indispensable elements of the electioneering experience. The above give enough credence to Ake's (1976) observation: We (Nigerians) are intoxicated with politics. The premium on political power is so high that we are prone to take the most extreme measures in order to win and maintain political power; our energy tends to be channelled into the struggle for power to the detriment of economically productive efforts (as cited by Diamond, 1984). Furthermore, the state is everywhere and its

power appears boundless. There is hardly any aspect of life in which the state does not exercise power and control. That makes the capture of state power singularly important.

Politically, Nigeria has been a systematically challenged aspiring democracy. Since independence in 1960, Nigeria’s aspiration towards democracy has materialized in various democratic transitions and dispensations, amidst sundry crises and contradictions. The Table hereunder gives insights to the democratic government as practised in Nigeria.

Democratic Dispensations In Nigeria (1960-2014)	Dispensation Life Span
1st Republic	1963-1966
2nd Republic	1979-1983
3rd Republic	(Abortive) 1988/89-1993
4th Republic	(Current) 1999 - Date (2015)

In all of these dispensations, party politics in Nigeria has remained a thorny issue. In short, electioneering in the country has come to be associated with political crisis and instability. In the views of Okoli and Iortyer (2014), this peculiarity of the Nigerian state promotes prebendary politics wherein state power is sought by all and sundry as a means of personal material aggrandizement (Joseph, 1991; Okoli, 2009). Politics in this context therefore attracts inestimable premium. Thus, in a bid to capture state power, the political elite, rather than promote opportunities for political competition, tend to limit or vitiate same (Okoli, 2008). Politicking, thus, becomes a matter of warfare by factions of the power elite. In this

desperate, Hobbesian struggle, party politics and electioneering become rather obfuscating. Ake (1976) opines that the character of the state rules out a politics of moderation and mandates a politics of lawlessness and extremism for the simple reason that the nature of state makes the capture of state power irresistibly attractive. The winners in the competition for power win everything, the losers lose everything, Nothing can be worse than losing, nothing, better than winning. Thus, everyone seeks power by every means, legal or otherwise and those who already control state power try to keep it by every means. What emerges from this is a politics which does not know legitimacy or legality, only expediency. It is within the ambit of the foregoing that one can plausibly conjecture the desperation of the Nigerian political elite for state power as evident in the use of the language of calumny during campaigns as one of the viable tools with which political power is attained.

2.2 The Language of Political Campaigns as a Variety of Language.

In the researcher's opinion, the language of politics is better appreciated when studied in context. Elements such as rhetoric, logic, argument, debate, persuasion and indeed propaganda are vital tools in the hands of politicians, useful for influencing the behaviour of their audiences. The essence of investigating language of politics is captured in Beard (2000) where she asserts that:

“...the language of politics ... helps us to understand how language is used by those who wish to gain power, those who wish to exercise power and those who wish to keep power.

Since politics involves language use to persuade, the effectiveness of the strategies adopted by political candidates may, to a large extent, determine how successful they will be in controlling power or keeping power.

According to Longe (1995), there are two types of language varieties: dialect and diatype (register). He defines register as “The variety of language according to use” in situations such as the language of advertisement, the language of religious worship, the language of political

campaign, etcetera. An interesting feature of register is that it shows the speaker's attitude, mood and feeling with respect to the subject of discourse, and the other participants in it. This is manifested through style which, itself, is an important aspect of register. The language of political campaign as a variety of language use is intended to pass the needed information to the electorate with a view to convincing or appealing to them. It is usually laden with emotion and has the effect of causing the electorate to have a change of mind on an issue. Szanto (1978) describes the language of politics as a "lexicon of conflict and drama, of ridicules, and reproach, pleading and persuasion, colour and bite permeated. A language designed to valour men, destroy some and change the mind of others."

Beard (2000) notes that political campaigns are of interest, when viewed from a linguistic perspective, because they show language being used for such a clear and central purpose. She argues that "although political campaigns, with their speeches, their written texts, their broadcasts, need to inform and instruct voters about issues that are considered to be of great importance, ultimately all the written and spoken texts that are produced during an election campaign are designed to persuade people to do one thing: to vote in a certain way."

According to her

"as with other aspects of the campaign, political parties tend to do one of two things: they either represent their own leader in an impressive light; or they portray their opponents, in which case they are shown in ways which ridicule them" (Beard 2000).

Also in the views of Aduradola and Ojukwu (2013), "the ultimate goal of almost every political campaign is to win election".

In his view, Ademilokun (2015) asserts that since the commencement of the current fourth republic, political campaigns have grown markedly. Even though features of political campaigns in previous republics such as violence and money politics still manifest in the

campaigns, there is innovation and more creativity in the campaigns. Apart from the traditional means of campaigns such as print media advertisements, there is now the use of various platforms on the electronic media such as Facebook, Twitter, BBM channels, online news channels, Bloggers among others, for political campaigns.

During campaigns, politicians all over the world ornament their language in a special way and style to give extra effect and force to their message in order to achieve their objective of winning more votes. This can be embodied in rhetoric or propaganda, involving repetition, promise, colloquialism, word coinages, pidginize and figurative expressions. It is argued that propaganda as an aspect of this register is characterized by exaggeration, rhetorical questions and abusive utterances.

Adedimeji (2005), is of the opinion that in Nigeria, the language of politics is marked by such features as rhetoric, bombasts, exaggeration, illiteracy, meaninglessness, lies, verbal violence, etc. all of which justify the Orwellian thesis that political language is designed to make lies sound truthful, murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind (Orwell, 1946).

“All issues are political issues, and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred and schizophrenia. When the general atmosphere is bad, language must suffer”. George Orwell (1946).

2.3 Speech Act

Those types of acts that we perform with our words are referred to as speech acts (Austin 1962).

In explaining this act of “doing things with words”, Aremu (2004) stood on the authority of Adegbija (1999) who cited Searle, Keifer and Bierwisch, (1980), stating that the minimal unit

of human communication as not a sentence or other expression, but rather the performance of certain kinds of acts for examples describing, explaining, indicting, asserting, congratulating, apologizing, requesting among others.

The act of “doing things with words” (Austin, 1962) is the study of the relations between language and its context of utterance (Stanaker, 1972, cited in Hatim and Mason 1990).

According to Harn (1951), utterance means: any stretch of talk by one person, before and after which there is a silence on the part of that person. It may be single word or a phrase, a single sentence or sequence of sentence.

The speech act is divided into:

1. A locutionary act is a sentence uttered with a determinate sense and reference, an act performed in order to communicate.
2. An illocutionary act is a non-linguistic act performed through a linguistic or locutionary act. Examples: begging, commanding, resigning, threatening, warning, condemning, rebuking and so on.
3. Perlocutionary force, according to Austin is the effect of an utterance on the decoders.

According to Levinson (1980), the perlocutionary force of an utterance is the intended and unintended consequence of, or reaction to what is said.

Austin (1962) differentiates between locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts by saying:

- i. A locutionary act is the production of meaningful utterances; the utterance of certain noises, the utterance of certain construction, and the utterance of them with certain “meaning” in the favourite philosophical sense of that word; i.e. with a certain sense and a certain references. (Austin, 1962)

- ii. An illocutionary act is an act performed in saying something.
- iii. A perlocutionary act is an act performed by means of saying something; persuading someone to believe that something is so. It concerns the effects of the act of saying something.

“Intentions and contexts” of the speech: Intentions refers to the goal purposed to be achieved, resident in the mind of a speaker or a hearer. The speaker’s intentions are indeterminate and inaccessible in any interactional communication.

Context in the view of (Crystal 1987:48) refers to the relevant aspects of the physical or social setting of an utterance. It is the place in which communication events occur.

Psychological context deals with state of mind of the interlocutors.

Classifications of speech acts

1. Verdictives- verdicts given by a judge, a referee or an umpire for example to indict, to condemn, to acquit, to analyse and so on. They also include “estimate, reckoning, or appraisal”
2. Exercitives: exercise of power, influence, authority, rights or privileges, appointing, warning, ordering, punishing. Exercitives are related to executions of right, authority, and influence, such as order or designate
3. Commissives: characterised by undertaking e.g promise, undertaken, contract. Commissives are those by which the speaker is obliged to do some acts by uttering the sentence.
4. Behabitives: attitudes and social behaviours example: thank, condole, sympathize, with pity, praise etc.

5. Expositives: explains the way utterances fit into the nature of argument or conversation for example argue, concede, illustrate and so on. Expositives clarify the way utterances fit the proceedings of conversation or arguments, including describe, accept, or explain.

2.4 Propaganda

The researcher will like to begin this concept with a quote from the first sentence in Bernays' *Propaganda* (1928)

“The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in a democratic society.”

What then is place of propaganda in politics; how does propaganda work? All will be answered shortly after a brief history of the concept.

According to Oyedokun (2013), Curran and Curevitch (1997) citing the authority of Herman and Chomsky (1988), argue that propaganda is an instrument by which capitalists use their economic power with a commercial market system to ensure that the flow of public information is “consonant with their interest”. Their argument is that:

“The powerful are able to fix the premises of discourse, to decide what the general populace is allowed to see, hear and think about; and to manage public opinion by regular propaganda campaigns”. Herman and Chomsky (1998)

Jowett (2005) opines that the use of propaganda as a means of controlling information flow, managing public opinion, or manipulating behaviour is as old as recorded history. The concept of persuasion is an integral part of human nature, and the use of specific techniques to bring about large-scale shifts in ideas can be traced back to the ancient world.

The use of propaganda has been an integral part of human history and can be traced back to ancient Greece for its philosophical and theoretical origins. Used effectively by Alexander the Great, the Roman Empire, and the early Christians, propaganda became an integral part of the religious conflicts of the Reformation. The invention of the printing press was quickly adopted by Martin Luther in his fight against the Catholic Church and provided the ideal medium for the widespread use of propagandistic materials. Each new medium of communication was quickly adopted for use by propagandists, especially during the American and French revolutions and later by Napoleon. By the end of the 19th century, improvements in the size and speed of the mass media had greatly increased the sophistication and effectiveness of propaganda. Jowett (2005)

He observes that the history of propaganda is based on three interweaving elements: first, the increasing need, with the growth of civilization and the rise of nation-states, to win what has been called "the battle for people's minds"; second, the increasing sophistication of the means of communication available to deliver propagandistic messages; and third, the increasing understanding of the psychology of propaganda and the commensurate application of such behavioural findings. Throughout history, these three elements have been combined in various ways to enhance and encourage the use of propaganda as a means of altering attitudes and for the creation of new ideas or perspectives.

The term "propaganda" has come to have a negative connotation in much of the Anglophone world. But in some proclivities, the word is neutral or even positive. Why this difference? The reasons can be traced through the origin of the word and the way that this strategy of communication has evolved over the centuries.

The term "propaganda," incidentally, did not have negative connotations in those days. It was during the Second World War that the term became taboo because it was connected with Germany, and all those bad things. But in this period, the term propaganda just meant information or something like that. So he wrote a book called Propaganda around 1925, and it starts off by saying he is applying the lessons of the First World War. Noam Chomsky (1997)

2.4.1 Roots in the Catholic Church

The use of propaganda began much earlier than most people would imagine. The Behistun Inscription, from around 515 BCE, details Darius I's ascent to the Persian throne and is considered an early example of propaganda. And ancient Greek commander Themistocles used propaganda to delay the action of – and defeat – his enemy, Xerxes, in 480 BCE. Meanwhile, Alexander put his image on coins, monuments, and statues as a form of propaganda. Roman emperor Julius Caesar was considered quite adept at propaganda, as were many prominent Roman writers like Livy. But it was the Catholic Church that both formalized the use of propaganda and gave us the word itself. Pope Urban II used propaganda to generate support for the Crusades. Later, propaganda would become a powerful tool for both Catholics and Protestants during the Reformation. It was applied also to the College of the Propaganda at Rome that was founded by Pope Urban VIII, for the education of the missionary priests. Thanks to the printing press, propaganda could be disseminated to a much wider audience. In 1622, Pope Gregory XV established the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Congregation for Propagating the Faith) for the purpose of promoting the faith in non-Catholic countries. The group's name was often informally shortened to “propaganda,” and the name stuck.

2.4.2 Literacy Propagates Propaganda.

By the nineteenth century, propaganda had finally emerged in the form we think of it today. Because most people were literate and had more than passing interest in government affairs, politicians found it necessary to sway public opinion. They turned to (sometimes unscrupulous) propaganda to get the job done. As literacy rates grew in subsequent centuries, propaganda became a more and more useful tool around the world. Thomas Jefferson and

Benjamin Franklin were both considered adept propagandists during the American Revolution.

A notorious propaganda campaign of the nineteenth century was that of the Indian Rebellion in 1851. Indian Sepoys rebelled against the British East India Company's rule. The British grossly exaggerated – and sometimes completely fabricated – tales of Indian men raping English women and girls. The stories were intended to illustrate the savagery of the Indian people and reinforce the notion of “the white man's burden” to rule, induce order, and instil culture in less civilized peoples who could not be trusted to rule themselves. Abolitionists in both the US and Britain also aggressively used propaganda to support their cause. Certainly the conditions of slavery were heinous, but they often exaggerated or eroticized transgressions, making them more lurid. These efforts were complemented by freed slaves who travelled to speak at public events. The speakers generally made arguments against slavery based on moral, economic, and political grounds. The combination of emotional and rational arguments proved an excellent combination for winning supporters to the abolitionist cause.

Meanwhile another powerful form of communication was emerging in the nineteenth century: the political cartoon. Though illustrated propaganda had been used in the past, the form of the political cartoon was significantly refined during the second half of the century. Thomas Nast is considered one of the forerunners of this format.

2.4.3 War and Propaganda.

Global conflict also gave propaganda a new power. World War I saw the first large-scale, formalized propaganda production. Emperor Wilhelm of Germany immediately established an unofficial propaganda machine with the creation of the Central Office for Foreign Services.

One of the office's primary duties was to distribute propaganda to neutral countries. After the war broke out, however, Britain immediately severed the undersea cables that connected Germany to the rest of the world; Germany was limited to using a powerful wireless transmitter to broadcast pro-German news to other nations. The country also set up mobile cinemas, which would be sent to the troops at the front lines. The films emphasized the power, history, and inevitable victory of the German Volk.

Meanwhile, the British propaganda machine was regarded as an "impressive exercise in improvisation." It was rapidly brought under government control as the War Propaganda Bureau. Journalist Charles Masterson led the organization. On September 2, 1914, Masterson invited Britain's leading writers to a meeting to discuss potential messaging. Attendees included Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, GK Chesterton, Ford Madox Ford, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, and HG Wells. Winnie-the-Pooh author AA Milne would later be recruited to covertly write propaganda. The propaganda of World War I was frequently based on complete exaggeration or misinformation. For example, Nurse Edith Cavell was executed for treason after using her position as a nurse to help soldiers escape from behind German lines. The episode was used to exaggerate German atrocities, and it was even made into a movie. Indeed, by the end of the war, people had begun to tire of propaganda. Yet, the British propaganda machine was quite effective. It is frequently credited with persuading the United States to enter the war in the first place. Adolf Hitler actually studied British propaganda after the war, declaring it both brilliant and effective. He would later enlist Joseph Goebbels to help with propaganda during World War II, and the two proved an indomitable team. They masterminded multiple campaigns to justify eugenics programs, extermination of target populations, and other atrocities. The Allies countered with propaganda that vilified the Germans. When the true horrors of Nazi Germany came to light, the extreme power of propaganda was terribly apparent. The word "propaganda" soon developed a negative

connotation, one that it still carries to this day in the English-speaking world. Airdrop leaflet campaigns during unpopular engagements like the Korean War and Vietnam War often brought the communication even lower. Now it's common for a government authority to regulate propaganda, and it may be used for more innocuous purposes like public health and safety campaigns.

The Nigerian civil war also had its fair share of the use of propaganda in war. According to Doron (2014), Biafran propaganda played a pivotal role in the political and diplomatic conduct of the Nigerian civil war. Their propaganda campaign portrayed the war as the only possible response to a genocidal campaign against them. Despite the fact that Biafra's message remained largely focused on the genocide theme, Biafran propaganda was remarkably agile in its ability to adapt to the war's changing circumstances. Biafra's propaganda was designed to create a coherent message and intended to elicit sympathy from world public opinion and to instil a survival ethos in its population at home despite very limited communication resources. It is precisely this relationship between the aims of Biafran propaganda and the Biafrans' resourcefulness that allowed that message to be so effective, both during the war and in the collective memory of Igbo political nationalism. This article analyses Biafran print and radio propaganda as well as internal Biafran documents about the production, evaluation and monitoring of the movement's propaganda campaign to show how the secessionist message was constructed, delivered, refined and adapted.

In the view of Vic Zoschak (2014) the author of the above timeline record of the subject matter, propaganda in non-democratic countries continues to flourish as a means for indoctrinating citizens, and this practice is unlikely to cease in the future.

2.5 Digitization and the Media; Roles Played in dissemination of Propaganda

It has been argued that: in this fast paced digitized age, propaganda is everywhere. Attempts to influence one in some way or the other are found daily.

In the 20th and 21st centuries, we have witnessed an unprecedented growth in the scope and speed of communication technologies, which has far outstripped the ability to control the continuous flow of information that emanates from a myriad of sources. This development has greatly enhanced the ability of a would-be propagandist to spread a message quickly, efficiently, and often without challenge from countervailing sources. The result has been a worldwide proliferation of propagandistic information on a wide range of subjects. Jowett (2005:49)

Buttressing this further, while sharing his views on the roles which the social media plays in selling ideologies and passing across information, Madukwem S (2015), cited in Okubor (2015), particularly notes thus:

“It is worthy of note that some campaigns have been in tandem with specification of the National Broadcasting Commission, NBC. Others have degenerated into campaigns of blackmail, falsehood, character assassination, distortion of facts and figures and outright deviation from discipline, decorum, decency and tolerance. The essence of all these campaigns which climaxed to conclusion is to market the various candidates. But the choice of candidate must be dependent on truth, facts about such candidate. Nigerians are intelligent enough not to be hoodwinked; those whose credibility, image and ability are shrouded in doubt should not be voted into power, notwithstanding what such a candidate must have spent. Unfortunately, while some media houses have failed in the task of maintaining neutrality, others have allowed their platforms to be used by over-zealous politicians, whose only stock in trade is to impose candidates, heat up the polity and preach hate in the news, programmes and jingles” Madukwem (2015)

This greatly undermines and contravenes the ideals of the social media as presented by Iredia (2007) cited in Akubor (2015). Iredia Tony, the former Director General of Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) states that:

...Through the media...the people must be assisted to premise their choices of rationality and vote wisely during elections. They must have all information that is needed to elect the right candidates who can ensure good governance. Where such public awareness is lacking, those of us in the media must accept a share of the blame of failed elections in Nigeria. Tony Iredia (2007).

Furthermore, Ellul (1973) opines that propaganda has long been recognized as a general phenomenon in the modern world. As early as 1928, Edward Bernays recognized propaganda as a modern instrument to be utilized to produce productive ends and “help bring order out of chaos”. Since then, there has been great difficulty in determining what constitutes propaganda in our world and what the nature of propaganda is because it is a secret action. For a long time, propaganda was simplistically viewed as being able to modify sentiments and attitudes of an individual without their being conscious of such an attempt. This limited perspective of propaganda as being only able to influence the individual psychologically was prevalent from 1920 to around 1933. Once reassessed though more emphasis was placed on the intention of the propagandist and another objective of propaganda concerned with sparking an individual to action was recognized.

Supporting the above claim and bringing it down to the Nigerian polity, Niran Adedokun has this to say:

“Nigerian history has also seen the effective use of propaganda during the civil war. We also saw the use of propaganda in the years of military rule and now, politicians are now on a propaganda spree.”Niran Adedokun (Punch Newspaper March 2015)

The above, stems to justify that Nigeria has had and is still having her share of the use of propaganda which has been used to achieve so many aims so far, in her government and administration of power.

2.6 The Place of Propaganda in Politics

At this juncture, this research will proceed to demonstrate the pre-eminent position occupied by propaganda maintains in modern day politics, especially in Nigeria.

The intentional manipulation and exploitation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in any free society. Politicians are aware that it is not enough for them to have just a powerful vision; they must present the vision in a much stronger manner. This reveals that politicians will spare nothing at outsmarting their opponents even if it means resorting to the use of utterances that could be appealing, persuasive, kind, convincing and at the same time defamatory, abusive and sometimes vulgar. This leads us to the concept of persuasion.

The language of politics embodied in propaganda and rhetoric, is persuasive. Politicians adopt these linguistic devices to cajole the electorate to vote for them and their parties by presenting themselves as the only capable persons for the job.

Ellul (1973) pinpoints more accurately the relationship between propaganda and politics:

Political Propaganda involves techniques of influence employed by a government, a party, an administration, or a pressure group with the intention of changing the behaviour of the public. The themes and objectives of this type of propaganda are of a political nature. The goals are determined by the government, party, administration, or pressure group. The methods of political propaganda are calculated in a precise manner and their main criterion is to disseminate an ideology for the very purpose of making various political acts acceptable to the people. There are two forms of political propaganda, tactical and strategic. Tactical political propaganda seeks to obtain immediate results within a given framework. Strategic political propaganda is not concerned with speed but rather it establishes the general line, the array of arguments, and the staging of campaigns...Democratic regimes develop propaganda in line with its myths and prejudices. Propaganda stresses the superiority of a democratic society while intensifying the prejudices between democratic and oppressive. Ellul(1973).

In a bid to convince the electorates to do their biddings, politicians, resort to different forms of linguistic manipulations. This suggests that they use language in

such an excellent way that it's succeeds in changing the minds of prospective electorates in their favour during campaigns. Therefore, a line is drawn between rhetoric and propaganda. This makes it pertinent for this work dwell on rhetoric.

2.7 Rhetoric

As stated in the previous chapter, this research will try to justify to the relationship between propaganda and rhetoric. Rhetoric, derived from the Greek (rhētorikós), "oratorical", from (rhētōr), "public speaker" related to (rhēma) which means "that which is said or spoken, word, saying", and ultimately derived from the verb (erō), "say, speak", is the art of discourse, an art that aims to improve the capability of writers or speakers that attempt to inform, persuade, or motivate particular audiences in specific situations. Its best known definition comes from Aristotle, who considers it a counterpart of both logic and politics, and calls it *"the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion"*. Rhetoric typically provide heuristics (problem solving by trial and error method) for understanding, discovering, and developing arguments for particular situations, such as Aristotle's three persuasive audience appeals, logos, pathos, and ethos. Rhetoric, in its broadest sense, the theory and practice of eloquence, whether spoken or written. Spoken rhetoric is oration. Rhetoric defines the rules that should govern all prose composition or speech designed to influence the judgment or the feelings of people. It therefore treats of all matters relating to beauty or forcefulness of style. In a narrower sense, rhetoric is concerned with a consideration of the fundamental principles according to which oratorical discourses are composed: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. Along with grammar and logic, rhetoric is one of the three ancient arts of discourse From Ancient Greece to the late 19th century; it was a central part of Western education, filling the need to train public speakers and writers to move audiences to action with arguments. As rhetoric is a public art capable of shaping opinion, some of the ancients including Plato found fault in it. They

claimed that while it could be used to improve civic life, it could be used equally easily to deceive or manipulate with negative effects on the city. The masses were incapable of analysing or deciding anything on their own and would therefore be swayed by the most persuasive speeches. Thus, civic life could be controlled by the one who could deliver the best speech. Rhetoric thus evolved as an important art, one that provided the orator with the forms, means, and strategies for persuading an audience of the correctness of the orator's arguments. Today the term rhetoric can be used at times to refer only to the form of argumentation, often with the pejorative connotation that rhetoric is a means of obscuring the truth. Classical philosophers believed quite the contrary: the skilled use of rhetoric was essential to the discovery of truths, because it provided the means of ordering and clarifying arguments.

Richard, Platt and Platt (1992) define rhetoric as “the study of style through grammatical and logical analysis.” It is therefore “the art or talent by which discourse is adapted to its ends”. Rhetoric differs from propaganda in the sense that while the former aims at persuading through the beauty of language, the latter seems to persuade through some negative manipulation of language. Rhetoric is the study and practice of effective communication; the art of persuasion, and an insincere eloquence intended to win points and get people what they want. Politicians endear themselves to the audience's heart through different rhetorical skills such as repetition, bible citation, rhetorical questions, colloquialism, promise, use of pidgin, word coinage etc.

Babatunde (2007), cited the authorities of McCroskey (1968) and Barret (1973), observes that all messages in a rhetorical communication are meant to persuade the audience; argues that every communication is a social act, and every social act is potentially persuasive respectively. He argues further that persuasion is “the study of ways in which speakers affect the thinking, feeling and behavior of people”. The object of persuasion

through propaganda in the data analyzed is to influence the attitude of the audience towards the intended direction.

Joseph H. Boyett (2009) also asserts that political rhetoric can be fun, informative, entertaining, and inspiring. But it can easily turn into deceitful and manipulative propaganda. Surprisingly, it is not that easy to distinguish deceitful propaganda from inspirational rhetoric. One of the reasons for this is that propaganda is so common, although the listener/reader almost never recognize it as such.

Basically, the relationship between rhetoric and propaganda is mainly crested in their end result which is to convince people to support a claim or buy an idea. One could possibly say that modern day propaganda or propaganda as it is now is negative rhetoric. In the sense that, the negativity associated with propaganda in recent times makes it look so bad and a necessary evil in the political sphere of any country that practise a multi-party party system and so it becomes a case of different means with the same result.

Propaganda shares techniques with advertising and public relations, each of which can be thought of as propaganda that promotes a commercial product or shapes the perception of an organization, person, or brand. In post-World War II usage the word "propaganda" more typically refers to political or nationalist uses of these techniques or to the promotion of a set of ideas. Its persuasive techniques are regularly applied by politicians, advertisers, journalists, radio personalities, and others who are interested in influencing human behaviour. Propagandistic messages can be used to accomplish positive social ends, as in campaigns to reduce drunk driving, but they are also used to win elections and to sell malt liquor. Anthony Pratkanis and Elliot Aronson in (Armstrong 2003) point out that:

"Every day, we are bombarded with one persuasive communication after another. These appeals persuade not through the give-and-take of argument and debate, but through the manipulation of symbols and of our most basic

human emotions. For better or worse, ours is an age of propaganda."
(Pratkanis and Aronson, 1991)

With the growth of communication tools like the Internet, the flow of persuasive messages has been dramatically accelerated. For the first time ever, citizens around the world are participating in uncensored conversations about their collective future. This is a wonderful development, but there is a cost. The information revolution has led to information overload, and people are confronted with hundreds of messages each day.

According to historian Zbyněk Zeman (1978), propaganda is defined as either: white, grey or black. White propaganda generally comes from an openly identified source, and is characterized by gentler methods of persuasion, such as standard public relations techniques and one-sided presentation of an argument. Black propaganda is identified as being from one source, but is in fact from another. This is most commonly to disguise the true origins of the propaganda, be it from an enemy country or from an organization with a negative public image. Grey propaganda is propaganda without any identifiable source or author.

2.8 Common Propaganda Techniques As Evidently Used In Nigeria

Propaganda overtime has been used in different manifestations and sectors of a country's life. In Nigeria however, Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2008), are of the opinion that the electioneering campaign of the April 2007 general elections in Nigeria was characterized by a massive use of propaganda. In their seminal paper, they were able to accurately bring out some propaganda techniques and they include:

1. Propaganda through exaggeration: Exaggeration is one of the peculiar features of political propaganda. It could be through the exaggeration of one's little achievements or the over-bloating of the wrong acts of the opposition. Politicians present the wrong doings of their opponents in such a way that even their opposition's supporters would want to reconsider their stand. Example of this is "*no electricity! 95% of business and homes depend on generator for electric power*". According to them, they feel that the information contained in the sponsored advertisement was exaggerated.

Though it is a fact that the supply of electricity in Nigeria is erratic, it is an exaggeration to say that 95% of business and homes now depend on generator.

2. Propaganda through Rhetorical Questions: Richard, Platt, and Platt (1992:136) defines rhetorical question as “a forceful question which has the form of a question but which does not expect an answer.” Going by this definition, rhetorical questions are questions for which the speakers already have the answers (or they are self-evident) but sarcastically ask them to discredit the opponent. Examples of rhetorical questions are: “... *But can 2 weeks of ‘patch’ patch’ activities salvage 8 wasted years?*” (Saturday Punch, March 10, 2007: 18); “*They told us they have reformed the economy, which economy?*” (Daily Sun, Tuesday April 17, 2007: 5). These questions do not need any answer; the answers are already evident with the facts provided by the propagandists. This stylistic device is very effective as the propagandists use such rhetorical questions to provoke thoughts on the part of the audience; to make the audience see why they must reject their opponents.
3. Vague Utterances: Politicians make use of certain words that are vague or indefinite, i.e., words that have no realistic ways of validating them. Like rumour, they lack verifiable facts. Example of such vague utterances can be seen in the extracts below:
 1. *Lagos reject bitterness* (Thisday, Saturday, March 17 2007: 27)
 2. *Go Ahead! We love you. Lagosians* (Punch, Tuesday, March 20, 2007 p: 47)
 3. *Kalu doesn’t respect old age, tradition.* (Obasanjo. Punch, Saturday, March 3, 2007).

All the extracts above are not definite, they lack clarity. Here, one person is speaking for everybody. The opinion expressed may not necessarily be everybody’s.
4. Abusive Utterances: Politicians, in their desperation to discredit their opponent, use some utterances that may be termed abusive. These utterances may be consciously or unconsciously used. Examples of such abusive utterances are seen in the extract below: “*Atiku turned out to be such a person that when he says good morning to you, you have to open the window first to check what time of day it is before you answer him. I apologize for making the wrong decision.*” (Vanguard Feb 26, 2007: 43) The extract above show the recklessness in the use of language. Politicians become too emotional in spreading propaganda that they resort to abusive language. The words by President Olusegun Obasanjo about the person of the Vice President, Atiku Abubakar, are not also palatable. It is abusive language and it is meant to defame the character of the opponent and ultimately convince the electorates.
5. Attack on Party Logo and Slogans: Other ways politicians spread propaganda is through the use of negative expressions to refer to their opponents’ party slogans or logo. This is aimed at drawing the attention of the audience to the negative things they may expect if their opponent’s party is voted into power. Politicians try to present their opponents’ political parties in bad light. The Peoples Democratic Party was likened to “*Papa Deceiving Pickin*” (Thisday, March 15, 2007:12) and “*Power of Darkness Permanently*” (Thisday, March 17, 2007). The propagandists attack the logos of the Action Congress and the All Nigerian Peoples Party

(ANPP). The Action Congress' logo (a broom) is referred to as *an instrument of witches and wizards* while that of the All Nigerian Peoples Party (a cob of corn) is referred to as *food for chickens*. These messages, though comical, are meant to present the parties and their members in bad light.

6. Repetition: This is deliberately saying the same thing over and over again for emphasis. Repetition of a particular word, phrase or an idea helps the listener to memorize the word, phrase or idea. Politicians repeat the same words several times so that the ideas or concepts will be better comprehended by their audience. Example of such repetitions in the 2007 electoral campaign is shown in the extracts below: *Empty seat, Empty excuses, Empty promise, Empty politics. They are empty* (Sunday Punch March 18, 2007: 41; emphasis is ours). The politicians repeatedly used the word 'empty' to show the emptiness in their opponents. By repeatedly saying 'empty' the listeners are compelled to believe that the opponents have nothing to offer. The above extract reveal that repetition, in the rhetorical use of the language of political campaign, is a very useful tool for emphasis to portray the opponent in bad light.
7. Biblical Citations/Reference to God: Politicians, especially in Nigeria, have recourse to citing references from the HolyBible to compel the electorate to vote for them and their political parties. The reason is to give spiritual credence and authority to their speech they believe that majority of Nigerians are very religious. An example of biblical citation can be seen in the reply given by Chief Ojo Maduekwe (the then Peoples Democratic Party National Secretary) when he was asked to comment on the decamping of the founding members of his party. He drew analogies from the Holy Scriptures as seen in the following extract: *'If you want me to be modest, I will tell you that we have left Egypt, but we have not yet reached Canaan. We are still between Egypt and Canaan. We are in the wilderness. That wilderness is a much better place to be than Egypt, especially when you have a Moses with you and that Moses, of course, is President Olusegun Obasanjo. We have a Joshua in the wing. That Joshua seems to be Yar' Adua.* (Daily Champion, Monday 12, 2007).
8. Promises: Politicians make use of expressions that are full of assurance and hope for a better tomorrow to sway the opinion of the electorate. Virtually all the political campaign materials are laden with promises. This is one unique way politicians hold their audience spell bound. Politicians make various promises both realistic and un- realistic. These, they use to persuade their audience to vote for them at the polls. Promises constitute a great deal of rhetorical devices in the language of political campaigns. Kalu, promised amongst other things to reform the Police by making sure that State Police will not be like "*Obasanjo's Police*" (Sunday Vanguard, March 11, 2007:7).
9. Word Coinages: Word coinage is the process of inventing new words to suit the present discourse. This feature is different from colloquialism because while colloquialism involves words/expressions that already exist but not acceptable in formal discourse, coinages are words/expressions that do not exist but are coined to suit the present discourse. One of the examples of

word coinage as used by Nigerian politicians is presented in the extract below: “... *why Muhammadu Buhari will not win. Say no to brutality now. Say no to Bruharity too*” (Daily Sun, Tuesday, April 17, 2007:20). “Bruharity” is adapted from the English word ‘brutality’ in reference to Gen. Muhammadu Buhari’s alleged brutality during his tenure as Nigeria’s military Head of State. These coinages are not only to pass the message clearer to the audience but also to add humour to the discourse.

10. Metaphor: This figure of speech expresses an idea through the image of another object. Metaphors suggest the essence of the first object by identifying it with certain qualities of the second object. According to Awonusi (in Essien and Okon 2003:98) “The common source of metaphor in politics are sport and war, both of which involve some form of physical contest”. An example of metaphor used in the language of political campaign is presented below: Atiku Abubakar’s arrival is compared with the *landing of the eagle, the king of birds* (Saturday Punch, March 24, 2007). It presents Atiku Abubakar as having great political strength similar to the strength of the eagle. V. E. Omozuwa & E. U. C. Ezejideaku. (2008:43-52)

These among other propaganda techniques are the techniques reportedly used during the campaign process of the 2007 general elections.

In his views, Umar cited in Akubor (2015) sees dangerous/hate speech as components which constitutes a part of what propaganda is in the Nigerian context is a speech acts that:

1. Insults people for their religion;
2. Abuses people for their ethnic or linguistic affiliation;
3. Expresses contempt against people because of their place of origin;
4. Disparages or intimidates women or girls because of their gender;
5. Condone discriminatory assertions against people living with disability;
6. Abuses or desecrates symbols of cultural or religious practices;
7. Denigrates or otherwise ridicules traditional or cultural institutions of other people;
8. Deliberately spread falsehood or rumours that demeans or maligns or otherwise ostracizes other people on the basis of religion, ethnicity, gender or place of origin for the accident of one form of disability or the other. (Umar, 2015).

He went further to say that scholars have argued that in the history of the country’s political campaigns, the 2015 General elections may win the laurel of being one that recorded more campaign of calumny and character assassination, so much so that it almost turned the country’s political arena into a theatre of hate speeches and campaigns coloured in a form

that defies logic and common sense. In a more specific term, Kukah H cited in Akubor (2015) opined thus:

The 2015 General elections have been turned into a theatre of hate speeches and campaigns coloured in a form that defies logic and common sense. Various politically motivated hate speeches about various candidates and especially the two leading Presidential candidates of All Progressives Congress and Peoples Democratic Party have been banded. I am sure if experts should collate analyses of contents of the social media this year, Nigeria will rank top because arguably more than 40 million young Nigerians who have since graduated and have no means of livelihood have found solace in the various social media platforms and are busy churning out divergent messages. The use of HATE SPEECHES in Nigeria preparatory to the coming general elections has become notorious to an extent that you would think and feel that sooner rather than later Nigeria may witness genocidal killings similar to what occurred in Rwanda some few years back between the Hutus and Tutsis. (Kukah H, 2015)

2.9 Theoretical Framework.

The speech act theory introduced by British language philosopher known as J. L Austin (1962) provide the analytical frame work (that is the theory) upon which the work is based . John L. Austin was one of the leading philosophers of the twentieth century. The William James Lectures presented Austin's conclusions in the field to which he directed his main efforts on a wide variety of philosophical problems. These talks became the classic *How to Do Things with Words (1962)*.

The theory analyses the role that utterances play in relation to the behaviour or attitude of the speaker and the hearer in interpersonal communication. It is communication's ability defined with the respect to the intention of the speaker while talking and the effect of the speech on the listener. Every utterance has its own communicative purpose depending on the specific speech context. Austin's approach begins with an analysis of the different things people do

with words. Through the ages, language philosophers have been impressed with language which has been used to represent how the world is, to say what is or is not the case the notion of truth has been central to the philosophy of language. He points out the many other things people do with words they do not just represent how things are; they ask questions, give commands, make suggestion give advice, tell jokes, make promises, even insult, persuade and intimidate. This led Austin to draw a threefold distinct kind of speech act:

1. Locutionary Act: First, words have a distinct conventional meaning. The expression “The cat sat on the mat” refers to a cat, a mat and relation between them, one sitting upon the other. This ordinary sense of meaning constitutes the “what is said” of any particular speech act. Saying something (the locution) with a certain meaning in traditional sense. This may not constitute a speech act. Two types of locutionary act are utterance acts, where something is said (or a sound is made) and which may not have any meaning, and propositional acts, where a particular reference is made.

2. Illocutionary Act: Secondly has it that by saying certain words one actually commits an act. For example, in saying “I do” at a wedding, one makes a promise in saying ‘will you?’ one asks a question and in saying “you will” one gives order. The *performance* of an act in saying something is illocution. The *illocutionary force* is the speaker's intent. For example: informing, ordering, warning, undertaking.

3. Perlocutionary Act: It points out that, by saying something, one performs an action. For example, by saying “I do”; one weds, by saying something like “I will give you a better deal than the competitor”, may cause a buyer to be persuaded and so on. Speech acts that have effects on the feelings, thoughts or actions of either the speaker or the listener are known as the perlocutionary act. In other words, they seek to change minds. Unlike

locutionary acts, perlocutionary acts are external to the performance. For instance: inspiring, persuading or deterring.

2.9.1 Connecting the Three Speech–Acts

These different functions of word are not necessarily exclusive. J.L Austin is aware that many utterances can involve all the three kinds of acts. For instance, saying ‘it is cold’ is a locutionary act describing one feels. It might also be taken in the context of a room with chilly air conditioning as an illocutionary act – a request to switch off the air conditioner finally as the hearer responds by switching it off, the single utterance has also performed a perlocutionary act.

The essence of speech act theory is that utterances are acts in themselves capable of producing enormous and far-reaching result or consequences. Utterances can affect our whole lives, they can deny us to carry out an instruction, change an already existing state of affairs and so on. When speeches are uttered, the words do not have meaning in and of themselves. They are very much affected by the context of situation, the speaker and the audience. Thus words alone do not have a simple fixed meaning. Based on this premise, one tend to have a justification for the adoption of the theory as the framework on which this research crested. Political speeches in particular during campaigns in Nigeria are characterised with the excessive use of the language of calumny to discredit an opposition, win the hearts of the audience and ultimately get the votes for the speaker. This suggests that the politician is speaking with an intention and this is the illocutionary act, in the same vein, if the speech is able to convince the audience to the extent of shifting allegiance to the political speaker’s party, then one can correctly say that a perlocutionary act has occurred. Putting this simply, for every propagandistic utterance, there is intent and a corresponding expected effect on the

audience-the electorates. Thus, these two acts and particularly the perlocutionary act will be dwelled on extensively.

The work: Investigating the Perlocutionary Thrust of the Language of Propaganda in the Political Writings on The Nigeria's 2015 General Elections will be based on how language of calumny is used by politicians to influence the state of the mind of their audience and to tarnish the image of their opponents. This is achieved employing their campaign speeches as the data for this work.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This research sourced data majorly from secondary sources. Also information relating to the topic under study was also sourced for basically from the internet. Online newspapers such as The Punch, Premium Times, Vanguard News, The Cable and The Daily Post are the selected online news portal for this research. Secondary sources involved information concerning political speeches of 2015 general election in Nigeria. In all, eight speeches will be analysed. Brief profiles of the participants in the order of appearance are given below:

Alhaji Lai Mohammed: He is the national party secretary of the APC and one can rightly say he did not leave any stone unturned at performing more than his duty during the campaign process.

Gov. Ayo Fayose: the incumbent governor of Ekiti State and a die-hard loyalist of PDP and Goodluck Jonathan.

Alhaji Mohammadu Buhari: a retired General of the Nigerian Army who has contested for the presidency for three consecutive terms under different party. He is the presidential flag bearer of the All People's Congress (APC), who finally emerged victorious in the 2015 election.

Patience Jonathan: the wife of the immediate past president of Nigeria popularly known for her many controversial remarks.

Goodluck Jonathan: a Doctor of Zoology and a former president of Nigeria. He came into political limelight when he became the governor of Bayelsa State after the former governor was impeached on money laundering charges. He has been a PDP loyalist since the beginning

of his political career. He lost the last election which would have been his second term in office as the president.

Musa Kwankwaso: the incumbent governor of Kano state and an APC acolyte. He defected from the PDP in 2014, before his defection, he served in several capacities which includes: the defence minister and a member on the board of the Niger Delta Development Commission, NDDC.

Femi-Fani Kayode: FFK as he is fondly referred to by the media critics was appointed by Jonathan to be his campaign manager after his tenure as the aviation minister in his cabinet. FFK became the direct opposition to APC's Lai Mohammed at a point during the campaign.

The first four will be calumnious language used against the then incumbent president; Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the party and other four will be propagandistic statements targeted as the opposition Alhaji Mohammadu Buhari of the All Progressive Congress (APC). These statements are made majorly by the party loyalists, publicity secretaries and campaign managers of the respective political parties.

The purposive random sampling method was adopted since the researcher is well aware of the fact that there are numerous available data online but for the sake of this research, the researcher had to streamline to just a few which seemed popular and viral on the internet. The researcher therefore went ahead to pick just a few samples out of numerous data online which were felt to be interesting and raised equally interesting questions and varieties of opinions. It is believed that these will be representative enough for the purpose of this study.

Data were collected between August 2014 and the much more politically heated period in the month of March 2015. The researcher believed that this time frame which is also the campaign period paved way for different styles and models of winning over people to one's party, chief among these (styles) is the use of propaganda.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS, FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

If the speaker of a political message and indeed propaganda, has some objectives which he wants the hearer to be aware of. One can also allege that behind every political communication is the speaker's intention to persuade the audience; for political communication guided towards the views of the audience – the speaker believes something and wants the audience to share his philosophy. The speaker thus try to convince his audience through persuasion, modifying their attitudes and beliefs towards an intended direction (his support).

As the 2015 General Elections drew close and the actors of the major parties became sure of the flag bearers, propagandas in earnest took up a common place in the various campaigns. During this period, hardly could one hear a politician or group of politicians talk about issues without using offensive languages, especially during political rallies which became ready avenues for showering hate speeches and enough propaganda. The researcher will alternate the statements against one party and the other.

4.2 Analysis

1. JONATHAN-BEHIND-MY-ARREST-BY-MILITARY-LAI-MOHAMMED

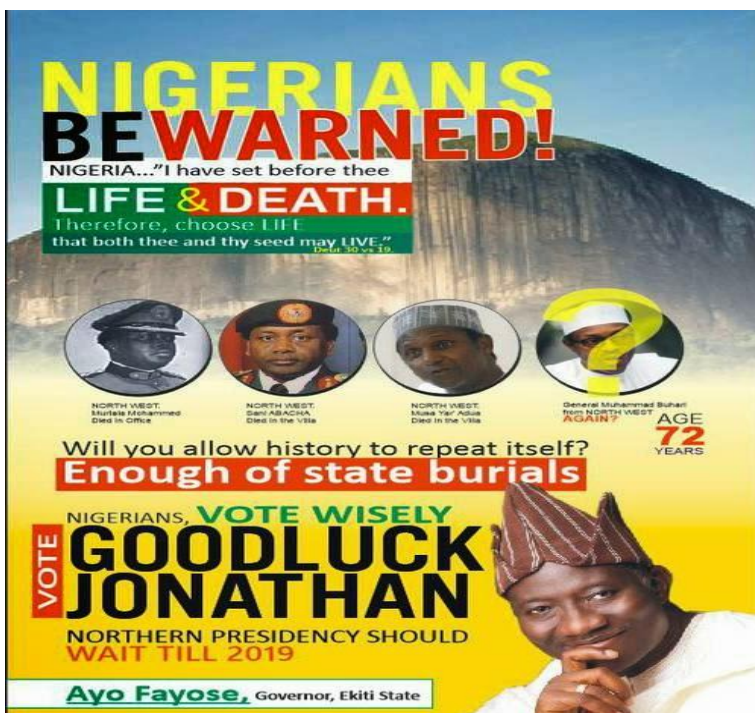
...He said, "Again, we call on President Jonathan to stop deceiving the world. In one breath, this President says he is committed to credible elections and that his political ambition is not worth the life of any Nigerian. He desecrates national institutions by wilfully using them against the opposition. This is not the democracy that many of our compatriots fought and died for. This is not the Nigeria that was envisaged by our past heroes. It is time for all concerned to step in and stop President Jonathan before he brings the country crashing down on our heads."(*Punchng.com August 10, 2014*).

Analysis

In this excerpt, APC's national party secretary Lai Mohammed called the president is a deceitful person who has completely failed to uphold the much sought after democracy. An

appeal is also made to history here. It furthers beckons on everyone who has the interest of the country at heart to stop the president before it is too late. A true Nigerian will always be concerned about the progress of the country, therefore the appeal to “all concerned” to step in before the country meets her waterloo in the hands of the president Jonathan. This has successfully discredited Jonathan as a leader. He is seen as a failure who has worked against the dream of Nigeria’s democracy.

2. ENOUGH OF STATE BURIALS- FAYOSE



(The Punch January 19, 2015)

Analysis

In one of the most controversial headlines ever in the campaign history of Nigeria, the governor of Ekiti state, Ayodele Fayose- a PDP loyalist, makes a reference to the holy bible. Life and death is placed side by side and we are asked to choose accordingly. Of a truth, Buhari is 72 years and one can say that age is not so on his side and for a task as huge as leading a country that accommodates up to 170 million people with her numerous problems.

Age seem to incapacitate his delivery. Going by antecedents too, Fayose makes an appeal to history by displaying erstwhile leaders from the North who met their end while on sit as the head of states. He asks a rhetorical question here: will you allow history to repeat itself again? That is, do you want another Northerner to die in office as the president against? Buhari is likened to death while Jonathan in his late 50s is seen as life. Most if not all Nigerians want life; even though it seems like the living condition is unbearable and harsh yet no one will readily want to associate with death. Therefore, one would expect Nigerians to vote for life enamoured in Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and shun Buhari who is expected to join his ancestors soon.

3. PDP, NIGERIANS' WORST NIGHTMARE – BUHARI

The All Progressives Congress Presidential candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, on Saturday said the People's Democratic Party was Nigerians' worst nightmare in the last 16 years of democracy. He added that it would be the worst mistake Nigerians would do to re-elect the party in the forthcoming 2015 general elections. Addressing supporters and party stalwarts at the North Central zonal rally held in Lafia, the Nasarawa state capital, Mr. Buhari said Nigeria was characterized by corruption and ethnic sentiments in the last 16 years of the PDP administration. Mr. Buhari said Nigerians must make a choice and the right choice that would guarantee the future of the next generation. "PDP has destroyed Nigeria," he said. "They have made it a tradition to create poverty and crisis in the country." The APC presidential candidate said there was no reason why Nigeria should import petrol from the International market while its refineries are deliberately destroyed and kept idle. "Before, we use to have airline companies, shipping companies, railways, and four refineries namely Port Harcourt, Warri, Kaduna and Lagos where our petroleum products were refined for domestic use and 22 depots but PDP has destroyed them and the country now has to import fuel," he said. "Don't make a mistake and vote PDP again because they have made it a tradition to destroy the country's potential and image for selfish reasons." (*Premiumtimes.ng March 21, 2015.*)

Analysis

The aspiring president in this address shows displeasure at the visible damage done to Nigeria since the military handed power over to a democratically elected government in 1999. According to him, the PDP which assumed power since then had done nothing than destroy the infrastructures which were on ground before they came into power. He goes further to term them the poverty and crisis creators, the destroyer of the country's image and potentials

and finally people who are after selfish accumulation of wealth from public funds. He therefore urges Nigerians to make the right choice which will repair and rebuild the nation for posterity purpose. Evidences brought forward to corroborate his claims are so glaring and undoubtedly true, this is enough to destroy the ambition of any candidate from the threshold of PDP and convince the electorates to switch to another party. This is the aim of this propagandistic statement by Buhari.

4. PLEASE DON'T VOTE FOR PRISON - PATIENCE JONATHAN

According to Vanguard, she warned Nigerians not to make the mistake of voting Buhari because a vote for Buhari is a vote to send people to Prison. According to her, a dictator will always be a dictator no matter how his handlers white wash him. She described the APC as a party of liars and propagandists adding that the party has “*nothing to offer but to grab power by all means*”. The first lady made this plea at a PDP rally held at the Gani Fawehinmi freedom Arcade ground in Akure, on March 24, Tuesday. (*Vanguard news* March 25, 2015)

Analysis

This statement is based on allusions to Buhari as a onetime military ruler and dictator. She claims that Buhari will send people to prison if voted in as the president just like he did as a Military Head of States in the 1980s. She also attacks the party by labelling them liars and propagandists whose crave for power has gone over bound. “Old soldier never die”, this is a cliché used by Nigerians especially to the armed force retirees to signify that they are still strong and virile and can still engage in combat whenever occasion calls for it. This explains why she said that “a dictator will always be a dictator no matter how his handlers handle him”. In a subtle way, the first lady played down on the ability of the APC to bridle the excesses of Buhari if voted into power. If the platform that served as his springboard cannot control him, then who can? We are in a democracy and anything that will undermine that should not be given the opportunity, this is the effect expected from the electorate. Freedom should be voted for; all forms of dictatorship should be shunned.

5. IF WE DON'T KILL CORRUPTION IT WILL KILL US, SAYS BUHARI

Presidential candidate of the All Progressive Congress, APC, General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd.), has warned Nigerians against voting for the People's Democratic Party, PDP at the general polls if they truly want to end corruption in the country. Speaking on Thursday at the South South presidential rally of his party at the Liberarion stadium, Port Harcourt, Buhari stressed on the danger of allowing corruption thrive in the country. "If we don't kill corruption this corruption will kill us. If you make a mistake of voting the PDP I assure you, you will regret it", he said. "I want you to be serious about your country. If we miss this opportunity we will be worst for it, God forbid", he said. Continuing, Buhari said if the Federal Government had been responsible with public funds the country would not have challenges of insecurity and poverty. (*Vanguard news March 12, 2015*)

Analysis

In another attack on the People's Democratic Party, the APC's presidential candidate refers to the opposition party as a corrupt party whose corrupt practises had eaten deeply into the fabrics of our nationhood. He claims that if the corruption that pervades the country is not checked, it will kill Nigeria. This means that if the dynastic reign of the PDP-the corrupt party is not put to an end, then Nigeria will-with PDP as the killer. He also claims that voting him in is the surest way of killing the corruption cankerworms and passionately appeals to Nigerians not to misuse the opportunity or else, Nigeria will become worse. In essence, no one wants Nigeria to die and since someone has prepared himself to forestall the occurrence of such a disaster, it is believed that the electorate would pitch their tent with the "messiah".

6. I DON'T THINK NIGERIANS WILL MAKE THE MISTAKE OF VOTING FOR BUHARI - JONATHAN

The President said although he could not claim to be perfect, majority of Nigerians would still prefer him above Buhari. He said, "I don't think Nigerians will make the mistake of voting for Buhari. "Gen. Buhari, with due respect, is not the right option for Nigeria at this time. It is a gamble that is not worth taking. I may not be perfect as nobody is perfect. But I believe that come Saturday, the majority of Nigerian voters will choose me as the best candidate to lead the nation forward." (*The Cable* Thursday, March 26, 2015.)

Analysis

In this subtle statement, Jonathan presents his opponent as a mistake with a bad consequence; taking the nation backward. He claims he is not perfect just as anyone but he sees himself as a better risk worth taking; the best candidate to move the nation forward. This is therefore a direct appeal to the discernment of the electorates; voting Buhari in will be a mistake, while voting him in will move the nation forward.

7. KWANKWASO ATTACKS JONATHAN, SAYS PRESIDENT INCOMPETENT AS COMMANDER IN-CHIEF

“We need to have the right commander in-chief who has the capacity and the political will to stop the nonsense that is happening in this country,” Mr. Kwankwaso, referring to the menace of the Boko Haram insurgents. “Today, we have a situation where we go to beg for help from countries that came to beg us to help protect their people in the past.” “I always feel bad that we can no longer protect ourselves as a country. But this is a country where its military performed creditably by protecting people from other African countries and helping a country come out of a repressive apartheid regime,” he said. “As we are sitting here, thousands of Nigerians are refugees in Chad and Niger. We have over five million internally displaced persons in the North-east. This is a very sad development because many people do not think the North-east is still a part of this country.” Mr. Kwankwaso noted that securing the lives and property of the citizenry is one of the cardinal functions of government all over the world, adding that “any government that fails in this sacred responsibility has no business being in power.” (*Premium times December 7, 2014*).

Analysis

The Boko Haram menace which has ravaged and threatened the nation’s security became rampant at the wake of Jonathan’s ascension into power in 2011. Scores of people have lost their lives, properties and displaced many in several attacks especially in the Northern part of the country. The seeming inability of the presidency to finding a solution to this rampage informed this attack on person in total control of armed forces in Nigeria-the president. His actions which had so far yielded little or no results at putting an end to the bloodshed made him a worthy recipient of the appellation “incompetent commander-in-chief” by the former defence minister in Jonathan’s cabinet (ex PDP loyalist). There is a need for a competent and much more virile person in charge of Nigeria’s security and who is the better option than a

well decorated retired army general in person of Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (rtd.). Therefore, all votes should be cast for Buhari, a man capable of putting an end to the brutality of the Boko-Haram, something the entire populace are craving for.

8. I STAND WITH JONATHAN; BUHARI CAN NEVER RULE NIGERIA – FANI-KAYODE.

His message reads thus: “Major General Mohammadu Buhari has emerged as the APC flag bearer and President Goodluck Jonathan has emerged for the PDP. Now the battle for the soul and future of our nation begins. The forces of light shall surely prevail over the forces of darkness and God’s counsel alone shall stand over Nigeria. I stand with Jonathan. Let’s get it on. (*Dailypost.ng* December 12 2014)

Analysis

FFK as he is generally called in a frantic effort to discredit the APC and its flag bearer has termed it the “forces of darkness” and his own party the “forces of light”. The darkness symbolises that no good can come out of Buhari and therefore the soul and future of Nigeria is at stake if the APC should emerge victorious. So the battle against this is the main focus of the PDP and its acolytes. The representative of the force of darkness is definitely a misfit for a country that has enough darkness already. Therefore, no well-meaning Nigerian will readily vote in the APC with this kind of description and representation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary, Recommendations and Conclusion

5.1 Summary

This study has used the speech acts theory of J.L Austin to investigate the effects which eight different propagandistic writings of two opposing parties-the APC and the PDP evident in the Nigeria's general election of 2015. The perlocutionary thrust of these writings on the audience has been the main focus of this research.

The first chapter is an introduction to the whole body of the study under which the introductory background to the study, statement of research problems, the objectives of the research, the scope of the study and the expected contribution to knowledge. A review of the related literatures to the study and theoretical framework upon which the analysis is based is done in chapter two. The third chapter got pre-occupied with the research method adopted for the study. Chapter four did a thorough analysis of the effects of the language of propaganda as evident in the datum. In conclusion, this study reveals that language will always have an effect on thoughts, feelings and even actions of the audience.

5.2 Conclusion

From the enquiry, it has been clearly established that a high level of propaganda pervaded most of the political writings released in the build up to the 2015 general elections in Nigeria. Also, those statements by party loyalists to an extent made impacts on the audience especially the opposition. The opposition on their part did not leave any stone unturned at replying all propagandistic speeches directed at them and this summarily led to the flooding of propaganda in most of the campaign speeches.

Alhaji Mohammadu Buhari has emerged as the winner, but one question still lingers- was he able to win the election based on the amount of propaganda he and his party were able to

surmount or the ones raised by his party against the opposition? Conversely, did the PDP lose out because their level of propaganda release did not measure up to that of the APC? These questions remains a quizzical puzzle to the researcher who feels Buhari won because people really wanted him to rule since his records as a past leader seem untainted.

5.3 Recommendations

Sequel to the findings from the analysis done in this work, the researcher will like to proffer some recommendations as part of the projects contribution to the society at large. The following are some of the recommendations:

It is glaring that the use of propaganda pervaded the campaigns of the rival parties, damaging of other people's character, hate speeches, exaggerations, and half-truths among others. This recent trend summarily reduced campaigns from being issue based to trying to outdo the opposition by all means possible. Therefore, the researcher recommends that more emphasis should be laid on issue based campaigns and not making oneself the better by destroying the other.

The researcher also feels that not so much is done at curbing the excesses of what one can say against the opponent, since it is believed that all is still under the umbrella of campaigns and publicity. The researcher believes that this caused the high rate of propaganda usage. Therefore, measures should be in place to reduce this trend to the bearable minimum. This is believed to forestall the occurrence of especially unfound claims, extreme speeches and half-truths in consequent elections.

In recent times, there has been a clamour for a single term of six years at the National Assembly. From this enquiry, one could notice that most of the attacks on the PDP man would not have been made if he was not seeking a second term. Based on this premise, the researcher feels anyone who has being in office for a term should step aside for another

administration so that the issue of division along party lines, religious sentiments and ethnic bigotry (which became rampant as different propagandistic statements rented the air), will reduce drastically.

Also, without doubt, the role which the mass media played in the propagation of the propagandas seen in the writings of the 2015 general elections cannot be over-emphasized. In fact, it got to a time that some online platforms and news channels were apparently divided along party line and used significantly by an opposition to disseminate propagandas. Therefore, the researcher feels that the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) should ensure that news coming from these channels is unbiased, verifiable and honest.

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