A critical discourse analysis of some selected 2019 Nigerian presidential election campaign advertisements on social media

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Abstract: Political campaign advertisements are one of the mediums where the electorates hope to get the right information to help them make a choice before an election. The study explored the lexico-syntactic patterns, discourse strategies and how they were used to create ideologies in the 2019 Presidential campaign advertisements. The study adopts the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by Van Dijk called socio-cognitive model and his (2000) model on principles that express ideological stances. Five campaign advertisements were purposively selected for analysis from the following social media platforms: Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter and also the following media outlets punch.com, nairaland.com, to mention but a few. The campaign advertisements chosen featured the two major candidates, Atiku Abubakar of the PDP (Peoples Democratic Party) and Muhamadu Buhari of the APC (All Progressives Congress) in the 2019 Presidential elections. The study revealed that the campaign advertisements chosen used discourse markers that emphasized ideologies like; APC is a haven for corrupt Nigerians, Atiku is a thief, Buhari and Atiku do not care about the poor, Buhari is incorruptible, are among other ideologies that the campaign advertisements tried to portray. The study submits that discourse was negative especially in the presentation of the 'out group' (the political opponents) and that the ideology of the text creators was a very strong force in all the texts analyzed. Therefore, the electorates need to be more critical in reading these presidential campaign advertisements before forming their opinions and taking actions, in order to deepen our democracy.

Keywords: Campaign, Discourse strategy, Ideology, Political discourse, Social media

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1. Introduction

Prior to any election, the electorates often look forward to the nature of political discourse, especially as it relates to the issues that concern them. It is usually during campaigns that the electorates are supposed to get enlightened about the intentions of the presidential candidates so that the undecided voters can weigh the choices before them and make the right choice. The problem, however, is that the electorates are not getting the right kind of discourse from political campaigns. Brader (2005) posits that politicians routinely appeal to the emotions of voters, a practice critics claim subverts the rational decision making on which democratic processes properly rest. Political discourse is very important before, during and after elections, not only to enlighten the electorates about the choices they have to make, but to exercise the power and right they have to do it. However, this seems impossible because political language that is used in campaign advertisements is often laden with propaganda and misinformation in some cases. Adding to the importance of getting the right information, Renwick and Palese (2017) opine that the quality of political discourse is an essential part of democracy. They aver that there is a need to focus on balanced and reliable information and avoid the danger posed by the easy availability of seductive misinformation. They are of the opinion that fake news is often seductive because it is alluring to read.
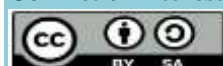
One of the mediums through which political discourse is done during an election is through campaign advertisements. Asemah and Edogoh (2012) define advertising as any communication that is paid for, directed at a target audience, through the various mass media like; radio, television, newspaper, magazine, motion pictures and the internet. The aim is to create awareness about goods and services and also to sell a candidate. That is to make the candidates known to the electorate. Political advertising according to Public Discourse Commission (2019) includes any advertising displays, newspaper ads, billboards, signs, brochures, articles, tabloids, flyers, letters, radio or television presentations, digital or social media communication used for the purpose of appealing to the electorate directly or indirectly to get their votes or financial support.

Social media has been defined from different perspectives for example, Dollarhide (2021) defines social media as a computer-based technology that facilitates the sharing of ideas, thoughts and information through virtual networks and communities. Also, Lutkevich and Wigmore (2021) define social media as a collective term for websites and application that focus on communication, community–based sharing and collaboration. The lack of control of the content being circulated on social media is the problem because sometimes cropped pictures and images with written texts that are not exactly true are circulated to spread lies. Nott (2022) avers that unlike the traditional newspaper or television, the social media platforms are not publishers but service providers and that they have no control over what is circulated on these platforms and this exacerbated the problem because even presidential campaign advertisements are not left out of this situation especially in the portrayal of a political opponent. Hitchen, Fisher, Hassan and Cheeseman (2019) point out that there is quite a number of internet service providers in Nigeria and all of them were involved in the campaign that led to the buildup of the 2019 presidential elections. WhatsApp for example is one of the majorly used service providers in Nigeria and it played a huge role in the 2019 presidential elections in Nigeria. Hitchen et al. (2019) opine that the political use of WhatsApp is becoming increasingly sophisticated and organized, but a significant proportion of its activity remains informal which they say limits the ability of formal structures to set and control narratives. They add that WhatsApp is used to both spread misinformation and to counter it. They recognize that WhatsApp is often associated with the spread of 'fake news' yet it can be used as a tool of accountability also.

Agbalajo (2019), in an on-line article titled: 'How Nigeria has got better at running elections that are freer and fairer' said that the valid concerns of the Nigeria people in the 2019 election that they were hoping the next president would solve were the economy, high cost of living, widespread of poverty, persistent violent killings and ethno religious tensions. The problem is that Nigerians cannot say that the presidential candidates addressed these issues in their campaign rallies or advertisements. Rather, what was prevalent was that the campaign advertisements deployed all resources, both visual and written texts, to tarnish one another's image in a bid to get the votes at all cost.

Language use in political campaigns is very significant because the electorate, especially the undecided ones, usually waits for such a medium to listen to presidential candidates or whosoever is contesting in a particular election to make up their minds. Brader (2005) posits that politicians routinely appeal to the emotions of voters, a practice critics claim subverts the rational decision making on which democratic processes properly rest. Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2019) opine that political language used in campaigns has certain characteristic features that differentiate it from other varieties of language use. They observed that though these features are also common in other daily discourses, they make language use in political campaigns unique and stand out from other discourses. They further argue that political campaign language is embodied in propaganda and rhetoric. It is also persuasive. Politicians adopt these devices to cajole the electorate to vote for them and all the candidates representing their party.

A number of CDA analysts have been attracted to exposing the ideologies behind the composition presidential campaign advertisements. Nwaefuna (2022) used Critical discourse analysis and intertexuality to look at the extra linguistic features like culture, society and ideology as they relate to the understanding of texts. Ogungbe and Usman (2021) examine a study on Social Media Discursive Representation of Major Actors in The 2019 Nigeria Presidential Election. The study critically examined how discourse strategies were used to represent major participants in 2019 Nigerian presidential campaign posts on Facebook, they paid attention to how these texts could convey messages, bias and ideologies using Van Dijk's (2001) Socio cognitive Model of Critical Discourse Analysis. They concluded that political campaign producers used discourse to portray ideologies. The main aim of this study is to explore how the syntactic schemes and ideologies inherent in the texts were used for garnering support in the 2019 Presidential campaign advertisements. Van Dijk's theory of cognitive functions and his principles of ideological stances could be very appropriate in unveiling these ideologies.

2. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework that has been adopted for this study is Van Dijk's (1995) theory of cognitive functions and his Principles of Ideological (Stances, 2000; Ramanathan & Hoon, 2015). Dijk opines that there are basic forms of ideological properties which organise, monitor and control the attitudes of a social group. Van Dijk (1987) in Ramanthan and Hoon (2015) also proclaimed that models present personal experiences such as particular information about each event or action which is processed in short-term memory. In other words, models are parallel to cognitive functions as they hold the ability to control the experiences of social actors. Dijk (2000), as cited in Ramanathan and Hoon (2015) on his four principles which enables subtle ideological analysis to express various ideological stances. They are summarized below:
 1. Emphasize square positive things about us.
 2. Emphasize negative things about them.
 3. De- emphasize negative things about us.
 4. De-emphasize positive things about them.

These four moves according to Ramanathan and Hoon (2015) play a vital role in a broader contextual strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. Self presentation they argued further presents the individual action as a member of the group while firmly expressing various ideological notions. Positive self-representation emphasizes individual's positive behavior by saying positive things about 'US' and saying negative things about 'THEM'. This positive stance is an abstract characteristic of group conflicts as the interaction pattern opposes the other group. They further explain that the negative other representation depicts that no negative saying shall be directed to 'US' and no positive saying should be directed to 'THEM'. In other words, the pronoun 'US' always refers to positive sayings and beliefs in a social context while the pronoun 'THEM' refers to negativity, condemnation and other negative stances about the other group.

Van Dijk (2009) also wrote about how CDA integrates various linguistic theories and approaches in producing a social and discursive process to highlight the assumptions made by the more powerful on the less powerful. He tried to link cognitive theories and approaches with linguistics in his socio cognitive approach. Van Dijk opines that Critical Discourse Studies is a critical perspective, position or attitude within the interrelationship among discourse, cognition and society. The triangulation emphasizes the cognitive phenomena connected to the discourse structure and how social inequalities, domination, and ideologies occur. In order to discover social representations, attitudes and ideologies of social actors, the connection between the structure of discourse and the structure of society should be viewed.

3. Research methodology

The study is basically a qualitative research and a critical content analysis of the data selected. The nine data used for analysis were campaign advertisements purposively selected from the following social media platforms: Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter and also the following media outlets:; punch.com, nairaland.com, to mention but a few. The campaign advertisements chosen featured the two major candidates, Atiku Abubakar of the PDP and Muhamadu Buhari of the APC in the 2019 Presidential elections.

4. Findings and discussions
Text One

Figure 1: Negative Out-group Polarity Campaign Ad
Source: Next Level Logo**:** https//nairaland.com

Compositionality
There is an ascending staircase that ends abruptly at a cliff where bullets or sharp metals are waiting for whosoever takes the next step after the last staircase. This visual makes a mockery of the slogan of the APC which is 'Next Level'. Buhari and his companions are actually climbing a staircase which is taking them higher but the irony is the danger that awaits them after the last staircase .Four individuals are ascending the staircase also: this four individuals are significant because they are stalwarts of the party. This connotes that their next level is dangerous not only for them but also for Nigeria.

Two cartoon figures of Muhammadu Buhari the incumbent President before the 2019
Presidential elections and Yemi Osibanjo, his Vice President is following closely. The money bags indicate that they are corrupt and that this corruption is taking Nigeria to a cliff of death.

Two money bags are attached to the cartoons of the heads of Adams Oshiomole and Abdullahi Umar Ganduje, the governor of Kano State. Yemi Osibanjo has a ₦5.8Billion briefcase, while Adams Oshiomole's head is placed on a 55 million dollar sack and Abdullahi Ganduje's head is on a 5 million dollar sack. Again major party leaders are associated with money bags that presents them as corrupt politicians and the next level of economic dearth is inevitable if they continue with their 'next level'. The written texts include: 'Next Level' at the top. While at the bottom, the written text is: 'Next Level to corruption & killings'. This texts clearly makes a mockery of the APC slogan.

Lexico-Syntatic Patterns and Ideology
The choice of words by the text creator is in line with Van Dijk's (2000) in Ramanatha and Hoon (2015) who summarized his four principles which enable subtle ideology into four. Two of the four stances are used here;
1 Emphasize negative things about them and
2 De-emphasize positive things about them.
These two stances have been employed in this text to emphasize negative things about the APC leaders featured in this advert.

The APC's Slogan is the target in this text. Under normal circumstances, ' Next Level' should be seen in a positive light but the text creator has deliberately added' … to corruption and killings' to the texts. This negates the good impression that the APC members hoped to get by using this slogan. It also emphasizes the ideology that APC has nothing good to offer the electorates. Other words used are labeling the money bags, five million dollars with Governor Ganduje's head, fifty five million dollars with Adams Oshiomole's head on the last money bag. These labels are sufficient to portray the APC stalwarts in a bad light. It becomes more meaningful when the reader relates the text; 'Next level to corruption and killings' to these people's portrayal.

Discourse strategy and ideology
The ideological discourse marker used here is the actor description. This refers to how a text creator depicts individuals into two groups; the in-group and the out-group. The APC has been described as the out-group because they have presented as corrupt politicians whose next level slogan will only breed more corruption. The ideological stance in this text is established by portraying the APC's stalwarts in a negative light. The ideology behind this text creation is that the ruling party's slogan, which is the APC, means next level to corruption and danger. The APC's slogan 'Next Level' is portrayed as a phrase that the party stalwarts do not have the human resources and feasible plans to take Nigerians to the next level. In the real sense of it, the country is retrogressing and not moving to any positive level, especially in terms of security and the economy.

The discourse created by the pictures carefully portrays this. It tells a story of the corrupt activities of the leaders of the APC. The choice of APC's leaders like Muhammadu Buhari, the incumbent President seeking re-election who is holding a human skull, connotes death or taking the masses to the point of destruction. The President's next level means that he is leading Nigerians to their death and the visual pictures portray this. He is heading for a cliff with sharp metals or bullets that will cause more deaths, thus acquiring more skulls. His vice president, Yemi Osinbajo is holding a briefcase with the inscription of N5.8 billion naira. This connotes that the Vice President too is not clean, so if that is the case, the text creator is saying what next level are the APC stalwarts taking us to: 'Corruption'?
- Next in line is Adams Oshiomole's head on an a money bag tagged $55 million dollars. It is important to note that Adams Oshiomole was the immediate past governor of Edo State before the election and Chairman of the ruling party (APC).
- The last money bag of 5 million dollars has the head of Abdullahi Ganduje, Governor of Kano State.
The visuals in the text above connote that APC has no good intention for the Nigerian people and that their words cannot be trusted. When they say one thing they actually mean another.'Next Level' by the slogan of the APC ought to mean better days ahead for the electorates but the text creator is saying otherwise. Next level actually means:
- more deaths
- more corruption and the like and more negative vices.
The aim of the discourse strategy is to portray the APC and the party leaders in a bad light and this reinforces the ideology that the 'Next Level' of the APC cannot and should not be taken seriously by the electorates.

Text Two

Figure 2: Negative Out-group Polarity of APC
Source: Mike Asukwo on mobile Twitter.com
https://www.mobile twiter.com

Compositionality
Text two consists of the following: We have a football pitch with 11 players on the left side of the pitch. The 11 players that are ready to play are on the left side where the PDP Logo is just outside the field. This simply presents the members of the PDP as organized and that they are willing to play by the rules. This conclusion can be reached because they are just 11, the required number that makes up a football team. On the right hand we have a chaotic situation where the team members are fighting among themselves. Weapons like guns, clubs and stones are all over the field. The team members who are supposedly dead or injured are on the floor. The APC Logo is outside the field beside the warring team. The people on the APC side are actually more than

This also presents the APC and the members as unruly and that they have refused to play by the rules because their team has more than 11 players. On the side of the PDP we have a written texts which says opposing Team and outside the field we have 'PDP' written boldly. This text presents the PDP as the opposing political party trying to get power back from the APC on the right hand side of the field we have a written text which says; 'Defending Team'. A verbal text is also credited to an unidentified spectator who says: 'They are picking their best eleven. Only survivors will be fielded'.

Lexico-syntatic patterns and ideology

The author's description in this text presents the APC as a group of unruly people who cannot do things the right way except through violence. The ideology that the text creator is trying to pass is that, the APC is a chaotic party that cannot even be fair in choosing members to represent their party at any election. The members are not united internally so there is no way they can unite Nigeria. The deliberate choice of words by the text creator has made this very possible positive self-representation was employed here. The narrative is that the PDP team is organized and they are willing and ready to play. The statement 'They are picking their best eleven, only survivors will be fielded' is an example of the negative other representation. The use of the other group pronouns like; 'they and their' have emphasized this. The written texts connote that the APC cannot do a simple internal selection or election of the best eleven to represent them in a match. However, the text is beyond an ordinary match; it suggests that APC is not an organized party. This is evident in how they resulted in violence to pick a team of 11 players.

The text creator made use of Euphemism. Euphemism is a form of indirect expression used to replace harsh or unpleasant terms 'They are picking their best eleven' actually means they are killing some members and only survivors will be fielded. 'Picking' is the indirect word replacing 'killing' in the expression above.

Discourse strategy and ideology

The discourse strategy that has been employed here is to emphasize positive things about us and to emphasize negative things about them using the author's description. This text presents the APC as a group of unruly people who cannot do things the right way except through violence. This is the ideology that the text creator is trying to pass. The text creator has successfully created a positive narrative of the PDP team through the pictures before us. The eleven players that make up the PDP team are standing in place but the APC team is not only more than eleven, they have resulted in violence to pick the eleven players.

Text Three

Figure 3: Negative Out-group Polarity of APC
Source: WhatsApp

Compositionality

Text three consists of the following:

A statement that is most likely that of the text creator, 'Prof Wole Soyinka win My heart with this. This is a serious blow to Buhari's supporters. #Hahaha'. The reference to Wole Soyinka is aimed at giving credibility to this campaign advertisement. The text producer has cited Wole Soyinka a renowned writer to achieve this aim. The text creator has cited Wole Soyinka as the source of the message in this text. This what Vandijk calls authority in his socio cognitive model.

We also have a cropped photo of President Muhamadu Buhari and Ahmed Bola Tinubu a party stalwart of the APC placed in a desert area. Both men are portrayed as weak, old and blind wearing dark glasses with their walking sticks. This picture is very effective in presenting both men as weak and incapable of helping themselves because it is a case of the blind supporting the blind. Below the cropped photos of Muhamadu Buhari and Ahmed Bola Tinubu is the picture of Wole Soyinka and some written texts allegedly said by him;

Four sets of people who can vote for Buhari

- Those intellectually blind and weak
- Those blinded by ethnicity, tribalism and bigotry
- Those easily deceived by his pretentious anti-corruption gimmick
- Those suffering from all the above terminal sicknesses.
- The written text simply corroborates the visual above.

Lexico-Syntatic patterns and ideology

The text creator starts the text by first praising Wole Soyinka whom he acclaimed had won his heart by what he had said about Buhari's supporters which he also claimed was a big blow to them (the out group). The Ideology that is being created is that those who are still in support of Muhamadu Buhari for a second term are as weak and narrow minded as he is. The choice ofWole Soyinka's words as a basis for the text creation especially the cropped photos is notsurprising. It simply shows that the text creator shares the same ideological stance with him. This is what Van Dijk describes as authority in his socio-cognitive model. It is like saying; see what the erudite Professor has to say about Buhari's supporters. The words credited to Wole Soyinka says negative things about 'them' (the out group). Though no reference

was made to 'us'(the in group) but the text clearly differentiates between the 'out group' and the 'in group'. The out group being those whom negative things are emphasized about them. The pronoun 'those', differentiates Buhari's supporters from the in group. So, only they are intellectually blind and weak, blinded by ethnicity, tribalism and bigotry and Buhari's pretentious anti-corruption gimmick. The irony is that Buhari is blind and he is supported by another blind man.

Discourse strategy and ideology
The discourse strategy employed here is that the text creator has used the authority of Soyinka to back up his ideology about Buhari's supporters by simply agreeing with Wole Soyinka on how he has described them. The pictures have been used to communicate too. Buhari is portrayed as a blind man supported by another blind man, Bola Tinubu. The blind gets support from the blind and are also supported by a group of blind people who are ready to vote for them despite their disability. The narrative is all negative about Buhari and his supporters.

Text Four

Figure 4: Negative Out-group Polarity of Atiku
Source: htpps//punchng.com

Compositionality
Text four consists of the following: Three Cartoon characters;
The first from the left is a man who seems to be leaning on a pillar at a bus stop watching another man who was previously standing with him, leave. It is important to note that man who is still at ate APC stand has a broom beside him. The broom is the logo of the APC and it clearly suggests that he is a member of the APC.

   The second man looks like Atiku Abubakar of the PDP who was the party's presidential candidate in the 2019 Nigerian Presidential elections. He is chasing a woman with the tag; 'presidential ticket' that suggests his interest in getting the presidential ticket of the PDP and that is why he is leaving the APC. The third person is a woman dressed in white and she has a tag in her hand which says; '**Presidential ticke**t'. She is holding an umbrella that has the colour of the PDP and the Umbrella is actually the logo of the party. Beside the first man is a broom that has APC written on it. There is a verbal text said by the first man from the left: "There goes the habitual divorcee to his Ex". The text creator has used a respected social institution, marriage and family to present Atiku as a member of the out-group. Habitual divorcee presents a man who cannot even sustain a family. This is what Van Dijk calls victimization. It is, however, used to refer to his inability to belong to a particular party for a long while especially if he does not get the presidential ticket.

Lexico-Syntactic Patterns and Ideology
The choice of words in this text is very direct about the character of Atiku Abubakar. Atiku is presented as a man who is repeating an act he has done several times which is to divorce his
'ex' and go back to her when the need arises. The text has created an ideology that Atiku Abubakar is not a stable individual when it comes to his political ideology. He can be with this party today and tomorrow he is out as long as he does not get what he wants.
                     THERE GOES
THE HARBITUAL DIVORCEE TO HIS EX
 The speaker is obviously not surprised that Atiku is leaving his party. The choice of 'Divorcee' instead of other available choices like 'leaving the party', 'exiting the party' and the like, portrays Atiku negatively. It presents Atiku as a member of the 'out-group' who is different from 'us' in the APC.

Discourse strategy and ideology
The discourse strategy chosen for this text is called victimization. When the out-group is presented in a bad light. The pictures as well as the texts speak for itself. The pictures align with the texts. Atiku who was previously standing under the APC shade is leaving APC stand to go after a beautiful lady in white. The lady is a symbol for the PDP presidential ticket and the lady seems tired of his back and forth character as she raises her hand to restrain him from coming close to her. This alone presents Atiku Abubakar in a negative light. He seems to have no political strong hold.

Text Five

Figure 5: Two politicians
Source: Mike Asukwo on mobile Twitter.com
https//mobile twiter.com

Compositionality
Text Five consists of the following;
Two politicians are on a platform holding The Nigerian Flag on which 'RESTRUCTURING' is written. A group of supporters are below the platform cheering the two politicians obviously happy to see them and hear what they have to say. There is a dialogue between the two politicians. The one of the left says; 'sir, what exactly is this 'restructuring', 'restructuring' all about. The one on the right replies, 'I don't know but I guess it is the new slogan that will replace 'change'. This is a good example of what Van Dijk calls irony. The politicians are holding flags labeled restructuring yet, their conversation shows that they know nothing about it.

Lexico-Syntactic Patterns and Ideology
The text creator made use of dialogues between two politicians. The choice of words credited to each one of them is sufficient to bring out the ideology behind the text creation.
'The First man asked a question, he wants to know what 'restructuring' is. He said 'sir what exactly is this 'restructuring', 'restructuring' all about. The politician asking the question seems to be looking up to the other politician as 'more knowledgeable' or as a 'more experienced politician'. Unfortunately, his response shows that he is as ignorant and inexperienced as the man asking the question. His answer was: 'I don't know, but I guess it is the slogan that will replace "change"

The text does not indicate any political party's logo but the dialogue can make one assume that the speakers are APC members because they decided to start clamouring for restructuring in 2018 when their major party slogan for 2015 elections had failed woefully. This dialogue is sufficient to portray the speaker as well as the party in a bad light. They are just saying restructuring but they do not intend to restructure Nigeria. This is because they do not even understand the concept. It is all deception. This is probably why many have gathered at their rallies to hear them speak on 'restructuring' that they do not know. There is irony in their speech. They are holding flags tagged 'restructuring', they might even tell the crowd that they will restructure Nigeria but they do not know what it means.

Discourse Strategy and Ideology
In text five, the pictures speak and the dialogue reveals the hypocrisy of the politicians. The flag tagged 'restructuring' summarizes the purpose or theme of the speech that will be delivered at the rally. It is in fact, the reason why many supporters have gathered cheering the politicians but in reality, the dialogue revealed how bad the politicians are. The text creator has not said anything about the politicians here but they have through their dialogue presented themselves as members of the 'out group' who are saying 'restructuring' because they believe it will work like the slogan their party used in 2015 which is 'change'.

Text Six

Figure 6: Negative Out-group Polarity of Atiku
Source: https://allafrica.com

Compositionality
Text Six consists of the following:
A character that looks like Atiku Abubakar is driving a bus painted with the PDP's green, white, and red colours. He seems to be beckoning on the man that is standing at a bus stop named 'PDP Bus Stop'. There is a dialogue between Atiku Abubakar and the man at the PDP bus stop. The following conversation ensues between them. Atiku: Tickets please, Man at the Bus Stop: Are you sure this is your last bus stop? The conversation connotes that Atiku Abubakar is seeking support from the PDP members to become their presidential flag bearer.

Lexico-Syntactic Patterns and Ideology

The words that the text creator has chosen are in the dialogue that ensued between Atiku Abubakar and a potential passenger at the Bus Stop. 'Ticket please?' shows that Atiku is actually begging the potential passenger to give him the PDP ticket to run for the 2019 presidential elections. The man's response reveals a lot about the ideology of this text. 'Are you sure this is your last Bus stop?', this portrays Atiku Abubakar negatively even though it is subtle. It shows that Atiku is a man who is not sure of his destination. This is not surprising if one looks at his political background. He has moved from PDP since 1999 - 2007 as vice president to Olusegun Obasanjo to many other parties. He had tried being the president of Nigeria when he cris-crossed many parties like APC, Action Congress (AC), and PDP.

Discourse Strategy and Ideology

The discourse strategy is similar to that of text five. The text creator has used the dialogue to reveal negative things about 'them' here Atiku Abubakar is portrayed as an unstable politician with no political ideology. This is evident in the statement made by the man at the PDP bus stop who said to Atiku Abubakar, 'Are you sure this is your last Bust stop?'. The interlocutors themselves reveal who they are through their conversation.

Text Seven

Figure 7: Negative Out-group Polarity of Buhari
Source: https://allafrica.com

Compositionality

The text above presents the two major presidential candidates of the PDP on the left (Atiku Abubakar) and APC on the right (Muhamadu Buhari). Atiku is carrying a malnourished Nigerian man who also has plaster on his head, the man is probably hospitalized. He seems to be showing the malnourished man to president Buhari.

Lexico-Syntactic Patterns and Ideology

The text creator has made use of dialogue as way of unmasking the true identity of the interlocutors. Atiku is holding a malnourished man who is skinny, whose hands are sagging but his statement is that the man is not totally bad since his moustache is well nourished. The response of Buhari is not any better because he said that the malnourished man is looking nice. The text creator has successfully used the utterances of the interlocutors to reveal that both men have the same ideology of lacking sympathy for the less privileged. The use of exclamation mark to Atiku's comment adds to the irony. Atiku does not even expect a Nigerian man to weigh as much as 23kg. He then adds a question directed to Buhari; 'Does he look hungry?'. In other words, in the view of these politicians, Nigerians have not suffered yet since they can still weigh 23kg and have a nourished moustache.

Discourse Strategy and Ideology

The text creator has used the dialogue as well as the pictures of the two men to unveil a discourse in such a way that both men tell us who they are and how they think of the ordinary man in the society. This is an example of irony according to Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, Atiku is holding a malnourished man who weighs 28kg but he noticed that his moustache is well nourished. The irony is in asking if the malnourished man is hungry. The respose of Buhari heightens the irony because the president thinks that the skinny man looks nice. The author's description in this text presents the APC as a group of unruly people who cannot do things the right way except through violence. The ideology that the text creator is trying to pass is that Atiku and president Buhari are the same in the way they see the common man. Their conversation reveals them as unsympathetic toward the ordinary man in the society. The two men have been classified as the same. They both have the same ideology about how they see the poor. One just belongs to the PDP and the other to the APC.

Text Eight

Figure 8: Negative Out-group Polarity of Atiku
Source: nairaland.com/49684

Compositionality

Text eight consists of the following. We have a picture of Atiku Abubakar wiping his face with a handkerchief. There is a PDP logo which is an umbrella slightly above his head. There are a lot of texts spread all over the page of the advertisement. At the top left it says; 'stop corruption' and below it says; 'PDP squandered $500 million in oil earnings while they were in power'. In front of Atiku is the word **corrupt** in red. Finally, at the bottom there is a written text of the sponsors. '#ATIKUNEVERAGAIN'. This text presents Atiku in a negative manner. This is victimization because it has no authorization, that is no valid source.

Lexico-Syntactic Patterns and Ideology

The text creator has used all negative lexical choices available to label and describe Atiku. Atiku is negatively presented as corrupt, and a spends thrift who squandered $500 million dollars while they were in power. This is a reference to the time Atiku Abubakar was vice president to Olusegun Obasanjo from 1999 to 2007. The ideology is quite obvious; it is to present Atiku as an untrustworthy person who should not be voted for in the 2019 presidential election. This ideology is clearly stated by the hashtag that is at the bottom of this page. It says; #ATIKUNVERAGAIN. That is to say, the text creator is calling on the electorates not to vote for Atiku Abubakar.

Discourse Strategy and Ideology

The discourse strategy employed in this text is victimization. The text creator has chosen a picture where Atiku Abubakar is wiping his face with a handkerchief probably of sweat but the text could also have a possible meaning of Atiku wiping tears or simply covering his face out of shame. The text is corroborated by the written text that corruption should be stopped and being specific that Atiku had allegedly squandered $500 million dollars while he was in office. The text does not mention the 'US' but he is unambiguous about the 'THEM' in Atiku as being a corrupt man who should never be allowed to be a public figure anymore. The text does not rightly say that Atiku should not be voted for but the hashtag says it all. It connotes that the electorates should not vote for him.

Text Nine

Figure 9: Positive In-group Polarity of Buhari
Source:https://nairaland.com/48548

Compositionality

Text nine has the following composition. Two passport sized photographs of President Muhamadu Buhari. There are lots of written texts. It says; ' Buhari failed to steal. Buhari failed to let them loot the treasury. As a result, they are terribly broke. They want to retire Buhari with blackmail, violence and falsehood. The text creator has used the author's description to present Buhari as a member of the in-group while those who do not want him to be re-elected are the members of the out-group.

Lexico-Syntactic Patterns and Ideology

The text creator has been able to use the disclaimer tool in Van Dijk's theory to show a difference between the 'US' in this case Buhari and the text creator and ; 'THEM' who want to defame Buhari. The text is full of short simple sentences like; 'Buhari failed to steal'. , 'Buhari failed to let them loot the treasury'. 'Not on our watch'. These are some examples of short sentences that the text creator has used to describe the character of the out group as people trying to defame Buhari because he has refused to steal as well as refused to let them loot the treasury. This is the only reason that they do not want Buhari to be reelected. The choice of these words has successfully presented Buhari as a trustworthy man that is being ganged up against for his honesty.

Discourse Strategy and Ideology

The discourse strategy employed in the text above is to present the critics of Buhari as enemies of truth and that of the nation. This is made possible by showing that Buhari as a member of the in group is different and upright while his critics are members of the out group and they are the bad ones. Buhari is the hero in this narrative because; he refused to steal and did not allow them to loot the treasury. Buhari has support from people that are like him members of the in group called 'OUR'. So this evil will not happen under their watch. That is why, 'THEY' the out group are broke and they want to retire Buhari with blackmail, falsehood and violence. The retirement here refers to Buhari's second term bid. He would be retired if he is not reelected. The text creator is also connoting that anytime there is any negative news about Buhari, it is a scheme by the out group to spread falsehood and blackmail the president.

5. Conclusion

The lexico-syntactic patterns in the 2019 presidential election campaign advertisements differ from one text to another. It also depends on the ideology that the text creator is trying to portray. The major reason why presidential campaigns are done is so that the candidate vying for the post of Mr President will get support of the electorates. This is why the texts creators of the advertisements in this study have carefully chosen their resources in text creation to construe a lot of meanings. The first stratagem is the creation of two groups, the out-group where the opposition is presented negatively, and only negative things are said about them. The second very effective stratagem is the use of the in-group where the reader is often subtly included in the action or event taking place or about to take place. The meaning made out of phrases like; 'Not on our watch'; 'follow wisely'; 'let's get Nigeria working again' makes the reader to have a feeling of responsibility and the need to do something. The text creator makes the reader included as a member of the in-group and a need to be on their side. It has the ability to make a reader to take sides. Also, the representation of the opposition as members of the out-group created meanings that were clear like; Atiku corrupt which implies that he should not be voted for but Buhari should be voted likewise the supporters of Atiku presented Buhari as corrupt and therefore he should not be voted for. Certain ideological markers were used to get support actors' description, authority, irony and victimization. The study further revealed that all the texts had ideologies inherent in them. The ideologies have been summarized below;

1. APC is a haven of corrupt Nigerians.
2. Atiku is a thief.
3. Buhari is a wicked ruler.
4. Buhari and Atiku do not care about the poor.
5. APC is a haven for deceitful politicians.
6. Only clueless Nigerians will give Buhari their votes for a second term.
7. Buhari is incorruptible.

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