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ONLINE PUBLICATIONS

Review

Religious and Ethnic Identity of Pakistani Muslim Immigrants in Kureishi's "The Black Album"

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Pakistani literature in English emerged evidently and globally recognized from last two decades. It's relatively difficult to decree the precise date of its origin: roughly it could be said that its origin goes back to colonial India and it has close association with British colonialism. Broadly it can be divided into two main eras' i.e Pre-Partition and Post-Partition Pakistani English literature. Pakistani literature thrived with the emergence of Pakistan but accomplished wider attention from 1980s. This research paper aims to discuss the religious and ethnic identity of Pakistani-Muslim immigrants in England in context of the novel "The Black Album" by Hanif Kureishi (1995). Kureishi himself belongs to Pakistani origin, born in London to a father who belonged to Pakistan. His mother was an English woman. Having Pakistani origin he selected the themes regarding multicultural, hybrid, religious and ethnic problems of Pakistani immigrants.

Key Words: immigrants, Identity, Racial discrimination, Racism, Ethnic, Religious

INTRODUCTION

Religion is one of the most important sources of identity among other numerous sources of identity but religion is not the sole source of self-realization of identity on an individual level. The notions of 'self' and 'other' take their origination from religious identity. The religious affiliations determine the conceptual framework of 'other' and this framework constitute the significance of religious identity. Religion plays it most vital role to develop a strong sense of identity and unity among its followers. Sometimes this religious identity causes alienation of its followers from diverse groups of religious identities. Religious identity and its role in multicultural societies has become the debatable issue among western societies.

Religious and Ethnic Identity of Pakistani Muslim Immigrant in Kureishi's "The Black Album"

Concerning The Black Album by Kureishi, Chris Weedon conveys the idea that "It is a novel about second generation Pakistanis in London and engages with questions of identity through a radical contrast of lifestyles ranging from affluent westernized middle-class living, through Muslim fundamentalism to serious involvement in drug culture". Then, it can be accepted as one of the novels which raise the multicultural issues in Britain where second generation immigrants of diverse religions, cultures and nations try to maintain their lives in the face of the Western rage and racist attitudes toward them. Kureishi touches upon the potential problems which can emerge because of the British discriminatory political and social system in which these immigrants and their teenagers feel themselves in a state of danger and anxiety. Coming up against the racist and physical attacks of the British people who cannot stand seeing these immigrants in their land, they try to hold strength and brotherhood under the fundamentalist views as a sort of shield, thus deepening their hatred and fight against the spiteful white citizens.

Chris Allen (2005) claims that, the innovative racist philosophies target the same communities that were targeted earlier.

These South Asian communities in Britain are under the threats of racial attacks due to their Muslim identity. In simple words, racism, and prejudice attitudes are retained due to some unavoidable circumstances and the immigrants' religious values are under attack. The British government has not attained anything to eliminate these prejudice and discriminatory policies that aim to suppress the immigrants and their rights.

As Shahid was born to a secular family, he has been taught very little about religion. When his father was asked about his religion, he replied, Yes, I have a belief. It's called working until my arse aches! (p. 92)

Shahid's experience for the search of identity was very bewildering and aching one. The reflections of racism can also be observed in Shahid's current life and in particular locations of London where the black members of the immigrant communities cannot pass through without fear and anxiety of being beaten and attacked by the white population. Shahid describes racial discrimination experiences that South Asian people are also 'Blacks' and he found himself the only dark skinned person everywhere. He was sacred to visit certain place due to racial discrimination and hatred against Pakistani immigrants. Shahid had to face scornful and abhorrent looking. If white people try to be pleasant with him according to Shahid they were pretenders. He had become suspicious and was unable to go outside due to these racial attitudes. He was unable to do something to encounter this situation.

As he has Pakistani origin he had to face ethnic and racial discrimination. At different occasion he was physically abused at his schools and in the streets. By this experience Shahid made this conclusion that white people hate Muslim immigrants and particular Pakistanis. Through Shahid's character Kureishi, in fact, gives vent to his own feelings as Kaleta (1998) observes it by saying that Kureishi's mixed racial background always intensifies his response to racism (Kaleta, 1998).

Analyzing The Black Album Upstone (2008) asserts that the novel symbolically illustrates cultural dissimilarities and world strains. She discerns that the ethnic bigotry epitomized in The Black Album is the meticulous representation of British racism and its impending outcomes.

Racial Discrimination against Pakistani-Muslim Immigrants in context of "The Black Album"

The novel touches upon the racist approaches and violence that the immigrants try to endure throughout their lives in the British nation even from their childhood. Kureishi (1995) in The Black Album, narrates the childhood memories of Shahid that have to do with the British children's fierce manners against him in the following lines: "Even when Shahid vomited and defecated with fear before going to school, or when he returned with cuts, bruises and his bag slashed with knives, she behaved as if so appalling an insult couldn't exist.

Also, the novelist portrays the effects of the British people's racist insults on Shahid's subconscious which can be traced in his efforts to write stories as is mentioned in the novel:

The first effort he copied – he created a sandwich of flimsy carbon paper which resulted in two smeared reproductions – was called 'Paki Wog Fuck Off Hone'. It featured the six boys who comprised the back row of his class at school, who, one day when the teacher had left the room in despair, chanted at Shahid, 'Paki, Paki, Paki, Out, Out, Out!' He banged the scene into his machine as he relived it, recording the dismal fear and fury in a jagged, cunt-fuck-kill prose that expressed him, like a soul singer screaming into a microphone. (p.72)

Kureishi (1995) illuminates the economic reservations of British people; they consider immigrants the potential threats   in terms of jobs, monetarily concerns, accommodation issues because the British people think that immigrants are using all those resources which belong to local resident of Britain. Kureishi sketches this insecurity of British people in the novel, when a British woman expresses her resentment hatred to Chad and Shahid in the following way:

"'Paki! Paki! Paki!' she screamed. Her body had become an arched limb of hatred with a livid opening at the tip, spewing curses. 'You stolen our jobs! Taken our housing! Paki got everything! Give it back and go back home!'" (p.139).

Such kind of deleterious temperament and attitude leads racial conflicts and causes communal unrest among the segregated societies. Kymlicka (2010) elaborates this situation that abhorrence and vicious thinking depicted by the woman reflects the overall attitude of native people, considering that non-native people do not have any contribution for the country while they use the available resources and ultimately the next British generation will have less resources. So, these enduring guests (immigrants) are not required in Britain, because there will be a deterioration of resources due the existence of immigrants. In the presence of immigrants the resources such as education, jobs, and residential resources will have to distribute between the British people and immigrants. Consequently, the benefits for the native people will decrease to alarming situation due to the immigrants.

Shahid the protagonist in 'The Black Album' was in dilemma for the assortment of his identity; he was feeling that here in England he has been living without a proper identity. As he has been facing racial discrimination by the white people for a long time, he too initiated discrimination against other ethnic minorities, with his country fellows, white people, and other immigrant minorities.

Kureishi's early literary writings illustrate some most vital themes e.g cultural hybridity, immigrant's sufferings, racism, sexuality, ethnicity and identity appropriation, etc. It seems that Kureisi has discussed his own experiences in the novel. He has elaborated ethnic discrimination, faced by himself by the white people.

Concept of Muslim Ummah and Identity Crises addressed in "The Black Album"

As the novel progresses Shahid comes to know about the fact that he has instable beliefs about his religion. A Muslim identity, as Jessica Jacobson clarifies, comprises 'obligation to religion' and 'firm affiliation to the identity by birth as a Muslim: and Shahid the protagonist discovers that he has deficiencies, both in his religion and true identity. Shahid was unable to comprehend his identity as a British citizen, as his other compatriots were satisfied with their foreign identity.

During his stay in England he felt that Muslims and immigrants from all over the world are always categorized as non-natives and discriminated, and well-educated individuals like him are responsible to raise the voice and fight for their countrymen, who are oppressed and abused in Britain.

According to Denny (1975) the Muslims belong to a distinctive community and this distinct identity raises the concept of Muslim ummah. He raises very important question related to the existence of Muslim ummah in this modern era; particular in the opinion of Muslim community in Britain. Riaz justifies his fundamentalism being a Muslim and he discusses the sufferings of Muslim from all over the world. During a discussion he says that we are not wretched Christians, we do not turn the other cheeks. We shall combat for our people who are being tortured in in Palestine, Afghanistan, Kashmir! War has been announced against the Muslims, and we are prepared.

The remarks of Riaz show the unity of Muslim Ummah. He makes the comparison between Muslims and Christians and claims that we are not like Christians who present their other cheek to have another slap. He says that we are Muslims and we will fight for oour people who are in trouble in various Muslim countries. He asserts that war has been started against the Muslims and we are ready to fight. It reflects that fundamentalism has root causes, it doesn't arise suddenly. Riaz provides a strong base against this fundamentalism that his people in Muslim countries are being tortured by non-Muslims, so being the same ummah they have the right for the revenge.

In Qureishi's The Black Album religion has portrayed as a motivation and binding force between radicals and religious revolutionaries. The radical group in the novel lead by Riazas similates themselves with a distinctive Muslim community. They consider themselves the guardian of the whole Islamic community of the world. Several questions arise on the existence of Muslim ummah does it exist in the modern era.

Kureishi (1995) in his novel The Black Album depicts the combative approach and radical mindset of fundamentalist Muslim group, developing anti-western mindset and to prove the superiority of their religion over all the religions is epitomized in Riaz's proclamation and determination that we will fight for our people who are being tortured in Palestine, Afghanistan, Kashmir! Riaz asserts that war has been declared against us. (p. 82)

This kind of fundamentalism reflects the overall attitude of majority radical Muslims residing the West countries.

Racism and Pakistani Immigrants

Racism is a political doctrine, the basic motif behind racism is to strengthen the concept that race is the basic and foremost determinant of human characteristics. Hanif Kuteishi also encompasses racism in his novel 'The Black Album'. He has reflected this phenomenon with two different perspectives external racism and internal racism. Racial discrimination between the native people and immigrants is an example of external racism. On the other hand internal racism prevails within a particular community for instance Pakistani immigrant community.

The people who are victimized of internal racism belong to a same nation, but according to their consideration they do not belong to a utopian community at national level, for their supposition of their superior race. The protagonist of the novel, Shahid is the victim of internal racism by his own countrymen and the follower of the same religion. At the end of the novel due to this internal racism he flees from radical Muslim group, gives up his religion and selects secularism instead of religious extremism and elopes with Deedee Osgood.

CONCLUSION

To sum up the discussion it is crystal clear that Pakistani-Muslim Immigrants are facing identity crises not only in England but throughout the Europe. They are treated as third world citizens. They are struggling for their identity as foreigners and residents of their respective countries. Racial discrimination is a serious threat to the identity of Pakistani immigrants. The situation has dramatically changed after the massacre of 9/11.

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Review

Digital Dichotomy Theory towards Propositional Appraisal of Technology Adoption in Nigeria

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The advancement in Information Communication Technology (ICT) brings about the debate regarding the potential of technological innovations for inequities and inequalities. Since the 20th century, when McLuhan argued that technologies help extend human capacity, technologies have been regarded as liberating and empowering. Technologies aided human manipulation of mechanical and electronic processes in the media and communication industries. This study examines the fundamental issue of Digital Dichotomy Theory towards propositional appraisal of technology adoption in Nigeria. The study interrogates how developing countries like Nigeria may, or have been left behind in the journey towards technology adoption because of poor technological infrastructure and systems. The analysis rekindles the global information order to the past, such as technology dominance, information inequality, and asymmetrical and imbalanced information flow. The study equally proposes new ways of addressing some of the challenges of technology adoption in Nigeria. The study used secondary sources to generate data, while Diffusion of Innovation and Push-ICT Theories serve the study goal. A call for the consideration of the digital divide as captured in the Digital Dichotomy Theory (DD-Theory) is proposed for understanding the inherent adoption of technology dynamics in Nigeria. The theory asserts that entities without the same predisposing factors will often significantly vary in adoption time of current experience(s). Within this context, there is a digital dichotomy that affects the adoption of technology, especially in developing countries like Nigeria.

Keywords: Adoption, Dichotomy Theory, Diffusion of Innovation, New media, Push-ICT Theory, and Technology.

INTRODUCTION

Societies need information for many purposes in their journey to advancement. Whether it is for building the right physical infrastructure or for enhancing existing social structures, societies require the right kind of knowledge and information. As the central circulatory system carries oxygen to all parts of the body and expels the toxic substances, which could harm the body, the mass media are expected to infuse life-giving information to society, even the most remote members (Pate, 2021). Access to required information helps dispel impediments on the path to the wellbeing of society, be this ignorance or adherence to discordant beliefs and thoughts. The media are expected to promote harmonious living in society. Technology was meant to enhance media efficiency.

Advancement in Digital Information Communication Technologies (D-ICTs) has heralded the arrival of digital media. However, due to the digital divide across countries and continents, the gains are uneven across the world. As

technology-based media communication imperatives are increasing potent aspects of knowledge-driven societies, there is an urgency to advance theoretical insights on the issue towards gaining a better perspective of technology adoption in Nigeria, especially about the position of the technological-dependent nation. Thus, this study examines Digital Dichotomy Theory towards propositional appraisal of technology adoption in Nigeria. Premised on empirical inferences such as Diffusion of Innovation, and Push-ICT as pre-existing theoretical frames, the study argues that the digital dichotomy may influence the adoption of technology in every society.

Therefore, the call by Nyam (2021) to maximize the impact of technology is such that countries, governments, and other stakeholders as well as communication scholars ought to put all resources and expertise together towards meeting the technological-oriented media communication needs or adoption of any society. Given the digital divide as a consideration, the need to revisit the Digital Dichotomy Theory (DD-Theory) is important as this paper proposed it to be a better way of understanding the inherent technology adoption in Nigeria. This is so because the basic assumption of the theory is that entities without the same predisposing factors will often significantly vary in the adoption time of current experience(s).

Nyam (2021) observed that the whole gamut of media classifications and applications, as well as operations, seem to be dependent on the available communication technologies. Today, digital media and communication had definitively advanced from basic software to ICT. Adjei (2020) also affirms how the development of computers, for example, has increased audiences' spread and in turn made it more difficult to clearly distinguish between 'mass media' and 'non-mass' media. This expression relates to the contemporary influences of the new media upon the old 'traditional media.' The concept of 'new' applies to media technologies that have altered media classifications, with great contempt for the communication characteristics of the traditional media.

Additionally, technology has advanced media communication reality. Notwithstanding, the regulatory framework is needed. The issue of the digital divide has indeed placed an extra burden on media scholars as well as professionals, and communication policymakers in developing countries. For instance, Adjei (2020) mentions how old media, i.e. newspapers, television, and radio had the concept of feeding information based on the ground research for their listeners and viewers' in places such as Ghana, where radio and television stations tailor niche agenda-driven programs of political parties. Within this context, this studyis guided by the following objectives: to examine the considerations in technology adoption in Nigeria; to interrogate the challenges that mitigate the adoption of technology in Nigeria, and to investigate the realities of digital dichotomy amidst technology adoption in Nigeria.

A Brief Historical Antecedent of the Present Technological Age

Since its evolution, humanity has experienced waves of innovation resulting in the advancement of social and institutional development. Fukuyama (2018) describes human growth in five dimensions: Society 1.0, characterized by the coexistence of human beings with the animal kingdom; Society 2.0, the beginning of agriculture and permanent settlements; Society 3.0, the advent of industrialization; Society 4.0, the age of information society, internet and communication technology; and Society 5.0, the age of technological innovations with the use of data, Artificial Intelligence, the internet of things and the robotic era. Through this prism, human society is currently situated in Society 5.0, with the quantum use of data and information shaping decisions and all areas of life.

The evolution of modern society has also been described in terms of Industrial Revolutions. Along that line, Marwala (2020) views human development in four cycles of revolutionary. The first industrial revolution took place in the 18th Century, and resulted in the increased volume and variety of manufactured goods, and improved standards of living, with a shift from an agrarian into industrialized economies. The second industrial revolution sprung from the discovery of electromagnetism, which gave human beings electricity and the mass production of goods. With the development of semi-conductors and materials that conduct electricity, the third industrial revolution ushered in the electronic age. We are presently in the world of convergence of media systems and communication infrastructure, described as the fourth industrial revolution. It is the offshoot of what has previously been described as the information society, network society, or knowledge society.

However, other commentators extended the trajectory beyond four revolutions. Smihula (2010) suggests that human development is seeing the end of the information revolution as it moves into the 5th industrial revolution. This is an age of human intelligence, self-governing technologies, and the multi-polarity of technology-driven by the convergence of ICT and networks. Thus, the world will yet undergo a post-information revolution that will usher in other waves of innovation. Along the same line, Silva and Di-Serio (2016) argue that the world is on the cusp of a sixth revolution, focusing on sustainability and innovations. The authors contend that the political, economic, and social problems demonstrated by the industrial revolution will lead to a new wave, one based on the need to achieve sustainability of the ecosystem.

One consequence of the extant digital revolution is the increased use of data and technology. Through sophisticated

decision-making based on experience, intuition, and other non-data-driven approaches (Provost & Fawcett, 2013, p. 51). To Mayer-Schonberger and Cukier (2013), data is no longer regarded as a static or stale resource but as a major raw material in business, a vital part of economic input, and a critical tool for creating new economic value. It is also no longer a question of hardheaded statistical packages or dead information available in archives or remote databases.

In the digital age, data is expected to be mined and efficiently utilized for social change and effective decision-making (Provost & Fawcett, 2013, p. 55). The advent of big data and a host of other developments associated with digital technologies have culminated in the emergence of Knowledge Societies (Diamandis & Kotler, 2020).

Pate (2021) corroborated that where technology has been efficiently harnessed for the social, economic, and cultural wellbeing of groups and nations, a knowledge society emerges. Media technologies have always been a concern. Sometimes they were viewed from the wide-angle lens of their facilitation of development communication goals, politics and good governance, the institution of democratic culture equality, and social justice. At other times, innovations in media technologies are viewed more narrowly within particular sectors, such as particular forms of messages, scope, and nature of communication enabled. The goals of health communication and marketing communication are how the affect the desired social behaviors. The concern in simplest terms is whether societies are never simple. As such, further questions are raised beneficial for which strata in society, under what considerations, and to what ends? These are the concerns evident in this paper regarding the adoption of technology in Nigeria.

Most African countries are broadly classified as developing. "As rapidly as technology is developing in the rest of the world, in Africa, things have moved at a slower pace," (Smith, 2009, p. 52). The implication is that the global media imperative may have fundamental influences, but media experiences in developing nations are lagging. In this perspective, the position of the digital dichotomy is clear. The theory offers explanations for the power of media communication landscapes, and experiences between developed (invention-driven media communication environment), and developing countries (adoption-driven media communication environments). This has resulted in varying rates of technology-based digital updates and a 'global village.' Yes, this may be a global village, but the 'globe' has unequal technology adoption or media communication digits.

It is apparent in the literature that the adoption of technology in journalism and other communication practices brings up long-standing debates regarding the potential of technological innovations for good and evil in society. The paper, therefore, beamed the light on contemporary manifestations of global challenges, though understandably, the Nigerian context features prominently. Still, within the context of the literature, findings are shadowed by unprecedented global occurrences; the world has been bedeviled with a range of these in recent times.

Arguably, since the 20th century, McLuhan argued that technologies help extend human capacity; technology has been regarded as liberating and empowering. Technologies aided human manipulation of mechanical and electronic processes in the media and communication industries. Similarly, social interactions were enhanced – extending audience reach, expanding scopes of coverage, altering the limitations of time and space, and bridging critical information gaps. With these came the potential to shift the balance of power in societies as desirable in democratic societies.

As observed by Pate (2021) by adding the power of computing to mechanical and electronic innovation of the past, as done with technology, far greater is the potential of media for good or ill in 21st-century society. The networked societies are now better connected. Westernized societies are linked with those in the global south, and individuals and media organizations alike are creating content. The resultant gluts of information further intensify the nature of global and social challenges.

Theoretical Framework

This study finds relevance within the tenets of the Diffusion of Innovations and the Push-ICT Theory. These theories provide an understanding of the subject matter. The Diffusion of Innovations and Push-ICT Theories are concerned with how the innovation of a new idea, practice, or object is communicated through suitable channels and how direct and indirect coercion is applied to achieve the desired result over time (Wilson 2021). The idea of adopting a technology that would identify and flag information brings to the fore the usual argument on the genuine concern of technologies, which is a concern of this paper.

Rogers (2003, p. 13) argues that "a technology is a design for instrumental action that reduces the uncertainty in the cause-effect relationships involved in achieving the desired outcome." Nigeria has already shifted attention to harnessing technology for national development (NIPC, 2020; Ada, 2020). This is a pointer that the official diffusion process is at perhaps the implementation and confirmation stages of technology adoption in Nigeria.

To speedily realize the diffusion of ICT-based innovations, in this case, the technology, especially in societies where resistance to change is a common phenomenon, there is a need to use the Push-ICT Theory approach. The approach

stipulates that in a situation where information communication technologies are considered important or relevant to societal development, the relevant stakeholders (government, non-governmental organizations, or individuals) should

deploy such technologies.

Similarly, the Diffusion of Innovation connotes the process that occurs as people adopt a new idea, product, practice, philosophy, and so on. Rogers mapped out this process, stressing that in most cases, an initial few are open to the new idea and adopt its use. As these early innovators 'spread the word' more and more people become open to it, which lead to the development of a critical mass. Over time, the innovative idea or product becomes diffused amongst the population until a saturation point is achieved. Rogers distinguished five categories of adopters of an innovation: innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards. Sometimes, a sixth group is added: non-adopters. The original five categories are illustrated in the bell-shaped curve image, which according to Rogers estimated the percentage of each category, which in fact, is similar to the proportions found in a normal bell curve. Leaning on these theories, Nigeria can adopt technology and accept robotic journalistic practice and other activities using technology.

METHODOLOGY

This study is exploratory, as it utilizes the descriptive research method whereby relevant literature, documents, and records were consulted and analyzed based on the existing literature to interrogate the subject matter. This studyis predominantly based on information derived from the qualitative data using secondary sources, such as relevant texts, journals, official publications, historical documents, and the Internet, which served as tangible sources of insight into the analysis. However, the inquiry is strictly limited to data found in scholarly journals, books, the Internet, and libraries, and not anecdotal sources. The method was used to evaluate such findings with other existing literature on the subject. The method help findings in the works available checks the consistency of such findings, and evaluates such findings with other findings.

Findings and Discussion

Considerations in Technology Adoption in Nigeria

The take-away from this study is that technology adoption in Nigeria needs to shift into a continual learning mode to acquire skills that will be needed for modern digital journalism. Basic computing skills are a good start but are going to be inadequate. Nigerians and journalists alike need additional skills in relevant areas such as data science and analysis, web programming, User Interface Experience (UIX), and usability testing.

Another consideration is journalists should try to compete in the marketplace of knowledge and not be threatened by technology and STEM subjects. I readan "I don't know maths" comment at a recent paper presentation of the UMCAA. Journalists cannot remain just writers and editors. Mass communicators will need every form of skill that the tools will require. It is never too late to learn. Even in retirement, some of these skills will be useful as far as technology is concerned.

Similarly, higher institutions in Nigeria need to transform teaching and learning using analytics in this technological age. There are loads of online training offered free by major universities that one can take advantage of. MIT, Harvard, and other top-ranked universities deliver training through online platforms such as EDX on emerging disciplines such as development, programming, data science critical thinking, problem-solving, strategic social marketing, digital media, Power BI, soft skills leadership and influence, digital product management and managing innovations. These are the skills Nigerians, or journalists will need to survive in the adoption of technology, which may not be available through formal education (Marwala, 2020).

Arguably, we must keep an open mind, embrace innovation, be responsive to changes around us and find a sweet spot for ourselves as professionals. A high level of literacy is needed for the proper adoption of technology in Nigeria. In countries where illiteracy is significantly high, it becomes difficult to adopt technological innovations. We are at the threshold of mind-blowing innovations that will change traditional wisdom. Experts are predicting that we will soon work less and earn more because robots will do more, faster and better, and give us back some time for recreation. All over the world, countries are looking forward to a robotic future, where a four-day weekend is a norm and everyone is paid a Universal Basic Income.

For decision-making, especially at the early stage of the adoption of technology, the country must consider a wide-level multi-stakeholder approach. Private and public companies, students, staff, and employers of labor, among others, should be brought on board before a decision is made on technology adoption. These stakeholders will help to shape the realities and help broaden the scope of reasoning and contents. For students, universities should not prioritize academically strong students alone, as students across all levels of academic performance have something significant

to contribute where the atmosphere is friendly for them to ventilate their ideas.

Interrogating the Challenges that Mitigate the Adoption of Technology in Nigeria

A lot of careful planning has to precede the adoption of technology in Nigeria. First, institutions of learning must sit to consider the cost and be willing to confront the challenges on the way of adopting technology for academic matters. One of the challenges that may confront the adoption of technologies is that they are complex to build and require experts, who are in short supply in Nigeria. As such, there is a need for deliberate effort to train students and staff in Computer Science, Engineering, Physics, or Mathematics programs who may be sent abroad to get the required skills. Such students or staff should be made to show commitment upon return in order not to be lost to other universities through premium wages or other promises. There is an initiative in Kigali, Rwanda referred to as the African Masters of Machine Intelligence (AMMI) launched in 2019 in partnership with Google and Facebook and committed to providing state-of-the-art research exposure to African students within Africa. Universities in Nigeria can leverage this increased capacity.

As Okoroma (2007) puts it, the National Universities Commission (NUC) is one of the agencies of the Federal Ministry of Education empowered by law to maintain minimum academic standards in Nigerian universities and carry out accreditation functions. Discussions on the inclusion of technology in teaching and learning in university processes must begin at this level. International organizations like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) must begin to dialogue with the NUC. This is because, when technology is considered for teaching, and assessment of students, the accreditation of universities will be affected, as technology may tamper with the existing templates familiar to the NUC.

Another possible challenge to the adoption of technologies is resistance borne out of the fear that technology may take the jobs that humans do. This challenge has to be properly managed because definitely, the adoption of technology will open up several redundancies in places where manual operations have been solely relied upon. However, this will take time and will not take effect immediately. Rather than resort to laying off workers, a lot can be done to reskill people for value addition in other areas that yearn for human competence.

Another challenge is that of the digital dichotomy, which refers to the digital divide. It is the center of the conceptual frame of this paper. This is hitherto referred to as the 'technological divide.' As technologies have progressed into the digital phase, the divide has expanded more into a digital dimension-hence the term 'digital divide.' It has been the hallmark of persisting debate between developing nations and the otherwise developed ones. This is a result of global media being a huge empire built on several years of inventions and innovations that have in turn been consistently improved upon. This technology remains dominated by the West (the large information-developed Northern hemisphere).

Therefore, Nyam (2021) is of the view that many countries have at one point or the other lamented that the technical capacity of the Western media has been abused towards information flow disorder against developing nations. This position was largely termed the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) debate. In ensuring dynamics, the international media, many of which are based in Europe and North America, as well as modern Asia are believed to have the capacity to influence the media outcomes of developing societies, mainly in Africa and South America.

Within this context, scholars like Ozuru and Ekeanyanwu (2013) remarked how communication at the international level comes with many consequences. Some of these consequences arise because of some imbalances, news manipulations, and sometimes, misrepresentation of some nations and people in the media systems of others. Corroborating this, Ciboh (2005) observed that in 1973, governments of non-aligned nations met and discussed media and information flow issues, suggesting ways to counter the real or perceived imbalance.

Based on the preceding, there is an apparent digital dichotomy. The global digital divide is not denied, except there is a feeling that it is not a very valid point that can devalue the role of digital technology in much of modern existence. The global divide describes the unequal distribution of information, and communication technologies across nations. It has become a description for the information-have, and have-nots, although, many of these positions are complex to understand. In the words of Sayad (2020) argued that within academic circles it is well established that the digital divide encompasses more than physical access to D-ICTs. It is also a function of how D-ICTs are used. It is crucial to develop policies and programs that would bridge the global digital divide through D-ICTs.

For instance, former United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan agrees that the digital divide is a serious issue, Annan's successor, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, admits, and leaders of the World Bank think so too. President James Wolfensohn, former World Bank even described the divide as "one of the greatest impediments to development." However, the significance of the digital divide has been challenged on several occasions, like Bill Gates thinking that the digital divide deserves no special attention because it is simply a symptom of economic disparity across nations, and

thus the lack of access to information technologies in developing nations merely reflects the poverty level of those nations. Gates at a conference on the digital divide said "most of the world doesn't have cars, but we don't talk about the auto divide." Steve Jobs, Co-founder of Apple, reiterated the views saying that the so-called "digital divide" is "just a new sticker that people use to cover up a more important word: poverty."

In whatever point critics look at it, the significance of the digital divide becomes apt when the culture, and media orientation of the audience from a technology-adopting environment fail to key into the original intentions of inventors, as compared to audiences from a technology-inventive environment like the United States. Again, the digital divide becomes a more serious issue when the economic, and political policy, legal framework, and infrastructure of developing technology-adopting nations fail to meet up with international standards, and best media-communication practices.

The essence of digital technology is what prompted the conviction that the world is "truly" global. Yet some scholars are still skeptical that the export of digital technologies has not fully bridged the gap between developed, and developing worlds, because the hitherto less developed third world has not been able to conquer attraction to media contents of the West.

The Realities of Digital Dichotomy amidst Technology Adoption in Nigeria

In the case of the developing world, most of the advanced nations are fast employing legislation towards catching up with the uses, and applications of the new media amidst, or without synergies with the traditional media. Another flashpoint is in the area of investment. Governments and the corporate or civil society in most developing countries are yet to call to question the urgency of digital technology, let alone understand the scientific cost that is involved over time. The advanced world plays hugely as they continue to enjoy and export to the digital developing countries. Satellite technology, for example, which tends to be dependent significantly on digitization, is constantly being maintained and researched by the developed world (BBC, 2015).

Already, the Telecommunication Development Bureau (TDB) of the International Telecommunications Union is advocating for worldwide network relative understanding, and collaboration among policymakers, and regulators. Prefer to call "disruptive" or "destabilizing" technologies. Others in the developed world seem to favor the term "transformative" technologies. Thus, technology is currently being deployed in almost every facet of our most recent civilizations, and modern life context. In this perspective, complex mobile networks such as G5 are heralded along with increased technical and human operational intricacies. As such, the developing societies would need to catch up in terms of not just computational intelligence, but also perception intelligence, and cognitive intelligence.

Similarly, regarding the digital dichotomies, the adoption of ICT is seriously accelerating. The diffusion rate is rapid but also leaves more gaps and or consequences across societies with varying levels of development. As noted early, theoretical assumptions that enable sensible assumptions about contemporary media communication do exist. However, instances of proportional frame of reference to new media and communication such as Technological Determinism Theory are so far limited to understanding the spread, and influences of technology, and far less about what has, or can hinder or limit the overall benefits of D-ICTs. This is where DD-Theory fits in as a propositional frame of reference towardmaking improved technology and relevantly improved D-ICTs. Indeed, DD-Theory stands relevant as a new theoretical frame of reference for appraising the increasing global media-communication imperatives (Nyam, 2021).

Besides, the status of technology in development is mainly accelerating and concentrated in developed wealthier nations, such as the United States, China, and European Union. New media realities in developing societies, such as media self-learning, self-controlling, and self-communication stand-alone intelligent system (Sayad, 2020) would demand rapidly improved understanding, or relative media-communication dichotomies across the world be enabled.

Entities without the same predisposing factors will often significantly vary in the adoption time of current experience(s). Adoption is not just due to capacity, but also time lapse-effect in the spread of invention orientation, and practice. This perhaps may be the reason why Ngwainmbi (2020) concluded that a more limited form of globalization might emerge just as there is a tendency for under-developed, and developing societies to over-depend on the so-called "world superpowers" for their protection. In line with the relative conclusion, Ngwainmbi (2020) notes that the operational meaning of "superpower, advanced country", has to be redefined by scholars, political readers, media practitioners as well as knowledge-driven policymakers.

Within this context, it is imperative to collaborate toward improved global adoption of technology. Aspect such as technological algorithmic innovations are needed at varying levels across nations, and journalism professionals, need to improve towards prevention or limiting hate speech, enhancement of fact-checking mechanisms, and ethical encryption media practices among other merits. Irrespective of the ongoing advancements in network amidst digital dichotomy, such global D-ICTs conscious and cautious collaboration can enable better learning among security operatives, digital rights literacy, and relative laws, as well as reasonable accountability from social media providers, and users. Nyam

(2021) also corroborates that many countries have at one point or the other lamented that the technical capacity of the Western media has been abused towards information flow disorder against developing nations.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study examines Digital Dichotomy Theory towards propositional appraisal of technology adoption in Nigeria. The study interrogates how developing countries may, or have been left behind in the journey toward building knowledge network societies because of poor technological infrastructure, and systems. Entities without the same predisposing factors will often significantly vary in the adoption time of current experience(s). Adoption is not just due to capacity, but also time lapse-effect in the spread of invention, orientation, and practice. This may be the reason Ngwainmbi concluded "(sociological), a more limited form of globalization might emerge" just as there is a tendency for underdeveloped and developing societies to over depend on (so-called) "…world superpowers" for their protection and adoption of technology.

Considerations like manpower, skills, knowledge of society, resources, and literacy level in the adoption of technology in Nigeria will make it difficult for the world to be called a 'global village' in terms of technology adoption. What makes a village? The world is not truly a "global village" as regards the dictum by McLuhan, and it will be difficult to be because there will always be a digital dichotomy between entities. There exist forms of a digital dichotomy because of the following reasons: the adoption difference(s) in previous technologies; dynamism in cultural, economic, political, and religious systems of entities across the globe; the time and space lapse between invention(s) entities, and adoption entities. Mere resistance to change, change cannot be forced but persuaded.

There is a digital dichotomy that places developing societies on the side of playing catch-up, governments, and citizens must be aware, and active in the ongoing digital technological imperatives. Besides, governments in many nations still hinder, and or censor global, and local information. Technology may be taking undue advantage of such unfortunate dynamism of improved digital communication. The paper concludes that in a global media scenario, developing societies cannot afford to significantly lag. It is good that developing countries with huge human and natural resources should be challenged to be on the technology superhighway. This may serve better than otherwise. Also, this is expected to harvest more towards development. However, research, and training in the country, media professionalism, and computing (programming, hard or software engineering, and internet security, among others) are strongly recommended for maximization of technology adoption, and synergies of media forms. Adoption of technologies depends on excellent software programming and networking.

Scholars, researchers, and professionals in all spectrums of media and information have more work to do, but to whom much is expected, much knowledge is needed. Training and re-training are vital as developing societies grow in the technology and information experience of the 21st century. Universities, Polytechnics, Mono-technics, and other formal institutions of media and communication training and research must as a matter of serious importance, employ computer-based social scientific approaches as some of the considerations in technology adoption in Nigeria.

Equally, education policy-oriented organizations like the Nigerian Universities Commission (NUC) have to note these and factor in a timetable for such a transition. Qualified manpower in training institutions also needs to be addressed. This is because it may be observed that the media's need for technology has drawn more attention to communication studies. Hence, more universities hosting such entities, without commensurate equipment, facility, and manpower, may be doing so and a significant self-disadvantage. Paraphrasing the words of Gbenga, communication is the most dynamic unit in the society, and if the stakeholders in the sector delay a little, it would be out of fashion and not in tune with the realities of the moment. Thus, in developing societies like Nigeria, literacy has to be advanced and seriously sustained for technology adoption.

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Review

Critical Discourse Analysis of Atiku Abubakar's 'Let's Get Nigeria Moving Again' 2019 Presidential Campaign Speech

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Political speeches are broad as their events and forums are. The paper, to a large extent analyzes critically the 2019 'Let's Get Nigeria Moving Again' campaign speech of Atiku Abubakar. In carrying out the analysis, Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Network (2008), a socio-semantic inventory, as a central framework was used. The result of the analysis shows that, not only do politicians utilize representations of social actors to mold the perceptions from within the ideological opinions of their discourse, but they also utilize meaning to persuade their voters to vote for them. It also, shows how meaning can be embedded in language and how social actors and actions can be deeply rooted in language. The speech analysis revealed in particular, the ideologies/plans on which his government intends to operate if voted into power.

KEYWORDS: Discourse, critical discourse analysis, Speech, and political speech

INTRODUCTION

Politics relates to the process of struggling for power. According to Bayram in Sharndama (2015), it is a scuffle for power so as to set political, economic and social ideas torun through. In this process, language plays a crucial role, for every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language. It is one of the vital tools that politicians use in order to shape the political thoughts of the electorates with the aim of selling their ideologies to them. Chimbarange, Takavarasha, and KombeinSharndama (2015), are of the view that the main purpose of politicians is to persuade their audience of the validity of their political claims. The ensuing political influence flows from the employment of resources that shape the beliefs and behavior of others. The above implies that politicians make efforts to convince the electorates to discard their political ideologies and hold on to theirs.

Through such power of discourse, presidential nominees fabricate linguistic and semiotic images of the self that seek to connect with the aspirations of the audience, reflect the perceived highest values of the country within the audience

and depict the choices of the opponent as being less than ideal. Boussofara-Omar states that 'orators choose to speak in precise ways and use language in determining ways as a means of constructing linguistic levels and linguistic images of their selves that will activate complex webs of associations that can link a wide array of discourses and contexts' (330). By use of rhetorical dimensions, language use is facilitated to promote and legitimize the presidential nominee's purposes for depictions of social order and political vision via the assemblage of representations of social actors and social actions.

Discourse Analysis (DA) is the analytical framework which was created for studying actual text and talk in the

communicative context while CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. CDA is particularly interested in the detailed interface between structures of discourse and the structures of power. Advocates of this research agenda called Critical Discourse Analysis claim that language is a form of social practice which the context is very crucial in its analysis (Wodak 7; Wodak and Busch 108).

This present study, therefore, arose from the need to address the significant features of the language of political campaign speeches in Nigeria not only from the angle of micro-linguistic structures but also from the perspective of discourse patterns, taking into consideration the ideological and power patterns encoded in the texts.Texts have been described as 'sites for struggle', sites through which individuals and groups convey their personal and collective ideologies which struggle with each other for dominance (Wodak 10). A text is made up of words and sentences whose importance is its meaning. These meanings are coded in words and sentences whose meanings are more than the additive value of these raw linguistic data.

Since every text has some hidden meaning, Critical Discourse analysts, advocate a critical reading of or listening to texts with a view to uncovering the hidden messages. This they do by paying attention to linguistic and extra-linguistic features of discourse in the critique of linguistic practices which conceal how they are manipulative, and to create awareness to the 'subjected', even probably to the dominant group who may be unaware of them (Sharndama 12). s

Objectives of the Study

This study focused on the Critical Discourse Analysis of AtikuAbubakar's 'Let's get Nigeria moving again' speech. It is apparent that the approaches and methods of Critical Discourse Analysis are diverse;Van Leeuwen's Network for the Representations of Social Actors (2008) has been applied to show the relationship between language, power and ideology.

The study tries to realize the following objectives:

1. To identify and analyze linguistic expressions that carry ideological colorings in the speech. 2. To discuss how social actors and actions can be rooted in language.

Research Questions

The research questions are as follows;

1.   What are the linguistic expressions that carry ideological colorings in the speech?
2.   How are social actors and their actions represented in the language?

Theoretical Basis

Van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Network of Actors and Actions was used in the work as the theoretical framework. We chose the 'Let's Nigeria Move Again' speech of Atiku Abubakar that was delivered in his 2019 presidential campaign. We have limited the study to this speech so as to be systematic in the analysis. We downloaded the speech from the internet. The speech was analyzed to discuss and identify the roles of social actors and their actions during the process of delivering the speech. In the course of the analysis, we used there contextualization process- a speaker may exclude or transform social actors or add legitimations to them (Van Leeuwen, 20).One possible result of recontextualization is the impregnation of intentions, values and biases into a discourse that might reveal an underlying ideology of the speaker.

In this study, the analytic survey research design is used. The qualitative approach was used to detect discursive structures within the candidates' speeches, and unravel the ideologies and power structures within.

Van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Network Framework

The theory states that, in texts, social actors can be nominated through the use of their names, which may also include additional honorific titles, such as Dr, Mr or Ms. Additionally, within the social actor-network, there are two key types of categorization for defining social actors: functionalization and identification (Van Leeuwen 28). Van Leeuwen (2008) states that the English language allows speakers to make a choice between functionalization and identification, and that the implementation of this choice in discourse is of critical importance in discourse analysis for understanding the ways in which identity can be shaped throughout a text. Functionalization manifests when social actors are

referenced through activities and the things they do, such as occupations or roles. Identification transpires when social actors are designated not through what they do, but in terms of what they inexorably are.

Exclusion can take the form of *suppression or background*. *Suppression* involves the omission of any reference to the social actor within the text. *Backgrounding* excludes any direct reference to the social actor in relation to a given action. One way that social actors may be represented is through *association* with other social actors (Van Leeuwen, 29). *Associations* can be realized through possessive pronouns and possessive attributive clauses of having and belonging or they may be created through parataxis.

METHODOLOGY

The study uses the analytic survey research design, because it seeks to uncover hidden meanings relating to social structure, ideology and power between the electorate and the politicians. The qualitative approach was used to discover the ideologies and power structures underlying them. Theimportance of the approach is its ability to capture the essence of 'individual expressions, actions and thoughts in everyday life, in order to give them meaning' (Wodak and Busch 105). Hence, qualitative research is steered by the following; phenomenological sociology, symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology (Traudt 33).

Phenomenological sociology pays attention to the study of what people say as a pointer to how they view the world. Here, utterances are studied in order to understand people's meanings and intentions. Symbolic interactionism studies the mind of the language user, how it works and how it relates to the society. This approach sees the individual as social actors putting forth roles. And these roles facilitate the understanding of how the self and the mind work. Ethnomethodology studies everyday talk in particular natural settings of language use. An example of such works is Sinclair and Coulthard's study of teacher-pupil talk (McCarthy 6).

Conceptual Clarification

The section sheds light on certain ideas supporting the study in order to give the readers' the background knowledge of the subject under investigation. The concepts looked at include:

Discourse and Discourse Analysis.

The terms Discourse and discourse analysis are among linguistic concepts that are often used indiscriminately without any clear- cut definitions. According to Titscher et al (2000) in Bayram (2010), discourse is a broad term with various definitions which "integrates a whole palette of meanings" covering a large area from linguistics, to sociology, philosophy and other disciplines. Bayram also points out that Fairclough (1989) refers to the term discourse as "the whole process of interaction of which a text is just a part. As pervasive ways of experiencing the world, discourses refer to expressing oneself using words. Discourses can be used for asserting power and knowledge, and for resistance and critique.

Discourse as a linguistic term, literally refers to a formal talk, a piece of writing or a discussion. In other words, discourse could be in spoken or written form. It is also sometimes considered as language put to use, which is synonymous with text. Cook (1992) describes discourse as language use in communication and the search for what gives discourse coherence is discourse analysis.

Cook further explains that discourse analysis examines how stretches of language, considered in their full textual, social, and psychological contexts become meaningful and unified for their users. Also, Rymes (2008) cited in Mirzaee & Hamidi(2012) believes that, discourse is defined generally as "language-in-use." And discourse analysis, is the study of how language-in-use is influenced by the context of its use. In the classroom, context can range from the talk within a lesson, to students' and teachers' talk. Based on him, Discourse analysis in the classroom becomes critical classroom discourse analysis when classroom researchers take the effects of such variable contexts into account in their analysis.

Language and Politics

Language has been used since time immemorial to communicate ideas and actions to other individuals. It was not until the 1960s, though, that it was revealed that language itself contributes to and is inextricably linked to what we know as culture. To date, several studies have discussed how its use encodes values and reinforces the power structures of a society, (Sharndama 16). For instance, the existence of a standard American English bestows a prestige on a specific dialect of English and establishes a 'standard' of vocabulary, grammatical correctness, and pronunciation by which all other dialects are compared (Kerswill 8). The very existence of these studies also indicates an awareness and resistance to these inherent power structures. These examples, and the studies conducted to realize them, illustrate the

overlap of discourse, power, resistance and subjectification (e.g. Fairclough 47). In this light, it may be argued that all discourse is, in turn, political; an intimate conversation is both constrained by and subtly reinforces the existing power structure and is therefore as political as a presidential campaign speech.

Therefore, Sharndama (17) defines what constitutes 'political discourse' as a genre, with its own relatively stable patterns of organization, style and compositional structure. For one, the discourse of politicians occurs in the domain of 'politics', a concept that encompasses all the social actors and social actions that involve the government and the implementation of policy (van Dijk15-16). Van Dijk , one of the leading scholars in this field, describes discourse as political "when it has a direct functional role as a form of political action in the political process" (23).

Ideology

Ideology is a social concept, comprising of shared values within a community or group of people (Sharndama 16). More specifically, they are the socially shared representations of groups and 'are the foundations of group attitudes and other beliefs' (van Dijk, 138). As such, ideologies influence the ways in which individuals experience the world and produce ideological discourse. In this way, discourse reflects those ideological values held by those groups who create it. In the U.S., these groups are often placed in either the two major political parties Republican or Democrat. Even so, these parties comprise multiple ideological groups, such as, conservative, moderate, progressive and so on, that overlap on certain key values, but not all. These groups are identified by their differences, often emphasizing their directly opposing views on issues such as gun rights, social welfare, international relations and so on, and hold differing views about reality and the future moving forward(Sharndama 19). This fact highlights the contrastive quality inherent in ideological values and how they express differing ideological social groups (van Dijk 117 in Sharndama 18). As such, the argumentative nature of political discourse seems to be a realization of the ideological struggle between different groups. In the cases where an ideology or ideological value prevails and becomes accepted by all ideological groups within a culture, it ceases to be ideological and becomes general cultural knowledge (van Dijk 138).

Several studies have defined 'ideology' and discussed its major concepts (e.g. van Dijk), and they can be summarized as follows. Firstly, ideologies consist of values (van Dijk 116), and these values are essentially evaluative and provide the basic guidelines for social perception and interaction. Secondly, ideologies are socially shared. As such, they serve to define social identity. Thirdly, ideologies are abstract foundational beliefs that function to control and organize other socially shared beliefs and specify what cultural values are relevant to the group. For each group, 'values may be expected to constitute the basic evaluative criteria for the opinions that define ideological systems' (van Dijk 248).

Critical discourse Analysis

The basis for critical discourse had its root in critical linguistics and theories. According to Rahimi&Riasati(201), the discipline has attracted many scholars since the 1980s significantly with the works of the British sociolinguist Norman Fariclough. Fairclough (32) refers to CDA as discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

Critical Discourse Analysis as a new dimension of discourse analysis developed simultaneously with other critical studies in the social sciences. Van Dijk cited in Sheyholislami (231) sees Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. It examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. Breeze in Sharndama (11) opines that Critical Discourse Analysis has now firmly established itself as a field within the humanities and social sciences, to the extent that the abbreviation 'CDA' is widely used to denote a recognizable approach to language study manifested across a range of different groups.

What differentiates CDA from other forms of discourse analysis is its critical nature. Critical implies going beyond analysis of the formal discourse features to show connections and causes underlying a discourse.

Political Speeches in the Nigerian Context

To Chinwe, 'political speeches in Nigeria have been viewed with caution and skepticism because of the long history of failed promises and aborted dreams which these speeches represent' (4). In addition, most Nigerian leaders have not lived up to the expectations in addressing the problems of the people, rather, what was obtained was a succession of self-service, corruption, embezzlement and abuse of office to the extent that most Nigerians have lost interest in political speeches, which tend to be manipulative, deceitful, full of propaganda, thus masking the true situation (Chinwe 7).

The selected speech which forms our textual data is important in the Nigerian political history as to a large extent represents hope, succor, and a source of freedom from, corruption, as well as providing employment for youth and improving living conditions. The speech is hereby subjected to critical analysis so as to identify and analyze the linguistic expressions which carry ideological colorations, to investigate and discuss how social actors and their actions are rooted in language.

Analysis of the Speech

As a politician and businessman, for him to succeed, Atiku has to have ideology to get things move well. His ideology is that of **plan and policy**. For him, with a good plan and policy, he will *'Get Nigeria Moving Again'*. Because he saw the nation like a ship stranded on the high seas, ruthless and with broken navigational aids, he feels he is the savior to get this ship to move again to the desired destination. The speech depicted stillness. To him, Nigerians are at a stand-still situation that requires turn-around. For Atiku, the past is far better than the present, and he is the man to take the nation to greater heights. He says; *'Nigeria has to offer to come up with policies and plans that when implemented will get Nigeria going in the right direction again'*.

From the outset of Atiku's *'Let's Get Nigeria Moving Again'* speech, he foregrounds his involvement in the text by identifying himself as a presidential candidate, when he states; *'Today, I am formally presenting myself to you as the presidential candidate of not just the PDP but of the hopes and aspirations of all Nigerians'*.

Significant role allocation within Atiku's text focuses on the politicians as well as on Nigerians as a whole. Role allocation here is important, because it tries to contextualize Nigerians by interpreting their roles in the election within a bond that connects them to past and future governments. To do, this Atiku utilizes exclusion through suppression to ask the rhetorical question that states; *'Are you better off than you were four years ago? Are we richer or poorer'?*

The above question kick-starts the theme of his campaign speech, *'Getting Nigeria Working Again.'* However, the representation of social actors employed by Atiku within the text is used for the depiction of the **'policies'** he *plans* to achieve. He mentioned the noun, **'policy'** six times. He says thus;

> I believe in **policies**. A promise is an indication to do a future action. A **policy** is a plan to achieve future goals. As the International Monetary Fund stated very recently, it is the failure of this government to have a coherent and comprehensive set of **policies** combined with poor leadership that has led to its failure to deliver.
> Over the last 18 months, I have worked with the best experts Nigeria has to offer to come up with **policies** and plans that when implemented will get Nigeria going in the right direction again. That plan worked and today I have the pleasure of unveiling our **policies** and strategies to take Nigeria from where she is now, to where she needs to be.
> Today we will begin the process of sharing our **policies** that form my plan to create jobs, restructure the polity, and Get Nigeria Working Again.

In the above text, **policy** means an art of governance or principle of behavior conducted. This portrayed his ideology of commitment to hard work, and that he is used to governance such that the principle and the ideology he exhibited to succeed as a businessman, he will use to propel the ship of governance to get Nigeria working again. Atiku used abstraction to send his message home to his teaming supporters, he saw Nigeria as a dead machine that needed to be worked on so as to make it function again.

Likewise, the repetition of *'policy'* might be seen as a technique that can be engaged to achieve emphasis or rhythm in the development of ideas, because it implies repeating the word to give a logical emphasis to the utterance and/or to show the speaker's emotional state.

One can notice that the frequent recurrences of the clause **'my plan'** in Atiku's speech rise from his hidden ideologies and political ideas that he is trying to deliver and convince others with. It is also obvious here that the repetition can be described as a persuasive strategy or persuasive linguistic device used to convince the audience and make the speech favorable. He used this linguistic feature to impress his audience and to deliver his ideologies indirectly. Furthermore, it

can be notice that the repetition symbolizes power; it echoes the sound of political power and aims to gain political strength and domination. He says;

> **My plan** will give Nigerian workers a living wage. **My plan** will give Nigeria's youth a world-class education. **My plan** will cater for the elderly, so our people are not afraid of growing old. **My plan** will invest in our failing infrastructure. But above all, **my plan** will help create jobs because in my many travels across our great nation the one consistent thing I hear wherever I am is that our people need jobs. Today we will begin the process of sharing our policies that form **my plan** to create jobs, restructure the polity, and Get Nigeria Working Again. **My plan** to restructure Nigeria will lead to a vast increase in the Internally Generated Revenue both for the Federal Government and the states via the matching grants that we will provide to state governments that increase their own revenue.

As part of the text production strategy, the repetition of parallel structures highlighted in these excerpts evokesa common-sense ideology about Nigeria and its socio-political and economic features in order to win the support of the people. The excerpt heightens the emotional tone which builds the discourse to a climax.

The nouns, **'plan'** and **'policy'** that was conveyed in language show that he has long for the growth of the country, *'…I have done it before…'*. Plan in the above excerpts can entail negative connotations or semantic prosody depending on the context and can be experienced as planning *something*, planning *for* someone or something and also planning *with* someone or something. Also, *'have'* demonstrates relational action that is conveyed through the auxiliary verb 'will'. Atiku primarily utilizes **'my plan will'**(modal auxiliary)to indicate his mood or attitude with respect to fact that his action should be regarded as possible; such depicts what he will do as president. This usage, at first seems to be categorized as a material process because of the clear goals involved in the **'plan'**, however, because the role of **'plan '**is to elect Atiku, it could also be semiotic instrumental. Besides, these usages could be labeled as an unspecified reaction, because, if you are to **plan** you are to do something. In the above examples, **'plan'** is a material process because it is used to depict the function of Atiku as president. The repetition of **'my plan'** at the initial of the two sentences above is meant to evoke a sense of determination and commitment which is ideologically loaded and consequently enlist the support of the listening or reading audience.

The presentation of social action in Atiku's *'Get Nigeria Moving Again'* speech demonstrate a high level of mental action, a sub-division of process types that signifies thoughts, feelings and perceptions. These are glaring in his speech through the use of such word as; **belief**. This portrays that he has the certainty and feeling of success to take the country to the 'next level'. '*I belief in policies. A promise is an indication to do a future action'.* His believe is not bound to now, but also to the future, to build a great nation.

Furthermore, he repeated the phrase **'my plan will'**, a number of times to put straight to his listeners that he is consistent, committed and unfaultable. The model **'will'** indicates or expresses willingness, intention, insistence, and predictability (Aremo; 10). Through the representation of social action, **'will'** in the excerpts represents relational actions that demonstrate his willingness to put to bare his plans for the nation.

Atiku utilized **'plan'** as a method for attempting to assert more experience in democratic rule to potentially alleviate any questions of it that may have been raised because he was a Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria from 1999 to 2007

Similarly, Atiku personified Nigeria, calling her 'she'; …*take Nigeria from where she is now, to where she needs to be.* This shows that Nigeria is a feminine quality of being tender, and therefore requires special attention.

To attend to these **'policies'** and **'plans'**, Atiku represented himself in the text through the use of reference, using the personal pronoun **'I'**. **'I'** in a political discourse represents multiple selves. It makes reference to the person speaking, and points to his public (professional or institutional) and private discourse identities in politics, (Bramley; 20). In addition, it is used to indicate commitment, and to establish authority, (Bramley; 21).

The **'I'** employed by Atiku enables him to assert himself as a person with political clout to make decisions and assertions on behalf of the people. He tries to jump between the various identities, private or public depending on the context and the effect he sets out to create. He tries to project his confident scene, paints a picture of sincerity and builds the credibility of the public identity amidst all odds, and disputes the claims of the opposition party (APC) that he and his party (PDP) are corrupt. He says;

> I am not talking about what **I** can do. **I** am talking of what **I** have done before. **I** was Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria from 1999 to 2007 and in that time, **I** chaired the National Economic Council that gave Nigeria her highest and most consistent GDP growth of over 6% per annum.

In this speech, Atiku severally alluded to his past experiences as a former Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

As s business tycoon, Atiku also allocated a role to himself through activation by promising Nigerians that he will use his vast experience to demonstrate his **'policies'** and **'plans'** to achieve a good number of investment programs for the nation. He construes that he has done it before and he is ever ready to do it again, if elected;

> *I was Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria from 1999 to 2007 and in that time, I chaired the National Economic Council that gave Nigeria her highest and most consistent GDP growth of over 6% per annum.*
> *Despite the fact that crude oil prices at that time were much lower than they are today, under the dynamic leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo, we paid off Nigeria's entire foreign debt.*
> *We also introduced the GSM revolution that saw Nigeria go from 100,000 phone lines to over 100 million today.*
> *We were able to achieve these, and much more, because we had a plan.*

> *If elected President, I will be pro-active in attracting investments and supporting the 50 million small and medium scale enterprises across Nigeria for the purpose of doubling the size of our Gross Domestic Product to US$900 billion by 2025.*

After outlining what he can do for the country, Atiku utilized possessive pronoun as against Buhari's **'we'**. He used this to divulge the confidence he has in the team. **'My',** denotes ownership or possession, hence, he has control over them and they will not fail him, as a result, together, they will succeed. He says; '*My team and I will also help create jobs by innovating flagship programs such as the National Open Apprenticeship Program through which we shall enhance the capacity of Master-Craftsmen and women to train 1,000,000 new apprentices every year'.*

Atiku also, represented himself through differentiation by portraying himself as a distinct businessman, he proudly portrays himself as someone who is an armature, rather than as an expert that is used to doing the job. He says; '*I am not talking about what I can do. I am talking of what I have done before'.*

Lastly, another role allocation exhibited in the text focused on his former boss, Olusegun Obasanjo, with whom he worked as a team to achieve unprecedented goals. The fact that, what was in the Nigerian coffers was low, but they accomplished more. This interprets how a real businessman is, to maximize the little at his disposal to achieve more. He says; '*Despite the fact that crude oil prices at that time were much lower than they' are today, under the dynamic leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo, we paid off Nigeria's entire foreign debt'.*

At the end of Atiku's speech, he as usual, foregrounded the representation of God as a signifier of traditional Nigerian values, Atiku is able to present his faith in God as one that is akin to faith in Nigeria. At this point not only on the campaign ground but also, those following him at home. He states; '*Thank you for watching and listening'.*

Findings and Discussion

The study has shown that the content of the campaign speeches consists of appreciation, exposition of ideological plans and subtle criticism. Campaign speeches usually carry promises to coax the masses to sway them to vote for them. As such, the presidential candidates use different mechanisms through the application of Critical Discourse Analysis. Van Leeuwen's Network for the Representations of Social Actors and Social Actions (2008) was employed to provide the central framework for the analysis of the discourse used by the candidates within his campaign speeches.

In the analysis, language plays a crucial role in expressing, changing and particularly reproducing ideologies. Language is not produced in a context-free vacuum, but in discourse contexts that are constructed with the ideology of social systems and institutions. Since language operates within this social dimension, it tends to reflect and construct ideology. Therefore, if we want to know what ideologies are, how they work, and how they are created, changed, and reproduced, we need to investigate their discursive manifestations because discursive practices are embedded in social structures, which are mostly constructed, validated, naturalized, evaluated and legitimized in and through language i.e., discourse. CDA is an appropriate method for the detection of biased and manipulative language, and can be used as a powerful device for deconstructing the texts to come up with their intended ideologies.

Atiku portrayed in his campaign speech, his ideology of commitment to hard work, and acquaintance with governance such that the principle and the ideology he exhibited to succeed as a businessman, he will translate it, if voted into power to propel the ship of governance to 'get Nigeria working again'. Atiku used abstraction to send his message home to his teaming supporters, he saw Nigeria as a dead machine that had been vandalized and needed to be worked on, so as to make it function again.

In the analysis of the texts, social actors were identified by the candidate through the use of names. Eg. *Chief Olusegun Obasanjo,* using honorific title. The use of this title in the names symbolizes power which is inherent in CDA. Similarly, in some instances the actors are excluded to depict the ideology of 'us; and 'them'.

Social actors' role was also represented in the texts through their actions. Their actions were presented through the

use of material process, relational process and mental process, a sub-division of process types. Atiku identified process types in the word **belief,** which is a mental process. This portrays that, he has the conviction and feeling of success to take the country to the **'next level'**. He says; *I believe in policies. A promise is an indication to do a future action.* His believe is not bound to now, but also the future to build a great nation.

Atiku is seeking power as a president, he has to defend his social action, while also offering a vision of the future that reassures Nigerians of a better tomorrow. It was observed that, these **plans** of Atiku that he assures Nigerians are actions that are different from that of his opponent. The **plan** is not only for the youths, the elderly too. These his **plans** are said to be distinct as he touches what the opposition could not touch, the *'plan to restructure Nigeria'*. Atiku used this technique to capture the minds of the southerners to sway them vote for him. The PDP candidate used **'my plan'** repeatedly for emphasis, for two reasons, first, to assure his voters have confidence in him, and secondly, to put straight to the electorates that he is in action, he can do the work, and cannot fail them.

In the representation of social action within Atiku's discourse, the social action of *'plan'* and *'policies* 'that depicts his

ideology are utilized to construe a context within Atiku's text for augmenting his role as a leader that has already been tested and trusted by Nigerians. Also, as a business tycoon, he needs to bring to the fore his ideology of commitment and service to the nation.

The study further shows that pronominal items like **'I', 'We'** and **'My'** are deictic references for projecting different ideological positions in political campaign speeches. **'I'** can also be used to show the privileged class and the less privileged others. The use of these pronominal items allows politicians to identify with the electorate, play down on their authority and, thus, give room for no imposition.

CONCLUSION

It could be concluded that politics is a game that can be successfully played through a skillful manipulation of language to project ideological positions that do not always square up with the realities of the day. On a final note, it is important to remark that politicians take advantage of the literacy level of the majority of the electorate as well as the bread mentality of the poor masses to manipulate their thinking and decision on who to vote for, especially in presidential elections. Since the language of politicians during campaigns have and ideological undertone, the masses are been deceived through the use of language.

It is significant too, to note that Critical Discourse Analysis is an important analytical tool for the study of campaign speeches in Nigeria. Its provisions as a theoretical framework contain necessary features for demystifying ideological positions that are embedded in linguistic strategies with hidden intentions. It is hoped that further research in the field will help to produce results that will be more rewarding. The study also, concludes that, most of the presidential election candidates in Nigeria make use of their election campaign speeches as tools not only for gaining support but also for establishing, maintaining and sustaining power and power relations in Nigeria.

Finally, while political discourse may be expected to present the opposition as less than ideal and it may be understood that politicians utilize misrepresentation of facts and situations within society for political advantage, there is little indication that Nigerians are aware of how acutely language patterns can manipulate linguistic elements to facilitate cognitive perspectives that are amendable for representation which works towards altering and reproducing not only ideological positions, but identity itself.

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Appendice

Let's Get Nigeria Moving Again

Alhaji Atiku Abubakar's Speech

November 19, 2018

Today, I am formally presenting myself to you as the presidential candidate of not just the PDP but of the hopes and aspirations of all Nigerians.

The most important question in this election is: "Are you better off than you were four years ago? Are we richer or poorer?" That is why our primary focus is on getting Nigeria working again

I am strongly of the view that I am just one Nigerian and one Nigerian cannot be as wise as all Nigerians. That is why I will offer an inclusive leadership.

Too often, Nigerians have been promised better governance by those seeking their votes. Such individuals have preyed on the legitimate desires of our people for their conditions to be improved, that they make all sorts of promises.

I am not one for making grandiose promises. Rather than promises, I believe in policies. A promise is an indication to do a future action. A policy is a plan to achieve future goals.

As the International Monetary Fund stated very recently, it is the failure of this government to have a coherent and comprehensive set of policies combined with poor leadership that has led to its failure to deliver.

Over the last 18 months, I have worked with the best experts Nigeria has to offer to come up with policies and plans that when implemented will get Nigeria going in the right direction again.

I am not talking about what I can do. I am talking of what I have done before. I was Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria from 1999 to 2007 and in that time, I chaired the National Economic Council that gave Nigeria her highest and most consistent GDP growth of over 6% per annum.

Despite the fact that crude oil prices at that time were much lower than they are today, under the dynamic leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo, we paid off Nigeria's entire foreign debt.

We also introduced the GSM revolution that saw Nigeria go from 100,000 phone lines to over 100 million today. We were able to achieve these, and much more, because we had a plan.

That plan worked and today I have the pleasure of unveiling our policies and strategies to take Nigeria from where she is now, to where she needs to be.

My plan will give Nigerian workers a living wage. My plan will give Nigeria's youth a world-class education.

My plan will cater for the elderly, so our people are not afraid of growing old. My plan will invest in our failing infrastructure.

But above all, my plan will help create jobs because in my many travels across our great nation the one consistent thing I hear wherever I am is that our people need jobs.

Today we will begin the process of sharing our policies that form my plan to create jobs, restructure the polity, and Get Nigeria Working Again.

If elected President, I will be pro-active in attracting investments and supporting the 50 million small and medium scale enterprises across Nigeria for the purpose of doubling the size of our Gross Domestic Product to US$900 billion by 2025.

These investments will create a minimum of 2.5 million jobs annually and lift at least 50 million people from poverty in the first 2 years.

My team and I will also help create jobs by innovating flagship programmes such as the National Open Apprenticeship Programme through which we shall enhance the capacity of Master-Craftsmen and women to train 1,000,000 new apprentices every year.

Our National Innovation Fund and SME Venture Capital Fund initiatives will provide stable and sustainable long-term support to aspiring entrepreneurs.

My plan to restructure Nigeria will lead to a vast increase in the Internally Generated Revenue both for the Federal Government and the states via the matching grants that we will provide to state governments that increase their own revenue.

Let me be clear no state will receive less funding than they get today – in fact all will receive more and the harder a state works the more they will get.

Thank you for watching and listening. May God bless you and may God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

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