

IDEOLOGIES IN PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI'S INAUGURAL SPEECH

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Abstract

Ideology has a significant impact on the characteristics and behaviours of leaders. It is the vehicle through which we can comprehend our leaders, and they can understand us. This paper reveals the ideological dimensions embedded in President Muhammadu Buhari's speech, mainly his Inaugural Speech delivered in 2015. It is carried out using a Critical Discourse Analysis technique. Van Dijk's (2004) Political Ideological Strategies and Wodak's (2005) Discursive Strategies of Positive Self- and Negative Other-Presentation were incorporated to achieve the study's goal. The findings showed that Van Dijk's actor description, positive self-presentation, and negative other-presentation methods, as well as Wodak's chosen strategies of argumentation and perspectivation, were helpful in delving into the ideologies embedded in Buhari's speech. Five strategies proved to be beneficial devices in exploring the fundamentally embedded ideologies in Buhari's discourse: "Nigerian nationalism" and "nation's betrayal". Nigerian nationalism was the ideological foundation of Buhari to reform and rebuild the country. In contrast, the betrayal of the homeland and the nation was the ideological foundation of the People's Democratic Party, Boko Haram, and the Niger Delta militias. Therefore, it could be perceived that the social acts of both the in-group and the out-group were formed and structured in terms of these two ideological foundations.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, Ideology, Political discourse, Muhammadu Buhari.

Introduction

It is difficult to define "ideology" because it is an unfamiliar word to most living languages. It is derived from Latin and consists of *ideo* meaning thought and *logy* meaning science, so it is the science of thought or ideas. Faris (2016) agrees that defining the term ideology, which is considered one of the more contentious problems in philosophy and sociology, is difficult. Similarly, Woodak (2005) believes that ideology is one of the most challenging terms for opinions and beliefs. It is said that the party that does not have an ideology is an independent opportunist party for influence and power. Van Dijk considers ideology one of the thorniest terms in opinions and beliefs. This term remains ambiguous and unstable; Researchers must acknowledge the ambiguity of this idea and the confusion of its theoretical analysis (Van Dijk, 1998c). Van Dijk proposes the concept of ideology as the basic cognitive beliefs that underlie the social representations in which members of a group participate. Members of their group and these beliefs shape their discourse and other social practices. Thus he sees that ideologies and discourse can be linked, the ways in which these ideologies are reproduced (discursively), as well as how group members represent and reproduce their social situation and conditions in their social perceptions and discourses (Van Dijk, 2004).

Political discourse, according to some linguists, is primarily ideological. For example, Van Dijk (1998) considers political speech more than a genre. Instead, it is a genre that encompasses a wide range of political activities; each activity is viewed as a genre. Parliamentary debates, cabinet meetings, politician speeches, and party conferences and programs are all instances of different genres associated with the sphere of politics on this premise. He

believes that political discourse is not limited to political beliefs but also includes ideologies like ecology, feminism, and racism, as well as ideologies that are believed to be part of political ideologies but are not strictly political. Political discourse, he claims, is a vehicle through which politicians legitimize and implement their many identities; as a result, they can be found discussing conservatism or liberalism, feminism or anti-feminism, racism or anti-racism.

Van Dijk (2004) believes that ideologies exist not only among the dominating group but also among the dominated, whose ideologies are typically ones of resistance and opposition. On this premise, it is possible to conclude that ideologies represent social groupings, classes, or communities' interests. As a result, in the context of the current study, the term ideology is examined in terms of the ideologies stressed in the dominant group's discourse, as exemplified by Muhammadu Buhari's speech. The current work promotes Van Dijk's (2004) and Wodak's (2005) perspectives on ideological beliefs, which are examined in further depth in section 3.

Research Objectives

After reviewing the literature on "ideology" in African leaders' discourse, it was discovered that this area lacks proper research and is still a source of disagreement and discussion. Based on this perspective, the current research is a critical effort to investigate the underlying discursive ideologies in Muhammadu Buhari's discourse. He is an African political leader who built his iconicity as one of the most important global figures through the beliefs, values, and attitudes he shared with his people and communicated to them. Even though there has been extensive research on this leader, most of which has focused on his early life, personal characters, leadership, ideals, charisma, and presidency, there has been very little research on the linguistic insights of his discourse, namely his discursively ideological attitudes. As a result, this research aims to look at the ideological attitudes encoded in his speech from a linguistic standpoint, focusing on His Inaugural Speech.

Related Literature

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken words to reveal power, domination, oppression, solidarity, and ideology discursive practices (Johnstone, 2008). Awareness of communication would be raised via rigorous research of the interconnections between discourse and sociocultural activities, resulting in more understanding, tolerance, and fewer issues (Tanko, et al, 2021). According to Wodak (2007), CDA is unique in two ways: the link between language and society and the relationship between analyses and the social activities being studied. As a result, the CDA technique is used in this study to highlight the underlying ideologies that were both created and are constituted by Buhari's discourse. Fairclough's (1989) CDA approach has been incorporated as a theoretical framework for the entire study to explore ideology that goes beyond the linguistic perspective.

1. Description

This level is concerned with showcasing the text's formal features. The formal aspects of speech, such as vocabulary, textual structure, and grammar, are studied by the critical discourse analyst at this stage.

2. Interpretation

The link between text and discourse analysis is addressed in this step. The interpreter's underlying information is used to develop dialectical interpretations.

3. Explanation

This stage aims to describe discourse as a social practice or process, demonstrating how the interplay between discourse and social systems is shaped.

Van Dijk (2001, 1998) claims that ideologies are manifested in the activities of persons who interact in society as members of social groupings. As a result, various forms of dominance can be seen among numerous groups of members. Men may discriminate against women, black people may be dominated by white people, the poor may be ostracized and neglected by the wealthy, and the elderly may be ignored and marginalized by the young. Text and speech are expected to penetrate these many forms of discrimination. Ideologies are imprinted not only in verbal acts but also in nonverbal activities such as gestures, facial expressions, and so on. As a result of interactions between various ethnic, racial, religious, and political groups, each group's underlying beliefs emerge. In such a situation, the dominant group members may be deprived of their basic rights, such as social security, basic daily living, jobs, well-being, homeownership, access to education, expression of thought, etc. What is essential to realize at this point is that all forms of discrimination are embodied in the discourse.

A group's members are defined by specific social actions and attitudes, as well as mental models. They form the in-group, which Van Dijk (1998, 2004) and Wodak (2005) define as a model of cohesiveness, coordination, and cooperation. Identifying the in-group logically leads to identifying the out-group, which is distinguished by its own social representations and, hence, ideologies. Van Dijk (1998, 2004) and Wodak (2005) feel that social representations between groups should be used to account for ideological speech. Fairclough (1995), Van Dijk (1998, 2004), and Wodak (2005) see political discourse as a form of social activity and social representation.

Discourse, ideology, and politics are all intertwined, according to Van Dijk (2004), and both politics and ideologies are discursive. Ideologies significantly impact politics, particularly in defining political entities (systems, organizations, movements). Fairclough (1995), Wodak (2008), and Van Dijk (2004) consider emphasizing our good things and de-emphasizing our negative things and their positive things as a tactic for expressing underlying beliefs in political discourse. Van Dijk (2004) proposes several ideological analysis strategies. They can be used to examine racist and anti-racist ideology in speeches delivered by specific members of the British House of Commons. According to Van Dijk (2004), these methods are not confined to racist or anti-racist ideas; they may be applied to various ideologies. They are employed in this study to reveal the underlying beliefs in Muhammadu Buhari's political speeches. However, it should be noted that not all of them are acceptable for analyzing the ideologies under consideration since Van Dijk (2004) developed some of them to be particularly relevant to the subject of immigrants seeking asylum in the United Kingdom. As a result, pragmatically inapplicable techniques to the research of ideologies in the speeches under inquiry were removed from the current study, leaving only those that are pragmatically relevant to the nature of ideologies inherent in the discourse under investigation. It is expressed as:

a. Actor Description:

This method refers to the various sorts of actor descriptions that appear in all discussions of people and their actions. Actors are classified as members of a group or as individuals in conversation. The initial name, the family name, the group name, or the group's role are used to describe them. They can also be described in their activities, characteristics, status, or relationships with others. Discourses describe and assess actors in terms of ideology. Because positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation are common ideological approaches in discourse, in-group individuals are described positively while out-group members are described negatively.

b. Negative-Other Presentation:

It is a broad strategy centred on the marginalization of out-groups. It is ideologically motivated because people are typically divided into in-group and out-group categories based on socially shared views and attitudes. Based on this belief, speakers invoke the out-group's negative characteristics and possessions.

c. Positive Self- Presentation:

It's an entirely ideological technique that focuses on defining, praising, and preferring the in-group. This method can be used individually, when the speaker stresses his favourable attributes or accomplishments, or collectively when the speaker promotes the positive characteristics of his group, which could be his own political party or country. This method also includes references made by speakers when discussing their values, history, and traditions.

For ideological analysis, Wodak (2005) proposes five categories of discursive techniques. Discursive strategy refers to systematic approaches to language use that can be used to achieve various goals, including social, political, psychological, and linguistic ones (Wodak2005). Discursive tactics, she claims, are involved in the production of "Us" and "Them", and they are founded on the development of positive self- and negative other-presentation:

a. Referential Nomination:

This method aims to create in-groups and out-groups within the organization. This strategy's key tool is membership categorization.

b. Predication:

The goal of this method is to negatively or favourably label social actors. In-group individuals are clearly described favourably, while out-group members are described negatively. As a result, this strategy's device evaluates attributions of negative or good attributes.

c. Argumentation:

This method aims to validate or justify positive or negative attributions. This strategy's device is to justify political inclusion or exclusion.

d. Perspectivation:

The goal of this method is to convey the speaker's involvement. Reporting, describing, narrating, or citing events and utterances is a device used in this method.

e. Intensification or Mitigation:

This strategy's goal is to determine if the statements are stated clearly or implicitly and whether they are enhanced or mitigated. The devices used in this method are designed to increase or decrease the volume of utterances.

Only Wodak's (2005) methods of Argumentation and Perspectivation are used in this study because her strategies of Referential nomination, Prediction, and Intensification or mitigation overlap with Van Dijk's (2004) political-ideological analysis tactics. The theoretical basis of this investigation is Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989)

Ideological Political Strategies (Van Dijk, 2004) · Actor Description · Negative- Other Presentation · Positive Self-Presentation

Discursive Strategies of Positive Self and Negative Other-Presentation (Wodak, 2005) · Argumentation · Perspectivation

Methodology

This study aims to show how discourse, ideology, and politics are all intertwined. It's qualitative and based on the norms of Critical Discourse Analysis as a data analysis method. The current paper is oriented towards a selection of material that can be done manually and has been a qualitative study including largely non-statistical approaches to data analysis (Faris, 2016). In this study, the unit of analysis is words, phrases, clauses, sentences, and the complete speech act in relation to the total speech circumstance. According to Tanko (2021), discourse analysis is an attempt to investigate how language might be absorbed in various social circumstances. It is expected to decode the meaning of the words, phrases, and clauses that make up a sentence and move beyond the confines of the sentence to address the entire text to the outside world.

The analytical framework for the ideological analysis was constituted of Van Dijk's (2004) Political Ideological Strategies and Wodak's Discursive Strategies of Positive Self- and Negative-Other Presentation. Meaning relations (of synonymous and antonymous nouns and adjectives), which are predictive and reflective in all types of discourse (Fairclough, 1989), were accommodated in this study as helpful linguistic strategies to expose the ideologies encoded in the speech under examination. The examination of these devices in the speech in question is shown in Table 2 in the Conclusion.

The principal criterion for data gathering was to select a speech delivered during a pivotal and memorable point in Nigerian history. Accordingly, the study's sampling is drawn from President Buhari's inaugural address in 2015. The main message of this speech, which had a profound impact on the social and political life of the Nigerian people, was the call to change the poor condition of the country, especially the high rate of insecurity. The political confusion and the unstable economic situation of the country were the basic demands of the citizens. It is available at (<https://nairametrics.com/2015/05/29/official-full-transcript-of-president-muhammadu-buharis-inauguration-speech>).

Results and Discussion

Excerpts from Buhari's speech are evaluated and discussed in terms of ideological (Actor Description, Positive self-presentation, Negative other-presentation) and discursive (Argumentation and Perspectivation) techniques.

Ideological Strategies and Actor Description

Example 1

58 *With depleted foreign reserves, falling oil prices, leakages and debts the Nigerian economy is in deep trouble and will require careful management to bring it round and to tackle the immediate challenges confronting us, namely; Boko Haram, the Niger Delta situation, the power shortages and unemployment especially among young people.*

67 *Boko Haram is a typical example of small fires causing large fires.*

68 *An eccentric and unorthodox preacher with a tiny following was given posthumous fame and following by his extra judicial murder at the hands of the police.*

69 *Since then through official bungling, negligence, complacency or collusion Boko Haram became a terrifying force taking tens of thousands of lives and capturing several towns and villages covering swathes of Nigerian sovereign territory.*

In this excerpt, Buhari gives a concrete description of the insecurity and economic situation before he was elected as president. The fact that two cross groups may be found in this extract is noteworthy. The newly elected administration represents one group, and Boko Haram and Niger Delta militias make up the second category. Buhari uses the pronoun "us" in line 58 to try to polarize his audience. Using this pronoun can assist the speaker to generate a sense of unified interaction with his receivers, and it can help both the speaker and the receivers commit to achieving their goals. Allen (2007) discovered this when he looked into how two Australian politicians, John Howard and John Lathan, used the pronouns "Us" and "Them" during their election campaign speeches. The study's findings revealed that the use of these two pronouns demonstrated the two leaders' political inclusion and exclusion, as well as their intentions. According to Van Dijk (1998), politicians use the tactic of Us and Them as a representation of polarized cognition.

Buhari employs the strategy of "vagueness" (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 84) to assert a high degree of legitimacy and objectivity when attempting to disclose inhuman behaviours by the out-group, as in "small fires" in line 67, "a tiny following was" in line 68. In this excerpt, Buhari refers to the incident of the Boko Haram insurgency that began in 2009. It was the year that the first Boko Haram uprising failed, and its leader, Muhammad Yusuf, was extra-judicially murdered at the hands of the police. Then after killing him, the militias became more aggressive and began to seize large areas in northeastern Nigeria. Violence escalated dramatically in 2014, with many people killed, while Boko Haram significantly expanded its territory. At the same time, the militias spread to neighbouring Cameroon, Chad, and Niger, thus becoming a major regional conflict (Osumah, 2014).

To demonstrate his sense of authenticity and correctness, Buhari uses the term Boko Haram more than ten times in the current discourse. The sentences are: 21, 58, 62, 64, 65, 67, 69, and sentence 70. The manipulation of repetition is an integral part of strengthening his arguments because they are used to defend the facts. Moreover, employing it makes it easier for him to direct his audience to the arguments he intends to present. According to Simpson and Mayr (2010), it is a language tactic used in political discourse whereby politicians ask their listeners to infer meaning and make assumptions while delivering information.

In sentence 58, Buhari also mentions an armed group in the Niger Delta that arose in the early 1990s due to tensions between international oil firms and various ethnic minorities in the region, mainly the Ogoni and Ijaw, who believe they are being exploited. Despite the advent of democracy in 1999, ethnic and political instability persisted throughout the 1990s. The conflict fueled inter-ethnic violence, causing violence in the oil industry to be hit by piracy and kidnappings (Courson, 2009). Nigeria suffered a dramatic increase in piracy off its coast in October 2012, surpassing Somalia as Africa's most pirate-prone country. Niger Delta militias were responsible for most of the attacks, which continue to occur on a semi-regular basis. It kidnapped approximately 20 ships and over 40 sailors and killed a number of oil employees. Militant organizations in the Niger Delta have kidnapped more than 200 foreigners, kidnapped foreign employees of oil firms, assaulted and blown up pipelines, and kidnapped foreign employees of oil corporations. Malaysian, Iranian, Thai, and other international sailors have been kidnapped (Ogbonnaya, 2013). Pipeline attacks became prevalent during the Niger Delta armed insurrection. Still, they ceased after the government declared on June 26, 2009 that it would award militants an unconditional amnesty for 60 days, beginning August 6, 2009, and ending October 4, 2009. Armed youths were asked to hand over their weapons to the government in exchange for training and rehabilitation, and militants led their groups to hand over weapons such as rocket-propelled grenades, rifles, explosives, and ammunition, as well as gunboats, to the government during the 60 days (Osumah, 2014). Even though the program has been expanded and continues to this day, the rebellion has mostly gone unanswered.

Unfortunately, following the amnesty, an armed group revealed its existence and initiated attacks on oil and gas production facilities in various locations, resulting in the closure of oil terminals and the lowest oil output level in Nigeria in twenty years. Nigeria has fallen behind Angola as Africa's greatest oil producer due to the attacks. Given that Nigeria depends on the oil industry for all or almost all of its government revenue, the drop in oil production has wrecked the Nigerian economy and destroyed its budget. In phrase 58, Muhammad Buhari uses the pronoun (us) to try to entice his listeners. It's possible that using this pronoun will help him blend in with his audience. He also tries to prove that he and his audience agree that the Boko Haram insurgency, Niger Delta militia, unemployment challenges, particularly among the youth, and the power shortages are the most pressing

issues they confront. Buhari emphasizes using the polarized form of "us" to build unity and cohesion among his people and foster a sense of wholeness in them, as evidenced in sentences such as in 26, 47, 58, 85.

Positive Self-Presentation

Example 2

24 *Insecurity, pervasive corruption, the hitherto unending and seemingly impossible fuel and power shortages are the immediate concerns.*

26 *Nigerians will not regret that they have entrusted national responsibility to us.*

27 *We must not succumb to hopelessness and defeatism.*

28 *We can fix our problems.*

Buhari attempts to deepen the relations between him and the masses and maintain the flesh-and-blood ties between the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the masses. Buhari, in this extract, is interested in presenting a positive description of the in-group (new administration) and appears to be so proud of the victories they have made (see line 26 "Nigerians ... national responsibility to us"). According to Van Dijk (2001), ideologies are manifested when there is a polarization of thinking, opinions, or conversation. Prejudiced discourse, which is marked by positive self-presentation, arises during this polarization process.

In an endeavour to adhere to the masses, Buhari utilizes the strategy of self-glorification (Van Dijk, 2004, p.21) in lines 27, 28, "We must not...defeatism", "We... problems", he seeks to persuade his audience that he and his party are committed to the Nigerian people and can solve the country's problems. Buhari believes that using the term "Nigerians" is more inclusive, encompassing all nationalities and ethnicities, and a more focused application of national behaviour, similar to how citizenship is the foundation of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and that all of this is a framework based on radical ingenuity rather than Elite arrangement.

In sentence 33, Buhari outlines the central goal of the All Progressives Congress (APC) in adopting the philosophy of "Nigerian nationalism," which is the principles of their forefathers, the country's founders, and which obligated them to rebuild and improve what they built. Against this backdrop, the word "reform", "rebuild", "tackle", "fix", "improve", "upgrade" is frequently employed by Buhari in the discourse under consideration, as evidenced by sentences 25, 28, 41, 44, 59, 60.

Positive Self-Presentation

Example 3

87 *Unemployment, notably youth un-employment, features strongly in our Party's Manifesto.*

88 *We intend to attack the problem frontally through revival of agriculture, solid minerals mining as well as credits to small and medium size businesses to kick – start these enterprises.*

89 *We shall quickly examine the best way to revive major industries and accelerate the revival and development of our railways, roads and general infrastructure.*

According to (Farzana, 2019), most plural personal pronouns denote totalitarianism, reflecting solidarity and unity with the entire country. In contrast, a political party representative using the pronoun "we" usually means expressing competence and hard work as a group. While these pronouns act as a strategy Polarizing for the Positive Self-Presentation, he employs the term "they" to distance himself from the Negative Other-Presentation. Meanwhile, the pronoun "we" confronts itself by blaming the 'other,' resulting in a Negative Other-Presentation.

As one of the ideological methods of Positive Self-Presentation, Buhari uses tropes in this excerpt to bestow self-glorification and positive self- Presentation on his party and those who belong to his group and emphasizes competence and confidence to work hard to bring relief to the Nigerian people and to eliminate unemployment, especially among the youth. Thus, he constantly relies on this apparatus to build a positive self-image when he says, "We intend to ..." to create polarization between him and his masses and attempts to generalize his victory over this confrontation as a victory for the whole nation. Moreover, he clarifies his movements as favourable to the national interest by the revival of agriculture, key industries, railway development, solid mineral mining and granting loans to small and medium-sized enterprises.

Negative Other-Presentation

Example 4

82 *No single cause can be identified to explain Nigerian's poor economic performance over the years than the power situation.*

83 *It is a national shame that an economy of 180 million generates only 4,000MW, and distributes even less.*

84 *Continuous tinkering with the structures of power supply and distribution and close on \$20b expanded since 1999 have only brought darkness, frustration, misery, and resignation among Nigerians.*

85 *We will not allow this to go on.*

As part of the negative other-presentation, Buhari is involved in talking about the problem of power generation and distribution, which is attributed to it as a reason for the poor performance of the national economy (see line 82). Buhari endeavours to describe the betrayal of responsibility of the outgoing administration. To emphasize his negative views on power extension and distribution structures, he uses the adjective "poor", "shame", "darkness", "frustration", "misery", "resignation" repetitively in the speech. It can be seen in lines 82, 83 and 84. Moreover, Buhari uses a game of numbers and hard facts that seem credible to prove his argument and justify his claim, such as an "economy of 180 million", "only 4,000MW", and "\$20b expanded since 1999". It can also be seen that Buhari, in the above example, shed light on the problem of generation and distribution of power supply and its impact on the Nigerians, which caused the frustration, misery and hardships of the citizens. The indirect message being conveyed to the public is that the outgoing administration has betrayed its responsibility and that his government will address all challenges.

Argumentation

Example 5

70 *Boko Haram is a mindless, godless group who are as far away from Islam as one can think of.*

71 *At the end of the hostilities when the group is subdued the Government intends to commission a sociological study to determine its origins, remote and immediate causes of the movement, its sponsors, the international connexions to ensure that measures are taken to prevent a recurrence of this evil.*

In this excerpt, as a leader, Buhari provides his listeners with two underlying arguments for fighting the Boko Haram insurgency. First: It distances the Boko Haram movements from their well-known religious affiliation, and it cannot be said that they belong to Islam because Islam is a religion of peace, security, safety and affection, equality and friendship, brotherhood and human compassion, love and compassion. It is not the relationship and the spatial link between Islam, terrorism, monks, fanaticism, extremism, subversion and sectarian anarchy. Likewise, Islam has no opportunity for sedition and corruption, catastrophe and violence, suicide, fanaticism, inferiority complex, hatred and envy. As evidenced in sentence 70, "Boko Haram is a mindless...". He believes that the sect is made up of reckless people who cannot be said to practice Islam. This justification reveals that Buhari has a high self-awareness and social awareness level. According to Twain (2014), self-awareness is an

approach for determining one's strengths and limitations. This method can assist an individual in overcoming his or her weaknesses while also allowing him or her to influence others positively. On the other hand, social awareness refers to a person's ability to comprehend others. Buhari seems to have realized the reality of Boko Haram's movements, as he is trying to legitimize their movements and exclude them from Islam and religious beliefs. Although the militants of Boko Haram claim Islam, in fact, they are not practising Islam at all; Because her actions violate the guidance of Islamic law and violate any religious beliefs, but rather a sound mind. And since it is destroying mosques, temples, markets, hospitals, universities, colleges, schools, and public properties, killing tens of thousands of innocent people, usurping unaware chaste women, and so on, as it appears in sentence 69.

The second justification is the government's refusal to fulfill its responsibility against the Boko Haram rebellion and the insecurity situation in the country. As described by Buhari that the issue needs a sociological study to determine its origins and reasons for its movement to prevent its recurrence (sentence 71). For him, the outgoing administration should have known the danger of insecurity on the ground but failed to do so. He criticizes the government's fight against the rebels as not bringing about a positive change. He describes the rebels as a little spark and its pioneer as an eccentric and few followers in sentences 67,68. It can be seen that Buhari is showing himself as a strategic leader whose administration will have clear strategies to deal with.

Perspectivation

Example 6

47 Elsewhere relations between Abuja and the States have to be clarified if we are to serve the country better.

48 Constitutionally there are limits to powers of each of the three tiers of government but that should not mean the Federal Government should fold its arms and close its eyes to what is going on in the states and local governments.

49 Not least the operations of the Local Government Joint Account.

50 While the Federal Government can not interfere in the details of its operations it will ensure that the gross corruption at the local level is checked.

51 As far as the constitution allows me I will try to ensure that there is responsible and accountable governance at all levels of government in the country.

It is clear that Buhari seeks to report a succession of crucial instances in the address under scrutiny. He appears to take great care in relaying accurate and positive information on the federal government's and states' policies. According to Faris (2016), the term "report" can refer to any informational effort that is aimed to restate or reconsider particular events or realities in a concrete presentable form. Reports are significant, according to Faris (2016), since they are capable of displaying the outcomes of one's own experiment or inquiry, provided that the elements of credibility, neutrality, verification, and accuracy are present. To bring credibility and evoke the emotional fabric of his masses, in the excerpt above, President Buhari reassures citizens by saying that he is committed to developing relations in all aspects between all levels of government in the country.

Buhari portrays as strong an assertion about the future as possible. In sentence 50, he explicitly articulates his vision for the country by pledging to get it back on the right track to deliver good governance. In sentence 51, Buhari again moves to use the masculine singular pronoun as he introduces himself as the leader of the country "I will try to have responsible governance" to promise to create good governance subject to the issue of corruption at every level of government. President Buhari's positive self-presentation is reflected in this setting, as he portrays himself as part of a group that serves citizens in numerous ways. Buhari tries to focus on telling the facts, but rather on creating participation through these facts, especially those that should attract the attention of the masses and reassure the decisions made by Buhari that may change their social and political reality.

Conclusion

After attentively examining the speech under examination, it became clear that it was centered on two opposing ideologies: Nigerian nationalism and betrayal of the homeland and nation. Nigerian nationalism served as Muhammadu Buhari's ideological foundation, which he used to conserve ancestral genes while rebuilding and reforming the country. On the other hand, the PDP, Boko Haram, and Niger Delta militias were formed on betrayal of the homeland and nation. The social representation of President Buhari, the People's Democratic Party, Boko Haram and the Niger Delta Militia is manifested in the discourse on the intensification of the bad qualities and characteristics of the out-group (PDP, Boko Haram, Niger Delta Militia) and the emphasis on the good works and characteristics of the in-group (President Buhari and his party). The ideological strategies explained in the discourse under investigation are shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Ideological strategies and techniques in Muhammad Buhari's discourse

| The ideologies contained in Buhari's speech are the ideology of Nigerian nationalism versus betrayal of the homeland and the nation | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|---|
| Buhari's Ideological Strategies and Devices | | | | |
| Actor Description (Identifying the ingroup and the outgroup) | Positive OtherPresentation (In-group Favoritism) | Negative OtherPresentation (Out-group Derogation) | Argumentation (Justification) | Perspectivation (Social and Political exclusion or Inclusion) |
| <p>a. Using repetition to find out the facts and to show a sense of credibility and objectivity.</p> <p>b. Using polarization "we" intensely to marry unity and cohesion with the masses.</p> <p>c. Using ambiguous items such as "small", "large", and "tens of thousands" to reveal his bias to recipients.</p> | <p>a. Using self-glorification to praise the ideologies of Nigerians belonging to his group, the ideology of "Nigerian nationalism," he extols an important role for his party in fixing the country's problems</p> <p>b. Showing a sense of self-glorification by indicating his competence and confidence to work hard</p> | <p>a. Employing the criticism to highlight the losses, hardships and misery that PDP's ideology has caused the Nigerian people</p> <p>b. Using a credible number game to prove his argument and justify his claim</p> | <p>a. Giving justifications for illegalizing of Boko Haram movement</p> <p>b. Developing self and social awareness by confirmation of exclusion of Boko Haram from Islam and religious beliefs.</p> <p>c. Emphasizing the danger of its movements to the country's security, socially and politically</p> | <p>a. Report a series of incidents relating to federal and state capital policies to obtain public participation in accurate and constructive information.</p> <p>b. Utilizing the reporting technique as a tool to capture the</p> |

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--------------------------|
| | | | | attention of the masses. |
|--|--|--|--|--------------------------|

Table 2 Summary of ideological themes in the discourse

| Ideological themes | Analytical techniques |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Reform | Lexical Repetition: Reform (lines 41,42) |
| | Meaning Relations Synonymous Nouns: fix (28), rebuild (35, 41, 81), improve (59, 74), revive (88, 89), development (37, 89), upgrade (61), rehabilitation (79), progress (63), uplift (35), modernize (35). Antonymous Nouns: relief (86), misery (84), light (86), darkness (84). |
| Corruption | Lexical Repetition: corruption (24,45,50), |
| | Meaning Relations Synonymous Nouns: abuse (45, 52), financial crime (22, 45). |
| Boko Haram insurgency | Lexical Repetition: Boko Haram (21,58,62,64,65,67,69,70,72,75s) |
| | Meaning Relations Synonymous Nouns: godless (70), evil (71). |
| Niger Delta Militia Rebellion | Lexical Repetition: Niger Delta (58, 78). |

Two groups of actors can be identified in the discourse under analysis. One group (i.e. the in-group), which Buhari joined and supported, was represented by his party and the citizens who relentlessly sought his election even though they faced harsh and merciless measures from the outgoing government. The second group (i.e. the out-group) was represented by the People's Democratic Party authorities, who sought to abuse the office. To maintain the linguistic and semiotic picture with which to mobilize his receptors, Buhari used the pronoun "we" to emphasize a high sense of merging and unification with numbers manipulated within the group to achieve credibility and reliability. He used ambiguous expressions to indicate bias favouring the group, and he referred to figures of authority to support his information and opinions. Through the strategy of actor description, Buhari produced evidence of the bad traits and actions of the members of the out-group (for example, when he referred to the problems of Nigeria's economy caused by the mismanagement of the outgoing government, by corruption that permeated all levels of government, and the challenges of insecurity due to the armed groups' insurgency).

In an attempt to view the out-group negatively, Buhari highlighted the problem of power generation and distribution and its impact on economic stagnation, frustration, misery and hardships for citizens. It can be admitted that Buhari, through the strategy of negative other-presentation, denounced the ideology of treason of the homeland that echoed the flagrant violation of the rights and dignity of citizens.

Through the strategy of argumentation, Buhari developed a sense of self-awareness, identifying one's attitudes toward weakness and strength, social awareness, and one's ability to understand others while trying to make

justifications for excluding the process of violence from Islam and its people's affiliation with religious beliefs. Buhari showed himself as a pragmatic leader and strategist capable of diagnosing the group's weaknesses and prescribing a remedy for them and advocated a conscious approach to combating the terrorist militancy in which realistic tactics and strategies are adopted. By strategy of argumentation, Buhari emphasized the concept of Islam and terrorism. He seemed to be fully aware of the depth and nature of the Boko Haram movements and their claims to Islam. It was not Islam; because her actions violated the guidance of Islamic Sharia and violated any religious beliefs, but rather a sound mind.

Using the perspective strategy, Buhari reported the details of the incidents to create engagement. The events he mentioned were related to the politics of the federal capital and the states. Reporting them would have helped him strengthen the social fabric of citizens and engage them in their dissatisfaction with the abuse of office going on in state and local governments. In addition to the entanglement that this strategy might produce, reports, as popular a style of speech that includes a high sense of credibility, impartiality, verification, and accuracy may have helped cement the relationship between Buhari and his audiences.

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