DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES IN POLITICAL SPEECH: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED INAUGURAL SPEECHES OF THE 2015 NIGERIA'S GUBERNATORIAL INAUGURALS

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a critical discourse analysis of discursive strategies in political inaugural speeches of six governors of Nigeria selected from the 2015 inaugurals on the 29th May, 2015. Norman Fairlough's *three- dimensional framework* of analysis was adopted as analytical model. The outcome of the analysis revealed the opening remark, the content and the closing remark as common macros structures. All the macro structures contained persuasive messages put across to audience to influence their political thoughts, beliefs and attitudes. The content of the speeches consisted of recurring and motivating topics/themes that were carefully selected to persuade the audience to accept the new government and build hope for the better in it. It was observed that the topics/themes overlap due to the fact that most of them were drawn from the party manifestoes. In addition, the nation's political; security, economic and social challenges as well as the people's needs are similar. The closing remarks were mainly restating of the major issues and policy directives mentioned. The first person pronouns 'we' and 'I' and their variants were used as strategies for expressing political ideologies especially the logic of inclusion and exclusion or self and group reference.

Keywords: Discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis, speech, and inaugural Speech.

INTRODUCTION

Discourse means language put to use for a purpose and discourse analysis refers to the study or investigation of language put to use in a given communicative context. There are various types of discourse defined by the social domain of their creation. Political discourse as one of the varieties of consists of various sub-varieties characterized by subject specific linguistic features. Van Dijk (1998b) postulates that the first observation that needs to be made about political discourse is that it is not a genre, but a class of genre defined by a social domain, namely that of politics. In the same way, scientific discourse, educational discourse and legal discourse represent the classes of discourse genres of the domains of science, education and law, respectively. Thus, government deliberations, parliamentary debates, party programs, and speeches by politicians, are among the many genres that belong to the domain of politics. Chilton & Schaffner(1997) cited in Pu (2007) also posits that what is 'political' is a matter of interpretation, and one focus of attention in Political Discourse Analysis has been a critical reflection on the strategic use of political concepts, or key words for achieving specific political aims. In a similar vein, Al-Faki(2013) describes political discourse as a wide and diverse set of discourses, or genres, or registers, such as: policy papers, ministerial speeches, government press releases or press conferences, parliamentary discourse, party manifestos (or platforms), electoral speeches, and so forth. They are all characterized by the fact that they are spoken or written by (or for) primary political actors—members of the government or the opposition, members of parliament, leaders of political parties, candidates for office. A

political discourse, therefore, is a discourse in any political forum, such as campaigns, parliamentary debates, interviews, speeches, writing and so forth.

Political speech as a sub-genre of political discourse is motivated by the desire to persuade and convince the nation or society and familiarize the audience with their socio-economic policies, plans and actions (Denton & Hahn 1986, and Teittinen 2000 cited in Alo 2012). It is a speech delivered at a political from with the aim of influencing the behavior, attitudes, or political opinions of the general public or target audience. In the words of Uvehammer(2005), the main goal of political speech is to convince the listeners of the speech maker's opinion by choosing the most powerful linguistic devices. Thorne (1997) opines that many people believe language influences thought: therefore if language is manipulated, so are the very processes of thought. In other words, politicians can influence the way we think about the events happening around us and the words they choose are crucial part of the process. Kulo (2009) asserts that successful speakers especially, in political contexts need to appeal to the attitudes and emotions that are already within the listener. When the listeners perceive that their belief are understood and supported, the speaker created connections to the policy that they wish to communicate. When putting forward arguments a speaker has to communicate at an emotional level and take stand points that seem morally correct. Furthermore, the listener must perceive that the arguments are relevant for the issue.

Inaugural speech is a sub-genre of political discourse often presented shortly after swearing in or taking oath of allegiance by elected people into public offices such as president, governors, members of the national assembly etc.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis as a research tool is used in many fields of studies especially in humanities and social sciences. It is an integrated or interdisciplinary approach to the study of language and the society. In the words of Catalano (2011), Critical Discourse Analysis requires an integrated approach at all levels and dimensions, and be multidisciplinary in nature. CDA often encompasses the area of social psychology, history, ethnography, anthropology, sociology and many other disciplines. Fairclough (1993) defines CDA as a form of 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. For van Dijk (1998a), (CDA) a s a field of study 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**.**

This study examines the political discourse as one of the communicative events that often consists of opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination; power and control as manifested in language. The focus of the search light is however on the discursive strategies employed to appeal to the attitudes and emotions of the target audience.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are many theoretical frameworks presented by CDA practitioners. The prominent and widely used ones as highlighted by Rahimi & Riasati (2011) are Fairclough (2003), van Dijk(1997), Hodge and Kress(1993) and van Leeuwen(1996). In the words of Rahimi & Riasati(2011), Fairclough is considered to have contributed to the field of CDA significantly, because he was the first to a create a theoretical framework that provided guidelines for future CDA research. The thrust of his framework is on the belief that language is a complex part of social life. The dialectic relation between language and social reality is realized through social events (texts), social practices (orders of discourse) and social structures (Fairlough, 2003). Fairclough's method tries to make explicit the ideological and power patterns in texts. He provided three-dimensional framework for text analysis which is widely used today in the field of CDA. The three dimensions are:

   (i)   the linguistic *description* of the formal properties of the text;
   (ii)   the *interpretation* of the relationship between the discursive processes/interaction and the text, where text is the end product of a process of text production and as a resource in the process of text interpretation and lastly,
   (iii)   The *explanation* of the relationship between discourse, social and cultural reality.

Fairclough's method of analysis encompasses not only 'what' (discourse features) but also the' how' and 'why' which are based on interpretation and explanation of texts. The need to go beyond 'what' in discourse is based on the assumption that there are certain underlying assumptions behind certain selections. These assumptions are never value-free and innocent; rather they are ideologically driven and motivated. By studying the forms of the language, we can discover the social processes and also the specific ideology embedded in them. This leads to the exploration of power relations that exist in the society or community. He believes in a "hidden agenda"(Rahimi & Riasati 2011)

The framework by Hodge and Kress (1993) has the dichotomous categorization of "euphemism" and "derogatory" thrust. The main focus of a particular vocabulary item will be on its origin of classification, schemes, and ideologically significant relations such as synonyms, antonyms, and hyponyms, relational values and expressive values. To come up with the detection devices for manipulation of realities and ideologies in text by the application of euphemistic and derogatory terms, Hodge and Kress's (1993) model treating "language and ideology" has been the main criterion. It is a "syntagmatic model" made up of the assumptions regarding the interaction of the language, thought, ideology and the classification system which consists of "actionals" and "relationas". In this framework, actional models represent the perceived relationships in the physical world. Actionals are divided more specifically into "transactive" and "non-transactive". Relational models encompass "equative" and "attributive" sections. They are concerned with the classificatory and evaluative systems of the language. Equative models create the relations between nouns while attributive models bring about relations between nouns and qualities. Relationally indicate the consequence of mental activities, suggest judgments, comments, etc. Euphemistic and derogatory words belong to the relational part of this framework and are used as detection devices for recognizing the manipulation of realities and ideas. Ideology, according to Hodge and Kress (1993), involves a systematically organized presentation of reality. The application of different euphemistic or derogatory terms leads to different presentations of realities and therefore ideologies(Rahimi & Riasati (2011).

Van Dijk's (1997) framework provided some illustrations of the categories that he believes to be important in doing CDA studies. He asserts that the main point of the analysis is to show how various ideologies are expressed in various kinds of structures. These structures cannot be presented here because there are hundreds of them.

Van Leeuwen's (1996) Framework is   based on the belief that social actors are influenced by the policies and decisions of powerful organizations which either include or exclude them form the centers of power. He explains the principal ways in which social actors can be represented in discourse. In this view, CDA is the impact of power structures on the production and/or reproduction of knowledge and its effect on identity and subjectivity of the members of the community. Indeed, this is language and discourse in relation with production, reproduction, dissemination, and interpretation of knowledge in line with researchers' arrangement. This frame work according to Rahimi and Riasati(2011) consists of the following:

1. Exclusion (suppression vs. back grounding)
2. Inclusion (Activation vs. passivation, generalization vs. specification, individualization, assimilation, indetermination (anonymous), determination, nomination and categorization, Functionalization and identification, impersonalized social actors, abstraction objectivation

For the purpose of this study, Fairclough's model is adopted because it provides a description and interpretation of discourses in social context and offers an explanation of 'why and how' discourses work. The model attempts to examine both the linguistic features that are explicit-those that can be identified and described in a discourse. The model also offers explanation of the underlying or hidden meanings and ideologies.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The sample texts were drawn from the six geopolitical zones of the country irrespective of party affiliation of the candidates. The six speeches were drawn from the 2015 gubernatorial inaugural speeches. The reason for selecting a state from each of the zones is to give equal representation. The inaugural speeches were chosen because they were delivered under the same period of time (29th May, 2015). The inaugural addresses selected include:
1.Address by His Excellency, Alhaji(Dr.) Ibrahim Gaidam FCNA, FCPA on the occasion of His Inauguration and swearing-in as the Executive Governor of Yobe State at the August 27th Stadium, Damaturu on Friday 29th May, 2015(North- East).
2. Address by His Excellency,RT. HON. Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi on the Occasion of His Inauguration as the Governor of Enugu State at the Okpara Square on May 29th,, 2015(South-East)
3. Address by His Excellency, Ifeanyi Okowa on the Occasion of His Inauguration as the Governor of Delta State On Friday29th May, 2015 at Asaba(South-South).
4. Address by the Governor of Sokoto State, RT,HON. Aminu Waziri Tambuwal, CFR(Mutawallen Sakkwato) at the Occasion of His Inauguration as the Governor of Sokoto State on Friday, 29th May, 2015(North West)
5. Address by His Excellency, Sen.Abiola Ajimobi, at the Occasion of His Inauguration as the Governor of Oyo State at the Obafemi Awolowo Stadium, On May 29th, 2015(South West).

6. Address by His Excellency, Chief (Dr.) Samuel Ioraer Ortom at the Occasion of His Inauguration as the Executive Governor of Benue, on Friday 29th May, 2015(North-Cntral)

The texts in the study corpus were analyzed following Fairclough's three dimensional steps which are linguistic description, interpretation and explanation. The discursive strategies employed by the governors in delivering their inaugural speeches were identified and discussed. These are basic mechanisms deemed as essential tools for persuading the audience to build hope in the ushered -in administration. The text analyzed revealed that the time in which a speech is delivered sharps it. The result of the analysis showed to some extent that the speeches were delivered at a time that almost all the social   and economic sectors of the nation need repositioning or restructuring for the better. As a result, the speeches were full of messages of hope for the people.

Macro Structures

Political discourses have formal structures and linguistic features characterizing them. The analysis of the texts in the corpus revealed three macro structures conveying related or similar information. The first is the opening remark which consists of some speech conventions serving as preliminaries to the major messages forming the content of the speech. The analysis of the opening remarks exhibited welcoming, expressing gratitude and thanking or appreciating the people for the given mandate. Opening remarks are part of the personal or in-group responsibilities. The first person pronouns 'We and I' as well as their variants 'our and me' are common used for expressing the formal obligations of welcoming, appreciating or thanking. The excerpt below is an example.

> I stand before you today humbled by the combination of factors that have brought me to this profound moment. I wish to first and foremost express my profound gratitude to Allah (SWT), who controls all that transpires in the worlds. We thank Him for His continued Blessings and guidance in our endeavours (governor Aminu Waziri Tambuwal's opening remark)

> I stand before you today, acutely aware that I am standing at the threshold of history. I stand before you, humbled by that same history, the history of our 39 – year- old state and evergreen story of the labour our heroes past in the old western region. 1 stands before, humbled by your resilient patriotism and abiding faith in me in the April 11 election. I am eternally grateful that you rose above the massive hate and smear campaigns designed to demonize our huge sacrifices and achievements of the past four years.(governor Abiola Ajimobi's opening remark).

The above excerpts depict that welcoming, appreciating/thanking are obligatory aspects of inaugural speeches. The first person pronoun 'we and 'I' are used by inaugural speech makers to express these obligations. In the first excerpt, the speech maker used the first person pronoun 'I' and its variant 'my' for self–reference and expression of personal gratitude and responsibility. However, he used the in-group pronoun 'we' to thank Allah. In this way, he represented both himself and a group he belongs to. The speech maker in the second excerpt used the personal pronoun 'I' to make self-reference in order to express personal responsibility. This is evident because the use of the pronoun 'you' distance him from the audience but used 'our' to still identify with the group '' **I** am eternally grateful that

you rose above the massive hate and smear campaigns designed to demonize **our** huge sacrifices and achievements of the past four years.''

The second macro structure is the content; which is commonly referred to in writing tasks such as essays and letters as the body. The analysis revealed different recurring themes or topics drawn from issues affecting the people's lives. These topics or themes are mostly reflective of party manifestoes and campaign promises. The recurring themes/topics serve as policy directives which are carefully drawn to persuade the audience to build hope for the better in the new government. These topics/themes overlap in the speeches which entails that the needs and problems of the people of the country are similar. The excerpts below are examples:

> The most critical challenges of our dear state continue to be low income, low literacy level, weak internal revenue base, weak private sector, unemployment, infrastructure, women and youth empowerment, rural development, job creation, environmental sanitation social re-orientation, portable water supply, internal revenue generation, as well as devising ways of harnessing our solid and mineral resources for sustainable development and diversification of local economy(paragraph 9 of governor Aminu Waziri Tambuwal's speech)

> Ndi Enugu, in line with my campaign promises I recommit myself to continuing with the legacies of Sullivan Chimes's administration and his roadmap for taking Enugu state to the next level. I commit myself to employment generation, enhanced social services and good governance, rural development and indeed security and injustice. We will deploy government service to create fair and equal opportunity for every willing citizen to make a living and create wealth, educate our children, and enjoy life in a peaceful and secure environment. We will derive with full force investment promotion, agricultural sector renewal, provision of critical infrastructures, human capital development and skils acquisition ((Paragraph 4 of governor Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi's speech)

Excerpt one above draws the attention of the audience to challenges facing the state and these are issues inherent in the party' manifesto. The outlining of these challenges and making declaration to face the challenges head on are strategies of persuading the people to have confidence in the new government. Commissives acts in inaugural speeches are made to entice the people to accept the new government. In the second excerpt, the governor made two personal commissive acts using the first person pronoun 'I' to persuade the audience-(i)continue with the roadmap project started by his predecessor and(ii) his own policy directives as enumerated. But he used the in-group pronoun 'we' in the commissive act for the implementation or fulfilling the promises. By using the in- group pronoun 'we', the governor identifies with those elected into the cabinet, give them a sense of belonging and sees the execution of policy directives as collective responsibility .

The third macro structure which was found common in the inaugural speech is closing remark. The closing remark is a summary of the speech. It consists of emphasis on essential issues raised in the body of the speech through restatement. Issues deemed essential but skipped are also mentioned in the closing remark. A call on the people to join hands or unite to serve sometime is also common in the closing remark. The excerpt below is an example.

> To the people of Oyo State in general, I say the CHANGE and the TOMORROW
> YOU yearned for are here. Let us all join hands to make that change touch and

benefit the lives of every citizen of Oyo State. Long live Oyo State. Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Thank you for listening (the closing remark of governor Abiola Ajimobi of Oyo State).

Before I conclude this address, let me take this opportunity to once again register my special thanks and appreciation to the good people of Yobe State for the support and cooperation given to our administration since its inception. I wish to appeal to them not relent in giving us more support in this dispensation. This way with more commitment and resolute determination, we can, as patriots transform our beloved state a model among sister states in Nigeria.

It should be made known that our plan is to consolidate our previous performance in the tenure just ended in every aspect of service delivery and governance, in our avowed derive to achieve more sustainable and balanced growth and development(closing remark of governor Ibrahim Gaidam of Yobe State).

The content of the excerpts above clearly marks the end of a speech. In the first excerpt, the governor reiterated the All Progressive Congress' Political slogan 'change' and appealed to the people to join hand to make it reality in order to transform the state. Similarly, the second excerpt is also an appeal by the governor for the more support from the people to make the state a model among the states in the country. He also reiterated his administration's desire to consolidate the previous performance.

Pronominalization or Pronominal Choices

Generally, pronouns are used for making references to an existing entity or participants in a discourse. They are used in place of nouns or noun equivalents in a sentence. However, pronouns in political discourse do not only serve the purpose of making reference but also used for construction of identity and presentation of principles and ideologies. Al-Faki(2014) is of the view that the pronouns, which political speakers use to refer to themselves or their audience can be a significant part of the message. They can be used either to foreground or to obscure responsibility and agency. Kolu(2009) also points out that the use of pronouns can tell us a lot about how much responsibility a speaker wants to assume for an idea. The analysis showed that the personal pronoun "we" is the most frequently used by the Governors. It is used to express institutional identity. This is a situation whereby a speaker speaks on behalf of or as a representative of an institution. The following excerpts are examples:

(i)   **We** would like to assure the good people of Sokoto State that **we** will do our best to consolidate on the success recorded by the outgoing administration(Governor Aminu Tambuwal's speech)..

(ii)   Neither, **I** nor this government can single handedly navigate Oyo State from economic doldrums. **We** have to collectively do it. None among **us** shall fall for the fiction that **our** economic stagnation and the ills that plague polity can be cured by the government and its runners alone--- (Governor Abiola Ajimobi's Speech)

(iii)   **We** salute our party men and women especially its leadership at the national, zonal, state, local government and ward levels. **We** also recognize the untiring efforts of the various support groups(governor Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi's speech)

The in-group pronoun "we" is a means of showing the logic of inclusion not exclusion; the means of showing collective responsibility and solidarity rather than distance. As it could be seen from the above excerpts, the pronoun "we" which usually echoes to "our' or "us", is used to show in-group membership and collectivism. It could refer to the speaker and the elected members of the cabinet as in the first excerpt; or the speaker and the entire members of the public as in the second excerpt. It could also refer to the speaker and the members of the party on the platform of which he/she is elected as in the third.

Irimie (2010) cited in Al-Faki 2014) asserts that Politicians who give speeches usually do it as representatives of political groups such as political parties, governments or nations, rather than as individuals. In all the speeches, there are many instances whereby the governors spoke as the representative of either their political parties, those elected into the new administration or the public. These were achieved by the use of in-group plural personal pronouns "we' and its variants "our" and "us". The use of the in-group personal pronouns as observed from the texts in the corpus reflects the doctrine of inclusion. The in-group pronoun "we" and its variants "our'" and us are used by the governors to create in the audience, the feeling of belonging and unity of purpose. The use of such pronouns in the words of Obeng (2000a cited in Green 2007) enable the politicians to identify with and connect themselves their fellow party members as well as the people of their states.

Another personal pronoun used by the governors as a discursive strategy is the first person pronoun "1" with its variants "my" or "me". These pronouns generally make reference to the speaker alone. The analysis revealed that these pronouns are used to exclude other people. In some circumstances, they are used to show commitment, shouldering of personal responsibility and assertion of personal authority and power. The pronoun I is used in political speech to convey personal opinions, responsibility or commitment. It is usually deemed as subjective because it could be assumed as an attempt by the speaker to place himself above others or shared responsibility. In the speeches analyzed, the personal pronoun "I" and its variants are mostly used to show commitment and personal responsibility**.** The following speeches are examples**:**

(i)   "**I** am going to work", s bearing in mind that productivity is the key determinant of economic growth(Governor Ifeanyi Okowa's speech)

(ii)   **I** stand before you today humbled by the combination of factors that have brought **me** this profound moment **I** wish to first and foremost express my profound gratitude to Allah(SWT),who controls all that transpires in the world(Governor Aminu Waziri Tambuwal's speech).

(iii) Four years ago when **I** stood before you like this, **I** literary took you on a journey into our world of a New Oyo State. **I** spoke to glowingly about what looked like an Eldorado-a state that was a departure from the chaos of violence, brigandage and scio-political violence that seized the state like an unending affliction(governor Abiola Ajimobi's speech).

The three excerpts contain the first person pronoun "I" makes self-reference. 'In the above excerpts, it is used not only to make self-reference but also to express exclusion of other participants in a discourse. 'I' in the first excerpt shows commitment and zeal to work. The speaker used the pronoun "I" to persuade the audience to build confidence in him as the governor. In the second excerpt, the speaker makes self-reference which at the same time conveys self-responsibility. The speaker expresses his gratitude for being elected as the governor of the state. The third excerpt also makes self-reference and expresses strong

assertion by alluding to the past responsibility executed in his first tenure as the governor of the state in to persuade the audience to put more confidence in him.

Unlike the first person Pronoun 'I' and its variant which is commonly used to make self-reference and express individual responsibility, the pronouns "they and you" and their variants "them" show or expresses separation. The speaker uses these pronouns and their variants to separate himself/herself from others who could be opponents or those with different opinions. The excerpt below show examples:

I wish to further stress that we will at all times respect, cooperate and fund the other two arms of government in the state ,viz the legislature and the judiciary to enable **them** discharge their constitutional duties   so that our citizens will continue to enjoy the fruits of good governance.(governor Ibrahim Gaidam's speech)

Most importantly, we must appreciate the electorates who defied rain and sunshine to ensure that their votes counted. **They** are the true heroes of our democracy and will be surely rewarded with good governance (governor Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi's speech)

The two excerpts depict clearly the separation of the speaker and part of the audience from the legislature and the judiciary and from women respectively. The pronoun "them" in the first excerpt refers back to the members of the legislatures and the judiciary. In excerpt two, the speaker used the in- group pronoun as a group that owes the electorates appreciation. He used the 'out' group pronoun "they" to separates his group from the electorates who deserved appreciation.

The Use of Propaganda

Propaganda is a strong discursive strategy in political speech**.** Ademilokun(2011) asserts that Propaganda is an important feature of political discourse. It can be positive or negative, and in fact, it is an aspect of the language of politics which reveals the manipulative power of language. Since politics usually involves struggle for power, politicians and political parties consciously use language either to castigate their contenders in order to advance their own cause or simply hype up certain facts or ideas about their own activities. However, in the texts subjected to analysis, propaganda is used as a tool for persuading the audience to build hope for the better in the new government. The following are the type of propaganda identified in the selected texts:

Hyperbolic propaganda

This is a type propaganda made through over stating of achievement or wrong acts of political opponent. In politics, politicians some sometime over state the negative acts of their opponent in order to make the audience consider their stand about the candidature of the opponent. They may also over blow their good works or achievement so the audience will consider them as the best candidates.

May I state here, the great people of Oyo State that, in spite of the machinations dwindling cash from federal purse and developmental challenges, we have rewritten the environmental history of our State. Gone were those ignoble epithets appended on our State as the capital of dirt in Nigeria and the head quarter of sectarian and political violence (paragraph 8 of Sen. Abiola Ajimobi's inaugural speech)

The above is an example of hyperbolic propaganda. It sounds if nothing like exists in the city and the city free of political violence. This type of statement appeals to the emotions of the audience and builds hope for the better. By alluding to his past achievement, the governor, assures his audience more of such achievements in the second tenures

Propaganda of integration

This form of propaganda is put forth not against anybody or political opponent but to unite the people for a common goal or cause. The excerpt below is an example

> Fellow Deltans,
> I am grateful to God and consider it an honour, to stand before you today as you governor. Indeed, I am humbled by the trust you have reposed in me, greatly inspired by our collective resolve to have chosen hope over suspicion and fear, and unity of purpose over conflict and discord. In the governorship election of April 11, Deltans reminded Nigerians once that while tribe and tongue differ, our strength lies in our diversity, that our wealth lies in the bonds that hold us together as people and that we can rise together as a family. Indeed our cultural diversity presents unique opportunities for better understanding, greater collaboration, and more efficient resource mobilization.

The excerpt above is a call to unite in order to achieve a common goal. The governor called on the people to join hands as brothers to move the state forward. The governor tactfully drew the attention of the people to the cultural diversity of the state which the saw as an efficient resource to mobilize.

Card stacking propaganda

Card Stacking propaganda involves the selection and use of facts or falsehoods, illustrations or distractions, and logical or Illogical statements in order to give the best or the worst possible case for an idea, program, person or product. The excerpt below exhibits an example.

> Ndi Enugu, today, it has pleased God and you ,men and women of good will that I step into the big shoes of my predecessors as the next governor of Enugu State in seamless continuity and consolidation of all the works he and others have done before him in the state. It has pleased God that I take up the gauntlet of the struggle for the emancipation of the Wawa man from where our heroes past stopped. It can only be God, for it is He who raises the poor from the ash heap and makes him to inherit a throne of honour. He has anointed me for a mission – to bring good news, message of continued hope, peace and development to our people: to bind the up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to every Wawa man caught in the prison of poverty and underdevelopment, And these I owe you and and my God to Fulfill (paragraph of Ugwuanyi's inaugural speech).
> Fellow citizens of Benue State, my heart bleeds for Benue workers and pensioners as they have suffered untold hardship as the issues of their salaries, wages and allowances have become a major challenge. We shall immediately make arrangements to determine and and verify our indebtedness and work towards the immediate payment of outstanding workers' salaries and allowances of pensioner. The Bible states that the worker deserves his wages, on that score, government must ensure that wages are paid as when due—(Paragraph 8 of Chief Dr. Samuel Ioraer Ortom's inaugural speech.)

The two governors carefully selected words and logically made statements to entice the audience to build hope in the new government. In the first excerpt, the speaker logically presented himself as God anointed one that can liberate or emancipate the people of the state. Similarly, the second excerpt gives hope for the civil servants who have not been paid salaries and allowances by the immediate past administration.

Religious propaganda

In this form of propaganda, religious expressions or references are made to influence the thoughts of the audience. Politicians in Nigeria and in fact all over the world often make direct citation from the holy books (The Bible and the Quran) in order to entice the audience to accept them; to see them as good people with the fear of God. The excerpt below is an example.

> Ndi Enugu, the appointed day has finally come. It is the **Lord'**s doing and it is still marvelous in our eyes.To **Him**, the **God** of Abraham, the **God** of Isaac, the God of Jacob and Awesome **God** of David, be the glory and honour **in Jesus name**. Amen (paragraph 1 of Ugwuanyi's speech)
>
> Praise be to Almighty **Allah** for all His bounties, both concealed and manifested. May peace and blessings be upon **His prophet** (SAW) and messenger and members of the prophet's family and companions and all those who follow the path of truth till the last hour (paragraph 1 of Ibrahim Gaidam's speech).

The two excerpts show typical use of religion by politicians to identify with the audience who are mostly of their faith. In most cases, candidates find acceptance easily from people of their own faith. It is very ease for instance to know to which religion a Nigerian politician belongs when delivering speech as they often begin alluding to their religion. The contents of the two excerpts tell clearly the religion of the two candidates.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The findings of this study have revealed that like other political speeches, inaugural speech is persuasive. However, persuasion in inaugural speech is not aimed at convincing or making the audience to do what they have not wanted to like in campaign speeches. It is aimed at enticing the audience to build hope in the new administration. In order to achieve this goal, the speech makers employed different strategies to sway the minds of the audience to have confidence in the their administration. The recurring themes in the speech are carefully selected to appeal to the audience. These themes as observed from the texts analyzed are reflective of the challenges facing the states as well as the peoples' desires and needs. The themes as observed from the analysis of the texts in the corpus overlaps. The overlapping is due to the fact that the challenges or problems affecting the peoples' lives seem to be uniform across the states. Themes that overlapped include insecurity, economy, education, health, social infrastructure, unemployment, agriculture water supply, electricity among others. The speech makers had these themes as their policy directives. Different commissive acts are made to assure the people that the new administration will work to meet the needs of the people.

Apart from the policy directives in the content of the speeches, the speech makers also made of pronoun choice to make two policies or ideologies clear. The two policies or ideologies are the logic of inclusion and exclusion. The in- group personal pronoun' we' and its variants' us and our' were used to promote the doctrine of inclusion. A speech maker that promotes the

doctrine of inclusion places himself in the position of someone that speaks on behalf of a group. The use of this pronoun and its variants encourages collectivism and unity of purpose in running the affairs of the government.

In some situations, the speech makers exclude those elected into the cabinet and the general audience. This is where they want to claim personal responsibility or authority. The first person personal pronoun 'I' and its variants 'my or me' are therefore used. Through the use of these pronouns, the speech makers attempt to convince the audience of their personal abilities. The uses of this pronoun were found prevalent in the opening and closing remarks. Propaganda as an integral part of political communication is also found prevalent in the speeches analyzed. The analysis exhibited different forms of propaganda meant to influence the political not beliefs, attitudes or opinions of the audience to entice the audience build hope in the new administration. The common once found in the texts which reflect Nigerian politics are hyperbolic propaganda, integration propaganda, card stacking propaganda and religious. All texts analyzed exhibited these forms of propaganda. The uses of Propaganda in inugural speeches as observed from are slightly different from its uses in political campaign speeches. In political campaign speeches, politicians use propaganda language to manipulate the political thought, opinions or attitude to their advantage. In the inaugurals, the politicians use propaganda language to convince the people of their abilities and to build hope for the better in the new their administration.

CONCLUSION

The result of the study has exhibited some discursive strategies that the politicians often use when making inaugural speeches. The strategies cut across the macro structures of the speeches which were also found uniform. The macro structures (opening remark, the content/body and closing remark) independent messages which also were found related. The body of inaugural speech is full of empty promises in forms of policy directives. They are drawn from the problems hovering over the society. The presentation of the problems as policy directives are done make the people to build hope for the better in the ushered in administration. The discursive strategies used were also common. The use of personal pronouns to promote the doctrine of inclusion and exclusion were found prevalent in all the six texts analyzed. Propaganda language as revealed by this study is inseparable from politics. However, the propaganda languages used in inaugurals differ slightly from those used in political campaign speeches. The forms of propaganda put forth in political campaign speech are meant manipulate the political thought of the electorate to the advantage of a politician, while those put forth in inaugurals are meant to convince the electorates of the capabilities of the party/ stake holders of the new administration and to build hope for the better in them. Political inaugural speeches are persuasive just like other political speeches.

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