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**CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECH OF FORMER SENATE PRESIDENT AHMED
LAWAN ON XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

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Abstract

This paper is on critical discourse analysis of the speech of the former senate President Ahmed Lawan on xenophobic attacks in South Africa. It deals with the role of language as instrument of power, and ideological structures and agent of liberation. The study uses critical discourse analysis to examine the role of language in creating and sustaining power and ideology with the aim of challenging dominance as a result of the xenophobic attacks of Nigerians in South Africa. The aim of the study is to analyse critically the strategy adopted by the senate president and find out how it really achieved in liberating the people of Nigeria. The theoretical framework used for the research is critical discourse analysis the study also adopted socio-cognitive approach and dialectical relational approach as the basis of analysis. Language structures were analysed on how they create meanings that portray ideology and power with the aim of challenging dominance and injustice. Utterance relating to ideology and power were purposively sampled for analysis. The finding of the study reveals how language manipulation in the speech is used as ideological strategies. The findings reflect the linguistic devices such as idiomatic expressions and rhetorical questions were used implicitly to project ideological position of the senate president. As a result, the study clearly revealed how the senate president employed language as a strategy for power and ideology against injustice of the xenophobic attacks of Nigerians by the South African people through the careful use of some lexical items and strong imperatives which allowed him create power relation that logically actualized his aims. Based on the critical discourse analysis of the speech, the study therefore revealed how the senate president has logically and ideologically used power of language to resist the xenophobic attacks against Nigerians by the South African people. The researcher concludes that peace linguistics be emphasize so as to ensure protection and justice for the minority groups everywhere in the world and the xenophobic attacks in South Africa is one of them.

Introduction

language is a speech produced by human beings in order to express their ideas, emotions, thoughts, desires and feelings which implies that language is a process of exchanging information, (Austin, and Searle,) cited in Devid (40) have stressed the role of language as a social tool in human interaction. Language plays a crucial role for every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language. Nigerians have suffered a lot in South Africa despite the fact that Nigeria helped South Africa securing her independence; Nigeria confronted the apartheid regime of South Africa until it came to an end, and Nigerian people were very patient not to talk about it until recently when the attacks on Nigerians and other foreigners became more pronounced.

The xenophobic attacks in South Africa which shook Nigerians most was the 2019 attacks that led to the death and destruction of properties of a lot of Nigerians. Nigerian leaders have expressed their dismay against the unfortunate attacks by South African people. The former Senate President Dr. Ahmed Ibrahim Lawan, is one of the prominent Nigerians that delivered a speech in that regard, the event happened in 2019 when he was the senate president, the speech was meant to tell South African government the position of Nigeria and the need for redress, given the enormous domestic attention given to the xenophobic attack to avoid further escalation. Activities like these are established maintained and conducted by the use of language. That is why language is an important tool of politics and power. Though language is used to gain and maintain

power, it is also used to resist against inequality especially xenophobic attacks; in addition, it is infused with certain ideologies, norms, values, attitudes, beliefs, differences, goals and emotions as regards to the social structure of the society.

The above elements manifest in the choice of linguistic features and the meaning of such elements are constructed and can change based on the context by which it's used. Thus, language is not innocent but rather a loaded vehicle of power and ideology. It is based on the above assumptions that critical discourse analysis is chosen to reveal the implicit ideological forces at work in the speech of the former senate President. Based on the above, there is need to critically examine discursive strategies used by the senate president to project ideological beliefs and power manipulation in his effort to liberating the people of Nigeria and this analysis can be fruitfully achieved by using critical discourse analysis (Fairclough; 27).

Conceptual Review Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a term used as an umbrella for a growing field of research that covers different theoretical approaches and analytical emphasis. What these approaches share is a social constructionist epistemology that implies that language is not only a mirror of the world and phenomenon but that make up the world (Van Dijk; 4).

Discourse is often defined in two different ways that make different assumptions about nature of language: the formalist paradigm views discourse as language 'above the sentence or above the clause' (Snubbs; 1); whereas formalist theorist paradigm regards discourse as 'language in use' (Brown and Yule; 1).

Van Dijk (164) points to yet another important aspect, that discourse should be understood as action, as a specific form of language use, and a specific form of social

interaction, interpreted as a complete communicative event in a social interaction.

Schiffrin (31) propose another definition that is at the intersection of structure and function- 'discourse as utterance'- which suggest that it is a collection of 'inherently contextualised unit of language use'. According to the functionalist paradigm, the analysis of language cannot be divorced from the analysis of the purpose and functions of language in human life. Hallyday (35) claims that 'investigation of language as a social behavior is not only relevant to the understanding of social structure; it is also relevant to the understanding of language'. This functionalist view sees discourse as culturally and socially organised way of speaking. The view of language as action and social behavior is also emphasised by CDA which sees discourse as a form of social practice.

Political Discourse

Political discourse is a sub-category of discourse and a result of politics. There is a nexus between politics and discourse because of the socio-economic and political coverage of discourse. CDA is hinged on dominance, power, discourse, ideology and institution, and politics cannot exist without all of these. This is why invariably gave birth to the political discourse.

Political discourse is historically and culturally determined and can be viewed from two perspectives - functional and thematic. For the purpose of this study, political discourse here will be viewed from functional perspective that focuses on the relationship between discourse and politics. According to Van Dijk political discourse is identified by its actors or authors vis. Politicians (42).

Indeed, the vast bulk of study in political discourse are about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime

ministers and other members of government, parliament, or political parties at the local, national, and international levels. Van Dijk buttress that participants and the action are core context of political discourse, although he argues that actors and authors and other political practices are not only the participant in the domain of politics (14).

From the interaction point of view of discourse analysis, others include the various participants or recipient in political communicative event, such as public, the people, citizen, the 'mases', and other groups or categories.

According to Thorn language influence thought, therefore, if language is manipulated, so is the process of thought. Politician therefore can influence the way we think about the event around us, the words they choose are social part of the process (369).

Language is, therefore, considered an instrument of manipulation by politician to achieve their set goals. Politicians have different ideologies which make their approach to political issues differently. Political discourse consequently therefore fulfils different functions due to different political activities. Some of this function according to Woods (50) includes protesting, legitimizing, intimidating, persuading the people, or leading them to particular view politically and acting in a way that is consistent with reality.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, or rather transdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse. It is a helpful method in multiple areas, such as education, literacy, racism/xenophobia, ideology, politics, economy, advertisements, institution and media language. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach to the study of discourse that is used to analyze the written and spoken texts to explore the discursive

sources of power, dominance inequality and bias. It critically evaluates how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political, and historical contexts.

Fairclough (9) maintain, that Critical discourse analysis (CDA) brings the critical tradition of social analysis into language studies and contributes to critical social analysis a particular focus on discourse and on relations between discourse and other social elements (power relations, ideologies, institutions, social identities, and so forth).

According to Luke (22), "Critical discourse analysis refers to the use of an ensemble of techniques for the study of textual practice and language use as social and cultural practices." Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is obviously not a homogenous model, nor a school or a paradigm, but at most a shared perspective on doing linguistics, semiotic or discourse analysis. (van Dijk 131) CDA objective is to perceive language use as social practice. The users of language do not function in isolation, but in a set of cultural, social and psychological frameworks.

CDA accepts this social context and studies the connections that exists between textual structures and takes this social context into account and explores the links between textual structures and their function in interaction within the society.

In all these areas CDA focuses on issues like power asymmetries, manipulation, structural inequalities and exploitation (Blumer, 451-452).

CDA is therefore not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se but in studying social phenomena which are necessary complex and thus requires more than one approach. It should be pointed out the linguistic factors, although intrinsic in the CDA, however forms part of the overall approaches to the analysis. The subject under investigation does not have to be related to

negative or exceptionally 'serious' social or political experiences or event.

This is a frequent misunderstanding of the aims and goals of CDA and of the term 'critical' which of course does not mean negative as in the commonsense usage. Any course social lends itself to critical investigation, to be challenged and not taken for granted (Wodak and Meyer; 2).

In the view of Martin, discourse is a major instrument of power and control and critical discourse analysis feels that it is indeed part of their professional role to investigate, reveal and clarify how power and discriminatory value and inscribed in and mediated through linguistic system (5).

In this respect, language and semiotic content are the main carriers of these discursive manipulations which necessitated the current effort to scan them and lay them bare. This view further reinforces the point that CDA deals basically with ideologically driven discrimination, inequality and injustice.

CDA is essentially political in intent with its practitioners acting upon the world in order to transform it and thereby help create a world where people are not discriminated against because of their origin, sex, nationality, creed, age or social class. This means CDA conduct research in solidarity and cooperation with the dominated groups.

Brett Delilinger (2) in an article on critical discourse analysis explains that CDA has made the study of language into an interdisciplinary tool that can be used by scholars with various backgrounds.

Language and Ideology

Ideology is one of the controversial in the social sciences and the humanities. The concept of ideology, like the concept of discourse and power, is probably the one that most defies precise definition. Broadly the term refers systems of ideas, beliefs, practices

and representations which work in the interest of a social class or cultural group. Common usage generally falls into two categories: a critical definition allied with Marxist theory and relativist definition used in liberal social theory and popular discourse.

According to the Williams (126), the word ideology first appeared in English in 1796, as a direct translation of the new French and *ideologie* which had been proposed by the rationalist philosopher Destutt de Tracy to denote the 'science of ideas, in order to distinguish it from the ancient metaphysics'. In addition to the scientific meaning, a more derogatory meaning of the term was derived from the so-called 'ideologues' of post-revolutionary France quickly acquired a negative meaning, as Napoleon accused the 'ideologues' and their doctrines of being responsible for the decline of the country (Thompson; 99). This negative connotation of the term was preserved in the writings of Marx and Engels (1845-46) that saw the ruling ideas as 'nothing more than ideal expression of the dominant material relationship'. Failure to realise this produced ideology as an upside-down version of reality.

This is reflected in the notion of ideology as 'false consciousness', which implies that under the influence of ruling class domination (hegemony), the working class may have misguided belief about the material condition of its existence. Dominant ideologies in that case are an instrument of the ruling class to conceal its power and the real socio-economic conditions of the working class. Because the ruling class, no matter how defined, control the means of production, including the (re)production of ideas (including those of politics, the media, education), they also have the ability to make the ruled more or less accept their ideologies as the undisputed truth. There is also a more neutral meaning of ideology in Marx' writings, namely a 'asset of ideas which arise from a given set of material interest' (Williams 129).

Later thinkers in the Marxist tradition, however, have stressed the implicit and unconscious materialization of ideologies in practice. Gramsci (328) defines ideology as a 'concept of the world that implicitly manifest in art, law, in economic activity and in the manifestations of individual and collective life'. For Gramsci, ideology is 'tied to action, and ideologies are judged in terms of their social effects rather than their truth values' (Fairclough 76).

In the writings of some social theorists (Selinger 76, Goulder 19, Hirst 18), it is a purely descriptive term, denoting 'system of thought'; or 'system of belief' of which belong to social action or political practice. According to this 'neutral conception' of ideology, has no intrinsic connection to the problem of domination.

The other, 'critical conception' of ideology links it to the process of sustaining asymmetrical relations of power – that is to the process of maintaining domination (Thompson 84). Unlike neutral conceptions, critical conception implies that the phenomena which are characterised as ideological are misleading, illusory or one-sided and susceptible to criticism. It is this critical concept of ideology that is adopted in this study to explore the relation between language and ideology by means of critical discourse analysis.

Power and Dominance

Defining the concept of 'power' and 'dominance' within both social theory and linguistics is problematic and been the subject of many studies. It is safe to say that practically all social relations and institutions in some way involve power, but although power is pervasive in social systems, conceptualization has remained a matter of disagreement (Lukes 177).

Traditionally, here we have two major views of power, the conflict and the consensus models. Power in the first instance is a relational concept, 'power over' and entails

domination by individuals or collectives. One of the most famous formulations of this view comes from Weber. He defines power as; the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests (53).

Given the assumption that when power implies resistance it implies conflict; Weber's definition has been understood to hold that conflict is essential in power relations. In his definition of power, he distinguishes 'power' and 'resistance' as distinct but inter-related phenomenon within power relation. Importantly, he gives an irreducible role to resistance in the analysis of power. The second view, the consensus model, sees power as a 'capacity to get things done' (Parson 19).

Power in this sense may be positive as well as repressive, and it is a capacity possessed in some degree by any actor, dominant or dominated. The concept of power is underpinning of Foucault's theory of discourse that power is conceived very differently from common sense and socio-political interpretations: "Power is everywhere, not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everywhere" (Foucault, 93).

For Wodak and Busch (109) the concept of power is revealed via the relations and effects of differences in social structures. Power is clearly expressed through language as: Language indexes power, expresses power, and is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and the long term.

Domination is defined as the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups that result in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, racial, ethnic and gender

inequality. Dominant speakers control the access to public discourse and are thus able to manage the mind of the people indirectly. They do so by using linguistic structures and strategy to manipulate people in such a way that they develop attitudes, values and norms that ultimately serve the interests of the dominant groups Van Dijk (98).

Xenophobia

Xenophobia as a universal phenomenon can be broadly defined as an intense dislike, hatred or fear of those perceived to be strangers and denotes behavior specifically based on the perception that the other is foreign to or originates from outside the community or nation. It is the fear or hatred of that which is perceived to be foreign or strange. It is an expression of perceived conflict between an in-group and an out-group and may manifest in suspicion by the one of the other's activities, a desire to eliminate their presence, and fear of losing national, ethnic or racial identity.

Tafira (1) said that societies like South Africa with a long history of settler colonialism have endured the long-lasting effect of racism and ethnicism which are ghosts that continue to hunt contemporary society. Tafira (16), Black-on-black-racism or Intra-black racism practiced by people of the same population group, which has characterised post-apartheid South African black social relations.

Speech

Communication is a function of language and it is carried out by speech in spoken language. Speech is represented by shorter or longer strings of linguistic items used in order to express particular purpose and includes both written and spoken text. Speech is dependent on the will of the speaker and therefore it is totally individual (Gallaway, 184). Language, on the other hand, is entirely social and changes from one speech community to another. Speech plays different roles on different occasions.

Theoretical Framework

The following are the Approaches adopted for the analysis of data for the research work:

1. Socio-cognitive Approach

Van Dijk's research perspective is called "socio-cognitive approach" (Van Dijk 97). It focuses on the psychology of expressing. It is based on the assumption that cognitive mediates between "society and "discourse". Van Dijk sees cognition as an interface between social practice and discourse. He believes that "discourse is not simply an isolated textual or ideological structure rather it is complex communicative events that also embodies a social context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception processes" (2). Discourse, communication and (other) forms of action and interaction are monitored by social cognition (Van Dijk 38).

The same is true for our understanding of social events or of social institutions and power relations. Hence social cognitions mediate between macro- and micro levels of society, between discourse and action, between the individual and the group. There are some obvious links between CDA and the study of the relations between knowledge and discourse structures. One of the general aims of CDA is to study the discursive production of dominance (power abuse) and its consequences on social inequality (Van Dijk 60).

Such social power relations are based on the preferential access to or control over scarce social resource by the dominant group. Although embodied in the minds of individuals, social cognitions are social because they are shared and presupposed by group members, monitor social action and interaction, and because the social and cultural organization of society as a whole (Resnick et al 23).

Social cognition allows us to link domination and discourse. They explain the production as well as the understanding and influence of text and talk. Discourse is seen as a communicative event, including conversation, interaction, written text as well as associated gestures, face work, typographical layout, images and any other “semiotic” or multi-media dimension of signification. Van Dijk relies on socio-cognitive theory and understands linguistics in a broad ‘structural-functional’ sense. He argues that CDA should be based on a second theory of context. Within this claim, the theory of social representation plays a main part. Social actors involved in discourse do not only use their individual experiences and strategies, they rely mainly upon collective frames of perceptions, called social representations. Social representations are shared members of social group and social representations are bound to specific social groups and do not span society as a whole. They are dynamic constructs and subject to permanent change.

2. Dialectical-Relational Approach

The Dialectical-Relational approach (DRA) driven by Norman Fairclough in 1996 takes a rather grand-theory-oriented position. The Fairclough focuses upon social conflict in the Marxian tradition and tries to detect its linguistic manifestations in discourse, in specific element of dominance, difference and resistance.

According to DRA, every social practice has a semiotic element. Fairclough, as quoted in Wudak and Meyer (27) understands CDA as ‘the analysis of the dialectical relationship between semiosis (including language) and other elements of social practices, these semiotic aspects of social practice are responsible for the constitution of genres and styles’. Its particular concern as opined by Fairclough is with the radical changes that are taken place in contemporary social life, with how discourse features within processes of change; and with shift in the relationship between semiosis and other social elements

within networks of practices. We cannot take the role of discourse in social practices for granted; it has to be established through analysis.

Therefore, CDA should pursue emancipatory objective and should be focused upon the problem confronting what can loosely be referred to as the ‘losers’ within particular forms of social life (Wodak & Meyer 27).

Methodology

This research is on critical discourse analysis of the speech of the former Senate President Ahmed Lawan on xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The data of this work is taken from the speeches of the former senate president and is analysed based on the methods of Critical Discourse Analysis, they present an overview of the theoretical positions and methodological objectives of CDA approach for effective understanding. The approaches are Socio-cognitive approach (SCA) and Dialectical Relational Approach (DRA). These will be used to critically analyse power relation and ideology in the selected speeches. To gain in-depth insights and detailed analysis of the power and ideology in the speech of the former senate president, purposive sampling is employed for the data collection. The speech is selected because he was the senate president and third in command, so as the third in command, it is assumed that whatever he says represents the position of Nigerian people.

For the purpose of this Research Critical Discourse Analysis of power and ideology in the speech of the former senate president, Ahmed Lawan on xenophobic attacks in South Africa, the data of this research is taken from the speeches of the senate president with the help of the OAK TV on YouTube.

The data is collected and presented, and are equally carefully taken and analysed one after the other. Utterances that dwell on Ideology and Power are purposively sampled for

analysis so as to provide effective description and interpretation of the speeches.

Results and Discussions

Power of Language as Agent of Liberalism in the Speech

"The South African Government must, as a matter of urgency, do whatever it takes to protect the lives and property of Nigerians living there, just as the Nigerian Government remains committed to the safety of South Africans residing here and their investments."

The senate president has used a power of language as a third citizens to command South African government to protect Nigerians by all possible means ***must as a matter of urgency do whatever it takes to protect the lives and property of Nigerians living there***". It's an indication that he means business. While showing his concern, he also assured the South African authorities that their people are safe in Nigeria.

Ideology as an Agent of Liberation in the Speech

"Nigeria has had enough of its citizens being targets of these attacks and will no longer tolerate hate crimes in any form against its citizens who are doing legitimate businesses in that country".

The speech above shows dominance, hatred and murder of innocent Nigerians by the South African people hence the use of the phrase "*hate crimes*", it also signifies resistance and liberation of Nigerian people through the use of the word "enough".

"The enormous contributions of Nigeria to this historic struggle are underscored by its recognition as a frontline state in the prolonged confrontation against the powerful racist regime that had held

generations of Southern Africans in bondage and sub-human conditions".

The above speech is telling the South African authorities that Nigerian contributed a lot for South African's independence against apartheid regime. Beyond that, the senate president is saying that Nigeria is not the enemy of South Africa to warrant its citizens being treated in subhuman condition, in fact, Nigerian people were with them when they needed them most.

"It is noteworthy that South Africans and their businesses are prospering from the clean environment that Nigeria offers to all without discrimination. We demand no less from them".

The utterance above by the senate president recognises that one of the processes of justice is fairness. He identifies with the ideology of social inclusiveness and its positive virtues as key to mutual understanding and economic growth. However, a critical look at the statements of the former senate president, and considering the factor of inclusivity which is signalled by the word "Nigeria", "all" and "us" in this context, it stands to common sense that the main aim was to communicate the Nigerian government logical arguments to South African government to act quickly to defend Nigerians and their interest in South Africa. This is because they also stand to lose if Nigeria does the same to their people and interest.

(Tuesday, 3rd September, 2019)

Idiomatic expressions as Ideological tool for Liberalism

- (1) The South African parliament must act fast to put a stop to this menace.
- (2) Every step necessary must be taken in protecting law-abiding foreigners.

Findings

The former senate president used deliberate choice of certain lexical and linguistic items such as phrases, pronouns, sentences structures, idiomatic expressions as ideology to challenge the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The speech revealed the role played by Nigeria to their independence and Nigeria's role to South African economy in addition, he used inclusive and collectives to show unity and strength and power of language in his quest to actualize his agenda of protecting the Nigerians in South Africa using diplomatic means.

Conclusion

The work, critical discourse analysis of the speech of the former senate president in respect of the xenophobic attacks in South Africa, the study has been conducted based on the Van Dijk's "socio-cognitive approach and dialectical-relational approach (DRA) driven by Norman Fairclough. The work explores the role of the CDA in liberating the Nigerians and other blacks that are living in South Africa from xenophobic attacks. The use of idiomatic expressions as the ideological structures, power of language and inclusive and the exclusives in the speech by the former senate president to identify with Nigerian people have ideologically positioned Nigerian people in an advantageous position regarding their ordeal in South Africa. Thus, the study has achieved in unveiling power and ideology in the speech for better understanding.

Recommendations

This work is on the critical discourse analysis of speech of former senate president in respect of the xenophobic attacks in South Africa that focused on the critical aspect of power, dominance, and ideology and underlined message. However, there is need for subsequent researchers to focus on other linguistic aspects of the speeches such as stylistic analysis to look at the different style they employed to pass across their messages as it will also add to the existing knowledge.

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