

Review

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

¹Suu'omany Samuel Cletus and ²Wada Richard Sylvester

¹Adamawa State Polytechnic Yola. Corresponding author 's E-mail: suuomanys@gmail.com Tel. +2348077537111

²Adamawa State Polytechnic Yola. E-mail: wadarichard@gmail.com

Accepted 20 June 2022

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 votersto 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

Cite This Article As: Suu'omany, S. C., Wada, R.S. (2022). Critical Discourse Analysis of Atiku Abubakar's 'Let's Get Nigeria Moving Again' 2019 Presidential Campaign Speech. *Inter. J. Eng. Lit. Cult.* 10(2): 36-44

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 Kombein Sharndama (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).

Objectives of the Study

This study focused on the Critical Discourse Analysis of Atiku Abubakar'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 the 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 *backgrounding*. *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. The importance 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 Dijk 15-16). 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 Fairclough. 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 evokes a 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 a 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.

REFERENCES

- Aman, Idris. and Rosniah Mustaffa (2006). "Classroom Discourse of Malay Language Lesson: A Critical Discourse Analysis" *Jurnal e- Bangi*. Jilid 1, Bilangan, vol., 1, no.1, July-25. pp. 2-23.
- Anifowose, W (2008). *Politics and Ideology*. LINCOM GmbH: 23: 45-78.
- Arema, Bolaji. (2009). *An Introduction To English Sentences*. SCRIBO Publication Limited: p. 10.
- Bayram, Fatih (2010). 'Ideology and political Discourse: a Critical Discourse Analysis of Erdogan's political speech' *ARECLS*, vol, 7, no. 12: 23
- Bourdieu, O (1997). *Ideology in Discourse*. Sage.
- Cameron, D (2001). *Working with Spoken Discourse*. Sage.
- Chilton, P. and Schaffer, C (2005). 'Discourse and politics.' *Discourse as Social Interaction*. edited by T. van Dijk, Vol. 2, no. 4, Sage: 20- 31.
- Fairclough, Norman (2009). Editor. *Language and Power*. Pearson Education.
- Opeibi, Babatunde O (2010). *Discourse, Politics and the 1993 Presidential Election campaigns in Nigeria*. Nouvelle Communications Ltd: pp. 34.
- Van Dijk, T (1998). 'Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis.' *Discourse and Society*, vol.4, no.2.
- Van Leeuwen, T(2009). 'The Representation of Social Actors.' Caldas-Coulthard, C. R., and Coulthard M., editors. *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Routledge,

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.