

Discourse of resistance in Fani-Kayode's political posts on Facebook

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Abstract

This study examined the discourse of resistance in Fani-Kayode's (FFK) Facebook posts. FFK's use of language of resistance has not attracted the attention of scholars, especially in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The thrust of this work is to investigate and examine different resistance strategies in some of his political posts. Data for this work were collected from the Facebook page of Fani-Kayode. The posts were downloaded and saved on the laptop device for further analysis. The work adopts a purposive sampling method in data collection, which was preferred because it allows manual assessment of FFK posts to extract relevant data for this work. Five political posts were selected and downloaded from his Facebook page. The five posts were selected because they discussed critical political and security issues in the country. From the five posts, 12 extracts were culled because of their resourcefulness in the use of resistance strategies. This study adopted qualitative analysis using CDA because CDA helps to unravel inherent ideologies in the posts. The study identified and discussed different resistance strategies in the FFK posts on Facebook and their implications. The identified resistance strategies include: proposition, presupposition, negation, propaganda, and emotive lexis. The study submits that the strategies have political, social and academic implications for society. It concludes that social media users should filter information on the media before they react, to avoid the dissemination of wrong information and prevent conflict in the society.

Keywords: discourse, resistance, political posts, Fani-Kayode

Introduction

The role of new media in shaping the Nigeria political landscape cannot be overemphasized. Kaczmirek *et al.* (2014:7) believe that political communication has become a major focus in the growing field of social media studies. This is not surprising, given the phenomenal growth and potential of social media in the democratic process. Political actors, ordinary citizens, public officials as well as government institutions globally utilize the power of these wireless communication networks to engage society and deliver services. Globally, social media has remained a source of motivation and inspiration for social and political mobilisation. For example, Chilwa (2012) reports that the Egyptian revolution has been described as a 'Twitter revolution', where Twitter became the alternative press and was primarily used as a means of reporting daily events for the benefit of the average Egyptian and the outside world. The media have helped to spread news of political participation by the citizenry from Europe to Arab countries and other African countries. This awakening and awareness serves as an inspiration for people to participate in governance through their posts and comments on the social media.

Social media has become a platform for measuring public opinion (by opinion poll). This is made possible with readers being active participants on the social media through their comments.

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There are different approaches to resistance. Whatever approach is used is dependent on the approach of the threat/attack and the choice of the people. The use of words to resist anything perceived to be a threat can be referred to as verbal resistance. In the use of language, there are different approaches to discourse construction. Language construction may engender a discourse of resistance. It is important to state that resistance is seen in rejection and condemnation and it is capable of disintegrating society.

In Nigeria, amidst several political parties since Nigeria returned to a democratic system of government in 1999, there are two major political parties that can be regarded as the ruling party and the opposition party. The All Progressive Party (APC) and People's Democratic Party (PDP) are the two main political parties, with APC transits from Alliance for Democracy (AD) to Action Congress (AC) and finally to APC. Between 1999 and 2015, the PDP was the ruling party before the APC took over, ruling since 2015 to date. Since 2015, PDP has become the opposition party. Fem Fan-Kayode (FFK) is a committed member of PDP. FFK is known for his fierce attack on the current president (President Muhammad Buhari) and his political party (APC). In his writings, there are several elements of resistance which are capable of provoking people in contemporary society into taking actions.

There are existing studies that have explored the language of resistance in society and on social media discourse and its consequences. For example, Chilwa (2012), Kolkoand & Wei (2005), Putnam *et al.* (2005), Eamonn (2004), and Wilson and Stapleton (2007). Tao (2011), Raddatz (2011) and Chilwa (2012) have engaged the role of social media in spreading social and political news and the way it inspires people to respond adequately. There are others that have engaged in political discourse in academic disciplines. For example, Aduradola and Chris (2013), Ndimele and Owuamalam (2015) and Alabi (2016) have contributed to the study of political discourse. These works are resourceful in analysing a discourse of resistance, especially as it relates to the use of the social media. Available literatures have not engaged with the language of resistance used by individual bloggers on the social media. With the growing number of individual blogs and Facebook pages, the influence of individual writings in the society cannot be overemphasised. Individuals now incite followers through their choice of words on the social media. The present study explores the discourse of resistance in FFK's political posts on Facebook. The study adopts a socio-cognitive model of CDA as proposed by van Dijk to reveal different discursive strategies. This will help to situate the discourse within the field of critical discourse analysis and to understand the implications of such discourse for the society.

Objectives of the study

The aim of this study is to investigate the discourse of resistance in FFK's political posts on Facebook. This study answers the following questions.

- What are the discursive strategies in FFK political posts on Facebook?
- How are the discursive strategies achieved by FFK?
- What are the implications of the identified strategies?

Review of relevant literature

In this section, this study reviewed existing literature to identify the strengths and weaknesses and consequently point out any gaps in the academic studies.

Chilwa (2012) investigates social media networks and the discourse of resistance of Biafra online discourse. The study focuses on how social media networks have been used to champion social protests and resistance against oppression and political power abuse. The study applies a sociolinguistics-based Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to investigate how sociolinguistic issues such as virtual community, identity, language variations and social interaction are used to project self-determination and the struggle for political independence. It further examines how ideology is reflected in the context via the discourses produced by *Biafra* Online Campaign Groups in

relation to the Nigerian state. Putnam (2005) examines discourse and resistance in organizational settings and the targets, practices, and consequences. The research highlights the contributions that discourse analysis can make to the study of organizational resistance. It also highlights the intended and unintended consequences of resistance by examining how organizational members engage with, adapt to, and transform organizational practices. Wei and Kolko (2005) study resistance to globalization and the language and Internet diffusion patterns in Uzbekistan. The study discusses the influence of the Internet on cultural expression that resists the homogenizing effects of globalization. It examines how local cultures adapt their linguistic behaviour and language choices to the Internet and express themselves in culturally meaningful ways without being subsumed by a global agenda. The relevance of the Internet use, online language choices, and perceptions of language on the Web are reported in the study. Wilson and Stapleton (2007) investigate the discourse of resistance in relation to social change and policing in Northern Ireland. The author considers how policing discourses in Northern Ireland can both inform and be informed by broader social theories. The study submits that policing is a contentious issue for nationalists in Northern Ireland. It concludes that despite police reform in Northern Ireland, many citizens continue to regard the police force with suspicion. Working on social media as a tool of resistance and counter power on the issue of communal attack at Ramu, Alam, *et al.* (2014) study the role of social media platform as an instrument to counter power and virtual resistance followed by a communal attack at Ramupazila in Cox's Bazar District in Bangladesh. It demonstrates how Facebook was used to share information and mobilize people as an alternative tool of communication beyond the traditional media platforms. The study reveals how Facebook was used to raise voices against heinous attacks on a religious minority.

The above reviewed work examines the discourse and language of resistance at group and organizational level. The present work takes instances from individual Facebook pages to reveal different discursive strategies used by individuals to provoke a society to anger. The study identifies and discusses different linguistic tools that strengthen the discourse. This enables us to examine the influence of an individual in mobilizing the populace to move against the constituted authority and the society.

Ghareeb (2000) investigates new media and the information revolution in the Arab world. The study submits that there was already an 'information revolution' in the Muslim world, initially limited to the elite, which was transforming political discourse in the region. Smith and Brecher (2010) state that social movements need the kind of communication networks which social media provide, and that social media networks contribute to the process of forming social movements as well as effective social action. Tao (2011) aligns with Smith and Brecher. Tao opines that social media indeed 'fuelled' the North African revolution by inspiring and mobilizing protesters. Following Raddatz (2011), social media also ignited protests in Iran, Bahrain and Yemen. The biggest mass pro-election protests in Iran in 2009, which resulted in members of parliament asking for the execution of the opposition leader, and the fierce uprisings in Yemen that called for the ousting of the authoritarian president, according to Raddatz (2011) were attributed to the 'social media revolution'. These works are also relevant to this study because they have exposed us to the study of Internet language as a means of inspiration for popular mobilization against the constituted authorities. The study of the discourses of resistance has not attracted enough scholars' attention in Nigeria, especially as it relates to individual social media users.

Numerous studies also exist that have engaged political discourse within and outside Nigeria. These works are also relevant to the present study. For example, Aduradola and Chris (2013) investigate the language of political campaigns and politics in Nigeria. The study analyses 16 political messages and slogans in the print media during the 2011 election campaigns and discovered deceit and unfaithful statements in the campaign. The study therefore submits that political candidates should endeavour to inform and persuade electorates rather than deceive or

merely entertain them. Examining the role of language in sustaining democracy in Nigeria, Alabi (2016) explores and clarifies the relationship between English and the indigenous languages. The study also discusses the interplay between political communication and democratic participation in Nigeria's multilingual environment. The study recommends that there should be a continuous development of the indigenous languages alongside the Standard Nigerian English (SNE) to engineer Nigeria's democratic aspirations. Ndimele and Owuamalam (2015) discuss language use in political advertising and the rhetorical discourse on "see who wants to be president of Nigeria". The study analyses the way "See who wants to be President of Nigeria," was used, through political advertisement, to expose incompetence and ignorance as unacceptable in a decent and democratic society. The study concludes that language is employed to persuade the populace to reject candidates in Nigeria's presidential election.

These are political languages, used in a campaign in real-life situations and on the billboards. The studies investigate the use of language by politicians to achieve their desires. They identify different linguistic materials used by politicians to achieve their goals. They only comment on the use of language to achieve political goals and not on the use of social media to resist the constituted authority. Previous studies have not investigated the use of discursive strategies by individuals on Facebook to provoke the society to resist constituted authorities.

The reviewed works have revealed that there is a dearth in the academic publications as regards the study of the individual use of social media to mobilise against the constituted authorities. Available literatures have shown that a discourse of resistance in the social media is a powerful instrument with serious implications for the society. The present study revealed different linguistic tools used that enable the strategies and thereby enforce the resistance. The study consequently identifies and discusses the discursive strategies employed by Fan-Kayode to positively present oneself and present others negatively. It also discusses the implications of the discourse for the society. These helped to situate the discourse within Critical Discourse Analysis specifically, and sociolinguistics in general.

Theory of analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is adopted for this study because it reveals hidden information in language use. It is used to reveal what is meant but not said or written. CDA does not just quantify textual features and derive meaning from them, but also interprets meaning by situating a text in the context in which it occurs. This study adopts the socio-cognitive approach of CDA by van Dijk (2001). This emphasizes "good representation of self" and "bad representation of others". van Dijk (2015) sees Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. van Dijk (2001) begins his analytical approach with topics or "semantic macrostructures" which, he argues, provide an initial "overall idea of what a discourse or corpus of texts is all about, and controls many other aspects of discourse and its analysis". van Dijk analyses local or "micro structures" for "the meaning of words (lexical), the structures of propositions, and coherence and other relations between propositions". At the "meso" level (i.e. mediating between global and local meanings), he identifies "an overall strategy of 'positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation', in which our good things and their bad things are emphasized, and our bad things and their good things are de-emphasized" (p.103). This approach is useful for the analysis of news discourse to examine the socio-ideological representation of "Us vs. Them". The theory is relevant to this study as this study intends to reveal different resistance strategies adopted by the subject to achieve negative representation of others and positive representation of the self. The strategies emphasized 'the bad' of the government to make the society resist the actions of the constituted authorities and see the government as an enemy of the citizens.

Methodology

This work is a content based analysis. Purposive sampling was adopted in gathering data for this work. We adopted purposive sampling because it allows manual assessment of political posts that reflect elements of resistance. On FFK's Facebook page, there are posts ranging from religious and economic to political posts. This study deliberately selected political posts that are relevant to the subject of the study. Five political posts were sampled and we extracted relevant statements that support the subject of this study. The five political posts sampled were selected because they discussed critical issues that related to governance at the time they were posted by FFK. The 12 extracts were used because of their resourcefulness in resisting the action of the government. The posts were downloaded and saved on our laptop device for further reference analysis. FFK was chosen because of his political influence and the number of followers he has on Facebook. In addition to this, we considered his family history in the politics of the country and his relationship with the south and western region of the country. Moreover, most of his posts inspire people to react negatively to the government, especially as it relates to the Niger Delta crisis, rule of law and the role of the federal government in the area of security and appointment of public office holders. The study also sampled readers' comments to the post to be able to ascertain the opinion of the people and determine the influence such statements have on the people. The socio-cognitive approach of CDA by van Dijk is adopted for the analysis. This helps to determine the use of discourse to manipulate and create inequality in the society.

To answer the research questions, we identified statements and words that reflect resistance and categorised them according to the identified strategies. The study also examines and discusses words used and their functions in the discourse. To achieve this, we considered different contexts that influence meaning. Cultural/ethnic, linguistic, and political contexts of words and expressions are considered in the description of excerpts.

Data presentation and analysis

This section presents the data and analysis used for this work. The data are grouped according to the resistance strategies used by FFK in his Facebook posts. After the explanation of each strategy, we present relevant data from the posts and explain each item. We also show how context influences the interpretation of meaning in the posts.

Proposition

Following Chiluya (2012), propositions are arguments often embodying opinions or value judgments that are put forward to strengthen or protect one's position. They contain grammatical items that modify them (arguments) to make them sound more forceful, severe or mitigated. Propositions are used to foreground the bad of others and the good of self. It expresses opinions. In other words, it is a good instrument in promoting resistance in discourse. FFK made use of this excessively to achieve his aim in political discourse. For example, the bitter truth needs to be told, and that truth is that these Fulani herdsmen are a plague. They are evil. They are vermin. They are murderous parasites and homicidal maniacs that feed on the flesh of our people. No-one is safe from them.

In excerpt 1, the discourse is about the actions of the herdsmen. It was reported in the newspapers that the herdsmen struck a community in Benue state where they killed farmers. As soon as this news hit the media, FFK expressed his mind on his Facebook page. He metaphorically referred to the Fulani herdsmen as plague, evil, vermin, murderous. He also referred to them as feeding off human flesh. This reference presents the bad of the herdsmen and therefore makes them an object of rejection. Presenting the Fulani as *evil*, *plague*, *murderers* makes the society reject them. This resistance strategy is sharp and convincing. The

society will definitely reject them based on the choice of words used by FFK. Wherever they get to within or outside the country, they will be stigmatised and rejected.

This is evil and it proves that we are being ruled by savages and animals who have no fear of God and no regard for the sanctity and sacredness of human life.

In excerpt 2, FFK was responding to the actions of the police in Anambra state. Anambra is the state of Nnamdi Kanu, the leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). It was reported in the news that the military had gone to the community and made some arrests. They were resisted by the community, which led to a shoot-out. This resulted in the killing of innocent Nigerians. In his response to the news, FFK condemned the action of the military through the use of propositions. This is an assertion which expresses and represents the mind of the speaker.

In the excerpt, FFK described the government as *evil, savages, animals, without fear of God and Sacredness*. The choice of words is intended to make the society reject the government. Readers will infer that the government and her agencies are bad. The society believed this because they understood that the writer understands the system of government in the country, being a former cabinet member. This presents the government negatively to the society. The writer is successful in doing this with his choice of words. In the excerpt, FFK expresses his opinion to resist the action of the government agents. The opinion negates the action of the government and makes society see the government as anti-people. Society perceives the government as evil, animals and without the fear of God. Thus, society has no confidence in or hope for the government under President Buhari.

I have to say that IPOB has categorically denied that ANY mobile policemen were killed by their members, but if the allegation is true then it is deeply regrettable just as was the murder of the four IPOB youths that had been killed in the raid by the police earlier in the day. Whichever way you look at it, one thing is clear: the behaviour of the police and the joint force was brutal, disproportionate, provocative, heartless and barbaric and I wholeheartedly condemn it.

Excerpt 3 is taken from another post by FFK. He was talking about the treatment of the IPOB members by the Nigerian police. He condemned the action of the police. In his opinion, the police action is *brutal, disproportionate, provocative, heartless and barbaric*. FFK presented his opinion without consideration for the concerns of the police. He carefully chose his words to attack the action of the police and thereby present the police as evil to the society. The presentation makes the society see the police as the enemy of the society, which negates the slogan of the Nigerian police, *'police is your friend'*.

From the above, FFK asserts that the government, herdsmen, and Nigerian police are evil. The expressions negate what the government, herdsmen and the police are claiming to be. They are claiming to be good and friendly to people but the presentation negates this assertion. FFK did this to resist them in the society. The choice of words by FFK are effective considering the killing and maiming of innocent Nigerians by the herdsmen and also the brutalisation of innocent Nigerians by the police against the rule of law that guarantees fundamental human rights in the country. The choice of words in the posts has a negative impact on the government and its agents in the society. This foregrounds the negative view of the government, the herdsmen and the police. The assertion agrees with van Dijk (2001) that 'negative other-presentation' is presented in the discourse to promote social inequality.

Presupposition

Chiluwa (2012) states that presupposition encodes propositions that are not explicitly expressed. Some presupposed propositions may be untrue or may simply be promoting the positive in-group evaluation. Inference becomes a useful instrument for readers to understand the intention of the writer. In presupposition, participants in the communicative event are likely to share some background knowledge. This enables listeners/readers to deduce meaning from the utterance of the speaker/writer. In resistance discourse, as seen on the FFK Facebook page, presupposition

is very relevant in enacting meaning. This is because participants usually share some background knowledge in the discourse. Presupposition as used here creates solidarity for the writer and his followers but also creates resistance against the ruling party, the government and some other individuals in the society. This has been promoting negativity in the society towards one another and some other groups of individuals. In the following excerpts taken from the FFK Facebook page, a discourse of resistance is evident.

To add to this there are media reports this morning that Fulani herdsmen attacked an air force jet in Adamawa. *As usual*, no arrests have been made and neither have the security forces launched a counter-offensive against these heartless terrorists.

It was reported that the Fulani herdsmen attacked and killed some villagers in Anambra state. This was widely reported in the media and condemned by notable Nigerians, including the northern elders and the president. On his page, FFK employed some lexical items that motivate resistance. He asserts that the police have failed to make arrest of the culprits. In his opinion, the police are not willing to make any arrest. With this assertion, one can conveniently say that FFK alleged that the police is known for not making arrest of culprits in such incidents. This is achieved with the use of presupposition. In excerpt 4, the phrase *as usual* presupposes that this is not the first time such an incident will happen and the police will not make any arrest. The use of this antecedent reference, as a presupposition pointer, makes the action of the police habitual. The writer successfully achieves this without being explicit but with the linguistic knowledge of readers and the antecedent of the police. Assertions of this nature create resistance in the society against the Nigeria police.

The police have been presented as inept in security matters. This representation has presented the police negatively. The writer intentionally backgrounds and undermines all other efforts of the police and thereby condemns the police to the society.

I would, however, go a step further by adding that President Muhammadu Buhari himself, Bola Tinubu, Nasir El Rufai, Rotimi Amaechi, Adams Oshiomole, Yemi Osinbajo and a good number of other leaders in the Federal Government and/or the ruling party would no longer be with us either if the Bill had been in place between 2013 and 2015, because they would all have been hanged for their hateful words and inciting speeches.

In another news, it was reported that the Nigerian senate is debating the use of hate speech on the social media, an attempt that did not impress many Nigerians. While some, especially the legal practitioners, believed there are existing laws that can take care of that, some people believe it is a deliberate war against the media. Others believe that the ruling party is trying to silence the opposition in the country. FFK belongs to the latter category, hence his attempt to resist the action and the proponents. He, as usual, took to his Facebook page to express his mind. In the post, he claimed that the ruling party and its members created lots of injury through the use of words without any form of victimization in the past. He is wondering why they are denying citizens what they enjoyed. Consequently, he sees the present government as totalitarian and autocratic. In his post, he condemned some notable members of the ruling All Progressive Party (APC).

Excerpt 5 presupposes that there was a government which was verbally attacked by some notable members of the ruling party. It also presupposes that they (members of the ruling party) assaulted the previous government without been harassed; otherwise, according to him, they *would no longer be with us either*. This is done to resist their action of regulating the use of social media to criticise the incumbent government. According to him, previous governments did not harass them for their previous actions; therefore they should also not harass people now that they are in power. This resistance strategy is effective as most readers in their comments joined him to condemn the bill and urged the national assembly to forget the bill. The resistance is enabled with the use of presupposition, and participants understood this because of their shared knowledge of the political space in the country.

Sadly, those that rule Nigeria today are from a different world and their mindset and disposition are not as reasonable, charitable or kind. Simply put, they are hard-hearted and wicked men with dark, vengeful, bitter, cruel and relentless souls. Not only are they modern-day tyrants, but they are also a bunch of psychopathic and psychotic sadists who thrive on instilling fear in their hapless victims and on intimidating and oppressing the people that they seek to lead.

In August, 2019, the Nigerian government announced that all land borders would be closed. This action, according to the government, is to boost local consumption and improve the economy. This action was not accepted by some Nigerians, including the opposition party. These people believed closing the border is not the solution to Nigerian economy. They believed the government was also not sincere with the action but they (the government) were just punishing the poor masses. This is because, according to them, the people in positions of authority are still patronising foreign goods, which include fabrics and food items and are even seeking health solutions outside the country. On his Facebook page, FFK condemned the action and described it as *anti-people*. FFK believes that the action needs to be rejected by Nigerians. Through presupposition, FFK again resists the action of the government. According to him '*Sadly those that rule Nigeria today are from a different world and their mindset and disposition are not as reasonable, charitable or kind. Simply put, they are hard-hearted and wicked men with dark, vengeful, bitter, cruel and relentless souls. Not only are they modern-day tyrants but they are also a bunch of psychopathic and psychotic sadists*'. This presupposes that there was a previous ruler that could feel people's pain. It also presupposes that the new set of rulers belong to another clime as they do not care about people's needs. FFK described them as *anti-people*.

The writer is simply saying that the people in authority are not feeling as the people they swore to lead are feeling. In other words, he did not describe them as leaders but as rulers, based on their actions. This negates the belief and claim of the government that the action is in the interests of the people. He described them as *hard-hearted*. This shows that they do not have the feelings of the people at heart. This is also effective as people in the society also condemned the action. This was reflected in the comment box on the post. The majority of the commentators condemned the action totally. The presupposition as used is effective because of the shared knowledge of the current events in the country.

In order to have your way and silence us you will have to hang us ALL! Today belongs to you but tomorrow belongs to the people. In God's way and in His own time He shall rise up and deliver us, just as He rose up and delivered the children of Israel from the tyranny of Pharaoh. Until then we challenge you, nay we dare you, to do your damnest worse. Christ in us: our hope and glory!

This is another post on the actions of the government against those that criticise the government. It is being insinuated that the government is arresting and detaining those that speak out against her activities. FFK believes that the government is trampling on the fundamental human rights of citizens. He speaks against this and condemns the actions of the government on his Facebook page.

In excerpt 7, FFK claims that the government is using every instrument to silence those that have the temerity to speak out against their action. He believes that government is transient and that the present administration will soon leave the 'stage'. FFK asserts that the people will outlast the government because the government is tenure-based. In his words 'Today belongs to you but tomorrow belongs to the people'. This presupposes that there were people in power and another group will take over. This is a resistance strategy by the writer to condemn the incumbent government. He also uses it to assure people that their suffering is temporal. He described the period as a 'suffering period' for the people and that the period cannot last forever. He likens it to the suffering of the Israelites. This presupposes that the people are in slavery, even in their own fatherland. This provokes the people not only to abhor the government but also to reject the

government and her actions. The presupposition is understood through the shared knowledge of the biblical story of the Israelites.

The excerpts here reveal how effective presupposition is in a discourse of resistance. FFK employed it to condemn the government, northerners and government agencies. Lexes and clauses are used by FFK to resist the government. Appropriate references are also used to strengthen the resistance. Responses from commenters show that FFK is successful in his actions, because most of the readers that left their comments in the comment box joined him in condemning the actions of the government.

Negation

To negate is to say or do the opposite or contradict what has been said or done. Negation is a grammatical process which Crystal (2008:323) defines as a process or construction in grammatical and semantic analysis which typically expresses the contradiction of some or all of a sentence's meaning. Negation is the process that turns an affirmative statement into its opposite. In English, the negation markers are: no, not, and neither ... nor. Whenever any of these is added to the affirmative words or group of words, it becomes a negative word or group of words. In a discourse of resistance, negative markers are also employed to condemn the action of an individual or group of individuals. In the posts, he used the negative marker 'no' to condemn the actions of the President.

*I say shame on you! If you can do this to him in front of television cameras only god knows what you can do to him behind closed doors! You have **no** respect for the constitution, **no** respect for the courts, **no** respect for judges, **no** respect for the rights of Nigerian citizens, **no** respect for decency, **no** respect for humanity and **no** respect for god! Buhari fear god and know that you will **not** be in power forever!*

There was a protest by a group of young Nigerians tagged *revolution now*. The protest was headed by Omoyele Sowore, founder of *the Sahara reporter*. During the protest, the head of the group, Omoyele Sowore, was arrested by the Department of Security Services (DSS). The arrest generated lots of argument among Nigerians. While some supported the arrest, some opposed it. He was subsequently taken to court for prosecution. His lawyer subsequently appealed for his bail, which was granted by the court. Having met the bail conditions, the DSS still failed to release him. This took his lawyer back to the court and the court threatened to arrest the head of the DSS should he fail to release him (Omoyele Sowore). He was released and was rearrested by the DSS on the premises of the court. This action of the DSS attracted negative comment within and outside the country. The action forced people to call on the president to respond to the situation. While doing this, some people believe the DSS is acting by a script prepared by the president. To them, DSS is a member of the executive arm of the government. Failure of the president to caution the DSS and control them to release Omoyele Sowore has generated another argument in the public. In his write-up, as usual, he condemns the action of the president. In the post, he used negation markers, *no*, to condemn the action and inactions of the president. FFK described the president as a person who lacks everything that a good democrat should possess in terms of fundamental human rights. He described the president as brutish and anti-people.

FFK employs the negative marker *no* to achieve his communicative goal of resistance. The word *no* was repeated seven (7) times to emphasise the negativity of the presidency. This is done to foreground the 'bad' of the president in the society. It leads to nothing but rejection of the president. The effect can be seen in the way people perceived the president in the society as anti-democratic. This is a negative presentation of the president to resist him in public. It strengthened the rejection of the president in the society.

Propaganda

Propaganda is an important language of politics, deliberately designed to present positive self-representation and negative representation of others. It can be true or false. Following Longe and Ofuani (1996:17), the sole purpose of propaganda is to misinform and mislead and to consciously indoctrinate. Propaganda is usually characterized by exaggeration and invective. Propagandists deliberately withhold facts to divert the attention of the people in the society. FFK adopts this strategy in his Facebook posts to discredit the incumbent government. This strategy seriously enhances the resistance to the government in the society. Mostly in his posts, he exaggerates and makes use of invective. He also withholds facts from the society, which thereby relegates the effort of the incumbent government and her agencies.

I have always known that to be a southerner and particularly an Igbo is regarded as a crime in Nigeria but what was done in Oripite was beyond the pale. I was in that community and with those people the day before the attack.

It was reported in the media that the police invaded Oripite, a community in Ebonyi state Nigeria, and killed innocent Nigerians. FFK alleged that to belong to the southern part of the country is a crime. FFK's assertion here is mere propaganda to discredit the police and by extension the government of the day. The southern people are still constitutionally part of Nigeria. They can live and move around the country freely without fear of intimidation. There are a good number of southerners in the federal cabinet, the senate, the house of representatives and the judiciary. Asserting that their membership of the country is a crime is mere propaganda. If not, they would not be appointed as a member of the federal cabinet. It is worthy of mentioning that the immediate past president of the country is a southerner and the incumbent Vice President is from the South-west. This is done to incite the southerners against the government and other regions of the country, especially the northerners.

In another incident, which involved the arrest of the leader of *the revolution now group*, Omoyele Sowore, FFK described the country as a place where the voice of the opposition to the government is forbidden. He said this in response to the arrest of the convener of the group.

These are countries where dissent, opposition to Government, plurality of views, variety of opinion, individual rights and criticism of Government policy and the maximum dictator is forbidden and where total power is concentrated in the hands of just one man. This is the classic Orwellian nightmare and it is unfolding before our very eyes.

In excerpt 10, FFK asserts that the power is concentrated in the hands of one person and the person does not want dissenting opinion. This assertion cannot be said to be totally true as there are opposition parties in the country. The government is headed by the president, but he is not the only one ruling the country. There are members of the executive council. In addition to this, there are other arms of the government: the legislative and the judiciary. Among these three arms of government, there are checks and balances. Consequently, the power cannot be said to be in one person's hands. FFK said this deliberately to divert the attention of the people in society and discredit the president.

FFK uses propaganda to withhold facts and divert the attention of the people so as to negatively present the government to them. This form of representation enhances public condemnation of the government. He uses propaganda to background and undermine the effort of the incumbent government. This action promotes resistance against the incumbent government. The effect of this is seen in the comment of the people on the street, and the media (traditional and the social media).

Emotive lexis

Emotive lexis are words use to arouse people's emotion so as to make them accept one's opinion. Following Macagno and Walton (2010) emotional language can be seen as the use of language to arouse certain emotions to lead the participants to a particular conclusion. The

authors explained further that emotive language can be used in two basic fashions. To achieve this, they explained that words can be used to arouse emotions by presenting a state of affairs different from reality, or terms commonly associated with a negative or positive state of affairs can be employed to modify the evaluation of an already known situation. To achieve condemnation of the government in the society, FFK adopted the use of emotive lexis to incite people against the government.

I would urge the Nigerian people not to view this matter with their usual levity, indifference, complacency, docility, stoicism and lily-livered cowardice because the whole thing is an insidious attempt to silence their tongues, cage their spirits, capture their souls, break their ability to resist tyranny and evil and finally turn them into a nation of pliant little quislings, slaves and errand boys.

The Nigeria senate has initiated a bill against hate speech on social media. This action of the senate was received with mixed reactions within and outside the Nigerian society. While some see it as a war against freedom of speech guaranteed by the constitution, others argued that there are existing laws that prohibit libels and slanders. FFK has earlier described this as a draconian law and called on Nigerians to reject it. In his response, he made reference to the antecedent of the people with the use of *their usual* to call on Nigerians to waken from their slumber and reject the bill. With this, he employed some emotive lexis capable of inciting Nigerians against the government. Describing people as guilty of *indifference, complacency, docility, stoicism and lily-livered cowardice* is an attempt to incite people against the government. These are words capable of awakening people's emotion against the government. Citizens feel rejected and relegated by the government and therefore want to react. He went further to describe the action of the government as *anti-people*.

Similarly, FFK warned Nigerians to resist the bill if they want Nigeria to remain a human society. He sees the people in the corridors of power as wicked and inhuman.

If they get away with it and achieve their objectives Nigeria is finished and within a matter of years we will become the blight of Africa, the pariah of the Third World, the laughing stock of the international community and the world's largest, most brutal and most savage prison. What a terrible fate for a people that are so trusting, so innovative, so resourceful, so resilient and so blessed.

In excerpt 12, FFK insinuated that, if Nigerians allow this (the hate speech bill) to go unchallenged, Nigeria will no longer exist. He went further to assert that Nigeria will turn to a disease, disturbing other countries of the world. This insinuations and assertions are emotional and capable of setting the society against the government. Nigerians want to be seen as human in the committee of nations. With FFK's assertions, these intentions of Nigerians may not be possible, especially if people failed to take action against government's action. This is capable of arousing people's emotions. With this in mind, Nigerians will react to the action of the government. It is a condemnation strategy which resists the government of the day. This is effective as seen in the responses of the people in the comment box, which revealed that these inciting words are capable of turning the society against the government.

Implications of the discourse

The implications of the discourse of resistance are hydra-headed. The implications range from social and political, to academic. These implications are for the society, social media users, government, and the academia. It is imperative to be conscious of the implications in order to make society free of chaos. When this is not handled well, the society suffers the consequences. In what follows, the study discusses the implications of FFK's use of discourse of resistance in his Facebook political posts.

Social implications

Social implications has to do with the interaction that exists within the people in any communicative event. It involves participants' actions and reactions. The implications may be negative or positive in the society. A negative social implication is capable of disintegrating the society, while the positive implication will strengthen harmony. Negative implications reflect from negative presentation of others which invariably promote a negative ideology and vice versa. According to van Dijk (2000:44), negative ideologies emphasise 'their bad things' and de-emphasise 'their good things'.

Interaction among people is affected by this discourse of resistance. The choice of assertion and words used affects people's interaction in the society and reaction towards government. Those in the opposition party and the citizens perceived the government as the enemy and anti-people. With this, people may not listen to the government instructions. Citizens will have no confidence in the government. It will also lead to disobedience in the society as people will be taking laws into their own hands. Government will be seen as the enemy of the people. This can be confirmed with the choice of words commenters have used to refer to the government in the Facebook comment box. Government and her functionaries are described as tyrant, wicked, insensitive and so on.

In one of the strategies used, *propaganda*, FFK asserts that being a southerner in the country is a crime. With this, the southerners will see other regions as their enemy. They will not want to accommodate them in their region. Other regions will also see the southerners as the enemy. This is evident in the comment box on Facebook as people refer to one another with invective and abuse. This may definitely degenerate into conflict in the society. It has polarised the country, on the Facebook page, along ethnic and religious differences. It will lead to ethnic and religious bigotry.

Political

The posts are mostly political. Since Nigeria returned to democracy in 1999, the country has been facing one political crisis or the other. While some people believed that the country is developing, some believe it is retrogressing. One fact that cannot be jettisoned is the fact that those in power at a particular time will never see anything bad about the ruling party. It then means that the political landscape is like a coin with two sides. Since 1999, two parties have had the opportunity of getting to rule the country at the federal level with different parties at state level. It took the APC sixteen years to aspire for the federal seat before they could get it. The PDP has assumed the role of opposition party since 2015 and is also looking for a way to seize power again. It is worthy of repeating that FFK is a strong PDP stalwart. In fact, he was a member of the federal cabinet.

The choice of words by FFK to promote a discourse of resistance is capable of discrediting the ruling APC. This is because people will begin to perceive the party as not better than the previous party. The party will be seen as the enemy of the people. It may lead to the rejection of the party in the forthcoming election. Citizens want better and conducive environments for themselves, but have not got them. With the choice of words by FFK, citizens will begin to see reasons not only to condemn the ruling party but also to reject them at the poll. The party becomes unpopular because of the resistance discourse maintained by FFK. However, since he is a member of the PDP that has ruled for sixteen years, some people are also criticising him for the role his party has played in ruling the country. Despite these dissenting opinions, FFK's discourse of resistance still enjoys strong support in the society.

Academic

This discourse provides a wonderful avenue for political and discourse scholars to research. The political scholars will study the political implications of the discourse and also examine the use of

propaganda in political discourse. Political students and researchers have a wonderful avenue to affirm and/or refute existing theories in the study of politics especially in Nigeria. It will also help them to do a comparative analysis of the Nigerian politics and that of the international communities.

For linguists and communication experts, the discourse becomes a resourceful material. It helps scholars in these fields to examine the use of words to pass information to the society and have a meaningful impact. Linguistics scholars will be able to expand the horizon of pragmatics and other sociolinguistic theories. It helps to confirm linguistic theories such as the Critical Discourse Analysis and other relevant theories. The discourse may also be used to confirm or refute other linguistic theories.

Conclusion

This work has discussed strategies of resistance in Femi Fani-Kayode's (FFK) political posts on Facebook. It is observed that there are evidence of resistance strategies in his Facebook posts and a read through literature reveals that studies of discourses of resistance are scanty in the academic works, especially as relating to the individual use of resistance strategies in Facebook discourse. To this end the study examined FFK's post on Facebook and identified different resistance strategies that are used to condemn and resist other individuals and regions in the country. The strategies are proposition, presupposition, propaganda, emotive lexis and negation. The relevance of the study is not only for political purposes but also social and academic purposes. The study is also important for social reasons because of the social interaction in the country. In times like this when the country is facing different ethnic and tribal conflicts, it is important to examine a discourse that is capable of threatening the social situation.

The study observes that the discourse of resistance is capable of disintegrating the society because it is a negative presentation of others. The study aligns with van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to Critical Discourse Analysis because it represents the mind of the participants and what people are discussing, as can be seen in readers' responses. The identified strategies promote different ideologies about the government and the ruling party. According to Ramanathan and Bee (2015:65) ideologies emphasise the good and bad to portray a positive belief and deemphasise the good and bad to portray negativity. This affects the way participants are seen by the society. Following Ayantayo (2019), the way a person or group of persons is/are represented in discourse determines their social construction. This representation therefore is capable of setting the citizens against the government and often leads to chaos. It is also capable of dividing the society along ethnic and political lines.

Consequently, the study recommends that Facebook users should desist from the use of negative representation to avoid chaos in the society. The study also suggests that Facebook and other social media users should not rely on what they read on the social media but endeavour to confirm facts from a reliable source to avoid social provocation. We recommend finally that other scholars should investigate the use of language by important personalities and bloggers on the social media.

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