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IDEOLOGICAL POINTS OF VIEW AND TRANSITIVITY SELECTIONS IN A NIGERIAN PRIMARY ELECTION MEMOIR

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Abstract

Studies on Nigerian primary elections have examined the interface between primaries, intra-party conflicts and general election irregularities. Not many studies have exteriorised the ideological points of view determining the engagements of political actors in primary elections with reference to the narratives of political actors. Hence, this study did discourse analysis of a Nigerian election memoir- *Love Does not Win Elections*- to determine the ideological points of view that political actors index through selections from the transitivity system. 127 samples were analysed using theoretical insights from van Dijk's socio-cognitive model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Stuart's model of point of view and aspects of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Political actors in Nigerian primary elections hold conflictual, patronage, pecuniary, ethnic, patriarchal, religious and welfarist points of view. Electoral consumerism, clientelism, ethnicism, patriarchy, theological determinism and welfare state variously serve as ideological backgrounds for the points of view. The points of view are linguistically indexed through material, mental, relational and verbal clauses. There is the need for a re-orientation of political actors in Nigerian primary elections to ensure the emergence of a genuinely democratic culture.

Keywords: Ideology, point of view, transitivity, election memoir, Nigeria, Aisha Osori

1. Introduction

The extant Nigerian electoral system recognises two major categories of elections- general election and primary election. General elections are interparty in nature. At regular

intervals, a democratic nation witnesses the contestation for political posts by candidates of different political parties through general elections. Political parties internally conduct primaries to select candidates that would represent them during general elections. A primary election may be direct or indirect. A direct primary election involves the selection of a party's candidates for a general election by registered members of a political party. In an indirect primary election, members of a party at the ward or zonal level elect some delegates who choose a party's candidates for general elections during the party's conventions. Most Nigerian political parties operate the indirect primary election system to determine their candidates during general elections.

There is a fairly large body of works on general election practices and their effects on democratic consolidation in the Nigerian context. However, a few studies exist on the conduct of primary elections in Nigerian political parties. These studies are divisible into three major strands- politics, peace and conflict studies and legal studies. Tenuche (2011) and Muhammad (2011) are locatable in political science. Tenuche (2011) traces the nexus between flawed party primaries and the electoral irregularities that characterised the Nigerian general elections of 1999, 2003 and 2007. It concludes that undemocratic practices during the conduct of primary elections occasion such consequences as violent post-election conflicts, ideologically vacuous defections and the engendering of unstable democratic processes. Mohammad (2011) investigates the extent of conformity of primary elections to internal democracy requirements, nature of manifested irregularities and implications of such for intra-party politics in the Kaduna State's chapter of the Peoples' Democratic Party, between 1999 and 2015. Ikechukwu (2015) explicates the effects of the phenomenon of holding parallel party primaries in Nigeria's fourth republic and its implications for democratic sustenance. It identifies some of its implications as a weak internal party democratic culture and voters' apathy during general elections.

Adekeye (2017) studies the interface between primary elections and intra-party conflict in a major Nigerian political party- the People's Democratic Party. Working within the theoretical affordances of Group Conflict Theory, the study reports that non-adherence to set internal institutional structures birthed the instances of intra-party conflicts occasioned by primary elections. Adangor (2019) carries out a legal analysis of the constitutional provisions contained in Section 87, Subsection 9 of the Electoral Act (2010) (as amended) focusing on the extent to which it ensures internal party democracy. The paper recommends, in the contexts of intra-party squabbles brought about by conflictual party primaries, that the provision contained therein be amended.

Fundamentally, not many of these studies have rigorously examined extensive narratives on primary elections by primary and secondary political participants in Nigerian primary elections to determine their points of view on primary elections, the ideological foundations of such points of view and, the discourse representation of them (the points of view). The few available studies on the discourse representations of Nigerian elections concentrate on only the general elections and their portrayals in news reports and social media discourse (see Osisanwo, 2011; Osisanwo, 2012; Oyeleye and Osisanwo, 2013a; Oyeleye and Osisanwo, 2013b; Adegaju and Oyeboade, 2015; Osisanwo, 2016a; Osisanwo, 2016b and Tella, 2018). This study examines the discourse representations of ideological points of view on Nigerian primary elections, in the narratives of primary and secondary political actors, in Ayisha Osori's *Love Does not Win Elections* (henceforth, *LDNWE*). The text is an election memoir of a new entrant into Nigerian politics who is equally a professional.

2. Ayisha Osori: A biographical sketch

Aisha Osori is a Nigerian lawyer, development consultant and communication strategist with over eighteen years of experience in the public and private sectors. She attended the University of Lagos, Nigeria, for her law degree, the Harvard Law School for her second degree in law and the Harvard Kennedy School for a master's degree in public administration. She has worked variously at Levin and Srinivasan, Ocean and Oil Holdings, British American Tobacco and the Nigerian Women Trust Fund. Presently, she is the Executive Director of OSIWA (Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA)). In the course of her career as an advocate for women's rights and social change, she has consulted for World Bank, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Department for International Development (DFID) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) on women's economic and political empowerment, gender equality and good governance. She was also once a non-executive director on the board of the Nigerian Women Trust Fund. As a public-spirited intellectual, she was a columnist with two Nigerian newspapers- *ThisDay* and *Leadership*. She is equally a socially committed radio and television commentator. In 2015, she contested in the People's Democratic Party's (PDP) primary election meant for electing the party's representative for the Abuja

Municipal Area Council (AMAC)/Bwari Constituency in the 2015 House of Representatives election. Since Nigeria operate a bicameral legislature, its House of Representatives is the lower chamber of its national legislature (<http://ayishaosori.com/about/>).

3. Synoptic review of Ayisha Osori's *Love does not win elections*

The election memoir contains thirteen chapters, an epilogue, profiles of major political actors involved in the narration whose names have already been substituted and a copy of a letter forwarded to the Nigerian president on the conduct of the primary election in which the writer contested as a candidate. The thirteen chapters making up the text are conveniently divisible into four strands- the pre-campaign period, the campaign epoch, the election-day and the post-election time. Chapters one to seven presents the events leading up to the writer's decision to contest in the primary election for selecting the PDP candidate in the 2015 House of Representatives election for the AMAC/Bwari Constituency of the Federal Capital Territory. In the first chapter, Osori discusses the characteristic apathetic stance of the Nigerian middle class to politics and politicians. Furthermore, she explains her decision for joining the metaphorically murky waters of politics. Chapter two espouses her entrance into partisan politics. She presents her choice of PDP as an accident of prevailing circumstances, downtones the importance of choosing a political party on ideological ground-based on her idea that all major Nigerian political parties lack distinct ideologies and discusses her initial fund-raising strategies. The third chapter contains her challenges with establishing contacts with would-be patrons and creating political networks.

In chapter four, Osori discusses her formation of more political networks to dislodge the pervasive stance that only the indigenes of a particular locality should contest elections. Chapter five contains her account of the processes of procuring and submitting a nomination form from her chosen party- the PDP. She also continues with accounts on the expansion of her network. Chapter six has the official and unofficial workings of delegate selection at the ward level and the consequential role that money and patronage play in the process. The last chapter on pre-campaign affairs, chapter seven, discusses the writer's strategy for winning the primary election.

The second half of the text, chapters eight to eleven, describe events during the campaign period. In chapter eight, she moves around campaigning in her constituency and meets with local party leaders and would-be delegates to the party's convention. Chapter

Nine contains Osori's attempts at wooing the women-delegates in her constituency. In chapter ten, she meets family members and political opportunists who offer to arrange prayer sessions for her successful candidature. Osori, in chapter eleven, discusses some set of actions she takes in the last minutes of the primary election. Chapter twelve focuses on the election-day itself. The distribution of cash to delegates and underground campaigning continues before the election starts. Osori describes the election ground and the process of voting in an open ballot system. In the end, the election result was announced and the writer lost it. Chapter thirteen has an account of the events of the day immediately following the election day. The epilogue reviews the writer's experience in the course of her engagement as a candidate in the primary election and the lessons therein for new entrants into the Nigerian political terrain.

Generally, the text assumes its prime placement among narratives on Nigerian electoral practices since its return to democracy in 1999 from some fronts. It is, perhaps, the first extensive primary election memoir in contemporary Nigeria. It is, arguably, the most detailed and critical accounts of the internal workings of contemporary Nigerian political parties in the context of primary elections. The accounts therein seem to be significantly unbiased since the writer is a professional who was making her debut into electoral politics and she seemed uninterested in building a political career. Apart from its topicality, the text is not found short on stylistic adequacy. There are generous doses of humour, metaphor, euphemism, Nigerianisms and code alternation in it.

4. Theoretical base

The theoretical base for the study comprises van Dijk's (1995a and 1995b) socio-cognitive model of CDA, Stuart's (1996) model of point of view and aspects of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). van Dijk's model of CDA recognises three central concepts- society, cognition and discourse. Society has embedded social structures mostly marked by institutions, groups and group relations. Discourse is a reflection and refraction of social structures, and it is a social practice itself. Interactants produce, reproduce and legitimise shared social representations through discourse. In the words of van Dijk (1995b), "among the many forms of reproduction and interaction, discourse plays a prominent role as the preferential site for the explicit, verbal formulation and the persuasive communication of ideological propositions" (p.17). But the connection between discourse and society is an indirect one that cognition mediates. Cognition embodies shared representations of social

institutions, groups and events. These mental representations that interlocutors share aid the production and interpretation of discourse in context. Aspects of social cognition which govern discourse include belief, attitude, opinion, knowledge and ideology. Ideology governs the other strands of social cognition. The preponderant positioning of ideology is emphasised in van Dijk (1995b) thus:

Through complex and usually long-term processes of socialization and other forms of social information processing, ideologies are gradually acquired by members of a group or culture. *As systems of principles that organize social cognitions, ideologies are assumed to control, through the minds of the members, the social reproduction of the group.* Ideologies mentally represent the basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, tasks, goals, norms, values, position and resources (p.18) (emphasis mine).

This model of CDA regards ideology as "...basic frameworks of social cognition, shared by members of social groups, constituted by relevant selections of sociocultural values, and organized by an ideological schema that represents the self-definition of a group" (van Dijk, 1993, p.248). The conception of ideology adopted in this study is the one advanced in this model. It is applied to determine the ideologies which stand at the background of the points of view in the analysis.

Point of view refers to the perceptive angle from which events or information are presented. It includes the implicit and explicit communication of attitudes to narratives by the narrator (Hunston and Thompson, 2000). Stuart's (1996) model of point of view builds on such other models of the concept as Stanzel (1971), Uspensky (1973), Fowler (1986), Chatman (1990) and Short (1996). Working with analytical concepts from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Stuart (1996) identifies two levels of analysis for point of view- extratextual and the intratextual level. The extratextual level accommodates the three metafunctions of SFL- textual, ideational and interpersonal metafunctions. The spatio-temporal point of view realises the textual metafunction through deixis. The spatio-temporal point of view involves setting out the spatio-temporal point from which an event is narrated or felt.

The psychological point of view encompasses both the perceptual and the evaluative points of view. The perceptual point of view espouses the ideational metafunction through the transitivity system. It pertains to the representation of such aspects of consciousness as cognition, affection, perception and desire. The evaluative point of view concerns value-

judgements. It deals with how a narrator or character evaluates personalities, actions and semiotic productions of others. The evaluative point of view realises the interpersonal metafunction of language through mood, modality, evaluative lexis, adjectivals, adjuncts, negation and narratorial register. The ideological point of view deals with the social values that a narrator or character expresses and how the listener or reader is positioned to receive such values. The ideological point of view superintends on the other three sub-branches of point of view as all points of view have ideological leanings. The expression of ideological points of view and the positioning of the listener or reader towards it is carried out through discourse resources.

As stated in Stuart's model, linguistic resources encode points of view. Hence, the co-option of the transitivity system as an aspect of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) here. Specifically, the transitivity system is regarded here as the linguistic resource that indexes the ideological points of view. The transitivity system works on the clause which is a lexico-grammatical unit to realise ideational meanings. The three main components of transitivity are process, participant and circumstance. Each process type has a set of possible participants. Based on the process types, SFL differentiates among six types of clause: material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioural and existential clauses. Material clauses present processes of material actions (doing). The possible participants for a material clause are actor, goal, range and beneficiary. Mental clauses encode feelings, thoughts, desires and perceptions. The two inherent participants in a mental clause are sener and phenomenon. Relational clauses represent relationships between entities based on attribution or identification. Relational clauses have carrier, attribute, token and value as the major participants. Verbal clauses express verbal actions that language users perform. The main participants in a verbal clause include sayer, verbiage and receiver. Behavioural clauses denote the human experience of physiological and psychological behaviour. The only characteristic participant in a behavioural process is behavior. Existential clauses indicate that something exists or occurs. Existential clauses have only existent as the essential participant (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, pp.168-280). Circumstance qualifies a process in temporal, spatial and causal terms.

5. Methodology

The source of data for the study is a Nigerian election memoir- *Love Does not Win Elections*. The source is selected for being, probably, the first extensive and critical

presentation of narratives on a Nigerian primary election. It is a detailed election memoir that focuses strictly on a Nigerian primary election. Using the purposive random sampling technique, 127 samples were selected from the text. The derived sample size comprises direct and indirect narrations about elections and election-related events by primary and secondary political actors. The samples were subjected to qualitative discourse analysis using the analytical model presented above. The analytical framework itself was derived from the theoretical framework made up of the concept of ideology from van Dijk's (1995a, 1995b, 2004) socio-cognitive model of CDA, the idea of ideological points of view from Stuart's (1996) model of point of view and the transitivity system in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). In terms of the analytical procedure, the points of view which the samples encoded and their ideological backgrounds were determined. Subsequently, the transitivity processes, through which the points of view are expressed, are established.

6. Data presentation and analysis

The data analysis indicates that six ideological frameworks inform seven points of view on party primary elections in the examined election autobiography. The points of view include conflictual, patronage, pecuniary, ethnic, patriarchal, religious and welfarist points of view. The conflictual point of view is driven by electoral consumerism. Clientelism informs the patronage and pecuniary viewpoints of primary elections. Ethnicism informs the ethnic point of view; patriarchy serves as the base of the patriarchal viewpoint; theological determinism drives the religious point of view and welfare state ideology stands as the background to the welfarist point of view. The transitivity selections encode the political actors' points of view on primary election events.

6.1 Electoral consumerism and conflictual point of view

The conception of electoral consumerism as an informing ideology for the conflictual point of view assumes a bidirectional manifestation. In the first instance, one regards the political actors as products packaged to be sold to the electorate. The electorate becomes consumers of political products. This strand of the ideology underlies political marketing and its related activities. In the opposite direction, the electorate is viewed as custodians of votes which are themselves scarce resources that political candidates strive to accumulate in electoral contexts. In this instance, politicians become metaphoric buyers and consumers of votes while the electorate stands as the sellers.

Foundationally, the jostling for political support, either through defined legitimate avenues or illegitimate means, suggests the inherently conflictive nature of electoral contests. The conflictual point of view holds that politicians vigorously deploy both institutionally sanctioned and illegitimate means to seek votes in electoral contexts because they conceptualise elections as contests for votes. Hence, when they frame elections as conflict, they strategise significantly towards their aggregation of the electorate's support within legally defined boundaries and practices. However, in the instances in which they frame elections as 'hard' conflict, they instigate their supporters to engage in electoral violence.

In *LDNWE*, one encounters the point of view of election as conflict more. Even where references are made to the perception of elections as 'hard' conflict, the political actors do not instigate physical conflicts but warn those in charge of intra-party elections to forestall any breach of security during primary elections. This study regards the conflictual point of view and its ideological background- electoral consumerism- as the macro-point of view and the macro-ideology respectively. The point of view governs the other points of view in that all of them are related to it and are latently informed by it.

Through the use of verbal, mental, material and relational clauses, the writer presents the political actors' view of elections as conflictual.

Excerpt 1

Jamilu had one last idea. People love humility; my frequent phone calls to delegates and chairmen to find out how they were doing and constant appeal for their support had apparently been effective. Would I be averse to kneeling down as I give them their envelopes?... People like to be begged, Jamilu argued. (*LDNWE*, p. 205)

Excerpt 1 presents the perception of primaries as conflicts. In it, the writer recounts a piece of advice she got from a member of her campaign team. The adviser recognises 'people' (in the context of primary elections, delegates) as deciding agents that should be courted so that one can gain their votes. Hence, their placement as the senser of the mental (emotive) clause, 'People love humility'. The process verb, 'love', assigns 'humility' as a phenomenon to the electorate. Humility is a positive human attribute. The assignment of such a positive quality to the electorate is indirect polite behaviour and an assertion of the speaker's recognition of their power in an electoral context.

Furthermore, the next structure underscores the rigorous campaign activities that the candidate had undertaken. The clause which succeeded “People love humility”- “my frequent phone calls to delegates and chairmen to find out how they were doing and constant appeal for their support had apparently been effective”- has a compound nominal group as its subject (“my frequent phone calls... and constant appeal...”). Two instances of nominalised verbs – ‘calls’ and ‘appeal’- serve as heads in the compound nominal group. These nominalised elements encode actions that politicians engage in to aggregate votes. They make phone calls to delegates and appeal to them (the delegates) to convince them (the delegates) to vote for them (the politicians). That the delegates and their organisers are the targets of such nominalised actions is encoded by the qualifiers to the nominalised entities- ‘to delegates and chairmen’ and ‘for their support’. The question (“Would I be averse to kneeling down as I give them their envelopes?”), spells out the particular act the speaker (a senior member of the writer’s campaign team) wanted her (the writer who was equally an election candidate) to undertake.

However, in the following sentence, “People like to be begged, Jamilu argued”, the writer indirectly presents the speech of the speaker to underscore the speaker’s legitimation of the suggested activities. The verbal clause contains the sayers, ‘Jamilu’; the process verb, ‘argued’; and the verbiage, ‘People like to be begged’. The verbiage itself is a mental (desiderative) clause that has ‘people’ as the senser, ‘like’ as the mental process verb and the non-finite clause, ‘to be begged’, as the phenomenon. The non-finite clause which acts as the phenomenon contains a material process verb- ‘begged’. Here, the speaker encourages the writer, an election contestant, to perform the material action of begging the delegates who would vote at the primary election so that they could cast their votes for her. The conflictual point of view to election underlies the recommended act. In recognition of the fact that the other candidates are also contesting for the votes of the electorate, election candidates try to woo the electorate by performing variegated forms of subservient acts for them to portray themselves as the epitome of lowliness, impress the people and ultimately win their votes. The performance of such an act of genuflection to the electorate is based on the candidate’s awareness of the existence of competitors who are also seeking the same votes. It is this supposedly inherent conflict in electoral contestation which engenders the suggestion that the candidate should kneel down to beg the primary election delegates.

6.2 Clientelism and patronage point of view

Clientelism serves as the ideological front for the patronage point of view. Clientelism operates in political systems and sub-systems dominated by patron-broker-client relationships which facilitate access to political power and authority for the client and, mostly, economic benefits for the patron. In the words of Piatonni (2001, p.4), it refers to “the trade of votes and other types of partisan support in exchange for public decisions with divisible benefits, which involves not only the distribution of jobs and goods but also the exploitation of the entire machinery of the state as ‘a token of exchange’”. Clientelism drives both the patronage and the pecuniary points of view on Nigerian primary elections. The patronage point of view underscores the establishment of asymmetrical political friendships with those perceived to be holders of political influence by intending political candidates for the sake of acquiring the machinery of power and authority. The perceived political influencers also gain economically and politically from such politically motivated relations. To represent Nigerian primary elections from the patronage point of view, the writer deploys transitivity selections such as mental clauses, verbal clauses, material clauses and relational clauses.

Excerpt 2

I soon learned that the paperwork meant little without the right backers to pass it along. This was true, it became clear, of the entire project of running for office.... The game changer, I was informed, was Ahmed Muazu, at the time the national chairman of PDP.... Be that as it may, he was the political rainmaker, the deal clincher, and if I could get his support for my candidacy, the ticket was mine. (*LDNWE*, pp. 37-38)

In the first sentence, the writer expresses the content of his discovery on the importance of patronage in Nigerian party politics. With the personal deictic item, ‘I’, the writer is the senser in the mental (cognitive) clause. ‘learned’ is the cognitive verb and the content of the learning- ‘that the paperwork meant little without the right backer....’ is the phenomenon which the writer has learned about the Nigerian party politics. She has learnt that ‘right backers’ are essential. Besides, in the same sentence, the writer represents her newly learnt general knowledge of the significant statures of political patrons in Nigerian politics by functionally nominalising them as ‘backers’. The first independent clause in the

second sentence further heightens the representation. It is a relational attributive clause that has the demonstrative pronoun, 'This', as carrier and 'true' as the attribute. 'This' anaphorically refers to 'that the paperwork meant little without the right backers to pass it along'. By ascribing truthfulness as an attribute to the idea that one needs patrons to be successful in Nigerian party politics, the writer represents the patronage point of view as an essential characteristic of politics in Nigeria.

Sentences three and four focus on the presentation of a particular patron, 'Ahmed Muazu'. Sentence three is a verbal clause that has the verb, 'informed'. The writer is the receiver of the verbiage, 'The game changer... was Ahmed Muazu, at the time the national chairman of PDP'. The verbiage in sentence three is a relational (identifying) clause with 'was' as its process verb, 'Ahmed Muazu' as the identified or token and 'the game changer' and 'national chairman of PDP' as the identifiers or values. In sentence four also, he stands as the identified and, 'the political rainmaker' and 'the deal clincher' are the identifiers or the values ascribed to him.

All the identifiers are functionalised nominalisations with conventional metaphoric implications. 'game changer' has sports as its source domain. A game-changer utilises their dexterity to determine the momentum of any contest in favour of their team. A patron also uses his accumulated social capital to win an election for the candidate he supports. The metaphor, 'rainmaker', has nature as its source domain. In the face of drought in an agrarian setting, rain becomes a scarce commodity that all yearns for. A rainmaker brings much relief to all by causing it to rain. In the struggle for votes in an electoral contest, a political rainmaker ensures that their client gets more votes and they do not metaphorically experience any drought of votes. 'deal clincher' belongs to the source domain of business. 'Clincher' itself has its etymological origin in carpentry. A clincher securely fixes a nail. Its sense as "to settle decisively" derives from its stated meaning in carpentry. 'Deal' means a transaction or bargain. Contests for votes are equally transactional in mode; election candidates bargain for the votes from the electorate. A political patron is an eminent influencer who commands much respect among the electorate and can determine their voting behaviour. They constitute themselves election candidates' agents and bargain for the electorate's votes for them (the election candidate). The process of a patron's exertion of his influence on the voters is regarded as a deal (a transaction) and they clinch it when they firmly secure an electoral victory for an election candidate. The metaphors simultaneously represent and intensify the influence of Ahmed Muazu as a patron.

6.3 Clientelism and pecuniary point of view

The economic dimension to Nigerian party politics brings about the pecuniary point of view to intra-party electoral processes in the Nigerian context. The pecuniary point of view states that the Nigerian electoral culture is heavily transactional in dimension; money exchanges hands to ensure election victory. Ibrahim (2018) describes transactional politics as “the transformation of political processes into horse trading in which political actors trade individual benefits to each other. Rather than politics being a process for using public resources for the provision of public goods, it becomes a market in which politicians help each other to steal public resources for their private gain. Politics then becomes reduced to the quid pro quo of ‘you help me steal and I will help you steal’”. Manifestations of the pecuniary point of view bifurcate into the patron-client strand and the candidate-electorate aspect. The maintenance of the patron-client relationship that clientelism projects has some financial implications for the political candidates (who are the clients) in both pre- and post-election contexts. Even when the patron has facilitated meetings between their client and the voters within their sphere of influence, the client (election candidates) still bears the financial burden of maintaining the facilitated relations between themselves and the electorate. The most present manifestation of this is extensive vote buying during both intra-party and general elections. Like the patronage point of view, clientelism informs the point of view.

In terms of the utilisation of transitivity selections to grammaticalise the point of view, mental, verbal, material and relational processes are deployed across the samples. In the excerpt presented below, the pecuniary point of view is illustrated.

Excerpt 3

Money is the lifeblood of our political process. This was a critical lesson for me to learn first-hand... There is no contesting primaries and general elections without money. I should be made to write out this nine million, four hundred and seventy-one thousand times-that’s how much, in naira, I raised in contributions in a period of two and a half months. (*LDNWE*, p.25)

In the first sentence, the writer presents a conclusion she reached in the course of her campaign. The clause has a relational (identifying) process. The identified or token is ‘Money’ and it is characterised by the ascribed value, ‘the lifeblood of our political

process'. The process verb, 'is', facilitates the identification of one term by the other. The identifier is a metaphor wherein the writer compares the Nigerian electoral process to a living being that has blood. Blood is an essential fluid in the circulatory system of living beings that regulates the body system, supplies oxygen and nutrients, removes body wastes, moves hormones and maintains homeostasis. Except for plants, human and non-human living beings cannot live without blood. Just like blood is essential to the continued existence of a living being, playing politics in Nigeria compulsorily requires money. The metaphor indirectly intensifies the role of money in Nigerian politics.

The second sentence is also a relational (attributive) one which has the process verb- 'was'. The carrier is the demonstrative referential item, 'this'. It refers backwardly to the first clause. The first clause expresses the proposition that money reigns in Nigerian politics. This idea is assigned a quality by the attribute- 'a critical lesson'. That proposition was not just a lesson the writer learnt; she intensifies the importance of that lesson by qualifying it with the epithet, 'critical'. In the next sentence, the writer issues the bare assertion: "There is no contesting primaries and general elections without money". The existential clause has the existential subject- 'There'; the verb, 'is'; and the existent, 'no contesting primaries and general elections without money'. The existent is a non-finite clause that has 'contesting' as its lexical verb and the compound-complex nominal group, 'primaries and general elections without money'. The existent which is a non-finite clause indicates that contesting elections without money is impossible.

The last sentence indirectly amplifies the proposition that one cannot contest in a Nigerian primary without possessing sufficient funds. The writer spells out a punishment regime that would entrench that realisation in her psyche. In transitivity terms, the clause is a causative construction in which the writer (represented by the pronoun, 'I') is the actor, the causative process is "should be made", the verbal action he is to be caused to undertake is "to write out this line nine million, four hundred and seventy-one thousand times" but the agent is excluded. The verbal clause itself has "to write out" as the verbal process and 'this line' as the verbiage. 'this line' is related anaphorically to the previous clause, 'There is no contesting primaries and general elections without money". This serves as an indirect means of emphasising the indispensability of money in Nigerian politics. That the writer desires that she should be made to write out the proposition underscores the proposition.

6.4 Ethnicism and ethnic point of view

As a social construct, ethnicism refers to the conscious promotion of ethnic identities or cultures mostly for ethnic determination. In the electoral contexts, political actors project their ethnic identities or frame election discourse in ethnic terms to boost their political image. Otite (1990, p.60), cited in Adadevoh (2001, p.80) describes it as follows: “the contextual discrimination by members of one group against others based on the differentiated systems of social and cultural symbols...”. Ethnicism as an ideological front informs the ethnic point of view to Nigerian primary elections as found in *LDNWE*. This point of view holds that political posts within a defined geography that is associated with an ethnic group should only be held by the members of the ethnic formation that history and other accidents of human experience privilege as being the owners of that space. This point of view especially manifests itself in electoral contests for political offices which constituencies are more local.

Verbal, mental, material and relation processes encode the point of view. Excerpt 4 below exemplifies the point of view.

Excerpt 4

But it was only when various PDP chiefs told me the president and the party were committed to keeping the FCT for the indigenes that I realised how strong the underlying tensions were between various ethnic groups who called FCT home. I followed up on Dr Ali’s advice to consult with Ambassador Ngbako, an indigene of the FCT.... “Don’t count on the support of the Gbagyis”. He said the Gbagyis had been generous and had no apologies for insisting on self-representation.... “Take a message to those whose ears you have access to: FCT indigenes want to be able to nominate ministers.... (*LDNWE*, pp. 75-76)

In the excerpt above, the writer recounts an encounter with a recognised politician who is an indigene and community leader in the FCT; he is of the Gbagyi ethnic group. The FCT refers to the Federal Capital Territory, the seat of the Nigerian federal government. The territory was traditionally deemed to belong to some minority ethnic groups. In the first sentence, the writer indirectly reports the contents of the PDP chiefs’ statements to her. The clause also exemplifies an instance of a verbal clause. The sayers are the ‘various PDP chiefs’, the process verb is ‘told’, the receiver is the writer who is designated as ‘me’ and

the verbiage is ‘the president and the party were committed to keeping the FCT for the indigenes’. The verbiage itself is a causative material clause with ‘were committed to’ as the material process and ‘the president and the party’ as the actor. But the agent does not have a surface representation. What they ‘were committed to’ is presented as the non-finite clause which also stands as a grammatical metaphor- ‘keeping the FCT’. The preposition-headed adverbial group which ends the structure specifies “the indigenes” of FCT as the recipient of the support from the presidency. To graduate the federal government’s support for indigenising politics in the FCT, the writer chooses the verb, ‘committed’. It is not just a mere endorsement, there is a commitment to its realisation. By endorsing and indicating its total support for the contestants who are indigenes of the FCT, the federal government indirectly legitimises ethnic politics for certain political ends.

In sentence five, Ambassador Ngbako sends a message to those in authority through the writer. The message is clear: “FCT indigenes want to be able to nominate ministers....” The first sentence, ‘FCT indigenes want to be able to nominate ministers’, has a mental (desiderative) process which ‘want’ denotes. The senser is ‘FCT indigenes’ and the phenomenon, which is what they desire, is ‘to be able to nominate ministers’. The Nigerian constitution demands that the president must appoint one minister from each of the thirty-six states in the federation. Each state is governed by an elected governor. Though the constitution recognises the FCT, it does not construe it as a state of the federation. It is rather regarded as the seat of the federal government and it is managed directly by an appointed minister, not an elected governor. The speaker’s ethnic group does not just desire to control elections into the constituencies in their territories, they want to be given a ministerial slot.

6.5 Patriarchy and patriarchal point of view

Walby (1991, p.20) defines patriarchy as a “system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women.... The use of the term ‘social structure’ is important here, since it clearly implies rejection both of biological determinism, and the notion that every individual man is in a dominant position and every woman in a subordinate one.... At a more abstract level, it exists as a system of social relations....”. The patriarchal point of view on Nigerian party primaries presents electoral politics and the practices surrounding it as privileging the participation of men in politics and discouraging female participants’ engagement in the political arena. Patriarchy as a social

construct ensures the constancy of the patriarchal point of view in the Nigerian electoral politics' space. Excerpt five below is an exemplification of the patriarchal point of view.

Excerpt 5

Late night meetings are one of the most often-cited challenges to women's political participation in Nigeria.... There are security concerns.... There are also concerns about sexual abuse and promiscuity. Presumably, women worry more about the former.... (*LDNWE*, pp. 91-96)

In the excerpt above, the writer discusses late night meetings as one of the discouraging features of participation in electoral politics for Nigerian women. She discusses the different inhibitory manifestations of it. In the first sentence, the writer records a general tendency in Nigerian party politics without attributing the perception directly to any speaker. The relational (attributive) clause has 'late night meetings' as the carrier, the process verb is 'are' and 'one of the most often-cited challenges to women's political participation in Nigeria' is the attribute given to the carrier. The attribute itself is a complex nominal group with 'challenges' as the headword. The lexeme, 'challenges', is an evaluative noun. It represents, in a hedged manner, 'late night meetings' as a problem. The epithet, 'often-cited', qualifies 'challenges' as an attribute. The epithet intensifies the extent to which 'late night meetings' are 'challenges' and it is boosted by 'most'. 'Challenges' is further characterised by the qualifier, 'to women's political participation in Nigeria'. The qualifier identifies late night meetings as a major challenge to women. The portrayal of women as the most immediate and major sufferers of late-night meetings in electoral politics indicates the patriarchal bend in Nigerian politics.

Both sentences two and three are existential clauses; they indicate that 'security concerns' and 'concerns about sexual abuse and promiscuity' exist as specific challenges that women who attend late-night political meetings encounter. Both 'security concerns' and 'concerns about sexual abuse and promiscuity' serve as the existents in the two clauses. The lexeme, 'concerns', is an evaluative noun; it indicates that the existents are worries to the female politicians. The fourth sentence even characterises the worry better through the qualifier, 'about sexual abuse and promiscuity'. The two nominal groups acting as completives in 'about sexual abuse and promiscuity' are even evaluative nouns; both 'sexual abuse' and 'promiscuity' generate negative affect in public discourse. The fifth sentence is closely related to the fourth one. It is a paratactic clause complex with two

independent mental (emotive) clauses. The first has ‘women’ as its senser, ‘worry’ as its process verb and ‘about the former’ as the phenomenon being sensed. ‘The former’ is in an anaphoric relation with ‘sexual abuse’ in the immediately preceding clause. This indicates women undergo much emotional tension as a result of the fear that they could experience sexual molestation in the course of attending late-night meetings. Since only women are presented as experiencing the inhibition in political circuits, men are indirectly privileged.

6.6 Theological determinism and religious point of view

The central position in theological determinism is that God superintends on both supra-individual and individual affairs. Feinberg (2001, p.504) simply defines it as the ideological stance that “God’s decree covers and controls all things”. The theological determinists ground their arguments on a tripod- God possesses future knowledge; God has an inexhaustible body of knowledge on counterfactual conditionals and, God is an absolutely independent and perfect actor. This ideology forms the background to the religious point of view on Nigerian primary elections. The point of view holds that electoral victory, like all other good things, come from God. It is based on this view that major and minor political patrons, political associates, family members and emergency political opportunists appeal to election candidates to release funds for organising prayer sessions in support of their election bids. The excerpt below exemplifies the religious point of view.

Excerpt 6

My mother and all her friends were praying. The Imam at the mosque she attended was also praying, my friends were praying, and so was I.... One evening, Adamu, one of the drivers we used regularly on our campaign tours, asked how the campaign was going as he drove me home.... Now he asked if I had commissioned any prayers. I confessed I had not given it a thought. Adamu said he knew someone who could organise almajiri prayers... The prayers of almajiris were potent, Adamu explained.... (*LDNWE*, pp.187-188)

In the excerpt above, the writer recounts how prayers were offered by family members and friends in support of her election. To further portray the preponderant posture of the religious point of view, she recollects her interaction with the driver for her campaign team on the subject of divine intercessions for electoral victory. The first two sentences are

verbal clauses with ‘were praying’, and ‘was praying’ as verbal groups denoting the verbal process. The sayers in relation to them are ‘my mother and all her friends’, ‘The Imam in the mosque she attended’, ‘my friends’ and ‘I’. All these participants prayed for her electoral victory. These discourse actors conceive prayer to God as an efficacious means for gaining an electoral victory for the writer.

The closing segment of the excerpt is a narration of the writer’s encounter with her driver on the need for prayer to win the primary election. Having introduced the driver, the writer presents him as the sayer in the two subsequent verbal clauses. In both, he performs the verbal process denoted by ‘asked’, the writer is the target and the respective verbiages are ‘how the campaign was going’ and ‘if I had commissioned any prayers’. These verbiages are indicative of the driver’s belief in God as a consequential influencer of the electoral process. Based on the question asked by the driver, the writer informed him that she had not thought of it. In the next sentence which is a verbal clause (‘Adamu said he knew someone who could organise almajiri prayers’), the driver is the sayer, the verbal action done is ‘said’, the verbiage is ‘he knew someone who could organise almajiri prayers’. The verbiage itself is a mental (cognitive) clause in which the driver, ‘Adamu’, is the senser, the performed cognitive action is ‘knew’ and the phenomenon known is ‘someone who could organise almajiri prayers’. The driver lays bare his knowledge about locating some organisers of a potent form of Islamic prayer. This implies that he believes in the force of the type of prayer for an election victory.

The penultimate sentence still presents ‘Adamu’ as the sayer in the verbal clause who undertakes the verbal action specified by the process verb, ‘explained’. The verbiage is ‘The prayers of almajiris were potent’. The verbiage is a relational (attributive intensive) clause in which ‘the prayers of almajiris’ is the carrier to which the value, ‘potent’ is ascribed. ‘were’ is the process verb. The content of the verbiage indicates that the speaker commits himself significantly to the efficacious nature of the prayer form he suggested by qualifying it with the predicative adjective, ‘potent’.

5.7 Welfare state ideology and welfarist point of view

Generally, the welfare state ideology regards the state as an embodiment of the common good; the state serves as the vanguard of its citizenry’s socio-economic well-being through its provisioning of the necessities for existence either solely or in collaboration with capitalistic formations. The welfare state ideology “promote(s) a vision of the state as the

[sole] guarantor of social rights. These states promote equality of benefits at high levels as a way of minimizing the effects of social class and income. Welfare benefits are used to equalize the ability of all citizens, regardless of income, to participate in the political community” (Weir, 2015, p.16435).

The welfare state ideology informs the welfarist point of view on primary election found across the *LDNWE*. The point of view opines that the government and its agencies primarily enhances the citizenry’s well-being through the provision of social services. Two categories of social actors hold this point of view in the context of primary elections- the party delegates who vote during primary elections and the writer who had stood as a political candidate in an election year. For the delegates, they utilise the interactions between them and the political candidate to enunciate the provisions they desire from the government which they (the candidate) could facilitate when eventually elected. For the election contestant, she enumerates the socio-economic gains she intends to facilitate for the delegates and their communities if chosen as the party’s candidate for the general election. Excerpt 7 presents an instantiation of the point of view.

Excerpt 7

When he invited me to address them, I struggled through my Hausa interspersed with English and told them a little about myself. “I have lived in Abuja since 1996,” I began. “It is home to me and my entire family..., I continued. “I am a lawyer. I studied law because I do not like injustice.... And now I want to represent you at the House of Representatives because I see a lot that is wrong that can be put right. (*LDNWE*, p.106)

The immediate context for the extract above is a meeting between the writer, who also doubled as the candidate for a primary election, and some potential delegates who were to serve as the electorate for the primary election. One of the candidate’s patrons facilitated the encounter. In the course of the meeting, the candidate is invited to address the prospective delegates. A good part of the extract contains the contents of her speech. Sentences two to five largely establish the identity of the writer as a caring and age-long resident of the FCT. In sentence two, she presents herself as the actor of the material process indexed by the verbal group- ‘have lived’. The following circumstance of location- ‘in Abuja’ - indicates her area of residence as being the FCT. Sentence three has a relational (attributive intensive) process as indexed by ‘is; ‘it’, which refers anaphorically to ‘Abuja’, is the carrier that has the attribute, ‘home’. The circumstantial element of cause, ‘to me and

my entire family', presents the writer and her family as beneficiaries of Abuja's homely nature.

In sentences four and five, the writer presents her credentials as a welfarist indirectly to the delegates. In sentence 4, the writer, through a relational (attributive intensive) clause, states her professional affiliation. 'I', which refers to the writer, is the carrier; the process verb is 'am' and 'a lawyer' is the attribute. The fifth sentence is a material clause with 'studied' as the indicated material action. The actor is the writer referenced by the pronoun, 'I', and 'law' stands as the goal. The non-finite clause, 'because I do not like injustice', is the circumstance of cause (reason) which indicates why the candidate studied law. The circumstantial element itself is a mental (emotive) clause with 'do not like' as a verbal group, 'I' as the senser and 'injustice' as the phenomenon being sensed. The negator, 'not', indicates the writer's aversion to 'injustice'. That he hates injustice implies that he sides with the victims of injustice and cares for their welfare. Her care for their welfare propelled her to become a lawyer.

In sentence six, the writer continues to project her welfarist self-portraiture. The writer lays bare her political aim and the reason for it. The clause has a mental (desiderative) process with 'want' as the process verb. The writer is the senser and the phenomenon is 'to represent you at the House of Representatives'. The phenomenon itself is a material clause with 'represent' as the intended material action of the writer. The writer is the actor and the delegates, indexed by 'you', constitute the goal. The point of representation is marked by the circumstance of location: 'at the House of Representatives'. Only one who cares about the welfare of a people seeks to represent them.

The writer desires to be elected as a member of the federal House of Representatives. The rest of the clause encodes the reason for the desire- 'because I see a lot that is wrong that can be put right'. This non-finite clause that serves as the circumstance of cause (reason) is itself a mental (perceptive) clause that has 'see' as the process verb. The writer is the senser and the phenomenon is 'a lot that is wrong that can be put right'. The phenomenon which the writer perceives is a complex nominal group headed by 'lot' and qualified by 'that is wrong' and 'that can be put right'. The writer feels that the citizenry goes through many anomalies which she underspecifies but regards such as surmountable. Her ability to perceive the challenges of the delegates who are locals and, her optimism and readiness to remedy such serve as signifiers of her welfarist posture.

7. Conclusion

This study has investigated the categories of political actors' ideology-based points of view on primary elections, their specific ideological backgrounds and their linguistic encoding of such through transitivity selections in a Nigerian election autobiography- Ayisha Osori's *Love Does not Win Elections*. Deploying an analytical model derived from a blend of insights from van Dijk's (1995a, 1995b and 2004) model of Critical Discourse Analysis, Stuart's (1996) model of point of view and the transitivity system in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), the result indicates that intra-party political actors in Nigeria hold seven ideological points of view on party primaries; they are conflictual, patronage, pecuniary, ethnic, patriarchal, religious and welfarist points of view. These points of view are themselves informed by such ideologies as electoral consumerism, clientelism, ethnicism, patriarchy, theological determinism and welfare state respectively. Through transitivity selections, the points of view are linguistically encoded.

It is deducible from the identified points of view that governance issues that emphasise the welfarist obligations of the state to the populace are underrepresented in Nigerian intra-party election discourse. Rather, there is the constant re-energisation of the presence of god-like political figures and primordial divisive sentiments. This portends certain dire implications for the sustenance of democratic culture in Nigeria. On a general note, one of the major consequences is the lingering leadership challenge. It seems that, as it is presently configured, the Nigerian party structures and cultures may not possess the capacity to throw up genuine leaders. Since the citizenry observes these undemocratic internal party operations and consume news about them in the media, they have become significantly apathetic to participation in elections. Within the parties, internal democratic practices continue to diminish, unbridled intra-party conflict instigation and escalation continues and promotion of ethnicised politics reigns. All of these have inadvertently diminished governance-directed election discourse. To reverse the current negative trends, requisite laws and public policies on election matters must address the anti-democratic tendencies that characterise intra-party practices instead of its entire focus on the regulation of inter-party relations in the contexts of general elections.

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