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Analysing the Discourse on Corruption in Presidential Speeches in Nigeria, 1957- 2015: Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis Frameworks

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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.**

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Key Words

Corruption

Presidential speeches

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Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

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Discourse

Appraisal

Transitivity

Ideology



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Abstract

Corruption as a concept is viewed differently by various disciplines, but there seems to be consensus that it relates to the misuse of public office for private gain. Studies in the social sciences, mainly political science, economics, sociology and law, have provided valuable insights into the subject, for example, its causes, manifestations and consequences. In a country such as Nigeria, corruption is said to have cost the country up to \$20 trillion between 1960 and 2005, and it could cost up to 37% of its GDP by 2030 if the situation is not urgently addressed.

The paradox, however, is that although all successive leaders of the country have consistently articulated their anti-corruption posture in national speeches, they get accused by their successors of not being tough on corruption both in word and in deed. Regrettably, there have been relatively few close textual analyses of presidential speeches carried out within analytical frameworks in linguistics that have the potential of revealing how presidents can simultaneously talk tough and soft on corruption, a contradiction that could well explain the putative anti-corruption posture of the country's leaders and the ever deepening corruption in the land.

It is against this backdrop that this study draws on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) in order to examine language choices related to the theme of corruption in speeches made by Nigerian presidents from 1957 to 2015. The objectives of the study are to (1) provide an overview of how the discourse on corruption has evolved in Nigerian presidential speeches from 1957-2015; (2) determine specific facets of the construal of corruption from the dominant choices made from the system of transitivity (process, participants, circumstance) in speeches by different presidents and at different time points in their tenure in office; (3) analyse how the interpersonal metafunction of language is enacted in the speeches by the presidents through the system of appraisal for a strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation; (4) interrogate from a critical discourse analysis standpoint the interest, ideological, partisan or other bases for the choices made in the speeches from the systems associated with the experiential and interpersonal metafunctions of language; and (5) to evaluate the different presidents in terms of how the above analyses position them in relation to combating corruption.

The findings show that the discourse on corruption has been present in the speeches of Nigerian leaders as early as 1957, shortly before the country's independence. Also, the analysis reveals that language choices largely deployed by the presidents indicate strategic ambivalence towards tackling corruption. Interests, such as the quest for legitimacy, the need to consolidate power and the fear of post-tenure loss of immunity from prosecution, may explain the patterns of language choices observed in the speeches. Whereas this research has attended to what is said about corruption, it would be interesting for future research to focus on what is unsaid (silence) about corruption.

Declaration

I declare that *Analysing the Discourse on Corruption in Presidential Speeches in Nigeria, 1957-2015: Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis Frameworks* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Hakeem Olafemi Ogunmuyiwa

Signed: _____ Date: _____



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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.0. An Overview of Corruption

Corruption is viewed as a global issue (Hawley 2000; Shah 2011). It is seen as one of the greatest challenges of the contemporary world (Transparency International 1998), as it is found almost everywhere across the world (Yeboah-Assiamah et.al. 2014; Senior 2006; Amundsen 1999). It is described as a cross-systemic, cross-temporal and cross-cultural phenomenon which can exist in any country, at any time, and under any form of government (Farralles 2005). As far back as 1961, scholars have described corruption as existing in ‘all governments in the public services of all countries’ (McMullan 1961).

It is therefore not surprising that the subject of corruption is widely researched by scholars of different disciplines, but mainly political science and economics (e.g. Heidenheimer and Johnston 2001; Senior 2006; Warren 2004; Uslaner 2008; Kaufmann 1997; Tanzi 1998; Rose Ackerman 1999; Jain 2001). Other fields of the social sciences that also research corruption include sociology and anthropology (Khondker 2006; Bassey et.al. 2013, Nuijten and Anders 2007; Campbell 2007), as well as law (e.g. Tortora 2007; Buscaglia and Dakolias 1998). More recently, scholarly effort is being made to understand corruption using some paradigms related to linguistics (Kajsiu 2014; Koechlin 2013).

Just as there are several disciplines researching corruption, there are also debates over how corruption should be conceptualised, defined and described (Faralles 2005; Nuijten and Anders 2007). Therefore, it is not surprising to find varied definitions, conceptualizations of corruption as well as philosophical standpoints. There is, for instance, the view of the moralist scholars which is contrasted to those of the revisionists. Whereas the moralists condemn corruption, and believe that any type of corruption is inherently toxic to society, to politics, and to development in general, the revisionists see corruption as a by-product of modernization and development, and, thus, ‘not inherently harmful’ (Farralles 2005, 14-16; Nuijten and Anders 2007).

As indicated above, definitions of corruption are many and varied. One of the most cited definitions is that of Joseph Nye (1967) who defines corruption as:

...a behaviour which deviates from the formal duties of a public role (elective or appointive) because of private-regarding (personal, close family, private clique) wealth or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence. (Nye 1967, 417).

Nye's definition attempts to view corruption as involving actions which violate stipulated statutory regulations or code of conduct that should guide the activities of a public officer. Another Nye-type definition was that of Robert Neild who also focuses on corruption in relation to public duties as 'the breaking by public persons, for the sake of private financial or political gain, of the rules of conduct in public affairs prevailing in a society in the period under consideration' (Neild 2002: 6). Senior (2006) goes further to define the concept along five conditions which must all be satisfied together. To him, corruption can be said to occur 'when a corruptor (1) *covertly* gives (2) *a favour* to a corruptee or to a nominee to influence (3) *action(s)* that (4) *benefit* the corruptor or a nominee, and for which the corruptee has (5) *authority*' (Senior 2006, 27). This definition, according to Senior (2006), has several advantages – one of which is its applicability to actions that take place at any level in any institution within any sector – public, private, voluntary and charitable.

It is difficult to exhaust the list of corruption. It is, however, customary to subsume types of corruption under two major labels - political corruption and bureaucratic corruption. Political corruption occurs when politicians and political decision-makers (presidents or heads of states, ministers and other high-ranking public officials) who are mandated to formulate, establish and implement the laws in the name of the people, are themselves corrupt. It involves the use of power by government officials for illegitimate private gain. This type of corruption usually takes place at the highest levels of political authority. Bureaucratic corruption, on the other hand, occurs in the public administration or at the implementation end of politics. These corrupt activities involve appointed bureaucrats in their business/official relations with either their superiors (the political elites) or with the general public.

It is the kind of corruption citizens encounter daily at places like the hospitals, schools, local licensing offices, police, tax offices, and so on. It is also called low-level or petty corruption (Schulte-Bockholt 2013; Heidenheimer and Johnston 2011; Urien 2012; Taylor 2010; Andvig et al. 2000; Rose-Ackerman 1998; Moody-Stuart 1997).

Whether it is political or bureaucratic, corruption takes the form of bribery and graft, embezzlement, abuse of power, cronyism, favouritism, nepotism and extortion, clientelism and patronage, electoral malpractice, and manipulation of regulations among others (Senior 2006; Andvig et al 2000; Amundsen 1999; Urien 2012; Eskeland and Thiele 1999; Fjeldstad 1999).

Evidence shows that the causes of corruption vary according to site or geography. This seems to explain why 'conclusions with respect to causality are blurred' (Andvig et al 2000). While the moralists share the notion that human greed is at the heart of corruption everywhere, a lot of the literature on corruption points to poor public institutions, poverty and inequality (Rose-Ackerman 1999; Myrdal 1968; Treisman 2000; Myint 2000; Goel and Nelson 2010; Ades and Di Tella 1997; Aidt 2003; Bardhan 1997; Jain 2001; Lambsdorff 2006b; Serra 2006; Tanzi 1998; Morgan 1998). Furthermore, Fijnaut and Huberts (2002) distinguish between the causes of corruption in lower income (less developed) countries and the causes in higher income (developed) countries; low salaries and poor working conditions greatly improve the chances of corrupt instances occurring in the former (see also, *de Graaf* 2007).

Regardless of causality, corruption is recognised as producing certain effects at the level of individual, society and the state. There seems to be a consensus among scholars that corruption (of whatever type or form) is inimical to socio-economic growth and equal distribution of wealth. It further impoverishes the poor, incapacitates governments and administrations, reduces investment, prevents development and destroys the image of any nation (Andvig et al 2000; Jain 2001; Galtung and Pope 1999; Doig and Theobald 2000; Bayart et al. 1997; Tanzi and Davoodi 1997; Urien 2012; Adeyemi 2012).

The above effects are true of Nigeria; and we illustrate this by drawing largely from current affairs or news sources. With almost 200 million¹ people, it has the largest population in Africa and the seventh largest in the world. This enormous human capital is complemented with abundant natural

¹ According to the United States Census Bureau, Nigeria's population stands at 195,300,343 as at February, 2018.

resources and favorable climate for agriculture. Nigeria is also the largest producer of petroleum in Africa; the 11th oil producing country in the world (Joe Weisenthal, *Business Insider*, March 2012). These potentials are reflected in various indices. In 2014 and early 2015, Nigeria was named the third fastest growing economy in the world by *CNNMoney* (see *Vanguard* April 26, 2016), but by 2016 it had lost this position. However, the retrogression was blamed on the huge drop in the price of crude oil, which is the country's main export, as well as sabotage of key oil installations by militants (*Quartz Africa* January 03, 2018). Between 2009 and 2011, a total of N22.165tr (\$143.5bn) was earned as revenue from the oil and gas sector alone. In the first seven months of 2013, Nigeria recorded earnings of over \$20bn from the sale of crude oil (*Punch* 27 March 2015). And 'on annual basis, the total exports of Nigeria stood at N17.204 trillion at the end of 2014, representing a rise of N2.959bn or 20.8 per cent over the level of 2013' (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017).

The Nigerian context is therefore very significant because of the apparent mismatch between the country's enormous resources and its performance in relevant indexes. Despite the recorded economic growth in the preceding years, the country's unemployment rate rose from 14.2% to 18.8% in 2017 (National Bureau of Statistics 2017). It is also reported that more than 35 million Nigerians were living in 'extreme poverty' which implies living on less than \$1.90 a day² (World Bank 2017). Also the average inflation rate which stood at 8.5% in 2013 has risen to 16.31% in 2017 (*Statista* 2018). The country is still heavily dependent on import as local production of basic commodities and goods are still at minimal level. For instance, an import value of N2, 348.6 billion was recorded in third quarter of 2017, although statistics show an increase of up to 13.19% in exports within the same period (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017). In terms of human prosperity, Nigeria was ranked 128th in the world, even behind smaller African countries with smaller resources such as Benin, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast and Togo (Legatum Institute 2017).

Placed side by side with the country's enormous wealth, these poor socio-economic indicators suggest the role corruption is playing in the life of the country. According to the *Economist*:

Nigeria's economy, which was worth \$513 billion in 2014, might have been 22% bigger if its level of corruption were closer to Ghana's, a nearby West

² Contained in the World Bank's 2017 Atlas of Sustainable Development Goals.

African country. By 2030, the size of Africa's biggest economy should triple in real terms come what may. Yet if Nigeria manages to reduce corruption to levels comparable to Malaysia ... its economy could be some 37% bigger still. The additional gain would be worth some \$534 billion (adjusted for inflation), or about as much as the economy is currently worth. (*The Economist*, February 16, 2016).

From 1996 to 2007, Nigeria was listed among the top ten corrupt countries by the body by Transparency International (TI). In 2016, no remarkable improvement was observed as the organization ranked Nigeria 136 out of the 176 countries surveyed scoring only 28 points out of 100, and the report for 2017 still shows a slight deterioration by one point (27%) ranking it 148 out of the 180 countries assessed (TI February, 2018). It is worth noting that Transparency International (TI) is said to provide, through its Corruption Perceptions Index, 'the most valuable tool available that compares corruption between countries' (Senior 2006, 66). It relies on 'twelve different independent sources on the extent of perceived corruption in the countries covered, and individual countries are included only if a minimum of three sources are available' (Senior 2006, 128). The ranking is done on a scale of zero (perceived to be highly corrupt) to 100 (perceived to be maximally transparent).

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Corruption in Nigeria especially has been extensively researched from a range of disciplines such as political science, sociology, economics and law (e.g. Schulte-Bockholt 2013; Heidenheimer and Johnston 2001; Senior 2006; Warren 2004; Uslaner 2008; Jain 2001; Kaufmann 1997; Tanzi 1998; Rose Ackerman 1999; Nye 1967, 2008; Eke 1975; Waterbury 1973; Williams 1976, 1999).

Also, the analytical approach to and focus of corruption studies have been varied. Some of these studies are conducted using (verified) data from sources such as the Transparency International (TI) (Senior, 2006; Thompson and Shah, 2005), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Tanzi 1998; Rose-Ackerman 1997, 2013) in order to comprehend possible economic implications of corruption such as determination of poverty level in specific countries, cost of doing business, or of executing government projects. The motivation for corruption research in political science, public administration and sociology are substantially related to its (corruption) relationship with governance, political power dynamics and developmental concerns. Through

observation of socio-economic and political situations and events (such as disparities in wealth, poor infrastructures, and poverty spread), information gathered is analysed usually with theoretical notions related to corruption including clientelism, prebendalism, patrimonialism, dictatorship, and rent-seeking (Warren 2004; Smith 2007; Shopeju and Ojukwu 2008, 2010; Ikejiaku 2013; Adebani 2012). To others, corruption is studied from the perspective of human rights violation, advancing legal frameworks for addressing some of the root causes of human rights violations and poverty (Olaniyan 2016; Peter 2015).

Undoubtedly, these studies have contributed immensely to our understanding of corruption. Regrettably, there have been relatively few close textual analyses of presidential speeches carried out within analytical frameworks in linguistics that have the potential of revealing how presidents can simultaneously talk tough and soft on corruption, a contradiction that could well explain the putative anti-corruption posture of the country's leaders and the ever deepening corruption in the land.

In the few studies of the speeches of presidents, particularly those of Nigeria, the focus has either been on issues such as declaration of interest to contest presidential elections (Kamalu and Agangan 2012), use of personal pronouns in a president's speech (Bello 2013), or on the presence of features derived from pragmatics (Ayemoni and Akinkuolere 2012).

Interestingly, it is established that the way in which language is used by social actors (including presidents) in the social arena can generate very important clues on how such social actors may position themselves relative to certain social phenomena such as corruption. A lot of information which can be of great value to understanding corruption can be derived from the choices in the text and talk made by social actors. As a result of this palpable neglect of the study of corruption by using linguistic (discourse) frameworks to analyse presidential speeches in a country like Nigeria, our knowledge is relatively inadequate with respect to:

1. how the resources of language employed in the speeches of (Nigerian) presidents reveal how these presidents construe corruption;
2. possible variations in the construal of corruption at the beginning and at the end of a given president's tenure;
3. how language resources employed in speeches by (Nigerian) presidents are overtly critical of corruption while simultaneously belying their commitment to fight it;

4. how the presidents discursively position themselves, their governments, state bureaucrats in relation to corruption on the one hand, and the citizenry on the other;
5. and the type(s) of corruption that receive the most or the least attention in speeches.

1.2. Aim and Objectives of the Research

From the foregoing, the aim of this research is to examine language choices related to the theme of corruption in speeches³ made by Nigerian presidents⁴ from 1957 to 2015. Based on the above-stated aim, our objectives are to:

1. provide an overview of how corruption-related issues, themes and types have evolved in Nigerian presidential⁵ speeches from 1957-2015;
2. determine specific facets of the construal of corruption from the dominant choices made from the system of transitivity (process, participants, circumstance) in speeches by different presidents and at different time points in their tenure in office;
3. analyse how the interpersonal metafunction of language is enacted in the speeches by the presidents through the system of Appraisal for a strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation vis-à-vis corruption;
4. interrogate from a critical discourse analysis standpoint the interest, ideological, partisan or other bases for the choices made in the speeches from the systems associated with the experiential and interpersonal metafunctions of language;
5. evaluate the different presidents in terms of how the above analyses position them in relation to combating corruption.

1.3. Research Questions

In order to achieve the stated aim and objectives, the following questions are relevant:

1. When do corruption-related themes and types begin to manifest in Nigerian presidential speeches and how have these themes evolved from 1957 – 2015?

³ Although it is well-known that speeches of important figures such as presidents are authored by speech writers, these speeches reflect the posture of leaders who would have vetted, approved and taken responsibility for them.

⁴ As seen in the Methodology chapter, the term 'president' is used to refer all Nigerian leaders irrespective of whether they are heads of state (civilian or military), prime minister (Abubakar Tafawa Balewa) or head of Interim National Government (Ernest Shonekan).

⁵ Thus their speeches are generally referred to as 'presidential' speeches.

2. What are the dominant choices made from the system of transitivity (Process, Participants and Circumstances) in the clauses that make up the speeches of different presidents and at different time points in their tenure in office?
3. What resources of the interpersonal metafunction of language are drawn upon in the speeches delivered at different times to project a positive self-presentation of the president/administration and a negative other presentation?
4. What partisan, ethnic, religious and other concerns inform the choices made in the speeches from the systems associated with the experiential and interpersonal metafunctions of language?
5. Which presidential speeches draw the most on those resources of the experiential and interpersonal metafunctions of language that index a strong commitment to combating corruption generally or of a specific type?

1.4. Scope and Delimitations

In typical presidential speeches where several issues of national significance are addressed, it is seldom that an entire speech is devoted to corruption. In spite of this reality, this research identifies those parts of the speeches that address the issue of corruption.

The research limits its study of corruption to the period between 1957 and 2015. This time frame does not suggest that there was no corruption prior to 1957, nor after 2015.

Using a corpus query tool might have been useful in analysing the corpus, and was indeed contemplated. However, this would have called for substantial time investments in multiple layers of manual annotations of the corpus – because information on corruption is not just encoded lexically. A corruption item can unfold over a phrase or an entire clause. A lot of contextual knowledge may be required which might not be easily formulated as a machine-usable heuristic.

We therefore analysed the corpus manually, with inter-rater strategy to limit potential errors or bias which a machine-supported corpus analysis generally avoids.

1.5. Overview of chapters

Having presented an overview of corruption and the motivation for this dissertation, the next chapter (Chapter 2) reviews the relevant literature. It provides comprehensive definitions of

corruption, its history and prevalence, its typologies and causes. It also discusses Nigeria as the context for the study of corruption and most importantly, the social construction of corruption and its connection to language and discourse. Chapter 3 is on the theoretical underpinnings of the research: Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. Both theories are complementary in that they conceptualize language from a social perspective. In other words, the two theories are connected in the sense that they both consider language as an integral part of social structure, thus they become useful tools to investigate social issues such as corruption. Chapter 4 is on research methodology where we describe our research paradigm and justification for the choice, our data which comprise inaugural and valedictory speeches of presidents, approach to data analysis which includes method used to extract clauses and determination of corruption-related clauses.

The following four chapters (5 – 8) present and analyse the results. In Chapter 5, we present an overview of corruption in the speeches from 1957-2015. The data are approached quantitatively in order to describe the evolution of corruption-related issues in the speeches, compare and contrast inaugural and valedictory speeches, types of corruption expressed in the speeches as well as the speeches of military and civilian presidents. Chapter 6 is on construal of corruption in the speeches. The analysis is done using a framework (transitivity) in SFL. Transitivity involves studying how meaning is represented in the clause, and it involves three major components: process, participants and circumstance. Chapter 7 analyses interpersonal meaning in the presidential speeches using the appraisal framework. Appraisal analysis shows how various lexical configurations of corruption-related clauses in the speeches construe corruption interpersonally, especially between a president and other social actors. In Chapter 8, we account for choices in the speeches using Critical Discourse Analysis. The chapter investigates how the linguistic choices relating to corruption in the speeches reflect specific interests within the Nigerian society as well as ideological considerations that the choices are made to serve and how are the choices made to serve them.

Chapter 9 is the general conclusion chapter. In it, we recall the rationale and objectives of the research, the (Nigeria) context of the study and its potential significance, the theoretical framing as well as the methodology. The chapter also explains the major findings and contributions to scholarship and advocacy which these findings represent. Finally, the chapter describes a number of limitations of the study as well as directions for further research.



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CHAPTER 2: Literature Review

2.0. Introduction

As indicated in the preceding chapter, corruption is a ‘cross-temporal, cross-systemic and cross-cultural phenomenon’ which can exist under any form of government, in any country or state, and at any time (Farrales 2005, 3). This chapter provides an overview of the literature on corruption. It addresses a number of theoretical notions that clarify the subject matter, the Nigerian context of the study, and finally reviews the discourse analytical research on corruption. Specifically, the following topics are treated: definition of corruption, history and prevalence of corruption, typologies of corruption, causes of corruption, Nigeria as a context for the study of corruption, corruption as a social construction mediated through discourse, and finally studies of corruption from the standpoint of language.

As observed from the foregoing, we have placed emphasis on reviewing corruption from the standpoint of the social sciences first, not only because of the massive scholarship on the subject but also because in-depth understanding of debates on corruption would enable us to relate linguistic analyses to social analyses.

2.1. Definitions, Conceptualizations and Typologies of Corruption

Corruption is a social phenomenon which has been defined in different ways (Nechaev and Proskurina 2012, Melgar and Smith 2009; You 2007; Khondker 2006). Some of the definitions of corruption include ‘the misuse of public office for private gain’ (Rose-Ackerman 2008, 551); ‘the use of public office for private needs’ (Werlin 1973, 73); ‘illegal, or unauthorized, profiteering by officials who exploit their positions for personal gain’ (Blackburn, Bose and Haque 2004, 2); ‘the sale by government officials of government property for personal gain’ (Shleifer and Vishny 1993, 599); ‘abuse of public roles and resources for private benefit’ (Johnston, 1997:8); and ‘behaviour that deviates from the formal duties of a public role (elective or appointive) because of private regarding (personal, close family, private clique) wealth or status gains (Nye 1967,417).

Heidenheimer and Johnston (1970, 1989, 2007) propose three categories for understanding definitions of corruption namely, public-office-centred, market-centred and public-interest-

centred perspectives. Public office-centred definitions are particularly related to the concept of the public office and to deviations from the standard of practice which binds on the holders of such public offices. Two of such public-office-centred definitions are those of Joseph Nye (1967) and Michael McMullan (1961). Nye (1967) defines corruption as a:

... behaviour which deviates from the normal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (family, close private clique), pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence. This includes such behavior as bribery (use of reward to pervert the judgement of a person in a position of trust); nepotism (bestowal of patronage by reason of ascriptive relationship rather than merit); and misappropriation (illegal appropriation of public resources for private-regarding uses) (Nye 1967, 417).

This definition illustrates the public-centred angle to corruption. It recognises the public roles and duties as those guided by rules where deviation from such rules is unacceptable. For McMullan (1961), acceptance of money or anything of monetary value for what an official is paid to do or using the paraphernalia of office improperly amounts to corruption.

A public official is corrupt if he accepts money or money's worth for doing something that he is under duty to do anyway, that he is under duty not to do, or to exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reasons (McMullan 1961, 183-184).

However, both definitions do not include actions by politicians or bureaucrats who favour specifically targeted groups, such as persons from their own ethnic groups or home region, just as it excludes powerful lobbyists and interest groups within the private or non-governmental sectors (Farrales 2005; Senior, 2006).

Market-centred definitions are developed in terms of the theory of the market which is connected to Western and contemporary non-Western societies, where the norms governing public officeholders are either not clearly articulated or are nonexistent. Jacob Van Klaveren's definition is a good example:

A corrupt civil servant regards his public office as a business, the income of which he will... seek to maximize. The office then becomes a 'maximizing unit.' The size

of his income depends... upon the market situation and his talents for finding the point of maximal gain on the public's demand curve' (Van Klaveren 1970; see also, Farrales 2005).

This definition suggests the 'interference of market incentives with the (supposedly) non-discriminatory distribution of public services or benefits'. It also misses the greater nuance of Nye's definition. Johnston (2001) also argues that 'it overlooks not only the intangible benefits (prestige, promises of political support) that can flow from the abuse of authority, but also varieties that are not quid pro quo exchanges, such as embezzlement' (2001: 19).

The public-interest-centred definitions emphasize that corruption privileges special (or private) interest at the expense of the public interest. An example is Friedrich (1974):

The pattern of corruption can be said to exist whenever a power-holder who is charged with doing certain things, i.e., who is a responsible functionary or officeholder, is by monetary or other rewards not legally provided for, induced to take actions which favour whoever provides the rewards and thereby does damage to the public and its interests (Friedrich 1974: 66; see also Farrales 2005).

The emphasis here is on corruption that jeopardises public interest. This may be enacted when a public officer is induced with illegal favours (monetary or other rewards), and such favours enables the officeholder to act at the detriment of public interest. It is noted that there has been revival of attempts in the American context in the 1980s 'to employ the public interest concept to delegitimate...large-scale business financing of political activity by attaching the label of corruption to what is seen as legal or quasi-legal activities' (Heidenheimer and Johnston (eds.) 2002, 12).

The foregoing confirms the fact that definitions abound for corruption and nearly all mention the difficulties involved in formulating a definition (Pearson, 1999). Indeed, Gould (1991:467) notes that 'corruption has no single definition. It varies from region to region and remains largely contextual'. This variety of definitions may also be explained by the fact that corruption is studied from several different disciplines, including economics, law, sociology, political science and anthropology (Morgan 1998).

2.2. Types and Forms of Corruption

Political corruption is often used synonymously with ‘grand’ or ‘high level’ corruption (Sabongo 1993; Pearson 1999; TI 2011, 2017), as distinguished from bureaucratic or petty corruption (see below) because it largely involves top political decision-makers. Political or grand corruption takes place at the highest levels of the political system, when politicians and state agents mandated to make and enforce the laws in the name of the people, are using this authority to sustain their power, status and wealth. Political corruption does not only lead to misallocation and mismanagement of resources, but it also perverts the manner in which government decisions are made. In political corruption, established laws and other regulations are blatantly abused by the rulers, side-stepped, ignored, or even channelled to suit their interests (Byrne 2007; Schulte-Bockholt 2013). We can situate Heidenheimer's public-office-centred and public-interest-centred categorisations under political corruption.

Another major type of corruption widely discussed in the literature is bureaucratic corruption (e.g. Harris 2003). It occurs in the public administration or the implementation end of politics. It is described as the kind of corruption the citizens encounter daily at places like hospitals, schools, local licensing offices, police stations, the various government ministries, etc. Bureaucratic corruption may occur in different forms: when one obtains a business from the public sector through inappropriate procedure, or within an organisation where laws are deliberately broken for certain gains. Bureaucratic corruption can result in subjugating people in unlawful manners, discriminating against them based upon race, ethnicity, culture, or orientation, or serves to degrade other humans or groups for that institution's own profit (Urien 2012). This type of corruption is also called 'petty' corruption (Sabongo 1993; Pearson 1999; TI 2011, 2017).

Electoral corruption, as the name suggests, refers to ‘clandestine and illegal efforts to shape election results’. It may include promises of special favours, coercion, intimidation, and interference with freedom of election, buying of votes, disenfranchisement, snatching of ballot boxes, victimizing and maiming, mutilation of election results in favour of losers and votes turning up in areas where votes were not cast. Electoral corruption may also involve an illegally orchestrated method to forcefully take over power or reins of government (Babejiya 2011; Lehoucq 2003).

The moral type of corruption stems from the moralists' view of corruption as resulting from lack of moral and ethical values. The legal type of corruption results from any activity that contravenes the established laws and regulations (Byrne 2007; Gardiner 1993). Here, moral and legal corruption respectively are acts that are morally inappropriate; and as a phenomenon that goes against the established rules. Moral corruption appeals to self-regulated behaviours. For corruption to be considered a moral issue, all cases of corruption must include at least one of the following properties: they must have the ability to harm others, go against social norms and they should not uphold moral values. However, moral dimensions of corruption are now increasingly being addressed legally due to individuals failing to regulate their own behaviours. In legal corruption, a corrupt act can be camouflaged by lawful justification leading to illegality. Thus, Gardiner (1993, 42) maintained that 'if an official's act is prohibited by laws established by the government, it is corrupt; if it is not prohibited, it is not corrupt even if it is abusive or unethical'.

From a different perspective, Syed Alatas (1980) identifies seven types of corruption, namely, autogenic, defensive, extortive, inventive, nepotistic, supportive, and transactive which are explained below in Table 2.1 (Alatas 1980; see also Ajie and Wokekoro 2012).

Table 2.1 Types of Corruption (Alatas, 1980)

SN	Type	Meaning
1	Autogenic	Autogenic corruption is self-generating and typically involves only the perpetrator.
2	Defensive	This involves situations where a person needing a critical service is compelled to bribe in order to prevent unpleasant consequences being inflicted on the interests of such person.
3	Extortive	This refers to the behaviour of a person demanding personal compensation in exchange for services.
4	Inventive	It entails the offer of goods or services without a direct link to any particular favour at the present, but in anticipation of future situations when the favour may be required
5	Nepotistic	This refers to preferential treatment of, or unjustified appointment of, friends or relations to public office, in violation of the accepted guidelines.
6	Supportive	It involves actions taken to protect or strengthen the existing corruption.

7	Transactive	Transactive corruption refers to situations where the two parties are mutual and willing participants in the corrupt practice to the advantage of both parties
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In their own work, Johnson and Sharma (2004) propose a number of forms of corruption and the specific actions or the dynamics associated with each identified form (see also, Senior, 2006). Table 2.2 summarises their account.

Table 2.2 Forms and Manifestations of Corruption

S/N	Forms of corruption	Manifestations
1	bribery and graft	extortion and kickbacks
2	kleptocracy	stealing and privatising public funds
3	misappropriation	forgery, embezzlement, misuse of public funds
4	non-performance of duties	cronyism
5	influence-peddling	favour-brokering and conflict of interest
6	acceptance of improper gifts	'speed' money
7	protecting maladministration	cover-ups, perjury
8	abuse of power	intimidation and torture
9	manipulation of regulations	bias and election rigging
10	electoral malpractice	vote buying and election rigging
11	rent-seeking	public officials who illegally charge for services after creating an artificial shortage
12	clientelism and patronage	politicians giving material favours in exchange for citizen support
13	illegal campaign contributions	giving unregulated gifts to influence policies and regulations

As can be seen in Table 2.2, protecting maladministration is typically acted out through perjury and cover-ups. Also, clientelism and patronage is manifested by giving material favours in exchange for citizen support rather than implementing programmes that can favour the entire citizenry. This itemization explains the ramifications through which acts of corruption may be carried out.

2.3. Corruption: History and Prevalence

Corruption is said to be as old as organised human life, and indeed perhaps as old as any government (Klitgaard 1988, 7). However, writers such as Tanzi (1994), Kaufmann (1998) and Farrales (2005) substantiate its timeless nature by citing an old piece of Indian literature - The Arthashastra - which is approximately 2400 years old. In the text, one of the advisors to the emperor (Chandragupta Maurya), Kautilya (350-275 BCE) wrote about the prevailing corruption at the time and its seeming inevitability.

Imported goods shall be sold in as many places as possible... [and] local merchants who bring in foreign goods by caravan or by water routes shall enjoy exemption from taxes, so that they can make a profit. The King shall protect trade routes from harassment by courtiers, state officials, thieves and frontier guards... [and] frontier officers shall make good what is lost... Just as it is impossible not to taste honey or poison that one may find at the tip of one's tongue, so it is impossible for a government servant not to eat up at least a bit of the King's revenue... And there are about forty ways of embezzlement by the government servant... (Kautilya The Arthashastra 1991, 281).

This long history of corruption is not peculiar to India alone. As far back as the 3rd Century B.C., the penal code of the Qin dynasty in China, the first dynasty, contained very detailed and severe punishments for corruption (Lambsdorff Taube and Schramm 2005). Seventeen centuries after, corruption and inability to reform were some of the reasons for the collapse of the last Qing dynasty in 1912 (Park 1997, 2002). Ancient Europe also had a similar history of corruption. Corruption was prevalent in Rome and in Greece; and it was one of the major reasons for the collapse of the Roman Empire (MacMullen 1988). In the old Greek empire, corruption was seen as an overarching problem, and as a result, the Roman Council of Areopagus was established as an investigatory institution with the mandate of reporting corrupt behavior (see Farrales 2005).

Today, corruption is a social malaise with global spread. It is established that corruption takes place in both developing and developed countries. Western liberal democracies also experience corruption (Anders and Nuijten 2007; Farrales 2005). However, literature on the subject largely focus on developing countries as a result of the serious impact corruption has on national economy and growth. Considering this, there are concerns regarding the seeming scholarly bias in the ways

in which issues of corruption are treated in the developed countries compared to less developed countries. Anders and Nuijten (2007) argue that:

There is...a tendency to treat corruption in the more developed parts of the world as incidental, as at worst a few rotten apples – not like the structural and widespread corruption in less developed parts of the world (Anders and Nuijten 2007, 3).

With the yearly evaluation of countries for corrupt practices, such as that undertaken by independent organisations like the Transparency International, the global spread of corruption is now well established (Senior 2006). For example, the northern European country, Italy, is regarded as the hotbed of corruption, but because of its economic prowess, it is not a prime target of the global anticorruption coalition such as World Bank and Transparency International (Anders and Nuijten 2007). Also, about 20 presidents have faced cases of corruption across Latin America between 1980 and 2010, and in Ecuador, three presidents, namely, Abdalá Bucaram, Jamil Mahuad and Gustavo Noboa were prosecuted for corruption charges (Conaghan 2012). Former Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva was sued by federal prosecutors in Brazil in 2011, and was recently sentenced to nearly a decade in jail. Among other charges relating to misuse of public funds and money laundering, he was found guilty of accepting 3.7 million reais (£890,000 or \$1.2 million) worth of bribes from an engineering firm (Independent Wednesday July 12, 2017; Reuters Wednesday July 12, 2017).

Farrales (2005) maintains that developed democracies such as the United States, Canada, England and Japan are not immune to corruption scandals.

In the United States, the Whitewater scandal plagued the early Clinton years, and accusations over unfair PAC lobbying practices intensified the debate over campaign finance reform. In England, Neil Hamilton's involvement in the "cash for questions" scandal led to allegations of Tory sleaze. In Canada, Cameron (1994) published a damning exposé of corrupt transactions during the Mulroney administration. In Japan, charges of corruption against the LDP contributed to its decreasing popularity, and its eventual ousting from government in 1993 (Farrales (2005, 11).

2.4. Causes of Corruption

Various reasons why corruption may be perpetrated in any society have been advanced. Melé (2014), for instance, highlighted ten possible reasons or causes of corruption. He believes that the causes may be applicable to different cultural and geographical environments on a greater or lesser scale. They are (1) personal greed, (2) decline of personal ethical sensitivity, (3) absence of sense of service in public or private institutions (4) lack of courage to denounce corrupt behaviour (5) cultural environments that condone corruption (6) lack of transparency especially at institutional level (7) regulations and inefficient controls, (8) slow and sometimes unreliable judicial processes, (9) lack of moral criteria in promotions, and (10) downplaying or reacting mildly to corruption charges.

These causes are not exhaustive. Other scholars have chosen to problematize the causes of corruption using variables such as the nature of economy, the size of government, historical precedents and customs as well as the geography of a country (Goel and Nelson 2010). The notion of geography here refers to the size of a country. It is believed that ‘large, more spread out, countries might face greater corruption due to the inability to monitor government officials’ (Goel and Nelson 2010, 440).

Citing from the works of Rose-Ackerman (1978), Klitgaard (1988), Naim (1995), and Caiden and Dwivedi (2001) among others, Graaf (2007) advances six groups of theories and suggests examining the causes of corruption from them. They are summarised in tabular form as follows:

Table 2.3 Theories of the Causes of Corruption

SN	Theory	Focus
1	Public choice theory	It primarily looks at corruption at the level of the individual. The causal chain is that of an individual making a (bounded) rational decision that leads to a predetermined outcome. The theory claims that public officials are corrupt because they perceive the potential benefits of corruption as exceeding the potential costs.
2	Bad apple theories	These theories seek the cause of corruption in the existence of people with faulty (moral) character, the so called ‘bad apples’. There is a causal chain from bad character to corrupt acts; the root cause of corruption is found in defective human character and predisposition toward criminal activity.

3	Organisational structure theories	The underlying assumption seems to be that a causal path from a certain culture – a certain group culture – leads to a certain mental state. And that mental state leads to corrupt behavior. Failure in the “proper machinery” of government, not faulty character, leads public officials to act corruptly.
4	Clashing Moral Values theories	The causal chain in these theories starts with certain values and norms of society that directly influence the values and norms of individuals. These values and norms influence the behavior of individual officials, making them corrupt.
5	The Ethos of Public Administration theories	It concerns the culture within public management as influenced by the society. The performance of a public official has a causal path from societal pressure through the level of organizations. This is combined with a lack of attention to integrity issues. The theory also focuses on the morality of a society that can be ‘wrong’, and which can lead to corruption.
6	Correlation ‘theories’	Certain social, political, organizational or individual factors are highlighted. The variables considered are on all possible levels: individual, organizational and societal. It is often claimed that these factors are somehow ‘causes’ of corruption. In this regard, Graaf cites examples of campaign finance practices in the United States (Williams 1995), longevity in power by elected officials (Heywood 1997: 431) and economic development and ‘being a former British colony’ (Treisman 2000).

The foregoing indicates that various causes of corruption can be traced to private individuals, public institutions, organisations as well as the culture and norms of the society.

2.5. Nigeria: Understanding a Context for the Study of Corruption

2.5.1. An Overview of Nigeria

The geographical entity called Nigeria came into existence in 1914 with the amalgamation (by Lord Fredrick Lugard) of the then northern and southern protectorates. The country gained independence in 1960, and became a Republic on 1st October, 1963. Nigeria is a land of great diversity largely due to many ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups that live within its borders. It is estimated, for instance, that there are 250 ethnic groups and over 520 indigenous languages in the country (An Atlas of Nigerian Languages 2012; *Encyclopedia.com* 2018).

Democratic governance and military rule are inextricably intertwined in Nigeria's political history. Three years before its formal independence in 1960, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa had already been appointed as the Prime Minister of the soon-to-be independent nation called Nigeria. The appointment was based on a power sharing agreement among the three major political parties – Nigerian People's Congress (NPC), the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), and the Action Group (AG) which constituted the opposition (Dawodu.com 1998; Dawodu 1998). When the country fully became a Republic in 1963, Nnamdi Azikiwe assumed the position of the (ceremonial) president in a parliamentary system modelled along British lines that emphasized majority rule (Metz, 1992). Danfulani and Atowoju (2012) explained that the regime was plagued by antagonistic regionalism, ethnicity, declined revenues, and power struggle, and it wobbled from one crisis to another until it was overthrown by the military (see also, Oluwole 2014).

The first military coup d'état was led by Major Kaduna Nzeogwu and it took place on January 15, 1966. The development terminated the First Republic, and led to the death of top politicians such as Ahmadu Bello, Tafawa Balewa and Ladoke Akintola. According to Helen Chapin Metz, the immediate reason for the coup was 'the nationwide disillusionment with the corrupt and selfish politicians, as well as with their inability to maintain law and order and guarantee the safety of lives and property' (Metz 1992, 217). The coup brought in Lt. General Aguiyi-Ironsi as the first military Head of State. One of the major policies of the regime was the replacement of the federal system of government with a unitary system of government. He also divided the country into four regions, namely, Eastern, Midwestern, Northern and Western regions. However, the January 1966 coup was seen by many northerners as an attempt by the Igbo people of the east to dominate the federation (Metz 1992).

Six months later, precisely July 29, 1966, a successful countercoup by northern soldiers led to the assassination of Aguiyi-Ironsi along with Brigadier General Adekunle Fajuyi, the then military governor of Western Region. The exit of Aguiyi-Ironsi brought in Lieutenant Colonel (later General) Yakubu Gowon. It was during Gowon's regime that the country witnessed a civil war, July 6th, 1967 to January 13th, 1970. As their post-war agenda to move the nation forward, the Gowon government issued a nine-point transition program that was to culminate in the handing over of power to a civilian government on October 1, 1976 (Metz, 1992). However, Gowon dampened the nation's spirit when he announced in October 1, 1974 that the proposed 1976

handover of power was no longer feasible (*Thisday* March 6, 2015). The regime also divided Nigeria into 12 states to replace the existing structure of four regions and provinces. The administration witnessed the oil-price boom, which began as a result of the high price of crude oil in the world market in 1973.

Figure 2.1 Map of Nigeria showing states and boundaries (Source: theodora.com/maps)



General Gowon was overthrown ‘in a palace coup’ in July 1975 and was succeeded by General Murtala Muhammad (Metz 1992, 219). The major reason for the coup was an attempt to end corruption in the public service, amongst other things (Bolu, 2016). He initiated the transition agenda to civilian rule: creation of seven additional states, local government system reform, the drafting of a new constitution, and the formation of political parties. Upon Muhammad’s death in a failed coup led by Colonel Bukar Dimka in February 1976, Olusegun Obasanjo took over as the

head of state. It was reported that Obasanjo government initiated several reforms in public life. His regime also attempted to introduce greater probity in the activities of civil servants and other public officials.

Obasanjo handed over power to Shehu Shagari in 1979 as the first Executive⁶ President of Nigeria ushering in the Second Republic. This was after Shagari was declared winner of the general elections under the flagship of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). Metz (1992, 229) observes that ‘the global economic recession in the early 1980s and the collapse of crude oil prices in the world market accelerated the economic decline of the Second Republic’. This decline was also assisted by the tension generated by the 1983 general elections.

On 31st December 31, 1983, Shagari’s government was overthrown by the military, paving the way for Major General Muhammadu Buhari to emerge as the Head of State and Brigadier General Tunde Idiagbon as his deputy. The Buhari government investigated and detained the top political leaders of the Second Republic, holding them responsible for economic excesses of the previous regime. Buhari’s (military) government dealt with the problems of ‘indiscipline’ in the areas of environmental sanitation, public decorum, corruption, smuggling, and disloyalty to national symbols such as the flag and the anthem (Metz, 1992).

General Ibrahim Babangida toppled Buhari’s government in another bloodless coup in August 1985. His government introduced ‘far-reaching changes in the civil service, the police, the armed and security forces, and the political system’ (Metz 1992, 225). Perhaps one of the regime’s decisions that has the greatest impact on the socio-political life of the nation was the unsuccessful Third Republic explained by the annulment of the June 12 presidential election. The public action that resulted from the annulment pressured Babangida to hand over power to Ernest Shonekan as the head of the Interim National Government (ING). Barely 82 days after Shonekan was sworn-in, General Sani Abacha overthrew Shonekan and dissolved all democratic organs of government. His regime witnessed many alleged political killings just as there were public actions over the annulled June 12 election. However, he tried to put in place another democratic structure by inaugurating a Constitutional Conference Commission on June 27, 1994 in preparation for another transition to civil rule.

⁶ The role of president under the country’s parliamentary system in the First Republic (1963) was ceremonial.

Meanwhile, Figure 2.2 presents Nigerian presidents (military and civilian) and the period of their administrations.



Figure 2.2 Nigerian leaders (1960 – 2015)

On June 10, 1998, General Abdusalami Abubakar became the Head of State after the sudden death of General Abacha. The major focus of the Abubakar regime was the return of the country to civil rule. He immediately announced a 10-month transition programme that led the country to the Fourth Republic. The transition programme climaxed in the general elections that brought in

Olusegun Obasanjo (a former military Head of State) as the president on the platform of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). On his re-election in 2003 for a second term in office, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) notes regarding his first-term in office that ‘despite Nigeria’s continued massive oil revenues, it is still in very poor shape. Unemployment remains desperately high, the agricultural sector has been decimated over the years, and an estimated 70% of its population live below the United Nations-defined poverty line’ (Dan Isaacs BBC Wednesday, 23 April 2003).

On May 29, 2007, Obasanjo handed over the reins of power to Umaru Musa Yar’Adua who emerged the winner of the general election, also, on the platform of the PDP. He continued with the major policies of his predecessor, Obasanjo. Yar’Adua was unable to complete his four-year term due to illness that preceded his death on May 5, 2010. This paved the way for his deputy, Goodluck Jonathan, to be sworn in as the substantive President of the country (Ogunmade, 2015). And on May 29, 2011, Jonathan took oath of office as the Nigeria’s fourth elected president following his victory in the April 23 presidential poll. His administration which ended in 2015 was credited for conducting free and fair elections and giving free hand to the electoral body, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), to carry out its assignments without interference. On this, Siollun notes that:

Previous Nigerian presidents were too cynical to expose themselves to the unpredictable risk of a fair election. The election victories of PDP presidents during the past 16 years have been partially “assisted” by electoral malpractice. That changed when Jonathan nominated Professor Attahiru Jega as the chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in 2010. Jega vowed to reform Nigeria’s electoral process to ensure free and fair elections. The former university lecturer exuded calm authority and integrity. He painstakingly prepared for the task over the past four years by studying the rigging methods used in previous elections, implementing an elaborate system of voter registration, training thousands of electoral staff and introducing biometric readers to identify voters by reading their thumbprint. Jonathan created the environment for the emergence of these changes and gave Jega the freedom and authority to conduct reforms that led to a credible election. But by giving Jega a free hand to play fair, he allowed

Jega to craft the weapons that were used to oust him from power (Siollun 2015, Online Page).

The preceding account of Nigeria's political history, in which what could be described as relative stability only started in 1999, is summarised by Ango Abdullahi (2012):

From 1960 to date Nigeria had not experienced the kind of stable political atmosphere necessary for orderly continuity of good governance for development and growth expected in truly democratic societies. Within a relatively short period of 52 years, Nigeria has had 14 heads of state (an average of three years each), and of this number nine were not elected, and of the remaining five only on two occasions were their election deemed free and fair (Abdullahi 2012, *Vanguard* Online Page).

2.5.2. Leadership, Society and Corruption in Nigeria

With a population of almost 200 million as at February, 2018 (United States Census Bureau 2018), Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa (The World Bank 2017). In West Africa, it has the largest land mass of 923,768 km², and accounts for 47% of West Africa's population (The World Bank 2017). It also has one of the largest youth populations in the world (The World Bank 2017). In terms of resources, Nigeria is not only rich in crude oil and natural gas, it also has natural deposits of columbite, bitumen, tin, iron ore, coal, limestone, niobium, lead, zinc, gold, kaolin, talc, silica, granite, gemstone, tantalite and arable land at commercial quantity (Metz 1992; Burns 2005).

The economic stature of the country is therefore not surprising – it is the largest oil exporter, and also possesses the largest natural gas reserves in Africa. In 2016, the country was estimated as having the largest economy in Africa with Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which stood at \$594.257 billion as against South Africa's \$341.216 billion (IMF 2015; see also IT News Africa 2015; Business Day October 19, 2016).

Thus, the need to examine corruption within the Nigerian context is underscored by the country's enormous wealth from natural resources as seen above. In addition, the 2018 survey by the Forbes Magazine shows that three Nigerians are listed among the richest people in the world, with a

Nigerian topping the list as the richest man in Africa – with a fortune estimated at \$14.1 billion (*Forbes Magazine* 2018; see also *AfricaNews* 2018).

However, available reports (both national and international) still point to Nigeria as a corrupt country. In fact, it is said that ‘corruption runs rampant’ in Nigeria and it ‘has become synonymous with Nigeria’ itself (Ojukwu and Shopeju 2010, 17). Nigeria’s corruption has been described as ‘endemic’ (Ndubuisi 1991, 22; Bassey et. al. 2013, 423), as ‘a sub-culture’ (Egonmwan 1992, 181), as ‘a deadly virus’ (Urien 2012, 1), as a ‘cankerworm’ (Ajie & Wokekoro 2012, 91), as ‘evil’ (Keeper 2011, 172; Ajie & Wokekoro 2012, 91) and as a phenomenon unfolding at an ‘alarming’ rate (Achebe 1984, 37).

The above may best be imagined if we consider what the nation has lost to corruption in financial terms. For instance, it is reported that Oby Ezekwesili, a former Vice President of the World Bank for Africa, states that (as at 2012) more than \$400 billion had been lost to oil thieves since Nigeria attained independence in 1960, and that ‘20 percent of the entire budget for capital expenditure in Nigeria ended in private pockets annually’. She notes further that ‘whereas oil accounts for about 90 percent of the value of Nigeria’s exports, over 80 percent of the fund ends up in the hands of one percent of the country’s population’ (*Vanguard* August 28, 2012, Online Page). Another report says that \$20 trillion was stolen from the Nigerian treasury from 1960 to 2005 (*Vanguard*, March 25, 2015). *The Economist* also suggests that ‘Nigeria’s economy, which was worth \$513 billion in 2014, might have been 22% bigger if its level of corruption were closer to Ghana’s, a nearby West African country. By 2030, the size of Africa’s biggest economy should triple in real terms come what may.’ (*The Economist* February 16, 2016). It however opines that ‘if Nigeria manages to reduce corruption to levels comparable to Malaysia ... its economy could be some 37% bigger still. The additional gain would be worth some \$534 billion (adjusted for inflation), or about as much as the economy is currently worth’ (*The Economist*, February 16, 2016). It is also reported that over the last 10 years, mismanagement and dodgy practices are estimated to have cost Nigeria \$35 billion which is more than an entire year's government spending (*The Guardian*, Tuesday 13 November 2012). In its own report, the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID) claimed that Nigeria lost \$32 billion to corruption between 2010 and 2015 (*Daily Post* December 12, 2017; see also, *Sahara Reporters* December 12, 2017).

Although, it may have been useful to document some specific cases of corruption according to types as presented in an earlier section, it is not always easy to make a clear determination of types. As a result, and to provide a background that is more aligned to some of the objectives of this study, a brief account is provided of alleged corruption under successive administrations. Some of the cases may be more easily associated with specific types than others. We will speak consistently of allegations.

Evidence shows that corruption incidents have been linked with successive administrations since independence.

Nigeria's First Republic under the leadership of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister, and Nnamdi Azikwe, the President, is alleged to have been marked by 'widespread corruption' as 'government officials looted public funds with impunity' (Ogbeide 2012, 6). Ogbeide (2012) cites the example of the first Premier of the Western Region who was investigated and found guilty of corruption by the Coker Commission of Inquiry in 1962. The Commission found the premier 'culpable for the ills of the Western Region Marketing Board, due to his failure to adhere to the standards of conduct, which were required of persons holding public office' (Ogbeidi, 2012, 13; see also Magid, 1976, 73). On the military take-over of power in 1966, the editorial of *Daily Times*, a national newspaper, makes reference to corruption in the First Republic.

With the transfer of authority of the Federal Government to the Armed Forces, we reached a turning point in our national life. The old order has changed, yielding place to a new one... For a long time, instead of settling down to minister to people's needs, the politicians were busy performing series of seven day wonders as if the act of government was some circus show... still we groped along as citizens watched politicians scorn the base by which they did ascend... (*Daily Times*, 1966).

Furthermore, it is alleged that the Yakubu Gowon regime 'was enmeshed in deep-seated corruption... By 1974, allegations of unaccountable wealth of Gowon's military governors and other public office holders had become the focus of discussion in the various Nigerian dailies' (Ogbeide 2012, 7). One of the reasons for the 1975 coup that toppled Gowon was an attempt to end corruption in the public service. Twelve state military governors in the Gowon regime were indicted for corruption by the Federal Assets Investigation Panel of 1975 (Gboyega 1996).

The Second Republic, under President Shehu Shagari, is no different. It is alleged to have witnessed a resurgence of corruption. Ogbeide (2012) observes that corruption among the political leaders was heightened by the greater availability of funds, as it was claimed that over \$16 billion in oil revenues were lost between 1979 and 1983. Many of its 'state governors were sentenced to ridiculous jail terms of a minimum of 100 years and a maximum period of 340 years by the Buhari/Idiagbon military regime that seized power from it' (Ogbeide 2012, 13).

It is alleged that corruption reached an alarming rate and became institutionalized during Ibrahim Babangida's regime. Those found guilty by tribunals under the Murtala Mohammed and Muhammadu Buhari regimes were not only released but also recovered their seized property. Maduagwu explains that:

Not only did the regime encourage corruption by pardoning corrupt officials convicted by his predecessors and returning their seized properties, the regime officially sanctioned corruption in the country and made it difficult to apply the only potent measures, long prison terms and seizure of ill-gotten wealth, for fighting corruption in Nigeria in the future (Maduagwu quoted in Gboyega, 1996: 5).

The spate of corruption is alleged to have continued during Sani Abacha's regime. It is said that corrupt practices under his leadership became blatant and systematic. Ogbeide asserts that 'General Abacha and his family alongside his associates looted Nigeria's coffers with reckless abandon (Ogbeide 2012, 9). In the book, *Nigeria during the Abacha Years (1993-1998)*, Abacha's regime is described in the following unfriendly terms:

The autocratic regime of Sani Abacha (1993-1998) stands out as a watershed in the history of independent Nigeria...very close to the features associated with warlordism. Nepotism, corruption, violation of human rights, procrastination over the implementation of a democratic transition, and the exploitation of ethnic, cultural or religious identities, also resulted in the accumulation of harshly repressed frustrations (Amuwo, Bach and Lebeau [eds.] 2001, 1).

On 23 July 1998, Abdulsalami Abubakar, who took over from Abacha, set up a Special Investigation Panel (SIP) with the responsibility of investigating alleged corruption that occurred

during the Abacha regime (Monfrini 2008). The SIP's preliminary report, in November 1998, 'focused on the crimes for which evidence could be found in Nigeria, notably the systematic pillage of the Central Bank of Nigeria' (Monfrini 2008, 43). However, it is reported that up to \$4.3 billion was allegedly stolen, laundered and mismanaged during Abacha's regime (The Guardian March 18, 2015).

Corruption in the Fourth Republic, which started in 1999, was described as 'legendary' (Ogbeide 2012, 16). Some of the corruption-related issues cited include \$400 million invested on the Turn-Around Maintenance (TAM) and repairs of the refineries which failed to yield positive result on one hand, and on the other, the alleged failure of Obasanjo Government to bring the contractors to book (Adekeye 2003). Another alleged corruption-related scenario is found in the report by Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) which indicated that '445,000 barrels of crude oil sold by the NNPC between January and July 2002 were not accounted for in its financial report ... and within the seven-month period, there was a shortfall of N302 billion as undeclared revenue' (Adekeye 2003, 30-31; see also, Ogbeide 2012, 17). It is also reported that 'federal ministers allegedly stole more than N23 billion from the public coffers' during the first four years (1999 – 2003) of the Olusegun Obasanjo administration (Ogbeide 2012, 17; see also Adekeye 2003). This sum 'represented financial frauds ranging from embezzlement, payments for jobs not done, over-invoicing, double-debiting, inflation of contract figures to release of money without the consent of the approving authority in ten major ministries' (Ogbeide 2012, 17; see also Adekeye 2003).

Ogundiya (2012) observed that the experience of the Fourth Republic indicated that corruption (particularly, relating to mishandling of public funds) seems to have become a norm despite the creation of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) to handle to corruption matters. According to him, public officials find their names soiled in one corruption incident or another.

Similarly, the EFCC's published data (2017) shows that more than 75 percent of Nigeria's state governors have either been tried or are being tried for corrupt activities such as embezzlement of public funds, money laundering and fraud amounting to several billions of dollars. Nigerian state governors are as powerful as the country's president in their various states; they are statutorily members of the country's highest constitutional advisory body in the country – the National

Council of States (NCS). Table 2.4 below summarises various corrupt activities and cases involving Nigerian governors during the Fourth Republic.

Table 2.4 Corrupt activities and cases involving Nigerian governors and top government functionaries during the Fourth Republic. (Source: *Economic and Financial Crimes Commission's (EFCC) website, 2017*)

No	Brief Summary of Facts and Nature of Offence(s)	Year Case Was Filed In Court	Court	Status (as at 2017 date of publication)
1	The 1 st accused was the Executive Governor of Gombe State . He is facing trial alongside others for corrupt practices and money laundering allegedly committed while he was the Governor.	2011	Federal High Court, Gombe	Trial is ongoing. Prosecution is yet to close its case.
2	The accused who was the Executive Governor of Taraba State is standing trial on a 41-count charge of criminal misappropriation of public funds, embezzlement, and criminal breach of trust	2007	High Court of FCT	Trial is ongoing. Case at the stage of trial within trial
3	The accused who was the Executive Governor of Plateau State is standing trial on a 23-count charge of criminal misappropriation of public funds, embezzlement and criminal breach of trust.	2007	High Court of the FCT	Trial to commence in January 2016 after the loss of interlocutory appeal at the Supreme Court by the defence, and return of the presiding judge from election petitions tribunal.
4	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor of Abia State is standing trial alongside others for money laundering allegedly committed by him when he was the Governor of Abia State	2007	Federal High Court Abuja	Case still pending at the Supreme Court for the determination of interlocutory appeal by the defence.
5	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor of Jigawa State was charged for corruption related money laundering allegedly committed by him while he was the Governor of he State.	2007	Federal High Court, Dutse	Defendant has absconded. Bench warrant issued for his arrest
6	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor of Kogi State was charged for corruption related money laundering allegedly committed by him while he was the Governor of the State.	2013	Federal High Court, Abuja	Trial was ongoing before the death of the 1 st defendant
7	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor of Bayelsa State was charged for corruption related money laundering allegedly committed by him while he was the Governor of the State	2015	Federal High Court, Abuja	Case dismissed as an abuse of court's process. Measures have been taken to appeal against the decision

8	The accused persons are facing breach of trust and misappropriation of Police Pensions funds.	2012	FCT High Court, Abuja	Trial ongoing
9	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor of Adamawa State is facing trial alongside others is facing trial for corruption related money laundering	2015	Federal High Court, Abuja	Trial has commenced in the case
10	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor of Jigawa State is standing trial alongside others for corruption related money laundering	2015	Federal High Court, Abuja	Trial is ongoing
11	The accused persons are standing for pension scam in the office of the Head of Service of the Federation	2013	Federal High Court, Abuja	Trial is ongoing
12	The accused is who was the Director General of NIMASA is facing for offences under the public procurement Act	2011	Federal High Court, Lagos	Trial is ongoing
13	The accused who was the Executive Governor of Oyo State is facing corruption and money laundering charges.	2011	High Court, Ibadan	Trial is yet to commence. Case is on interlocutory appeal at the Supreme Court
14	The accused is facing trial for corrupt practices during his tenure as the Head of Service of the Federation	2015	Federal High Court, Abuja	Trial is yet to commence
15	The 1 st accused person who was a Minister of Aviation and others are facing trial for conspiracy, forgery, uttering and gratification in relation to N6.5billion Safetower Project	2008	High Court of FCT, Abuja	Trial ongoing. 9 witnesses have testified for the prosecution. Case delayed by an interlocutory appeal up to the Supreme Court on the admissibility of confessional statement
16	The accused person who was the Executive Governor of Oyo State is standing trial for corruption related money laundering allegedly committed while in office.	2008	Federal High Court, Lagos	Case on interlocutory appeal up to the Supreme Court,
17	The 1 st accused person who was the Executive Governor of Anambra State is standing trial with others for corruption related money laundering allegedly committed while in office	2007	Federal High Court, Lagos	Trial has been delayed by the alleged illness of the 1 st defendant
20	The accused person, the former Executive Governor of Ogun State is standing trial for corruption committed allegedly committed while in office.	2011	High Court of Ogun State	Trial ongoing
21	The 1 st accused who was the Executive Governor of Nassarawa State is standing trial with others for corruption related money laundering	2011	Federal High Court, Lagos	Trial ongoing
22	1 st accused was Executive Governor of Sokoto State . He was charged alongside	2009	High Court, Sokoto	Trial ongoing

	others including his companies for misappropriation and embezzlement of the funds of Sokoto State Government			
23	The 1 st accused was the Executive Governor of Nassarawa State . He was charged alongside others for corrupt practices and money laundering while being the Executive Governor of the State	2010	Federal High Court, Lafia	Case on interlocutory appeal. Trial yet to commence.

2.5.3. Causes of and Responses to Corruption in Nigeria

The causes of corruption in Nigeria, as may be found elsewhere, are a combination of several factors (Otoghile and Edigin *n.d.*). The factors include absence of appropriate measures put in place to punish corrupt citizens, inequality in the distribution of wealth, poverty and low wages, absence of a strong or national community and poor reward system (Otoghile and Edigin *n.d.*). However, it may be inaccurate to claim that there are no appropriate measures to punish corrupt citizens. Indeed, there have been several measures put in place by successive governments in Nigeria (as we shall see below); what is lacking, however, is the political will to punish offenders regardless of their social class or status.

Ottong (1986) reviews and criticizes the claim of three explanations for corruption in Nigeria: (1) that which sees corruption in society as inevitable; (2) that which attributes corruption to poverty; and (3) that which regards corruption as a way of life. He argues against the three standpoints on various grounds. For instance, for those who believe in the inevitability of corruption in Nigeria, because man, by his nature, wants to be noticed and appreciated especially when he performs commendable acts, Ottong (1986) opines that the strong desire for favour or appreciation gives rise to various forms of gratification and has reached alarming proportions in Nigeria to the extent that there is hardly any form of gift or favour that does not imply ulterior motives.

Secondly, for those who hold that poverty is one of the causes of corruption in Nigeria, Ottong disagrees on the ground that it cannot be empirically sustained, more so, it is not the poorest category of Nigerian workers that are most corrupt. Finally, he believes that the tendency for the Nigerian society to see corruption as a bad practice but feels helpless to change it largely results in regarding corruption as a way of life (Ottong, 1986).

Regardless of the schools of thoughts, the causes of corruption in Nigeria have been described as obsession with materialism, compulsion for a shortcut to affluence and glorification and

approbation (of ill-gotten wealth) by the general public (Keeper 2011). Also, greed, lack of positive values, weak enforcement mechanisms, excessive materialism, societal pressure, lack of virile security structures, insecurity in employment tenure, are some of the causes of corruption in Nigeria listed in Ayoola (2007). Ayoola (2007) adds that corruption sprouts and thrives in situations where office holders enjoy large discretionary powers in a monopolistic situation with no strong mechanism and commitment for accountability (see also, Otoghile and Edigin n.d.).

There have been practical responses to combat corruption in Nigeria by different governments since independence (Adetula, 2008; Walecki, 2008; Aiyede, 2008, Ojukwu and Shopeju, 2010). Perhaps, one of the most detailed accounts was given in 2005 by Ayodele Fayose, a two-time Governor of Nigeria's Ekiti State in a paper titled – the Corruption versus Resources Management in Nigeria: What hopes for the 21st Century⁷? He highlights various legal frameworks instituted by various administrations to combat corruption.

During the Gowon regime, the Public Officer (Investigation of Assets) Decree was promulgated. In accordance with this legislation, there was forfeiture of corruptly acquired assets by culprits. However, Fayose (2005) notes that the Gowon regime was overthrown because of its lack of capacity, among other factors, to combat corruption. The administration of Muhammed/Obasanjo that followed instituted the legal framework for combating corruption under the Corrupt Practices Decree No 38 of 1975. It is on record that the first anti-corruption war was launched by General Muhammed on 16th September, 1975. The report of the three-man panel, set up to investigate corruption and abuse of office by former officers in the acquisition of their assets, resulted in the retirement of many very senior public officials. His regime also initiated the making of the 1979 Constitution which provided for a code of conduct for public officers under the Code of Conduct Bureau (for the enforcement of the prescribed behaviours) and a Code of Conduct Tribunal (Fayose, 2005).

⁷ It was delivered at the 2005 Personnel Psychology Lecture Series of the Department of Guidance and Counselling, University of Ibadan on Friday February 11, 2005.

In response to the many corruption incidents during his time, the Shagari administration launched an anti-corruption programme tagged 'Ethical Revolution'. In addition a Minister of Cabinet rank was appointed for national guidance on the prevalent corruption in the country.

The Buhari/Idiagbon regime launched an anti-corruption programme called 'War Against Indiscipline'. The government demonstrated seriousness to fight all forms of corruption including fraud, abuse of public office and graft. Fayose (2005) explains that the regime matched its pronouncements with action by not only promulgating 'draconian' legislation to control and prevent corrupt practices but also brought to book people considered to have been fraudulent or corrupt.

During the Babangida regime, a National Committee on Corruption and other Economic Crimes in Nigeria was set up create definite measures to combat corruption. The committee came up with the Corrupt Practices and Economic Crime Decree 1990. However, the decree did not go beyond the draft stage; thus there was really no strong legal system on ground to effectively control corruption during that era (Fayose 2005; Bolu 2016). The General Abacha regime that followed produced a legislation to reduce corruption in the banking sector with the promulgation of the 'Failed Banks (Recovery of Debts) and Financial Malpractices in Banks (Amendment) Act 1994. The regime also produced a draft anti-corruption legislation titled 'Indiscipline, Corrupt Practices and Economic Crime (Prohibition) Draft Decree 1994'.

One of the much-trumpeted policies of the Obasanjo government (1999 – 2007) was tackling corruption. Thus, his government established the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) in June 2000 with the mandate to check and recover ill-gotten wealth. His government also established the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission in 2004 with the responsibility to investigate persons, corporate bodies or organisations that have committed offences relating to economic and financial crimes. Other corruption-related legislations in the Fourth Republic are the 'Advance Fee Fraud and Other Related Offences Act' and the 'Money Laundering (Prohibition) (Amendment) Act 2012'.

These responses to corruption indicate that corruption has long been seen as an issue that needs to be addressed in Nigeria.

2.6. Corruption as Language-mediated Social Construction

Although the subject of corruption is traditionally researched in the domain of the social science disciplines, the increasing interest of linguists in the subject is connected to the role of language in any human interactions including the ‘business’ of corruption. Involved in such interactions are different categories of people who may be involved or interested in corruption for different reasons or purposes. From the scholars whose interest is in trying to understand the various concepts and dynamics of corruption, to the public officials whose concern is to formulate deliberate policies to counter corruption, and to the very corrupt activity which may involve a number of participants, language remains an indispensable resource.

As social construction, corruption needs to be understood through its specific features and through the interactional processes involved. The social constructionist view holds that ‘the way a person thinks, the very categories and concepts that provide a framework of meaning for them, are provided by the language they use’ (Burr 2003, 8). Different people may construct corruption differently and the way it may be constructed in specific situations is largely influenced by people’s social positions or relations. This means that the manner in which language is used in real situations can say a great deal about the way corruption is perceived or specific acts relating to it. Our knowledge of what is called corruption and the way we understand it, is subject to the very nature of our understanding and perception of our world. Corruption is seen to be largely detrimental to the society because it has been socially-constructed as involving negative acts that border on social malfeasance such as abuse of entrusted power, immorality, lack of integrity and greed in both the public and private dealings.

These social constructions invite us to take a critical stance towards often taken-for-granted understanding of the world, including issues that affect us as individual humans and the things we do as a people (Burr 2003). Social constructionists caution people to be ever suspicious of many assumptions regarding how the world is made to appear, because ‘the categories with which we as human beings apprehend the world do not necessarily refer to real divisions’ (Burr 2003, 3). This idea underscores the whole essence of this research which is undertaking a critical investigation of the speeches Nigerian leaders related to corruption. And to understand the way ‘factual’ accounts (of issues like corruption) are constructed, it is important to understand the specific features of such accounts and the way they relate to the setting or context in which they are used (Potter 2006).

2.6.1. Corruption as Discourse

All the processes involved in negotiating, perpetrating, contesting, offering, accepting or challenging corruption in the society take place in discourse, understood as ‘language-in-use’.

Language-related activities that take place in social contexts should not only be seen as just reflections or expressions of social processes and practices; but they also shape those processes and practices (Fairclough 1989, 1995). In other words, all these discursive activities about corruption can be subsumed under social practices which also indicate that all the discursive representations of corruption are enhanced by the dialectical relationship between discourse and the society. Presidential speeches are instances of discourse. They are influenced by the social situation of the country including people’s beliefs, culture and value systems and vice versa.

2.6.2. Understanding Discourse

Fairclough (1992, 3) describes ‘discourse’ as a ‘difficult concept’ in the sense that there are many conflicting and overlapping definitions formulated from various theoretical and disciplinary standpoints. In linguistics, ‘discourse’ is sometimes used to refer to extended samples of spoken dialogue, in contrast to written ‘texts’. It is also used to refer to extended samples of either spoken or written language. However, this sense of ‘discourse’ emphasizes interaction between speaker and addressee or between writer and reader, and therefore processes of producing and interpreting speech and writing, as well as the situational context of language use (Fairclough, 1992). Text, in this sense, is seen as one dimension of discourse: the written or spoken ‘product’ of the process of text production.

In ‘text analysis’ and ‘discourse analysis’, the focus is on higher-level organizational properties of dialogue (e.g. the structure of conversational exchanges, or turn-taking) or of written texts (e.g. the structure of an accident report in a newspaper). ‘Discourse’ is also used for different types of language as employed in different sorts of social situations (e.g. ‘classroom discourse’, ‘newspaper discourse’, ‘the discourse of medical consultations’, ‘advertising discourse’)

Furthermore, ‘discourse’ is widely used in social theory and analysis. In the work of Michel Foucault (1998), for example, discourse refers to different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice; and to Laclau and Mofe (1990), ‘discourse’ constitutes a symbolic order which includes within itself the linguistic and the non-linguistic. Following Fairclough (1992),

discourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct or ‘constitute’ them; different discourses constitute key entities (such as corruption and leadership) in different ways, and position people in different ways as social subjects (e.g. as citizens, agents of anticorruption), and it is these social effects of discourse that are focused upon in discourse analysis.

This research centres upon a combination of all these social-theoretical senses of ‘discourse’ seeing discourse as not only reflecting or representing social entities and relations but also constructing these social entities and relations.

2.7. Corruption: Language-related Theoretical Propositions

As indicated above, research on corruption has not been the exclusive affair of the social science disciplines; indeed, there have been scholarly efforts to understand corruption from the standpoint of language. In this section, we do a review of three language-related theoretical propositions for analysing corruption. These include Kajsiu’s (2014) discursive construction of corruption in which corruption is understood not only as being produced by discourse but also as a signifier with power-knowledge nexus. Closely-related is the claim that sees corruption as an empty signifier. Koechlin (2013) attempts to critically link discourse of corruption to underlying relations that constitute ‘development’, drawing from the writings of Foucault (1980). The third one is Pierce’s (2016) conceptualisation of corruption as a ‘political performative’ adopted from J.L. Austin’s notion of performative speech acts.

Kajsiu (2014) examines corruption from three key elements, namely, discourse, signifier and power-knowledge nexus. His understanding of discourse is based on Foucault’s (1972) view that discourses should be seen as ‘practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak’ (Foucault, 1972, 49). This conceptualisation also views discourse as not just a linguistic formation but a meaningful totality, or a symbolic order ‘which includes within itself the linguistic and the non-linguistic’ (Laclau and Mouffe 1990, 100; see also Kajsiu 2014, 32). The inclusion of the linguistic and non-linguistic in discourse means that all objects are constituted as objects of discourse (Laclau and Mouffe 2001, 107). Thus, Kajsiu’s theoretical assumption is that the discourse of corruption was not built around corruption as a given object of analysis. Rather, he believes that the very discourse of corruption including the growing concern with corruption, the search for corruption, the effort to overcome its lethal effects, constituted corruption as a valid

object of analysis (Kajsiu 2014, 32). This argument about discursive corruption follows from Foucault's (1972) phenomenon of mental illness:

Mental illness was constituted by all that was said in all the statements that named it, divided it up, described it, explained it, traced its developments, indicated its various correlations, judged it, and possibly gave it speech by articulating, in its name, discourses that were to be taken as its own Foucault (1972, 32).

From this background, Kajsiu (2014) suggests that from a discourse analysis approach, corruption as an object of analysis was retroactively constituted by the corruption discourse instead of giving rise to it. In other words, the discourse of corruption produced corruption 'as a valid object of analysis by first articulating a number of concerns through corruption, by identifying a growing number of negative effects that corruption produced, and by identifying corruption as a major problem for development' (Kajsiu 2014, 33). He explains further that the retroactive constitution of corruption as an object of analysis was clearly reflected in the way corruption was measured. He believes that it was not corruption as such that was being measured, but its negative impact. The magnitude of this impact became identical to the presence of corruption. Thus, 'corruption discourse retroactively produced corruption as a measurable empirical entity by identifying it with the negative impact that this discourse had already articulated as a central characteristic of corruption'.

Corruption is further seen as a signifier rather than as a concept that enjoys a certain unity across time and space (Kajsiu 2014). Kajsiu (2014) believes that by viewing corruption as a signifier rather than a concept, it is possible to avoid what he describes as the 'illusion' that corruption sustains a given essence that can be traced across time and space. This theoretical assumption follows from Ferdinand de Saussure's semiotic concepts of the signifier and the signified which he claims are both part of the sign – the basic element of language. The signifier is the sound image, whereas the signified is the concept that the signifier stands for (see Howarth 2000, 19). Corruption, therefore, consists of both the signifier, which is the sound image, as well as the signified, which is the concept of corruption and all it represents. This helps to focus on the different 'signifieds' (i.e. meanings, contents, concepts) that the signifier corruption has stood for in different discourses.

From a relatively different perspective, Koechlin's (2013) explores the ways in which corruption in Africa has been equated with African politics and political order, conceptualizing corruption as a signifier enabling, rather than preventing, social actors to articulate democratic claims. This idea of corruption as an empty signifier 'allows for an analysis of particular articulations by social groups and the processes through which they seek, achieve or fail to structure political order' (Koechlin 2013, 21). Following from Foucault, Koechlin (2013) conceptualizes 'development' as 'discourse', and as a 'domain of action and thought' (Escobar, 1995, 10), 'that privileges certain forms of knowledge and gives rise to certain techniques of power which in turn frame specific forms of subjectivities' (Koechlin 2013, 9). Koechlin (2013) explains that corruption serves as a highly insightful medium of the three discourses; (1) it serves to illuminate the practical effects of the development discourse; (2) it allows a critical reformulation of academic discourse and, (3) it allows for the development of a theoretical framework that is more conducive to understanding processes of political change. Accordingly, both academic literature as well as development policies depict corruption as the lynchpin of politics in Africa, locking African societies into political orders which undermine democratic change. Conceptualization of corruption in this overt socio-political sense can bring about a more sophisticated understanding of and empirical attentiveness to emancipatory change in African political orders.

The third language-related theoretical provisions about corruption is found in Pierce (2016). Pierce (2016) holds that corruption is real not because corrupt acts occur and we know they are 'corrupt', but because corrupt acts occur and are labeled 'corrupt' (Pierce 2016, 20). This act of labeling is polyvalent, in time, place and situation and it is discursively implemented (Pierce 2016, 20). He explains that changes in what corruption entails has led to the persistence of specific forms of political malfeasance, suggesting that with the lack of definitive construction of corruption, certain forms of corruption may continue to exist unchecked.

Pierce (2016) believes that the way corruption is discursively constructed can have political perlocutionary effect which he describes as 'political performative' of 'labeling'. His theoretical approach (to the study of corruption) is influenced by J.L. Austin's (1962) Speech Act theory especially the performative role of language. Austin (1962) introduces the concepts of locutionary acts, illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts. The locutionary acts refer to the phonetic acts, phatic acts and rhetic acts, which corresponds to the verbal (phonetic acts of pronouncing sounds),

syntactic and semantic aspects of any meaningful utterance. The illocutionary acts are the pragmatic (illocutionary) force of the utterance, in that the intended significance of the utterance is socially valid and complete. The perlocutionary acts are the acts attributed to the effect of the utterance (or a sentence in the case of writing) such as persuading, convincing, labelling, scaring, enlightening and inspiring. Also, it may serve to get someone to do or realise something (Austin 1962; see also, Oishi 2006).

In a section of his book ‘Moral Economies of Corruption’ which he titles as *How to do things with Corruption*, Pierce (2016) notes that there are things people say about corruption that have effects in our world simply because such utterances carry illocutionary force, particularly in a social situation where the rightness and wrongness of government actions have acted to inform discussions of corruption. Pierce (2016) believes that people talk about corruption in order to achieve specific political ends, which are accomplished in and through the act of labeling. By this, he means that the talk on corruption may be used to label a political opponent; it may be used to activate a purpose for certain political choices, as in polls. Of interest, also, are the various discursive engagements including what happens in the gap between the illocutionary and the perlocutionary acts, e.g. of significance is what may happen somewhere between, ‘I say the town clerk stole money’ and his removal from office in disgrace (Pierce 2016, 21).

What may be described as the point of convergence in Koechlin (2013) and Kajsiu’s (2014) conceptualizations is the understanding that corruption is not just a phenomenon, but rather corruption constitutes an object of analysis and an object for advancing democratic change especially considering discursive practices and other narratives that construct corruption. Also, Pierce’s (2016) theoretical claim emphasizes the influence of words and utterances (and by extension discourse) in acts of corruption: the reality of corruption is attached to the very act and the labeling of it as corrupt. While these theoretical assumptions are helpful in bringing consciousness to discourses around corruption, our knowledge may not be adequate regarding inherent factors which can influence any claims about corruption. Considering the polyvalence of corruption discourse in which retrogression in development is blamed on corruption, and where leadership discourse including their speeches suggest repeated failure in obliterating corruption, there is need to understand various influences that may contribute to specific discourses on corruption. This study provides a case for this understanding.

2.8. Studies on Corruption from the Perspective of Language

2.8.1. Studies focusing on Presidential Speeches

The issue of corruption is one of the important socio-economic and political issues that feature in discourses that relate to politics and governance. In Kamalu and Iniworikabo (2016), the focus is on the use of conceptual metaphor in selected speeches of three Nigerian democratic presidents – Olusegun Obasanjo, Musa Yar'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan. Metaphors suggest, for example, personification of corruption as a soldier(s) waging war against the Nigerian state; personification of poverty and other social ills as being responsible for corruption and as a disease such as cancer. The study found that metaphor is a great resource in political communication in which speeches can draw from source domains that represent social, economic and political situations and conditions in the country.

Nigeria is not the only geographical entity in which the issue of corruption features in the speeches of its political leaders. Ankrah, Dominic and Opoku (2018) did a 'Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Presidential Inaugural Addresses of the Fourth Republic of Ghana' in which corruption was part of the issue. Data comprised the inaugural addresses of two presidents – John Agyekum Kuffour and John Evans Atta Mills. The analysis takes a comparative approach in terms of potential 'hidden' ideology in the two texts. Ankrah et.al. (2016) found that 'Kuffour is ... more direct in his discourse in espousing his capitalist ideology, condemning the previous government and also the one with least self-criticism ... Mills in contrast is not so direct, espouses socialism, less critical of others and sounds more conciliatory'. What is however interesting in this result is that whereas Mills only alludes to corruption, Kuffour, despite his 'capitalist ideology' openly canvassed against corruption (e.g. ... we pledge to cut waste and corruption from public life. There will be ... zero tolerance of corruption...). For such seeming mismatch situation, a deeper critical investigation of immediate text in relation to other texts (e.g. in case of John Kuffour) can unearth any embedded ideology or interest that may account for what is said about corruption.

2.8.2. Studies focusing on Politics and Political Speeches

The use of language and other stylistic devices in presidential campaign speeches and messages in Ghana is the focus of Michael's (2013) study. Three (2008) presidential campaign speeches delivered by Prof. Atta Mills, Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom and Nana Akuffo-Addo were used as data; while analysis was conducted using Fairclough's (1995) CDA model that claims the existence of

a close link across text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice, and Walton's (1997) notions on 'Propaganda Discourse Analysis' which claims that propaganda discourse involves one-sided argumentation, persuasive dialogue, emotive language which are indifferent to logical reasoning. The result shows that language is used in a way that suggests subtle accusation of corruption among the political parties. Also, the study notes that emotional and value-laden words such as 'corruption', 'arrogance', 'cocaine', 'fake promises' and 'amassment of wealth' were used by parties to negatively portray rival parties.

Antia and Tamsyn (2019) examine a diachronic corpus of texts associated with a South African political party for evidence of what they consider the semiotic signature of transformation in the identity of the party. The party had been previously considered a white, male dominated political formation, and is often positioned discursively by its rival as renting black faces. Based on subcorpora corresponding to two time periods in the history of the political party, Antia and Tamsyn do a comparative analysis of statistical data related to the two major heuristics (onomastics and discursive mono/multi-lingualism) they theorise as underpinning transformation as defined by them. Names of places, names that are indexical of gender and ethnicity as well the range of languages used in the subcorpora as well the purpose for their use, allow for the conclusion that, semiotically, there is evidence of the party getting into new spaces in the second subcorpora and opening up to new demographics.

In the article titled, *The End of the ANC Era: An Analysis of Corruption and Inequality in South Africa*, Lannegren and Ito (2017) focus on corruption and inequality within the context of South African politics, and argue that there are 'connections between corruption, Jacob Zuma, and the potential end of the ANC era' (Lannegren and Ito 2017, 58). The paper reviews the results of South Africa's national and local elections since 1994 when apartheid ended, and contends that the African National Congress (ANC) which has been ruling the country since 1994 might be 'in trouble towards the 2019 elections' considering the decrease in ANC's votes at elections noticeably in 2016 (Lannegren and Ito 2017, 56). They claim, for example, that the 54 percent of the total votes garnered by ANC in the 2016 local elections is remarkably low in comparison to 62 percent got in 2011. The paper suggests that this decrease is a clear indication of public resentment of alleged corruption and inequality in the ANC government (then) headed by Jacob Zuma. The paper concludes that, sooner or later, the 'established deep relationship with the ANC will be

replaced with a population who does not have the same relationship and just see the great issues that South Africa is facing (Lannegren and Ito 2017, 58).

Also, corruption and other social vices featured in the CDA study of 'Goodluck Jonathan's Declaration of Interest in the PDP Presidential Primaries' carried out by Kamalu and Agangan (2011). The data is a small corpus of 1855 words. In their analysis, the term 'negative-face strategies' is used to describe the way in which Goodluck Jonathan refers to social vices such as corruption and kidnapping in the speech. Analysis shows that Jonathan wants people to believe that his firm policies or ideologies will create a safe haven for them if elected. In a nation where corruption is a major social ill, they conclude that the strategy aims to influence party supporters (and people generally) to believe that he is capable of using his offices to get rid of the destructive evils that had hampered the country's progress, and which had negatively affected the nation's image globally.

In related studies on corruption using critical frameworks, the data were not speeches of presidents or presidential candidates, rather the data belong to other genres such as newspaper electoral campaign adverts (Ademilokun and Taiwo 2013) and recorded conversations (Mele and Bello 2007). Ademilokun and Taiwo (2013) did a critical analysis of discursive strategies used in newspaper campaign advertisements in Nigeria prior to 2011 elections. The data for the study comprised '60 full-page newspaper election campaign adverts of the then two strongest political parties' in the country published between February and April 2011, which was the peak period of electioneering campaigns for the 2011 elections in Nigeria. Their findings reveal that the text producers employed discursive strategies such as the 'metaphorisation' of party symbols, the use of deictic pronouns for inclusion and exclusion, deployment of rhetorical questions for persuasion, identification with the youth culture, employment of historical allusions, appealing to good luck, and negative other representation. A major point of interest however is the allusion to electoral corruption (e.g. political blackmailing). To underscore the level of corruption in the country, Ademilokun and Taiwo (2013) explain that political campaign discourse in Nigeria features corruption-related issues such as mismanagement of resources, human rights abuses, ethno-religious violence, resource related crises, highly flawed electoral processes, power generation crisis, labour-related crisis and insecurity of lives and property, among others.

2.8.3. Studies informed by a Corpus Linguistics Approach

Orpin (2005) employs a corpus-based CDA approach to investigate various uses of corruption-related terms. The paper highlights differences and variations among group of words that are semantically related to corruption – bribery, cronyism, graft, impropriety/ies, malpractice(s), nepotism, and sleaze. Concordances and collocational tools are used to provide semantic profiles of the words and to explore connotational differences, including identifying the geographical locations that specific words refer to. The argument foregrounded is that words with a noticeably negative connotation are used when referring to corrupt activities that take place outside of Britain, whereas neutral or less negative words are used when referring to similar activities in British contexts. The result and conclusion appear to substantiate the argument that ‘there is tendency to treat corruption in the more developed parts of the world as incidental’ (Anders and Nuijten 2007, 3).

The study carried out by Beaugrande and Williams (2002) with the title, *Discourse and ‘Democracy’: Some Signals from the South African Corpus of English* is based on discourse of the ‘new’ South Africa about ‘democracy’ as reflected in the Corpus of South African English (CSAE). The term ‘democracy’ was found (in the Corpus) to represent at least three conceptualisations which are ‘plainly incompatible’ and in which ‘the third one is currently undermining the first’ (Beaugrande and Williams 2002, 1). The three conceptions of democracy are (1) a doctrine of equality in human rights and in personal and civil liberties; (2) a political system of ‘majority rule’ by means of a secure electoral machinery with multiple parties and universal voting rights; and (3) an economic system of free enterprise and equal opportunity in the economy and the job market. These varied conceptualizations indicate that language and discourse are central to the construction and negotiation of social reality. The study provides corpus evidence that an inclusive notion of ‘democracy’ is not perceived by some sections of the South African society as being in place. Of greater interest, however, is how the corpus data reflects a connection between different senses of democracy and corruption, nepotism and crime. This connection reflects a sort of pessimism and ‘minor uneasiness about public tension, crime rate and corruption’ (Beaugrande and Williams 2002, 8), expressing doubtful integrity of political agents.

The issue of corruption in post-apartheid South Africa is a major issue in van Vuuren’s (2014) study titled, *South Africa: Democracy, Corruption and Conflict Management*. The paper identifies

two emerging corruption trends in South African society that required greater attention than was being received: the increased level of corruption which are perhaps at the highest since the final years of apartheid, and the issue of elite networks within government and business which are deeply compromised and which appear to be shaping and destabilizing current anti-corruption efforts. The paper argues that it is not only the state that has been complicit in corruption; but also the private sphere of the economy. Indeed, the private sector ‘provides little by way of leadership and leverage in the debate around corruption, suggesting that it is retreating to the comfort zone that it occupied during apartheid’ (van Vuuren 2014, 2). Analysis of data (from the ‘Afrobarometer survey for the period 2004 to 2011’) shows that over time there has been an increase in the number of people who view government as handling the fight against corruption as ‘Very badly’ and ‘Fairly badly’. Also, there is a visible decline in the number of respondents who believe government is acting ‘Fairly well’ and ‘Very well’. The public response to this trend in corruption reveals increased mistrust in the government’s commitment to fighting corruption. The paper notes that while there is the need to ‘confront the corrupt network that represents the emergence of the shadow state, it is equally vital that opposition to the long shadow cast by the undemocratic, corrupt apartheid state is voiced’ (van Vuuren 2014, 33). Although the data used in the study is not textually oriented, the findings shows how growth in corruption can inform a similar growth in public mistrust and lack of confidence in political leaders.

2.9. Summary of the Chapter

So far, we have attempted to provide a review of literature on corruption from different scholarly perspectives. At the beginning of the chapter, we presented a number of definitions of corruption and we acknowledged the long history of corruption efforts including challenges of finding an all-encompassing definition and theorization of the concept. Corruption is often simply defined as use of public office for private gain. Although, its origin within public administration is often traced back to Kautilya’s narration in ‘The Arthashastra’, corruption’s early history is also linked to Europe and China. Regarding its types, corruption is largely classified as ‘political’ and ‘bureaucratic’; other types such as ‘electoral’, ‘moral’ and ‘legal’ have been added depending on who is defining it and how it is being defined.

This chapter also focused on literature about corruption in Nigeria being the ‘site’ of this research. We argued that the choice of the Nigerian context is very significant, given the country’s repeated

rating as a corrupt nation by world organisations such the Transparency International and the World Bank, and considering the attendant effects of corruption on the country's economy, politics, global image, among others.

We also reviewed literature that links corruption to discourse, especially how corruption is discursively constructed in social situations. We argued that negotiating corruption, perpetrating and challenging it are carried out through discourse. A number of language-related theoretical approaches to the study of corruption were reviewed. The studies also showed that corruption is not only produced through discourses around them but also involves power relations among individuals and groups within the social structure. In the last part of the chapter, studies on corruption largely carried out from the standpoint of language were reviewed. It was seen that issues of power, hegemony and domination can be discursively foregrounded in the talk about corruption.

This study can be distinguished from the ones reviewed in a number of respects. Firstly, in its scope and focus, this study focuses exclusively on corruption in speeches by presidents in Nigeria over a period, 1957 – 2015. This accounts for 94% of all presidents in Nigeria. The potentials are thus huge for understanding how presidents have discursively constructed corruption over a period of 50 years. Secondly, this study is fairly unique in applying Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis over such a stretch of material. While many analyses have been essentially thematic, this study unpacks the resources of grammar employed in the speeches and shows that choices made are ideologically motivated, and the point is underscored by reference to events in the history of Nigeria. Thirdly, the current research is novel in terms of using textual data as basis for understanding how corruption may have been variously construed by a country's president. Lastly, to the best of researcher's knowledge, this is about the first study that has approached understanding of corruption in Nigeria based on quantifiable empirical data in presidential speeches.

CHAPTER 3: Theoretical Framework

3.0. Introduction

This chapter examines the two major theoretical formations on which this research is built. They are Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Both theories are complementary in the sense that they conceptualize language from a social perspective. In other words, the two theories are connected in the sense that they both consider language as an integral part of social structure. Whereas SFL helps to ‘functionally’ describe the linguistic makeup of a text, CDA goes further not only to question the choices but also to (critically) offer explanations for the choices made or not made. Here, SFL is discussed first, followed by CDA. Under SFL, we look at ideas about language functions and meaning potentialities as contrasted from focusing only on form or structure. Other important notions and concepts applicable to discourse on corruption such as language metafunctions, transitivity, text, context, and appraisal are also discussed. CDA is discussed next. We explain its various tenets and principles, its major approaches and analytical methods such as those of Fairclough (1989, 1995), van Dijk (1998, 2004, 2006) and van Leeuwen (2008). Finally, the relevance of the framework to this study is highlighted while a few examples of studies in which the two theories have been used are presented and discussed.

3.1. A General View of Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) is a social theory of language which is built on the concept that language is not just an abstraction but an instrument used to construct the world, establish relations and produce text. SFL conceptualizes language as ‘social semiotic’ and ‘a product of the social process’ (Halliday, 1978). Halliday (1978, 16, 21, 27-29, and 109) makes four fundamental claims about language. One, language is functional in the sense of what it can do or what can be done with it (by a speaker or writer). Two, it is semantic in that it is used to make meanings. It is a way of encoding ‘behaviour potential’ into ‘meaning potential’ – what language can mean through what it can be used to say. Three, it is contextual in that meanings of what is said or written are influenced by their social and cultural situations. Finally, it is semiotic in that it is a process of making meanings by way of selecting ‘from the total set of options that

constitute what can be meant' through linguistic and non-linguistic features (Halliday, 1978, 1985, 53).

Furthermore, Halliday identifies 'three kinds of meaning that are embodied in human language as a whole forming the basis of the semantic organization of all natural languages' (Halliday, 1985). These are called metafunctions. The components of the metafunctions – ideational, interpersonal and textual – operate simultaneously in the semantics of every language. By definition, the ideational metafunction is the resource for 'the representation of experience: our experience of the world that lies about us, and also inside us, the world of our imagination. It is meaning in the sense of content.' The interpersonal metafunction is the resource for 'meaning as a form of action: the speaker or writer doing something to the listener or reader by means of language.' The textual metafunction is the resource for maintaining 'relevance to the context: both the preceding (and following) text, and context of situation' (Halliday, 1985, 53). Linguistic interaction and meaning creation are organized in text. Halliday explains that:

Language does not consist of sentences; it consists of texts of one kind or another. The contexts in which meanings are exchanged are not devoid of social value; a context of speech is itself a semiotic construct, having a form (deriving from culture)... (Halliday 1978, 2)

These theoretical claims serve our current research purpose in that corruption is socially coded through language and investigation into how language is exploited can be quite revealing of how corruption is viewed in the society. People understand corruption to be what it is because language has been engaged to perform that function. Presidential speeches, as in the case of Nigeria, are not texts created just as abstraction; rather they are governed by situational and cultural contexts. The metafunctions, particularly the ideational and interpersonal, also serve our purpose in that they assist in understanding the global idea about corruption, as well as the stance of the speaker/listener that inform specific lexicogrammatic usages or constructions.

In the subsequent sections, we shall look more closely at these concepts as they relate to the current research. We start from one of the underlying assumptions in SFL – the notion of linguistic choice and meaning potential.

3.2. The Notion of Linguistic Choice

SFL is a theory of language which claims that a language consists of a set of systems comprising unlimited choice of ways in which meanings can be created by a speaker or writer. Language systems provide options we make, for example in choosing singular/plural number, definite/indefinite articles, past/present/future tense, positive/negative polarity, tone and emphasis or a particular word over another. Halliday (1978, 1985, 2004) conceptualizes choice as a core concept of his theory; choice in the language system focuses more on meanings rather than structures.

This is not limited to a particular type of linguistic construction. As example, Bloor and Bloor (2004) point out three different ways in which one may find out about 'time': the imperative form (Tell me the time, please), the interrogative form (What's the time?) and the declarative form (I'd like to know the time) respectively (Bloor and Bloor 2004, 3). Although most of the linguistic choices we make are unconscious, several factors such as the relationship between the speakers and the place in which the speech activity takes place can determine each choice. In the classroom situation, a teacher may choose 'What's the time' to tell a student that he is late for the class; ask students (may also be rhetorically) who are giving signs to the teacher to end the classroom. 'Tell me the time, please' can be used courteously, for example, by two passengers waiting for a train at the station. The third example, 'I'd like to know the time', may also be chosen by two not-too-familiar individuals who may have got no watch.

To Halliday, meaning of texts, expressions or utterances reside in systemic patterns of choice. This pattern also includes the positioning of the various sentential or clausal constituents that make up a meaningful and 'sensible' group. Although the meaning foregrounded in the two expressions below appears the same, for certain reasons, a speaker may prefer to choose one over the other.

- (1) The controversial bill was rejected.
- (2) The opposition party voted against the controversial bill.

The omission of actors in sentence (1) by the choice of the passive structure suggests that the action of rejecting the 'controversial bill' is the concern of the speaker, whereas in sentence (2), the actors who voted against the bill, the opposition party, is the main concern of the speaker who may belong to the other (ruling) party

Apart from the grammatical choice, SFL also allows for lexical choices. We may choose to refer to a military administration as a regime or a junta; and we may choose to address our mother as mum, mummy, mama, or even as ma'am. These choices may be more unconscious in speaking than in writing; however in prepared speeches (e.g. political speeches), the choices are largely conscious (Bloor and Bloor 2004; Halliday 1985, 2004; Fairclough 1989). All of this indicates that the speaker or writer has the option to identify participants in different ways; he also has the option to hide participants altogether. And this may be done for different reasons.

3.3. Text and Context

Halliday (1978, 108-109) refers to texts as 'instances of linguistic interaction in which people actually engage: whatever is said, or written, in an operational context, as distinct from a citational context like that of words listed in a dictionary'. This means that a text can be any stretch of language of any length, which can be spoken or written for the purposes of communication by real people in actual situations (see also, Bloor and Bloor 2004). Halliday (1978) explains that text may be conceived (for specific purposes) as a linguistic unit that is 'in principle' greater in size than a sentence but of the same kind.

Human beings, as language users, often produce texts that are meant to serve specific purposes based on language situations. By the same token, presidential speeches from which corruption-related issues are extracted in this thesis are instances of texts, often used synonymously with discourse. Text represents choice; it represents what is meant, 'selected from the total set of options that constitute what can be meant' (Halliday 1978, 109). It is also conceived as a semantic unit and the basic unit of the semantic process. Thus, what constitutes a text is not simply defined by size or any other physical parameters but primarily by social and semantic parameters.

Context, the situation in which a linguistic interaction takes place, is very fundamental to meaning-making in language. Halliday and Hasan (1985) explain that the meaning of utterances (including texts) should not be determined in isolation. Along with many other linguists who approach the study of language from a social perspective, Halliday and Hasan suggest that the study of words, utterances, and even whole chunks of discourse in isolation is inadequate for understanding them. To Halliday, the notion of 'con-text' is the notion of what is 'with the text' and it goes beyond what is said or written, 'it includes non-verbal goings on – the total environment in which a text unfolds' (Halliday and Hasan 1985, 6).

Furthermore, a distinction is made between the context of situation and the context of culture. Whereas context of situation is the immediate context in which the language is used, context of culture refers to the meanings and assumptions that people share in a community (Halliday and Hasan, 1985). The context of culture can be thought of as the full range of systems of situational contexts that the culture embodies. Halliday's conceptualisation of context was inspired by the social anthropologist, Bronislaw Malinowski who coined the term 'context of situation' and 'context of culture'. To understand an utterance in English or any other language, the context of situation is necessary. However, the specific context of culture may be different. This is because the activities that people engage in may be different in reference to place and time. However, all language may be understood in its context of situation.

According to Halliday and Hassan (1985, 10) the context of situation can best be understood in terms of three features: **field**, **tenor**, and **mode**.

The **Field of Discourse** refers to what is happening, the nature of the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component?

The **Tenor of Discourse** refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationships obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved.

The **Mode of Discourse** refers to what part the language is playing, what is it that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organisation of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?), and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of categories such as persuasive, expository, didactic, and the like. (See also Christie and Unsworth 2000).

3.4. The Clause System

The grammar of English language, according to Halliday (2004), can be arranged on a ‘scale of rank’ comprising the clause, the phrase/group, the word and the morpheme. A clause consists of one or more groups; a group consists of one or more words; and a word consists of one or more morphemes (see also Bloor and Bloor 2004). An illustration of these ranks can be seen in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 shows examples of each rank in the clause.

Rank	Example
Clause	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • in the lower layers of the sea, there are fewer animals • (and) they tend to eat each other • (because) there is no plant life
Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the lower layers of the sea • fewer animals • are • each other
Word	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the • lower • layers
Morpheme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • layer • -s • The

Adapted from Bloor and Bloor (2004, 8)

Of all these, the clause is the highest and major unit of grammatical analysis (Bloor and Bloor 2004). Ravelli (2000) also identifies a clause as the hub of the grammar where a grammatical analysis begins. Halliday (2004, 10) notes that the ‘clause is the central processing unit in the lexicogrammar – in the specific sense that it is in the clause that meanings of different kinds are mapped into an integrated grammatical structure’. It does have a special place in expressing meaning because it is at the rank of clause that people usually use language to interact with others. In concept, clause is similar to a sentence. Whereas the sentence pertains to written language, a clause applies to both spoken and written language. A clause may also be used to represent events such as something happening or state of affairs. With a clause, people can construct complex ideas and express how one idea relates to another.

This notion of clause is particularly significant to our analysis in the sense that ideas about corruption can only be completely deciphered when the appropriate constituents (group of words) that make up a clause are present. A sentence can have more than one clause, and a clause (whether it is dependent or independent) will still have a (mandatory) process, and can carry important information or an idea necessary for the analysis of corruption. Also, the presidential speeches, the main data for this thesis, are written texts that are spoken to the public.

3.5. The Language Metafunctions

The notion of ‘metafunction’ was put forward by Halliday to explain ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language, and to distinguish same from the traditional language ‘function’ which refers to purpose or way of using language. Halliday’s preference of ‘metafunction’ to ‘function’ is explained thus:

We could have called them [i.e. the metafunctions] simply functions; however there is a long tradition of talking about the functions of language contexts where function simply means purpose or way of using language, and has no significance for the analysis of language itself...the systemic analysis shows that functionality is intrinsic to language... The term metafunction was adopted to suggest that function was an integral component within the overall theory (Halliday 2004, 30-31).

As shown in Table 3.2, the three metafunctions are interconnected. Human utterances (spoken or written) comprise all these three metafunctions.

Table 3.2. The interconnection of context, metafunction and grammar

Contextual variable	Metafunction (meaning)	‘reality construal’	‘work done’
FIELD	Ideational	Reality	representing our experience of reality
TENOR	Interpersonal	social reality	enacting our social relations
MODE	Textual	semiotic reality	presenting messages as text in context

The concept of ‘field’ is connected to the ideational function which construes our experience of reality, the ‘tenor’ is connected to the interpersonal function which construes the social reality and enacts our social relations, while the ‘mode’ is connected to the textual function which presents the semiotic reality in which messages are presented as text in context. These concepts are explained in detail below.

3.5.1. Ideational metafunction and transitivity

The ideational metafunction is a language function which expresses what is going on; it is about our natural world in the widest sense which includes our own consciousness. The ideational metafunction is also concerned with clauses as ‘representations’. The principal system for the ideational metafunction in the clause network is called Transitivity. Transitivity is a major component in experiential metafunction of the clause which deals with the transmission of ideas, representing processes or experiences such as actions, events, processes. Generally, transitivity is concerned with how meaning is represented in the clause.

The core of this representation is called **process**, often referred to as **verb** in Traditional Grammar. The process is brought about by **participants** who may be directly or indirectly involved in the experience, activity or event. Participants may cause the event or experience to happen or they may be affected by such events or states in some way. The event can also be represented in relation to further information. This is called **circumstance**, and it gives further details about the process and participant(s). These choices – Process, Participant and Circumstance – are together referred to as the transitivity system.

Specific experiences are captured using verbs and nouns, noun groups, verb groups, sentence level grammar, adverbials and adjectivals. The process is the action around which the clause is structured or formed. It is always realized by a verb or a verbal group, and there is only one process in a clause, although there may be other verbs in a clause that do not play the role of process. Participants are typically realized by nominal groups, but may also be realized by other elements, such as embedded clauses. Participant does not necessarily mean 'human' or 'concrete', participant may as well refer to the element(s) involved in the process in some way. Circumstance is usually realized by prepositional phrases, nominal groups or adverbs (Simpson 1993; Ravelli 2000).

Furthermore, processes are classified according to whether they represent an action, a state of mind, a state of being or simply a speech. Halliday (2004) identifies six terms for identifying processes – material, behavioural, mental, verbal, relational and existential; explaining that ‘each term is the entry condition to a more delicate part of the network that represents the grammar of that particular process type’ (Halliday 2004, 218). The six processes advanced by Halliday are further explicated in Simpson (2004) as shown in the Table below.

Table 3.3. The processes with examples (partly adapted from Simpson, 2004)

SN	Process name	Process type and examples	Participant (role(s))
1	Material	‘doing’ eat, kick, go, cut,	Actor (obligatory) Goal (optional)
2	Mental	‘sensing’ think, like, want, hate	Senser (obligatory) Phenomenon
3	verbal verbalization	‘saying’ talk, tell, instruct, say	Sayer (obligatory)
4	Relational	‘being’ is, become, stands for, symbolizes	Carrier (obligatory) Attribute (obligatory)
5	Existential	the process of ‘existing’, of ‘being a being’ is, am, come, go by	There is an Existent
6	Behavioural	the process made up of both mental and material activities laugh, dream, cough	Behaver

The interconnection of the different types of processes in a typical talk situation is instantiated in Halliday (2004, 214) with an extract from ‘Interview of Chinua Achebe’. It is reproduced here (Table 3.4) in the sense that it represents how the people may consciously or unconsciously choose processes, and how it substantiates the meaning-making significance of SFL.

Table 3.4. The Six Processes in ‘Interview of Chinua Achebe’ (adopted from Halliday, 2004).

PROCESS TYPE	Example [Process + participants underlined; Process in bold; circumstances in italics]
material	<i>During the European scramble for Africa, <u>Nigeria</u> fell to the British. and <u>the British</u> ruled <u>it</u> until 1960</i>
behavioural	<u>people</u> are laughing .
mental	<u>The Ibos</u> did not approve of <u>kings</u> .
verbal	so <u>we</u> say → that every fourth African is a Nigerian Can you tell us about the political and cultural make-up of Nigeria?
relational	that <u>every fourth African</u> is <u>a Nigerian</u> .
existential	so <i>today</i> there’s <u>Christianity</u> in the south

The example, as seen above, draws from the six processes, revealing the beauty and appropriateness of the various representations and the meaning they put forward to serve. The ideational metafunction is one of the major elements which our analysis of corruption requires in the sense that presidents' speeches on corruption reflect their various world views on the subject, and these views can be observed through the various choices made.

3.5.1.1. Nominalisation

Processes and human participants (or agents) in the clause can be realised as nominalisations. Nominalisation is a way of turning verbs into nouns. It results in the loss of human agency, which is usually replaced by an abstraction related to the original Agent (government spending, foreign travel). It is a 'process of syntactic reduction' (Fowler 1991, 41); it also 'results in increase in lexical density' in which 'nominal groups become long and heavy' (Downing and Locke 2006, 162).

Nominalisation distances participants from the process (event) and it raises the representation of a situation to a higher level of abstraction. With this objectification of the process and depersonalisation of participants, the event or abstraction is conceptualised as if it had temporal persistence, instead of the transience associated with a verb (Downing and Locke 2006). Furthermore, nominalisation can give the impression that what it expresses is a recognised piece of information with indisputable validity as may be seen, comparatively, in the following:

- (a) *Embezzlement of the government funds* showed a disturbing growth in 2017 in contrast to *almost non-existence record* of the previous year.
- (b) *The government officials* misappropriated much more money in 2016, whereas *they spent transparently* in the previous year.

Examples (a) and (b) are respectively the nominalised and the non-nominalised versions of the same idea. In a, the italicized nominal group is presented as an indisputable fact. Process and participants have been subsumed in the nominal group. This is not the case in b in which the participants and the processes are clearly spelt out. Nominalisation can occur within the major components of the clause. There are four instances given in Downing and Locke (2006, 163-164).

Table 3.5. Clause constituents and nominalisations adapted from Downing and Locke (2006, 163-164)

S/N	Clause constituents	Example: Nominalised form	Example: Basic form
1	Process realised as entity	Without the slightest hesitation.	Without hesitating at all.
2	Attribute realised as entity	<i>Bigness</i> is paid for, in part, by <i>fewness</i> , and a <i>decline in competition</i> .	If firms are very <i>big</i> , they will be <i>fewer</i> will have less need to compete
3	Circumstance as entity	<i>August 12</i> found the travellers in Rome	The travellers were/arrived in Rome <i>on August 12</i> .
4	Dependent situation as entity	<i>Fears of disruption to oil supplies from the Gulf</i> helped push crude oil prices up dramatically.	Because people feared that oil would not be supplied as usual from the Gulf, the price of crude oil rose dramatically.

3.5.1.2. Conceptual Metaphors and Clause Participants

Participants in the clause can also be represented by metaphorical expressions. In metaphor, we compare the common property shared by two quite different things. It is ‘the phenomenon whereby we talk and, potentially, think about something in terms of something else’ (Semino 2008, 1). Some of the conceptual metaphors commonly found in the literature are shown in Table 3.6 below.

Table 3.6. Conceptual metaphor as clause participants

S/N	Participant	Process	Participant / others
1	Corruption	is declared	as an economic rape
2	They	milks	the country dry
3	Regulatory processes	hampered	joint efforts to combat corruption
4	Corruption	is	a malignant cancer
5	The economic situation	is recovering	from the infection of corruption

Specifically, the conceptual metaphor is a conceptual mapping from the source domain to the target domain. They are mostly used in political speeches, particularly those given by high-ranking officials, such as presidents (Borčić, Kanižaj and Kršul 2016; Semino 2008; Lakoff 2004, 2008). They are particularly significant in that metaphoric expressions are not just ordinary ways of talking about one thing in terms of another, but they provide evidence that people also think about one thing in terms of another (see Lakoff and Johnson 2011). As observed in Table 3.6 above, human participant can be enshrouded in a ‘metaphorical’ clause. In example (1) for instance, corruption is conceptualized as sexual abuse (rape); also the act of rape cannot be enacted by abstract phenomenon such as corruption. Similar explanation may go for the remaining examples.

The following section discusses the interpersonal metafunction which is equally relevant and significant.

3.5.2. Interpersonal metafunction

The interpersonal metafunction is about the social world, particularly the relationship between speaker and hearer or the writer and the reader as the case may be. This indicates that apart from the construal of our world and ensuring unity of our ideas and representations of the ideational metafunction, language is also used in enacting personal and social relationships with the other people around us (Halliday 2004, 30). Through the interpersonal metafunction, we understand how people take part in communicative acts with others; it also enables people to take on roles, and to express and appreciate feelings, attitude and judgements (Bloor and Bloor 2004). Interpersonal metafunction is particularly important to our study not only because corrupt acts are largely enacted by through collaboration of various social actors but also because issues of corruption in the presidential speeches are presented to portray positive or negative roles of these social actors regarding corruption.

The relevant contextual variable of the interpersonal function is Tenor (See Table 3.1 above). Tenor of the situation is reflected in and constructed by the interpersonal meanings of the text. It establishes the kind of (personal) relationship constructed between the interactants in the situation; the opinions and attitudes expressed as well as the degree of formality or informality established are all part of the interpersonal metafunction (Ravelli, 2000). In the interpersonal metafunction, ‘the speaker is using language as the means of his own intrusion into the speech event ... the expression of his comments, attitudes and evaluations, and also of the relationship that he sets up between himself and the listener in particular, the communication role that he adopts of informing, questioning, greeting, persuading, and the like’ are all encapsulated in interpersonal meaning (Halliday 2006, 91).

Halliday further explained that it is through interpersonal metafunction that the speaker ‘intrudes himself into the context of situation, both expressing his own attitudes and judgements and seeking to influence the attitudes and behavior of others’ (Halliday 2007, 184). An elaboration of these roles played by the interpersonal function including the way they express a speaker’s attitude and judgements in utterances was done by Martin and White (2007), and it forms ‘the basis of the whole enterprise of Appraisal Theory’ (Daulay 2011, 3). We examine appraisal in more detail in the next section. The concept can be helpful in understanding some of the interactional elements

that come to play when politicians deliver their speeches to the nation, including how they express their feelings, attitude and stance on issues of national significance such as corruption.

3.5.3. Appraisal Theory

Appraisal is a theory about emotion, ethics, and aesthetics; it focusses on how speakers use language to express feelings, how the feelings are amplified and how additional voices are added in their discourses. It is used to analyse how the speaker/writer, through utterances/texts, values the entities (people and things) within the text that they produce. As indicated above, appraisal theory is an extension of the interpersonal metafunction in SFL. The framework was developed in the 1990s as an extension of SFL for investigating and systematizing the construal of interpersonal meanings in texts (see Martin 1997, 2000; Martin and Rose 2003; Martin and White 2005; Eggins and Slade 1997, 2005).

An understanding of the linguistic resources of Appraisal can enable us to investigate and answer 'seven types of questions', which also inform an aspect of this research (*Appraisal Theory Homepage*; see also Iedema et al. 1994, Christie and Martin 1997, Martin 2000 and White 1998).

They are:

1. the linguistic basis of differences in a writer/speaker's 'style' by which they may present themselves as, for example, more or less deferential, dominating, authoritative, inexperienced, cautious, conciliatory, aloof, engaged, emotional, impersonal, and so on;
2. how the different uses of evaluative language by speakers/writers act to construct different authorial voices and textual personas;
3. how different genres and text types may conventionally employ different evaluative and rhetorical strategies;
4. the underlying, often covert value systems which shape (and are disseminated by) a speaker/writer's utterances;
5. the different assumptions which speakers/writers make about the value and belief systems of their respective intended audiences;
6. how different modes of story-telling can be characterised by their different uses of the resources of evaluation; and

7. the communicative strategies by which some discourses (for example those of the media and science) construct supposedly 'objective' or impersonal modes of textuality.

With reference to the first question, for example, speeches of the presidents can present them as indifferent, authoritative or conciliatory when addressing corruption-related issues, and that may be indicative of their stance towards corruption. Another important example (in 4 above) is the tendency of the theory to expose underlying or covert value systems which can shape what a president says about corruption.

In Appraisal theory, three linguistic resources are used to express emotions: ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT, and GRADUATION.

3.5.3.1. Attitude

Attitude refers to the resources used to negotiate feelings, judge people's behaviour or character and evaluate the worth of things. It is concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements and evaluation of behaviour and things. Attitude also includes the way people emotionally respond in a conversation or any form of discourse and the kind of judgement they hold thereof. (Martin and White, 2005). In the talk about corruption especially in the presidential speeches, attitude can reveal a president's emotional feeling and judgement about corruption, which may also indicate the way such president portrays individuals or groups in connection to corruption.

The three subtypes of attitude or the system of attitude are **Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation**. Speakers (and even writers) utilize these resources for expressing positive and negative feelings. The subsystem of Affect 'deals with resources for construing emotional reactions' (Martin and White 2005, 35). This means that Affect is made up of linguistic resources speakers utilize for expressing their feelings in terms of their emotional states and/or responses to some emotional trigger.

Judgement is made up of 'resources for assessing behavior according to various normative principles', particularly those that express certain behavioural standards (Martin and White 2005, 35). To paraphrase, it refers to how speakers evaluate themselves and other people in terms of their

character and social behavior in relation to culturally established sets of moral, legal, and personal norms (Souza 2006). It is simply an ethical evaluation of human behavior in terms ‘good’ or ‘bad’.

Appreciations are interpersonal resources ‘for expressing positive and negative evaluations of entities, processes, and natural phenomena’ (Souza 2006, 544). Some of the objects, entities, and processes that may be attitudinally evaluated according to Martin and Rose (2003, 37) are TV shows, films, books, CDs; paintings, sculptures, homes, public buildings, parks; plays, recitals, parades or spectacles and performances of any kind; feelings about nature for that matter - panoramas and glens, sunrises and sunsets, constellations, shooting stars and satellites on a starry night; they can also be evaluated both positively and negatively.

Furthermore, Attitudinal meaning can be explicit (inscribed) or implicit (invoked). Attitudes are realized across a range of grammatical structures. And in discourse, a speaker’s ideological perspective can be explicitly signaled by the choice of lexicogrammatical resources employed specifically for the speech purpose (Hart 2013). These three sub-systems of Attitude are summarised in Table 3.7 below.

Table 3.7. Outline of the sub-system of Attitude (adapted from Daulay 2011 and Martin and White 2005)

THE THREE SYSTEMS OF ATTITUDE			
	Attitude	Meaning	Example
1	Affect	show positive and negative feeling indicates how a speaker or text producer is emotionally disposed to a person, thing, happening or state of affairs;	I’m grieved , it is a sad day. This new proposal by the government terrifies me
2	Judgement	How speakers evaluate themselves and other people in terms of their character and social behavior in relation to culturally established sets of moral, legal, and personal norms Assessments of human behaviour typically making reference to rules or conventions of behavior;	Some have unwisely chosen to test America’s resolve... He corruptly agreed to accept money from those bidding for the contract....
3	Appreciation	To express positive and negative evaluations of entities, processes, and natural phenomena Assessments of the form, appearance, composition, impact, significance etc. of human artefacts, natural objects as well as human individuals (but not of human behaviour) by reference to aesthetics and other systems of social value.	The new president's speech was elegant and well-woven , sounding panoply of themes without seeming scattered .

3.5.3.2. Engagement

In Engagement, the focus is on linguistic resources that allow ‘speakers [to] present themselves as in positions of alignment, antagonism or neutrality with respect to previous speakers’ value positions and whether speakers anticipate the value positions of putative readers as being in alignment, antagonism or neutrality with respect to the positions they are advancing’ (Hart 2014, 52). The interest is in the extent to which speakers acknowledge other alternative voices; and the different ways in which they then interact with them. The Engagement system indicates that linguistic resources can ‘position the speaker/writer with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position – by quoting or reporting, acknowledging a possibility, denying, countering, affirming and so on’ (Martin and White 2005,36). Engagement system is potentially relevant to our study in that the issue of corruption allows for divergent views and positions, particularly regarding specific causes, effects or solutions. With engagement, we may see how an aspect of a president’s speech, for example, aligns with or counter popular view on dealing with corruption. A president may choose to acknowledge the popular view and he may choose to antagonise it while proposing a different approach to tackle corruption. Figure 3.1 presents components of engagement system.

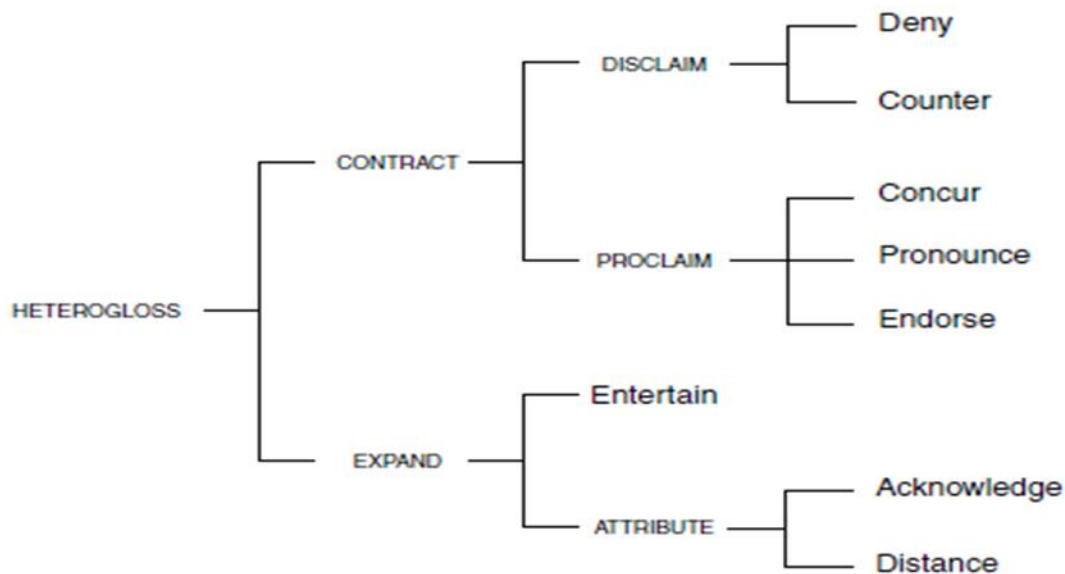


Figure 3.1. Engagement system – Heterogloss (adapted from Hart 2014, 53)

Choices in Engagement system can be **monoglossic** or **heteroglossic** depending on whether the text or utterance is positioned as given and undebatable, or whether the speaker construes the issue as something up for debate. For the monoglossic (or undialogised) utterance, the speaker/writer makes no reference to other voices and viewpoints. The position presented by the speaker (or writer) is communicated as undisputed and/or indisputable fact. They usually take the form of categorical or bare assertions (Hart 2014; Martin and White 2005).

Engagement is heteroglossic when it invokes or allows for dialogic alternatives (see Figure 3.1 above), and it can be **Expansive** or **Contractive**. It is Expansive if the utterance or proposition makes room for dialogically alternative positions, and it is Contractive if the locution or proposition closes down alternative positions.

Two terms are used to describe Expansion – Entertain and Attribute. In Entertain, a statement is infused with subjectivity thereby paving the way for possible dialogic alternatives. They are realised linguistically using epistemic modal auxiliaries (such as may, might, could, will), modal adjuncts (perhaps, probably, definitely, possibly) and a few mental processes with the first person ‘I’. (I believe, I suspect, I am convinced that) etc. (Martin and White, 2005. Hart, 2014). In Attribute, the proposition is presented as one in a range of possible positions, and achieved by grounding the proposition in the subjectivity of an external voice. The proposition in Attribute can ‘distance’ or ‘acknowledge’. It is realised typically ‘through the grammar of directly and indirectly reported speech and thought (Martin and White 2007, 111).

As we shall see in the later chapters, some of the propositions or claims about corruption are expressed linguistically in such a way that no room was created for alternative views, and in other cases the speeches tend to invoke dialogic alternatives in that they tend to share the popular views such the causes, impacts and solution to corruption.

Similarly, two major terms are used to describe Contraction – Disclaim or Proclaim. Disclaim is achieved by ‘denying’ or ‘countering’. Proclaim can be realised by ‘concurring’, ‘pronouncing’ and ‘endorsing’. In proclaim, the alternative position is suppressed by virtue of their contrariness with the position the speaker emphatically adopted by the speaker or writer. They are all realised by a wide range of grammatical structures. For example, evidential adjuncts such as ‘naturally’ and ‘obviously’ can show an agreement (concur) to a statement; and evidential verbs such as

‘show’ and ‘demonstrate’ can foreground an endorsement of statement. Also expressions such as ‘the fact of the matter is’ or ‘it can only be concluded that’ is a way of articulating a proposition.

3.5.3.3. Graduation

Graduation is also an Appraisal system concerned with evaluative resources of up-scaling and down-scaling utterances or locutions. It acts upon the functional systems of Attitude and Engagement to ‘up-scale’ or ‘down-scale’ evaluations. Graduation is central to the Appraisal system in the sense that gradability is a property of all attitudinal meanings – affect, judgement and appreciation). They construe greater or lesser degrees of positivity or negativity and such alignment is sensitive to the anticipated positions of the construed listener or reader (Martin and White 2005). Graduation is especially relevant to our study in the sense that linguistic expressions used in addressing corruption vary not only with the specific aspect being mentioned but also with the social actors connected to those issues. Thus, attitude to a particular aspect of corruption may be in seen in more detail through graduation.

Graduation operates within two axes of scalability of **Force** and **Focus**. Force is grading according to intensity or amount. Focus is grading according to prototypicality and the preciseness by which category boundaries are drawn. Evaluations, in the subsystem of Force, are graded according to Intensity (or Intensification) or Quantity (Quantification). Others are Size, Strength, Amount, Speed, Extent, Proximity, and Volume and so on (see Hart 2014, 57).

Graduations can be described as **Isolated** or **Infused**. Graduations are isolated when they are realised in a distinct or separate lexical item whose main function is to modify another. For example in ‘[The] large scale corruption in the government is deeply regretted’, graduation is realised in distinct lexical item (deeply). Graduations are infused when the degree of force is an inherent meaningful component of a single lexical item. Epistemic and deontic modal verbs are good set of examples. A lexical resource can be measured in comparison to degrees of force inherent in the meaning of other items belonging to the same semantic set such as that of epistemic and deontic modal verbs. Modality such as in epistemic modal verbs (could/may/will) and deontic modal verbs (can/should/must) are modelled in scalar terms oriented to three stations on a cline of modal commitment namely; low, median and high (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

The subsystem of Focus ‘applies most typically to categories which, when viewed from an experiential perspective, are not scalable’ (Martin and White 2005, 137). This is grading (proposition) according to prototypicality. Prototypicality is explained in terms of ‘how loosely something corresponds with what the speaker construes to be a good example of a particular category’ (Hart 2014, 58). For example, specifications can be ‘sharpened’ (using words such as real, genuine and proper) or ‘softened’ (using words such as kind of, sort of) to indicate that something either does or does not constitute a good example of the category (Hart 2014, 58).

All in all, the foregoing demonstrates that Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a very complex theory which embodies other theoretical concepts such as Appraisal. Whether we approach SFL from the angle of Appraisal, Metafunctions or more particularly Transitivity, the fundamental and underlying idea is that of choice. As presented so far, SFL is a social theory that provides explanations for the choices people make in discourse or in constructing texts. Indeed aspects of SFL as a theory have been applied to a wide range of texts on different topics such as those on politics and economics (e.g. Matu and Lube 2007; Royce 2007, Liping 2014), health, science and technology (Bloor and Bloor 2004; Zheng et.al 2014), language and multilingualism (Mwinlaaru and Xuan 2016; Daramola 2011; Webster and Peng 2017, Tomlin, 1990), business and corporate affairs (Hart 2014), education and academics (Antia and Kamai 2016), research on qualitative data analysis (To, Lê and Lê 2015).

However, in many of these instances, SFL cannot provide required answers as to why those choices are made. Text analysis such as those being examined in this research require a very detailed explanation as to why specific choices are made and the various factors that may have influenced the choices. Another social theory that can dig deep into implicit use of language, that can check possible ideologies embedded in texts, and that can conceptualize the nature of power relations and hegemony inscribed in discourse becomes very important. Thus, the second part of this chapter provides important theoretical claims in critical discourse analysis (CDA).

3.6. Critical Discourse Analysis: a Brief Overview

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a theoretical approach often used to investigate issues relating to power, ideology, domination and hegemony as may be inscribed in spoken or written texts. CDA, like SFL, also views language from the social perspective. Its emergence in research was influenced by a similar theoretical approach, Critical Linguistics which is a branch of

linguistic analysis concerned with systematic analysis of texts in their sociopolitical contexts (see Wodak 2011; van Dijk 2001). Historically, CDA has developed from differing conceptions of Linguistics, and it has also been influenced by a range of post-structural and neo-Marxist theories.

In critical discourse analysis, the notion of ‘critical’ serves to reveal hidden power relations and ideological processes and dimensions as may be exploited in texts. Also, ‘discourse’ is another important term (see chapter 2 for details on discourse). It has been variously defined as ‘language in use’ (Chilton 2004, 16; Brown and Yule 1983, 1), ‘situated text and talk’ (Hall 1996), and ‘socially specific ways of knowing social practices’ (van Leeuwen 2008, 6). This indicates that definitions of discourse are generally summarised in three ways: anything beyond the sentence, language in use, and a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language (Schiffrin et.al. 2001, 1). Finally, ‘analysis’ is the third concept that usually goes with ‘discourse’. Thus, to say ‘discourse analysis’ is to mean the analysis of language in use which is not restricted to the description of linguistic forms but inclusive of the purposes or functions which the (linguistic) forms are designed to serve in human affairs (Brown and Yule, 1983).

In the remaining parts, we present the general principles of CDA which are peculiar to all the approaches. Secondly, we highlight major methodological approaches to analysis followed by an examination of the salient theoretical claims in political discourse analysis and its relevance to this study. Finally, we explain the complementarity of CDA and SFL and draw up our conclusions of the chapter.

3.7. Principles and Scholarly Approaches to CDA

CDA provides a useful framework for the interpretation of text, particularly in relation to the society. It focuses closely on the inter-relationship between language and power and hidden agenda (Fairclough 1989). A number of CDA theorists have presented various principles of CDA in their own formulations or terms, which largely represent a common ground of all CDA approaches (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; van Dijk 1993; Wodak 1996; Meyer 2001). However, Fairclough and Wodak’s (1997, 271-280) eight foundational principles are widely cited and they are explicated below.

3.7.1. CDA addresses social problems.

An important principle of CDA is that it addresses social problems. CDA's commitment to addressing social problems is partly to create awareness of the existence of such problems, and partly to find a means of mitigation and emancipation. Social problems are largely engendered through social power abuse, inequality, dominance and hegemony. Hegemony, brought to CDA substantially through the influences of neo-Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci, describes the mechanisms of power controlling society in capitalist and fascist societies. The emancipatory agenda of this political philosophy is to bring about a more socially equitable alternative to such political and economic domination. An example of the contemporary social problem is that of corruption. Because CDA addresses social problems, analysis may show how mechanisms of state power can serve the interest of those who control the state. Thus, the whole attempt of solving a problem such as that of corruption can result in hegemonic tendencies and domination of the people especially as discourse power is controlled by top public officials including the presidents. Ultimately, CDA can offer solutions in terms of understanding why a problem such as political corruption has been protracted.

3.7.2. Power relations are discursive.

Power relations and struggles for power are constructed and reflected in discourse. In CDA, power is not considered as physical force, rather it is a subtle 'force' that propels people to do what the society wants them to do and which they have to do ordinarily. It is a kind of normalizing power which determines what we see as normal; it constructs our views of the world and of ourselves (Foucault, 1982). This power relations shape our beliefs and our decisions and simultaneously gives us the impression that they are our own ideas, beliefs, desires and decisions. CDA claims that unequal power relations exist in society and are influenced and contested discursively among the various societal structures. Such powers become naturalized in the sense that their implicit assumptions are seen as 'commonsense' and no longer viewed as questionable. Naturalization refers to the process in which certain linguistic representations are seen as 'common sense' (Fairclough 1989). In other words, when a discourse becomes so dominant that alternative interpretations are entirely suppressed or ignored, then it ceases to be arbitrary; or, as merely one position, it becomes natural, and legitimized, and seen as the way things are. Thus CDA focuses on 'the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society' (van Dijk, 2001, 353). What corruption is and what corruption

is not have been issues of power amongst institutions, such as the political class, the government and academia. Discursive engagement about what corruption is and what corruption is not, can ignite further discourse about problematizing and finding solution to it.

3.7.3. Discourse constitutes society and culture, and is constituted by them.

CDA believes that discourse plays a vital role in terms of societal beliefs and actions. In other words, our society and the way we live is shaped by discourse; and it is the same discourse that also shapes that very society and its culture. Fairclough (1995) argues that discourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct or ‘constitute’ them ... and position people in different ways as social subjects. By extension, discourse constitutes what any society sees or believes to be corrupt acts. It is the same discourse that ‘constitutes’ or defines what corruption is understood to be. CDA has the potential of explaining the societal (negative) attitude to the issue of corruption including the cultural values that inform such attitude. In addition, this CDA tenet can help to unravel the roles played by the social subjects (e.g. the leaders and the people) regarding corruption beyond what the known social practices relating to corruption may have entrenched in that society.

3.7.4. Discourse does ideological work – representing, constructing society and reproducing unequal relations of power.

Discourse does ideological work by representing, constructing the society and reproducing unequal relations of power. CDA claims that language (or discourse) is a medium of domination and social force and can serve to legitimize the relations of organized power or dominant group (Habermas 1967). This principle indicates that ideologies are produced and reflected in the use of discourse. Ideology is the ‘basis of the social representations shared by members of a group’ (van Dijk 1998, 8). This basis of representation is ingrained in the mental frameworks which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of the way society works. These mental frameworks may reflect in the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation (Hall 1996). CDA is, thus, interested in how ideology plays out in text and talk particularly in reproducing unequal power relations. In our corruption example, CDA can provide insights into corruption claims by different societal structures or specific social subjects, and can investigate the nature and motivation of such claims.

3.7.5. Discourse is historical.

CDA's claim that discourse is historical is built on the understanding that specific discourses can connect to previous, contemporary and subsequent discourses. Different discourses combine under particular social conditions to produce a new, complex discourse (Fairclough 1995). A contemporary example is the social construction of 'political corruption' in which various discourses (transparency, good governance, and economic freedom) are combined to constitute the discourse around 'political corruption'.

3.7.6. The link between text and society is mediated.

Relations between text and society are mediated, and a socio-cognitive approach is needed to understand these links. This means that the links between text and society can be understood by considering the link between social and cultural structures and (mental) processes. CDA considers language as a major component of cultural manifestations and as a means of creating the ideological basis on which social power is implemented and reinforced. This principle also echoes the claim that there is an intricate relationship between text and society. Here, 'text' is considered as one dimension of discourse: the written or spoken 'product' of the process of text production (Fairclough 1995). Texts are produced by different social structures of the society and they reflect ideas and ideology of that society. In examining the presidential speeches particularly as they relate to corruption, attention needs to be focused on contexts such as the different social structures of the country and the cultural notions about corruption. All of this may add up to the kind of mental picture that text producers and consumers may create about corruption.

3.7.7. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory

Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory, and it implies a systematic methodology and an investigation of context. CDA claims that texts, be it spoken or written, are not value free. The role of the analyst is to study the relationship between texts and social practices. Thus, analysts need to perform interpretative and explanatory roles not only by applying appropriate methods but also by investigating the context in which a text is produced. By this, opaque ideas in texts are made clear, including any potential ideological and hegemonic relations that may be embedded. The strength of this principle in relation to our corruption research lies in the common knowledge that hardly would any leader explicitly admit responsibility of condoning or perpetrating corruption. It is unlikely that any presidential speech will criticize the president or the government

headed by the president. In such cases, the interpretative and explanatory dimensions of discourse analysis (by critically engaging texts) can help to expose inherent interest or ideology.

3.7.8. Discourse is a form of social action.

Discourse is a form of social action in that it plays a part in producing the social world. It also plays a part in producing knowledge, identities and social relations, and thereby maintains specific social patterns. It is believed that different social understandings of the world lead to different social actions, and therefore the social construction of knowledge and truth has social consequences (Burr 1995, 5). By extension, discourse produces our knowledge of corruption which constitutes an aspect of understanding of our contemporary world; it is the same discourse that produces further actions (on the phenomenon) which are dependent on social interaction. CDA's claim that discourse is a form of social action is a rejection of the view that language is simply mediating between people and the world, and tends to be seen as 'doing nothing' (Edwards, 1997). Another sense of social interaction points to the origins and relevance of social meanings which emerge from complex social and historical processes.

The above principles are more or less common to all CDA scholarship, but there are different methodological approaches or models. CDA has never attempted to be one single specific theory or methodology (Martin and Wodak 2003; Wodak 2006). Regarding the current research, our analysis combines a number of CDA models such as those relating to ideology and power (van Dijk 2002, 2004, 2006), ideological representation of social actors in discourse (van Leeuwen 1996, 2008) and the three-tier analytical dimensions in CDA (Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995). Below are explanations of the major approaches of Fairclough, van Dijk and van Leeuwen respectively.

3.8. Fairclough's three-pronged analytical framework

Fairclough's model for analysis in CDA comprises three interrelated processes of analysis which are correlated to three interrelated dimensions of discourse (Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995). These three dimensions are: (1) the object of analysis (such as verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts), (2) the processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects, and (3) the socio-historical conditions which govern these processes. Figure 3.2 captures the interrelatedness.

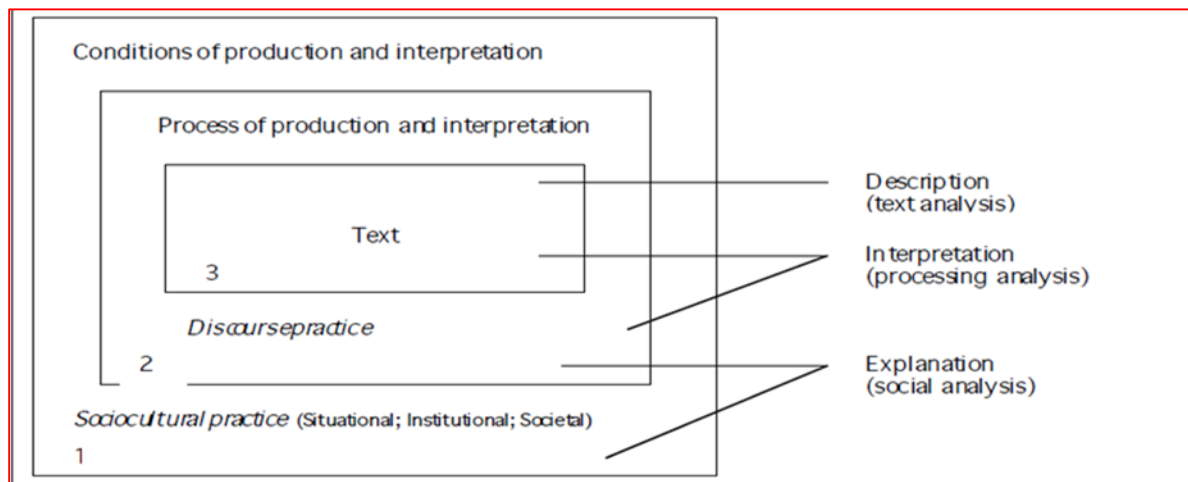


Figure 3.2. Dimensions of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995, 98)

Each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis, namely, text analysis – **description**, processing analysis – **interpretation**, and social analysis – **explanation**. To Fairclough, all of these three dimensions represent each discursive event. Simultaneously, a discursive event is text, discursive practice (involving production and interpretation of texts) and social practice involving social interactions.

As indicated, **description** is the stage in which formal or linguistic properties of texts are described. The stage of **interpretation** involves the cognitive processes of the participants. It includes the relationship between the productive and interpretative processes of discursive practice and the texts. In **explanation**, analysis is done based on the relationship between discursive practice and social practice. It involves the relationships between interactions (transitory social events) and the social structures which shape and are shaped by these social interactions (Fairclough 1989, 1995a). Fairclough explains one of the three levels of analysis, interpretation, which involves utilization of a kind of ‘mental storage’ thus:

You do not simply ‘decode’ an utterance, you arrive at an interpretation through an active process of matching features of the utterance at various levels with representations you have stored in your long-term memory. These representations are prototypes for a very diverse collection of things - the shapes of words, the grammatical forms of sentences, the typical structure of a narrative, the properties of types of object and person, the expected sequence of events in a particular situation

type, and so forth. Some of these are linguistic, and some of them are not. Anticipating later discussion ... refer to these prototypes collectively as ‘members resources’ or MR, for short. The main point is that comprehension is the outcome of interactions between the utterance being interpreted, and MR ... the processes of production and comprehension is essential to an understanding of the interrelations of language, power and ideology, and that this is so because MR are socially determined and ideologically shaped, though their ‘common sense’ and automatic character typically disguises that fact. Routine and unselfconscious resort to MR in the ordinary business of discourse is ... a powerful mechanism for sustaining the relations of power which ultimately underlie them (Fairclough 1989, 11).

This approach is not only relevant but very useful because it provides multiple points of analytic entry. The kind of analysis one begins with does not matter, inasmuch as they are all included and are shown to be mutually explanatory in the end. With the interconnections, the analyst finds interesting patterns and disjunctions that need to be ‘described’, ‘interpreted’ and ‘explained’.

Specifically, this approach is useful to our analysis of corruption in that it suggests the need for a detailed investigation of the presidential speeches (which are written texts but read on specific occasions of national significance). Also, this analytic model justifies identifying and labelling various linguistic elements of the texts, as they contribute to the overall idea of the speeches as a whole. Secondly, the approach underscores the cognitive processes that may be at play on the part of the speaker/writer and the listener/reader regarding the object of analysis. In other words, what is said about corruption can be understood as a product of mental processes of production and consumption of the text.

3.9. Van Dijk’s Ideological Square

Van Dijk’s (1998, 2002, 2006) framework is based on the assumption that ideologies are largely expressed and acquired by discourse (spoken or written communicative interaction); and that the framework can unravel ideologies that may underlie any communicative interaction. The model is called ‘ideological square’ and it consists of the following four moves:

1. Express/emphasize information that is positive about Us.
2. Express/emphasize information that is negative about Them.
3. Suppress/de-emphasize information that is positive about Them.

4. Suppress/de-emphasize information that is negative about Us.

For the purpose of text analysis, van Dijk (2006) provides a schema comprising ‘discursive structures and strategies’ to demonstrate how ideologies are expressed contextually in different kinds of structures or texts as well as things that analysts can look out for regarding issues of ideology and exercise of power. The schematic categorisations are based on **context, meaning, form and action** as may be applicable to any text.

Table 3.8. Expressions of Ideology in Discourse (van Dijk 2006, 125-126)

<p>Context: Speaker speaks <i>as</i> a member of a social group; and/or addresses recipient <i>as</i> group member; ideologically biased context models: subj. representations of communicative event and its participants as members of categories or groups.</p> <p>• Text, discourse, conversation:</p> <p>Overall strategy: positive presentation/action of Us, negative presentation /action of Them</p> <p>• Emphasize <i>Our</i> good things, and <i>Their</i> bad things, and De-emphasize <i>Our</i> bad things, and <i>Their</i> good things</p>
<p>MEANING</p> <p>Topics (semantic macrostructures)</p> <p>■ Select/Change positive/negative topics about Us/Them.</p> <p>Local meanings and coherence</p> <p>■ Positive/Negative Meanings for Us/Them are</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manifestation: Explicit versus Implicit • Precision: Precise versus Vague • Granularity: Detailed/fine versus Broad, rough • Level: General versus Specific, detailed • Modality: We/They Must/Should... • Evidentiality: We have the truth versus They are misguided • Local coherence: based on biased models • Disclaimers (denying Our bad things): ‘We are not racists, but...’ <p>Lexicon: Select Positive/Negative terms for Us/Them (e.g. ‘terrorist’ versus ‘freedom fighter’)</p>
<p>FORM</p> <p>Syntax: (De)emphasize Positive/Negative Agency of Us/Them</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Cleft versus non-cleft sentences (‘It is X who...’) ■ Active versus Passives (‘USA invades Iraq’ versus ‘Iraq invaded by USA’) ■ Full clauses/propositions versus nominalizations (The <i>invasion</i> of Iraq’). <p>Sound structures: Intonation, etc., (de)emphasizing Our/Their Good/Bad things</p> <p>Format (schema, superstructure: overall form)</p> <p>Positive/Negative meanings for Us/Them in</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First, dominant categories (e.g. Headlines, Titles, Summaries, Conclusions) versus last, non-dominant categories. • Argumentation structures, topoi (stereotypical arguments, e.g. ‘For their own good’) <p>Fallacies that falsely conclude Our/Their Good/Bad things, e.g. overgeneralizations, authority, etc.</p> <p>Rhetorical structures</p>

Emphasizing or de-emphasizing Our/Their Good/Bad things by ■ Forms: Repetition ■ Meanings: Comparisons, metaphors, metonymies, irony; euphemisms, hyperboles, number games, etc.
ACTION Speech acts, communicative acts, and interaction ■ Speech acts that presuppose Our/Their Good/Bad things: promises, accusations, etc. ■ Interaction strategies that imply Our/Their Good/Bad things: cooperation, agreement

This model emphasizes the significance of context to text/discourse or conversation. The way ‘meaning’ is communicated in specific texts is equally important. As shown in the schema, ‘meaning’ is highly susceptible to ideological marking, particularly in relation to ‘Topics’ (specific issues) and ‘Local Meanings and Coherence’ in texts. Rhetorical structures can be indicated by Form (e.g. repetition) and Meaning (e.g. metaphors, hyperboles and comparisons), and are used to emphasize or de-emphasize ideological meanings in text and talk. In analysing ‘Form’, the analyst’s attention can focus on syntax, sound structures and format that characterize the entire text. ‘Syntax’ is placed under ‘Form’ above. Syntactic structures can be marked for ideology when they are used in certain contexts although grammatical forms may generally appear ideologically ‘innocent’. Finally, meaning expressed can be ideologically utilized to perform certain ‘actions’ relating to speech acts (promises, accusations) and strategies of interaction (cooperation, agreement).

Van Dijk’s model is especially useful in analysing various textual formations within the social space especially when such interaction involves public officials on the one hand and the populace on the other. In public speeches where socio-economic issues such as corruption are discussed and subsequently debated (be it the mainstream media or the social media), group ideologies may influence such interaction. Also, issues that are raised in the speeches by presidents (as members of a group – ruling class), including those of corruption, can be ideologically-charged. Thus, analysing texts along these discursive structures and strategies can reveal hidden ideology and agenda.

3.10. Van Leeuwen’s Representation of Social Actor Model

Equally relevant to this thesis is van Leeuwen’s (1996, 2008) Social Actor Model for representing social actors and social actions. It is built on the understanding that ‘social practices are socially regulated ways of doing things’ (van Leeuwen, 2008, 6). The framework consists of a ‘sociosemantic inventory’ of ways in which participants of social practice (social actors) can be

represented in discourse. The approach is hinged on the influences, policies and decisions of the powerful (ideological) groups who, in the exercise of power, engender hegemony through their linguistic choices in discourse or texts.

Van Leeuwen’s framework (1996, 2008) indicates that ideology in discourse can be unlocked through an analysis based on the sociosemantic categories.

Speeches are instances of social practices. Van Leeuwen’s model is very relevant to the current work in that it offers critical explanations for some of the choices embedded in the presidential speeches, particularly those that comment on corruption. As shown in the Table 3.10, which is adapted from van Leeuwen’s framework, speeches can serve ideological purposes especially through the roles assigned to social actors (participants) and the nature of social actions attached to such actors.

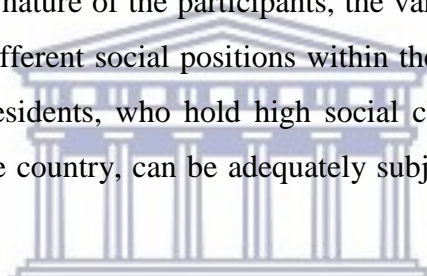
Table 3.9. Aspects of Sociosemantic Categories adapted from van Leeuwen (2008).

Sociosemantic Categories	Typical Linguistic Realization	Implications for Meaning-Making
Exclusion / Inclusion (subdivided into Suppression or Backgrounding).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Passive agent deletion. • Nonfinite clauses which function as a grammatical participant. • Deletion of the social actors who benefit from an action. • Nominalizations and process nouns. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exclusion could be used as a means to disguise the identity of powerful actors, or to discourage interrogation of their actions. • Exclusion occurs because the identity of the social actors is obvious. • Inclusion could signify a higher, more powerful social standing and, conversely, exclusion could mark social actors as inferior, powerless or undesirable.
Role allocation (that is, Activation and Passivation) <i>Passive actors can be subjected or beneficialized</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grammatical participant roles. • Transitivity structures. • Presence of prepositions (beneficiaries can take a preposition, goals do not). • Circumstantialization (e.g. use of a propositional word or phrase such as ‘against’). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activation represents social actors as the active, dynamic forces in an activity (thus signalling power). • Passivation represents social actors as undergoing a social action or as being at the receiving end of it (thus signalling vulnerability). • Subjected actors treated as objects, whilst beneficialized social actors constitute a third party which positively or negatively benefits from the action.
Genericization / Specification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of the plural without an article or use of the singular with a definite or indefinite article. • Presence of a numerative realizes specification. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specification (concrete reference to immediate experience) has been linked to the habitus of the working class, • Genericization (the view of the observer who places herself above the hurly-burly) has been linked to the habitus of the dominant class. • Genericization establishes distance from the reader (or the listener).

<p>Assimilation / Individualization <i>Assimilated actors can either be aggregated or collectivized.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assimilation: By a mass noun or noun denoting a group of people; by plurality. • Aggregation: By the presence of definite or nondefinite quantifiers. • Individualization: By singularity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Middle-class’ texts tend to individualize elite persons and assimilate ‘ordinary’ people. • ‘Working-class texts’ often individualize ‘ordinary’ people. • Aggregation is often used to present the appearance of consensus opinion.
<p>Indetermination / determination</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indetermination typically realized by indefinite pronouns (‘someone’, ‘somebody’). • May also be realized by general exophoric reference (<i>They won’t let you go ...</i>). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indetermination tends to anonymize social actors • Can also endow social actors with a kind of personal authority based on a sense of an unseen yet powerful force.
<p>Nomination/Categorization Categorization divided into Functionalization, Identification and Appraisalment. <i>Identification further subdivided into classification, relational identification and physical identification</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nomination: Use of proper nouns. • Identification: Involves the use of classifiers in the nominal group (e.g. my black lecturer). • Functionalization: Creating a noun from a verb using the suffixes -er, -ant, -ent, -an, -ee (as in interviewer, celebrant, etc). • Relational identification: Realized by a small set of nouns denoting kinship relations. • Physical identification: realized by nouns denoting physical characteristics, adjectives and prepositional phrases utilizing ‘with’ or ‘without’ that modify highly generalized classifications such as ‘man’ or ‘woman’. • Appraisalment: Realized by the set of nouns or idioms that denote such appraisalment; e.g. the ‘darling’, the ‘wretch’ and so on. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nomination foregrounds the unique identity of a particular social actor. Nominated actors are frequently the focus of a particular text. • Categorization foregrounds the identity and functions a social actors shares with others. • Functionalization: Emphasizes importance of work by defining a social actor primarily in terms of what they do. • Identification: Foregrounds those aspects of a social actor’s being that are more or less permanently, or unavoidably, unchangeable. • Classification: Perpetuates the major categories by which a given society differentiates between classes of people (e.g. age, gender, class, race, ethnicity) • Relational classification: Places emphasis on kinship relations. • Physical classification: Place emphasis on people’s physical characteristics. • Appraisalment links social actors to an evaluation of them; e.g.as good or bad, loved or hated, etc.
<p>Personalization / Impersonalization Impersonalization further divided into abstraction and objectivation. <i>Objectivation further subdivided into spatialization, utterance autonomization, instrumentalization, and somatisation.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personalization: realized by personal or possessive pronouns, proper names or nouns whose meanings include ‘human’ features. • Impersonalization: realized by abstract nouns or by concrete nouns whose meanings do not include the feature ‘human’. • Abstraction: occurs when social actors are represented by a quality assigned to them by and in the representation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When social actors are personalized, they are represented as human beings. • Impersonalization associates social actors with non-human meanings. It can function to background the identity and role of the social actor, it can lend impersonal authority or force to an action or quality of a social actor, or it can add positive or negative connotations to a social actor’s action or utterance.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objectivation: realized by metonymical reference; i.e. representing social actors by referring to a place or thing closely associated with their person or with the action in which they are represented as being engaged. • Spatialization: Representation of social actors by way of reference to the place with which they are associated. 	
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This model is also very useful in the sense that these sociosemantic categories provide ideological interpretation to various Transitivity choices made in the presidential speeches being investigated in this research. This potential relevance is underscored not only by the social practices associated with corruption but also by the nature of the participants, the varied social classes of the people (the social actors), who hold different social positions within the societal structures. Thus, how corruption is articulated by presidents, who hold high social class or status and who possess governmental powers to run the country, can be adequately subjected to ideological or interest-related scrutiny.



3.12. CDA Criticisms

CDA, like a number of other theoretical or methodological approaches, has been criticised on a number of grounds. One of the widely cited criticisms is related to CDA methods whereby researchers may ‘cherry-pick’ data which appear to prove a predetermined point (Koller and Mautner 2004, 225; Orpin 2005, 38). Cherry-picking of texts (or data) is seen as the propensity of choosing specific sets of texts or examples that fit into either the expected interpretive framework or presumptions of the researcher (Rogers et.al 2005). Widdowson (1995) believes that selection of texts that will support the preferred interpretation can result in analytical subjectivity. Another criticism, which appears to be more pervasive, is that of subjectivity.

In an attempt to reduce this subjectivity in this study, CDA is complemented with SFL, which ensures that interpretations are based on a 'surgical' analysis of texts (presidential speeches made at two different times). This is in line with Hart's (2014) suggestion that a way of reducing subjectivity is through comparative analyses of texts; which may also involve a range of

grammatical models and analysis such as those provided by SFL achieving the aim present study and answering the research questions.

3.13. Complementarity of Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics

SFL provides an excellent foundation for critical discourse analysis. Indeed, analysis in CDA begins with examination and description of textual elements following orientations from the Hallidayan School which analyses language from the functional perspective. Unlike the traditional view of language where preference is placed on the structures rather than the functions, SFL as a theory is built and conceptualised on social and functional standpoints. In other words, the acceptance of Halliday's functional approach to language in ideological research underscores the rejection of the view of language as an entity is to be studied in experimental isolation. If the speeches of the presidents including those on corruption are to be examined on the face value, we might not see the need to engage in this research. SFL helps to evaluate the language choices relating to corruption, and CDA helps to examine those choices from the related social practices within the immediate social structure.

Furthermore, Martin (2000) explains that 'one of the real strengths of SFL in the context of CDA work is its ability to ground concerns with power and ideology in the detailed analysis of texts as they unfold, clause by clause, in real contexts of language use' (Martin 2000, 275). It also provides analysts with technical expressions for talking about language which makes it possible to have a very close look at meaning and to be explicit and precise in terms that can be shared by others. Fairclough (1995, 2013) describes SFL as a congenial theory for CDA because it is multifunctional, well adapted for text analysis and concerned with relating language to social context.

For example, CDA helps us to dig deep into the Nigerian social context to understand the interests that may inform some linguistic choices in the speeches since CDA is especially concerned with representations of societal issues, hidden agendas, texts that impact on people's lives. Therefore, CDA claims to take an ethical stance in addressing power imbalances, inequities, and social justice agenda which may be seen as corrective social action. Taking ethical stance on specific social action may help to probe into why there is, for example, mismatch in the claims of fighting corruption and the increased prevalence of the act in the society.

CDA supplies the needed ideological framework for interpreting observed features of the speeches. It will be especially used to determine the relationships between features of the speeches and the ‘wider social and cultural structures...to investigate how such (features) arise out of and are ideologically-shaped by relations of power and struggles over power’ (Fairclough 1995, 132-133). Therefore, both CDA and SFL will be rewarding in this study. As shown in the beginning of this chapter, studies in CDA are largely accompanied by a number of SFL frameworks including the Metafunctions, Transitivity and clause functions, Context and Appraisal.

3.14. Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, we have addressed two major theories on which this research is built – SFL and CDA. SFL is a social theory of language that invites us to view or examine any piece of language from the function(s) it performs in specific contexts. This theory allows in-depth evaluation of texts, from a single lexical item to clauses, and to very complex instances such as large volumes of texts. SFL is interested in choices made in both spoken and written texts, including the functions that such choices perform. It calls attention to the fact that speakers or writers have the opportunity to choose from an array of linguistic elements to communicate their ideas, and the choices made may not be arbitrary.

It is emphasised that CDA is also a social approach to analysing discourse, and it focuses on issues of power relations, domination and inequality in society and the ways in which they are produced and reproduced in texts. Analysis in CDA is emancipatory in the sense that it finds ways of redressing social inequalities. We highlighted three CDA models – those of Fairclough, van Dijk and van Leeuwen. Analytical methods used in CDA largely question the rationale behind specific choices made in (spoken and written) texts, and why certain choices are not made. Thus, what is said (in CDA) is as important as what is unsaid. SFL and CDA are therefore congenial in the sense that SFL is interested in what choices of language are made and CDA takes it further to question interests and ideologies that may inform the choices.

CHAPTER 4: Methodology

4.0. Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology for the study. It addresses the following issues: research paradigm and justification for the choice, the source and type of data, and the approach to data analysis.

4.1. Research Paradigm and Justification

A mixed methods research paradigm is adopted in this study. Mixed method (or multi-methodology) research involves a combination of both qualitative and quantitative approaches in research. Mixed methods research is ‘an approach to research in the social, behavioural and health sciences in which the investigator gathers both quantitative and qualitative data, integrates the two and then draws interpretations based on the combined strengths...’ (Creswell 2015, 2). According to Creswell, qualitative research is conducted because a problem or issue needs to be explored; and because there is need for a complex, detailed understanding of the issue (Creswell 2013). Qualitative methods enable researchers, especially those in the social sciences, to study social and cultural phenomena. It usually uses words as the unit of analysis and often takes an in-depth, holistic or rounded approach to issues, events or case studies. Data collected during qualitative research activities are not based upon numerical measurements and do not use numbers and statistical methods as key research indicators and tools. On the other hand, the quantitative approach is usually based upon numerical measurements and thus tends to use numbers and statistical methods as key research indicators and tools. Thus, it is associated with large-scale studies and analyses.

The mixed methods approach rejects the narrow analytical paradigms in favour of the breadth of information which the use of more than one method may provide (Creswell 2007, 2013). Also, mixed methods research offers the best of both worlds: the in-depth, contextualized, and natural ‘but more time-consuming insights of qualitative research coupled with the more-efficient but less rich or compelling predictive power of quantitative research’ (Lieber and Weisner 2012, Online page). Furthermore, mixed methods are primarily used to overcome the limitations of a single

design. It can be used to explain and interpret; to explore a phenomenon, to serve as a theoretical perspective, to complement the strengths or weaknesses of a single design, to address a theoretical perspective at different levels, among others (Creswell 2003).

To sum up, mixed methods enables a convergence across qualitative and quantitative methods (Creswell 2003); and it enables researchers to make use of multiple and different sources, methods, and theories to provide corroborating evidence often called ‘triangulation’. Triangulation, in this type of research, ‘can be used as an alternative to traditional measures of reliability and validity enabling researchers to overcome limitations with a single method or their own biases’ (Baker and Levon 2015, 223). Indeed, CDA, which is one of the major frameworks of this research ‘involves triangulation (Baker and Levon 2015). For example, CDA according to van Dijk (2006, 115) involves a theoretical framework [which] is multi-disciplinary, articulated by the fundamental triangulation of discourse, cognition and society’. Thus the mixed method design is used because, as we shall see in the subsequent section, the research data (texts of speeches by Nigerian presidents) which will have to be analysed both numerically (e.g. in terms of the number of corruption-related clauses each contains and how this number varies across the speeches of each president studied) and qualitatively in terms of the linguistic makeup of the corruption-related clauses. The former is reported especially in Chapter 5 and the latter in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. Then we attempt to make both quantitative and qualitative data sets talk to each other as a way of triangulating, particularly in Chapter 8 where the choices made in the speeches (and sometimes with their quantification) are interpreted from the standpoints of ideology and the socio-political situation in Nigeria at given historical periods. Also, quantitative results can be used as basis or foundation for qualitative analysis using relevant theoretical paradigms.

4.2. Data Type and Source

The research data comprises texts of official speeches of Nigerian leaders (presidents, heads of state – civilian and military) from 1957 – 2015. It is common knowledge to many that Nigeria has been ruled by both military as well as civilian presidents. For the purpose of this research, however, we refer to them all as presidents (with the modifiers ‘military’ or ‘civilian’ when required) regardless of whether they are called heads of state or presidents. They were chief executives of the Nigerian state at their respective times. We also apply this to Nigeria’s first leader, Abubakar

Tafawa-Balewa, who was designated Prime Minister and head of government in the then parliamentary system of government.

Two important speeches in the life of an administration were selected. These were speeches delivered on assumption of office (we call these *inaugural*) and those delivered at the end of the regime or any last known speech in case of a president who was either overthrown, eased out of office or assassinated (we call these *valedictory*).

Inaugural speeches, as the title suggests, are usually delivered at the inception of a new administration, and are generally focused on the policy direction of the new government as it may affect the people. A portion of the speech can be used to comment on the activities of an immediate past administration or all the preceding regimes including specific events or circumstances that culminated in the new president's emergence as leader. Finally, inaugural speeches may also contain warning or appeal of some sort; they may also express specific expectations of the government from the general populace.

As pointed out above, we use the term 'valedictory speech' to refer to any last-known speech made by a president. However, due to the nature of politics in Nigeria since independence, there were no real valedictory speeches for many presidents. The two exceptions are those of Olusegun Obasanjo and Goodluck Jonathan who formally handed over to the next president in 2007 and 2015 respectively. In most cases, ascension to office was either through forceful removal as in military coups or through a natural cause, as in deaths while in power. Thus, in this study; a valedictory speech can be the actual last speech of a president before handing over power to the next government or any last-known speech of a president. Where a president is able to complete his term of office, the speeches are usually exploited to highlight what the president may consider as achievements.

However, in cases where a president dies while in office (e.g. Umaru Yar'adua), or is assassinated (e.g. Murtala Muhammad) or is forced out of office (e.g. Ibrahim Babangida), their last-known speeches happen to all have been a speech delivered on Independence Day (October 1st). Although, Independence Day speeches largely review past events in the country and pay tribute to the nation's heroes, they are also used to review and make comments about government policies,

make new policy pronouncements and highlight programmes of the government in the preceding year. It is also used to make projections for the following year.

The speeches were obtained from both online and print sources. Dedicated websites such as dawodu.com/greatspeeches, maxsollin.com/speeches and fmi.gov.ng/c/speeches were consulted. Also, published books on speeches of Nigerian leaders were also used as sources. Solomon Obotetukudo (2010), for example, compiled and published inaugural and ascension speeches of Nigerian leaders from independence to 2007. Furthermore, it is important to note that Muhammadu Buhari's second speech (as military president) was obtained as audio-visual material from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FVvVG_hm4XI, and then transcribed. All the speeches were proofread and double-checked against other sources to ensure maximum accuracy.

From 1957 to 2015, Nigeria was governed by thirteen individuals with one president (Olusegun Obasanjo) ruling Nigeria at two separate times. Table 4.1 below sets out this information and includes descriptions of speeches used in this study.

Table 4.1. Nigerian leaders from 1957 to 2015

SN	NAME OF PRESIDENT	PERIOD IN OFFICE	DATE OF INAUGURAL (SPEECH 1)	WORD TOKEN	DATE OF VALEDICTORY (SPEECH 2)	WORD TOKEN
1	Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	1957-1966	** -09-1957	1162	01-10-1960	1157
2	Thomas. Aguiyi-Ironsi	Jan 1966-Jul 1966	17-01-1966	799	24-05-1966	1908
3	Yakubu Gowon	1966-1975	01-08-1966	1137	15-01-1970	2274
4	Murtala Mohammed	1975-1976	30-07-1975	1136	03-02-1976	601
5	Olusegun Obasanjo (M) ⁸	1976-1979	14-02-1976	644	** -05-1976	897
6	Shehu Shagari	1979 - 1983	01-10-1979	2107	01-10-1983	2036
7	Muhammadu Buhari	1983 - 1985	01-01-1984	1408	05-01-1984	266
8	Ibrahim Babangida	1985 - 1993	27-08-1985	1881	26-06-1993	2858
9	Earnest Shonekan	Aug 1993-Nov 1993	31-08-1993	3711	17-11-1993	669
10	Sani Abacha	1993 - 1998	18-11-1993	894	01-10-1996	1477
11	Abdulsalami Abubakar	1998 - 1999	09-06-1998	494	28-05-1999	2785
12	Olusegun Obasanjo (D ⁹)	1999 - 2007	29-05-1999	2890	28-05-2007	899
13	Umaru Musa Yar'adua	2007 - 2010	29-05-2007	1394	01-10-2008	970
14	Goodluck Jonathan	2010 - 2015	29-05-2011	2261	28-05-2015	2544

** Specific day of the speech unknown

4.3. Data preparation

4.3.1. Labelling of texts

⁸ Obasanjo ruled Nigeria as a military president (Head of State) and as a democratically-elected civilian president

⁹ ibid

The speeches are identified by the initials of each president's name plus '1' (for inaugural speech) and '2' (for valedictory speech). For example, inaugural and valedictory speeches of Goodluck Jonathan are labelled 'GJ1' and 'GJ2' respectively.

4.3.2. Reading and Marking up

The speeches were read, first, to achieve a general understanding of the contents. The second reading focused on corruption-related clauses, which were marked out for easy reference. The third reading was done for annotation by indicating clause boundaries according to the grammar of SFL. As explained in Chapter 3, a clause is described as the smallest meaningful grammatical unit capable of expressing a 'complete' proposition, message or thought. Structurally, a clause may form part of a sentence, or it may be a complete sentence in itself. It may have a subject and a predicate. In some cases, a clause can even be a single word with the subject implied or docked, as in the case of imperative sentences (see for example, Crystal 2003). The speeches are annotated with clause boundaries for purposes such as ease of counting of the entire clauses in each speech, ease of identification and counting of corruption-related clauses in each speech, and the ease of referencing in qualitative analysis. As shown in the example below, five clauses make up the paragraph.

[t]he twin problem of corruption is social indiscipline || which is also widespread in our country today || it is indiscipline which breeds corruption and the other social problems afflicting us || therefore, we must join hands together to uproot indiscipline in all its ramification from our society || in this respect, parents, teachers, and religious leaders have an important role to play ||

4.3.3. Determining Corruption-related Clauses

Here, we provide an operational definition of corruption based on its various conceptualizations in the literature, its dimensions in Nigeria as reflected in our data of presidential speeches. Thus, we refer to corruption as any form of social wrongdoing, inappropriate or illegal conduct in government, political or private settings in which the perpetrator(s) enjoy(s) undue benefits or advantage.

Corruption-related clauses were determined, first, on the basis of appearance of the term 'corruption' or related word forms, synonyms and other items in the same semantic field. Such

clauses may be talking about the need to avoid corruption, to combat it, or alleging corruption, etc. As an example, the following extract is taken from the inaugural speech of Olusegun Obasanjo (OO-D1) in May, 1999.

[c]orruption is incipient in all human societies and in most human activities || but it (corruption) must not be condoned || this is why laws are made || and enforced to check corruption || so that society will survive || and develop in an orderly, reasonable, and predictable way || (Obasanjo 1999)

From this example in which the double lines mark clause boundaries, we see that the word form, corruption, is used in two places – at the beginning and in the fourth clause; we also see pronoun (it) in the second clause. The issues raised in the remaining (three) clauses issues are still on corruption – the consequence of not condoning corruption. Corruption-related clauses may not even mention ‘corruption’. In such cases, corruption is implied, as seen in the following which is extracted from Muhammad Buhari’s inaugural speech (MB1).

[t]he premium on political power became so exceedingly high || that political contestants regarded victory at elections as a matter of life and death struggle || and were determined to capture or retain power by all means || (Buhari 1983)

Although corruption is not explicitly mentioned in this example, the connection between ‘premium’ and ‘exceedingly high’ in relation to political office indicates that a corruption-related matter is being raised. In the clause that follows, describing victory of political contestants as ‘a matter of life and death struggle’ also speaks to the issue of corruption in the sense that aspiring to political office is primarily considered as opportunity for public service and when it is likened to life and death struggle, it suggests that a quest for personal gain is involved. In the last clause of the excerpt, attempting ‘to capture or retain power by all means’ suggests inordinate ambition which may speak to corruption as it questions the real intent or motivation for seeking political office.

4.3.4. Data Reliability

To ensure that the researcher’s coding of clauses as corruption-related was accurate and consistent, an inter-rater reliability check was performed. Two individuals with expertise in linguistics and Nigeria were briefed on the analysis involved and were then given samples from the speeches to

code independently for corruption-related clauses. Agreement among the researcher and the other two individuals was very high (in excess of 85 percent). Upon discussion, differences were resolved in favour of the researcher's decisions.

4.5. Data Analysis

Regarding Objective 1 of the research, which focuses on the emergence and trajectory of corruption-related issues in presidential speeches, we first counted up the number of corruption-related clauses in the inaugural and valedictory speeches of each president. Then, we expressed the figure as a percentage of clauses in a particular speech, and arranged these percentages on a timeline from 1957 to 2015. The expectation is that such an analysis could show periods in the history of the country when corruption was a minor or a major issue in presidential speeches. Similarly, to be able to disaggregate the data from the standpoint of types of corruption, we counted up the number of clauses which we could relate to particular corruption types. The expectation was that such an analysis would give a picture of the degrees of salience of different corruption types diachronically. For inaugural versus valedictory speeches, we counted up corruption-related clauses in each president's speech and represented the figure in a graph in order to determine if there were any differences in the quantity of corruption-related clauses corresponding to the time or date when the speech was delivered. We equally counted up and presented corruption-related clauses from the standpoint of military versus civilian presidents, expecting to be able to determine if there were any differences in the salience of corruption in speeches that could be related to the democratic character of the respective regimes. In sum, the above sets of analyses should provide for a diachronic reading of corruption in presidential speeches (between 1957 and 2015) done from different perspectives.

With respect to Objective 2, which deals with how corruption is construed variously in the speeches, we analyse the speeches using the grammatical system of transitivity consisting of process, participants and circumstance. First, we identified all the processes in the corruption-related clauses occurring in our corpus of speeches, and assigned them to the various process types. The type of processes (e.g. material, mental, relational) constantly chosen in talking about corruption may speak to different ways in which corruption issues have been construed. Part of our analytical expectation is to see how the interconnection of the process[es] and the participant[s] (i.e. the social actors) portray such participants (which may include the presidents as speakers or

any other participants in the clause) differently as an Actor, a Sayer or a Senser regarding corruption (Halliday 1985, 2004). When the Process chosen is Material, it automatically makes the participant an Actor or Doer, and this may indicate doing practical things about corruption. When the process used is Mental, which indicates that the participant is a Senser, it may show that efforts at combatting corruption only take place at the level of cognition and thoughts, suggesting a lesser degree of commitment in comparison to the Material process (Antia and van der Merwe, 2018). If the process used is Relational, whether it is Identifying or the Attributive subtype, the participant automatically becomes a Carrier. With its identifying and attributive features, the Relational process may be used to identify or explain specific forms and features of corruption. These processes are analysed along with participants in the clauses: processes without agents, processes and participants frozen into nominalisations and metaphorical expressions etc. tell a lot about construal. Our expectation is that such an analysis would show how corruption is construed by the presidents, in the sense of it being tolerated, decried, celebrated, etc. In other words, Transitivity analysis enables us to suggest the level of commitment of a president or his administration, or any other relevant social actor in combating corruption. It has been suggested that the choice of one process over another in certain contexts may convey a greater or lesser commitment to the social issue being addressed (Antia and van der Merwe, 2018).

For Objective 3, dealing with how the interpersonal meaning is enacted in the speeches by the presidents through the system of Appraisal, we analyse the speeches focusing on the evaluative resources provided by the interpersonal metafunction of language. Specifically, Appraisal resources comprising Attitude, Engagement and Graduation are applied to corruption-related clauses in the speeches. Attitudinal choices (Affect, Judgement and Appreciation) can show the nature of emotions displayed in relation to corruption; Engagement properties can explain the stances maintained in talking about corruption, including the presidents' positions of alignment, antagonism or neutrality with respect to corruption. Graduation, which comprises evaluative resources of up-scaling and down-scaling utterances or locutions, can depict a president's stance regarding severity or otherwise of corruption. It is expected that the appraisal analysis will generally reveal the nature of interpersonal meaning expressed in the speeches in relation to corruption itself, and the relevant social actors such as the civil servants, politicians, specific groups and Nigerians as a whole. It will also show the nature of the 'attitude' of a president and/or his administration regarding corruption at the level of textual content.

In interrogating the partisan, religious, ideological, and other concerns or interests for the choices and generally evaluating the presidents in terms of how the analyses position them in relation to combating corruption as stated in Objectives 4 and 5, the analysis employs the lens of critical discourse analysis. Choices made in the data presented previously on the experiential and interpersonal metafunctions (objectives 3 and 4 respectively) are analysed. By applying critical discourse frameworks, such as those of van Dijk's Ideological Model (2006), we can show how different constructions in the speeches speak to different ideologies and interests. We can expect our analysis to reveal how a president, for example, expresses/emphasizes information that is positive about themselves and their administration and how they express/emphasize information that is negative about previous government[s], etc. By applying sociosemantic concepts (e.g. van Leeuwen 2008), our expectation is to be able to show how and why certain linguistic forms may exclude/include, genericize/specify or personalize/impersonalize, etc. social actors such as presidents themselves. The overall expectation is to be able to account for various interests or concerns that inform the choices in the speeches. The 'interpretation' and 'explanation' components of Fairclough's three-tier analytic model is applied to the speeches. The aspect of 'interpretation' can be used to account for possible cognitive interplay between corruption, as expressed in the speeches, and the way it may be perceived; 'explanation' provides the social analysis: the relationship between discursive practice (i.e. the production and interpretation of corruption-related issues in the speeches) and social practice (relating to the social issue of corruption). In all, the analysis assist us to identify specific interests that informed most of the talk about corruption and how these interests betray any commitment to tackle corruption.

4.6. Conclusion

The chapter described the approach for the research as being 'mixed methods'. It further described the sources of the data and how they were collected. The chapter also explained the data processing technique prior to analysis. It also discussed how the data were analysed in response to each of the objectives.

CHAPTER 5: A General Overview of Corruption across the Speeches

5.0. Introduction

Our analysis in this chapter corresponds to our first objective which is to provide an overview of how corruption-related issues, themes and types have evolved in Nigerian presidential speeches from 1957-2015. Data related to the following are presented and discussed: evolution of corruption-related issues in the speeches, corruption-related issues in inaugural and valedictory speeches (often abbreviated as IS and VS), types of corruption expressed in the speeches and a comparison between the speeches of military and civilian presidents.

5.1. Overview of Corruption-related Issues in the Speeches

Table 5.1 below provides an overview of the corruption-related clauses in the corpus of presidential speeches analysed. Indicated on the Table are names of presidents, the speech tags (or codes for their inaugural and valedictory speeches), the total number of clauses in each president's IS and VS, the total number of corruption-related clauses in each speech and the percentage they represent in the whole speech. As stated in the Methodology chapter, the '1' and '2' added to the name tags of the presidents represent the first (inaugural) and second (valedictory) speeches respectively. The tabular presentation shows that it is in only 2 out of the 28 speeches that corruption-related clauses, as defined in the previous chapter, do not occur.

Table 5.1. Corruption-related clauses in the speeches

S/N	Name	Speech Tags	Total number of Clauses	Corruption-related Clauses	Percentage (%) per Speech
1	Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	TB1	95	4	4.21
		TB2	106	1	0.94
2	Thomas Aguiyi-Ironsi	TA1	42	3	6.98
		TA2	150	7	4.67
3	Yakubu Gowon	YG1	86	3	3.49
		YG2	184	3	1.63
4	Murtala Mohammed	MM1	62	1	1.61
		MM2	40	0	0.00
5	Olusegun Obasanjo (Military)	OO-M1	52	4	7.69
		OO-M2	73	7	9.59
6	Shehu Shagari	SS1	165	0	0.00
		SS2	123	6	4.88
7	Muhammadu Buhari	MB1	85	23	27.06

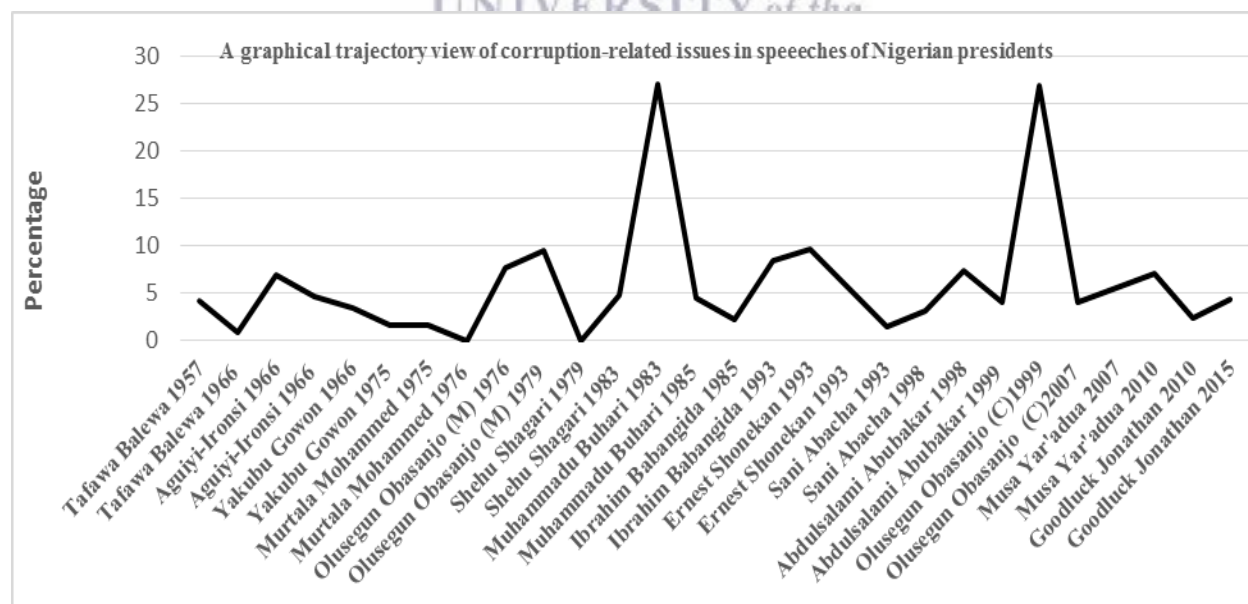
	MB	MB2	22	1	4.55
8	Ibrahim Babangida IBB	IB1 IB2	134 177	3 15	2.24 8.47
9	Ernest Shonekan ES	ES1 ES2	260 53	28 3	10.78 5.66
10	Sani Abacha SA	SA1 SA2	64 94	1 3	1.56 3.19
11	Abdulsalami Abubakar AA	AA1 AA2	27 244	2 10	7.41 4.09
12	Olusegun Obasanjo (Democracy) OO-D	OO-D1 OO-D2	182 74	49 3	26.92 4.05
13	Umaru Musa Yar'adua MY	MY1 MY2	108 56	6 4	5.56 7.142
14	Goodluck Jonathan GJ	GJ1 GJ2	171 184	4 8	2.34 4.35

The above data set provides the basis for a series of quantitative accounts of corruption in the corpus of speeches. The first quantitative analysis relates to a diachronic account of the volume of corruption-related material in the speeches.

5.2. Overview of the Trajectory and Evaluation of Corruption-related Issues in the Speeches

Figure 5.1 below shows the evolution and trajectory of corruption-related clauses in the speeches with a timeline from 1957-2015.

Figure 5.1. Trajectory of Corruption-related issues in the Presidential Speeches (Legend: the 'C' stands for a civilian president while the 'M' stands for a military president).



In Figure 5.1, apart from the one case of Obasanjo who has served as president on more than one occasion, other name repetitions indicate the period of their stay and within which the speeches

were delivered. Thus, the two speeches of Tafawa Balewa was delivered, for example, within the period, 1957 and 1966.

We see from Figure 5.1 that, as a theme, corruption emerged in presidential speeches as far back as 1957 with Tafawa Balewa's IS. However, it amounted to 5% of the particular speech. Between 1957 and 1976, the volume of corruption-related clauses in presidential speeches was under 10%. The quantity rose to 10% between 1976 and 1979, a period in which Murtala Mohammed, Olusegun Obasanjo and Shehu Shagari were presidents. Corruption talk then rose to more than 25% of the material in Muhammadu Buhari's IS. After a period of about 14 years, between 1985 and 1988 during which the volume of corruption-related material was less than 10% of the material in speeches, it again spiked to the 25% mark in 1999 under Olusegun Obasanjo. Thereafter, under Umaru Yar'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan, it dropped to the under 10% mark.

In subsequent sections, brief remarks are made to offer some context for making sense of the corruption profile presented above. Although the expectation might be that the volume of corruption talk in each of the speeches in Figure 5.1 would reflect the level of corruption in the corresponding periods, this is not often the case. The relationship between volume of corruption talk in speech and happenings in society is a complex one: even though there are obviously no benchmarks, low levels of corruption talk may for instance not reflect the level of practice of corruption or national concern with it. The value, nonetheless, of an asymmetry between reality and speech is that it perhaps gives a first insight into the attitude of the leaders towards corruption. Critical Discourse Analysis suggests that there are moments when what is said is as revealing as what is not said (see Carter 2006).

5.2.1. The Period 1957 – 1966

This period has three important features. It was the time the country achieved its independence; it was also the period the country witnessed its first ever military coup that ousted the first civilian government, and it was the period in which crude oil was first discovered. Given these features, it is hardly surprising that the forms of corruption we find in the speeches relate to rigging, selfish motives and tendencies in official duties, mismanagement and intrigues within political parties, selfish political killings, and forceful removal of leaders from office and takeover of power. Clauses suggesting these forms can be identified in the presidential speeches of the first head of

government, Abubakar Tafawa-Balewa and of the man who headed the government after the first ever military coup, Thomas Aguiyi-Ironsi. In TB1 for instance, we find: '[On] no account should we allow the selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardise the peace of the thirty-three million law-abiding people of Nigeria'. Also, in attempting to justify first ever coup in Nigeria, Aguiyi-Ironsi paints a picture of the prevailing form of corruption at the time.

For some time now there have been escalating political disturbances in parts of Nigeria with increasing loss of faith between political parties, between political leaders themselves. This crisis of confidence reached a head during the elections in the Western Region in October last year. There were charges by opposition parties of rigging of the elections and general abuse of power by the Regional Government in the conduct of the elections (Aguiyi-Ironsi 1966)

In Tafawa-Balewa's inaugural speech, 5% of the entire clauses that make up the whole text (AT1) is corruption-related, whereas only 1% of the clauses in AT2 is on corruption. As Figure 5.1 shows, the volume of corruption-related clauses rose to 5% and 7% respectively in TA1 and TA 2.

5.2.2. The period 1966 – 1979

The period witnessed further military incursion into politics and governance. It was also marked by political instability as there were three military coups and three presidents (heads of state) within that period, namely, Yakubu Gowon, Murtala Mohammed and Olusegun Obasanjo. Aguiyi-Ironsi had ruled for barely six months before another coup brought a new military leader, Yakubu Gowon, to power. The blame for the forceful power grab was put at the doorstep of the ousted Aguiyi-Ironsi government. The claim was that certain groups (unnamed) had 'caused suspicion and grave doubts of the Government's sincerity' (Gowon 1966).

The country hoped, however, that the military regime which followed would quickly restore discipline and confidence in the army and introduce a just, honest, patriotic and progressive government. The country was disappointed in those hopes. There were further tragic incidents in the army leading to the death of many officers and men in July 1966 (Gowon 1966).

Within this period, the prevalent form of corruption was nepotism and tribalism. Although, agriculture was still the main strength of the economy, the early 1970s witnessed the country's oil boom and it changed the form and pattern of corruption at the time. There was more money within the reach of government officers and political authorities. As Ogbeidi notes:

General Yakubu Gowon ruled the country at a time Nigeria experienced an unprecedented wealth from the oil boom of the 1970s. Apart from the mismanagement of the economy, the Gowon regime was enmeshed in deep-seated corruption. By 1974, reports of unaccountable wealth of Gowon's military governors and other public office holders had become the crux of discussion in the various Nigerian dailies (Ogbeidi 2012, 7).

Although there cannot be an expectation of fixed percentages of corruption-related clauses for determining different levels of national concern with corruption, it is nonetheless instructive that mentions of corruption in Gowon's own speeches (3% in YG1 and 2% in YG2) do not reflect Ogbeidi's assessment. This may well be interpreted as reflecting how Gowon construed corruption.

Murtala Muhammad who took over from Gowon expressed dissatisfaction with the previous governments' style of administration and warned against corruption. In his inaugural speech (MM1), he stated categorically that his government 'will not tolerate indiscipline' and 'will not condone abuse of office'. Although, Figure 5.1 above does not present Muhammed as saying much about corruption (2% in MM1 and 0% in MM2), there is evidence in the literature that Murtala Muhammad declared his assets and instructed all government officials to do the same; he also instituted a series of probes of past officials (Ogbeidi, 2012). Siollun (2007) wrote about Murtala's leadership as follows.

Murtala declared his government a 'corrective regime' that would tackle the corruption that was increasingly infecting government institutions. After dismantling the inner core of Gowon's regime, Murtala turned his gaze to the civil service. Murtala unleashed a massive onslaught against public sector corruption and inefficiency on a scale never seen before in Africa. This led to a wave of dismissals and retirements of over 10,000 public officials who were summarily

dismissed or retired on the grounds of inefficiency or corruption. (Siollun, 2007: *NVS Online*)

However, the administration of Murtala Mohammed was short-lived. He ruled until February 1976 (which is less than one year) before another failed coup led to his assassination and paved the way for his deputy, Olusegun Obasanjo, to assume power. Olusegun Obasanjo (as a military president) ruled the country from 1976 until 1979. Expectedly, the political circumstances of his assumption of office – the failed attempt to take over power and the death of Murtala Mohammed – greatly reflected in his inaugural speech. He maintained inter alia:

We are once again passing through a critical period in the history of this country... The Supreme Military Council has already announced the assassination of his Excellency, General Murtala Mohammad. This dastardly act was committed by a few dissident troops... Many arrests have already been made... (Obasanjo, 1976)

In terms of the economy, crude oil was fast becoming the main source of government revenue. In the talk about corruption, the trend line rose from 8% in OO-M1 to 10% in OO-M2. In his OO-M2, a number of corruption-related issues were directed at public servants as seen here:

I expect every public officer indeed, every Nigerian to measure up to a **high degree of efficiency, integrity and moral rectitude**. The purge of the public service of **undesirable elements** was undertaken to revitalize the service. Those that are diligent and honest in their work need not fear. Indeed they would be rewarded. But **those who continue to be indolent, inefficient or corrupt will be removed**. These standards are set not only for public servants but for all Nigerians (Obasanjo 1976, bold emphasis mine).

Public servants, whether appointed or elected, are the engine of any government as they carry out day-to-day activities of government, and execute public policies and programmes utilising state resources. This specific focus on public servants and all Nigerians respectively underscore the increased prominence of corruption in the socio-economic and political life of the nation. Understanding factors or interests that may have influenced what is said about corruption is addressed in the later chapters. Here, we note that issues of corruption became more intensified in the speeches of the three successive military administrations in comparison to what we saw in the

first civilian government headed by Tafawa-Balewa. It further suggests that the military governments are no better in terms of corruption and mismanagement of public resources than the civilian regime they forcefully took over from in 1966 (see Ogbeide 2012).

5.2.3. The period 1979 – 1983

This period is politically significant as it marked the return of the nation to civilian administration after about 13 years of military rule. Obasanjo had lived up to his words by handing over power to Shehu Shagari who became the president after a general election. This period is also important because it can be described as a period of interruption in the military governance of Nigeria. The country was very strong economically at the time. There was increased dependence on crude oil and it began to take the place of agriculture in foreign exchange earnings. Interestingly, there was no mention of a corruption-related issue in Shagari's IS in 1979, but in his VS of 1983 corruption accounts for 5% of the material. Available literature including media reports detail the high level corruption under the Shagari Administration between 1979 and 1983. Ogbeide remarks that:

Corruption among the political leaders was amplified due to greater availability of funds. It was claimed that over \$16 billion in oil revenues were lost between 1979 and 1983 during the reign of President Shehu Shagari (Ogbeide 2012, 8).

This concern might have influenced his second speech in which an aspect was dedicated to corruption-related issues including new policies on political appointments as well as disciplinary guidelines. He categorically stated that 'only competent and trustworthy men and women, able and willing to deliver, will be put at the helm of affairs' (Shagari 1983). He also warned against corruption and promised punishment for culprits: '[In] the spirit of the on-going ethical revolution, proven cases of abuse of office and corruption will attract immediate sanctions'.

However, it seemed that Shagari's new measures as spelt out in the speech were perceived as coming late in some quarters. For reasons that border on corruption, Shagari was toppled by another military coup with Muhammadu Buhari emerging as the military leader.

5.2.4. The Period 1984 – 1999

This period marked the beginning of another era of military rule as Nigeria had four military presidents and one civilian, Ernest Shonekan, who was appointed by Babangida. The military leaders are Muhammadu Buhari, Ibrahim Babangida, Sani Abacha and Abdulsalami Abubakar.

As stated above, Buhari became the head of state after the coup that terminated the Shagari government. Nigeria had already been led to a monolithic economy as efforts on agriculture had substantially declined. A lot of money was now available through crude oil export. Buhari's emphasis on issues of corruption in his inaugural speech (MB1) underscores the alarming increase in the corrupt activities of government officials in the Shagari Administration. Ogbeide notes that:

[The] 1983 coup was carried out with the aim of halting corruption and restoring discipline, integrity and dignity to public life. General Buhari's regime promised to bring corrupt officials and their agents to book... state governors and commissioners were arrested and brought before tribunals of inquiry (Ogbeide 2012, 8-9).

Thus, Figure 5.1 above shows a very significant rise in the trend line of the graph, making it the highest since independence. About 27% of the clauses in MB1 are dedicated to corruption. This significant increase in the talk on corruption appears to both reflect national concerns and the president's own opposition to corruption. Buhari and his team ruled until 1985. His administration's policy against corruption and indiscipline which had no respect for anyone regardless of class or status did not go down well with a section of the military.

In another military coup in 1985, Ibrahim Babangida became the next military president and led the country until 1993. Although he acknowledged the problem of corruption during Nigeria's Second Republic in the introductory part of his speech (IB1), he indicated the new regime's dissatisfaction with Buhari administration's anticorruption and disciplinary posture as observed below.

The history of our nation had never recorded the degree of indiscipline and corruption as in the period between October 1979 and December 1983. While this government recognises the bitterness created by the irresponsible excesses of the politicians, **we consider it unfortunate that methods of such nature as to cause more bitterness were applied to deal with past misdeeds.** The innocent cannot suffer the crimes of the guilty. **The guilty should be punished only as a lesson for the future.** In line with this government's intention to uphold fundamental human

rights, **the issue of detainees will be looked into with dispatch** (Babangida, 1985) (bold emphasis, mine).

The extract from Babangida's speech above (IB1) may have indicated to some that corruption would thrive during his regime. Notice also from Figure 5.1 that corruption accounts for less than 5% of his IS. Indeed, corruption was said to be institutionalized during the Babangida administration. Government officials that were found guilty by tribunals made their way back to public life and recovered their seized properties (see Ogbeide, 2012; Gboyega, 1996). Some scholars believe that his government was one of the most corrupt in Nigeria's history. He is said to have disregarded and trivialized corruption, providing the enabling environment for its growth (e.g. Ikejiaku, 2013; Ogbeidi, 2013, Omokeji et al, 2014). It is perhaps worth noting that the increase to more than 8% of corruption talk in his VS is explained by his arguments for annulling the elections of June 12, 1993 – an act which was itself construed as corrupt and elicited public outcry and protests.

Reasons adduced in IB2 had to do with electoral malpractices (electoral corruption). He writes:

It is true that the presidential election was generally seen to be free, fair and peaceful. However, there was in fact a huge array of election malpractices virtually in all the states of the federation before the actual voting began. There were authenticated reports of the election malpractices against party agents, officials of the National Electoral Commission and also some members of the electorate (Babangida 1993).

Unlike what we see in the previous Buhari regime, the noticeable rise in corruption-related issues in Figure 5.1 mid-1993 was the result of an act of corruption – the alleged dubious desire of Babangida to hold on to power. Several analysts observe that the social unrest that greeted the annulment of the 1993 national election led to the handover of the 'reins of government to a non-elected military-civilian Interim National Government on 26th August 1993' (Ogbeide 2012, 9). The impact of Babangida's regime on the life of an average Nigerian is captured by Ikejiaku (2013):

When IBB entered into the corridor of power in 1985, poverty was at 46 percent, by the time he stepped down poverty leapt to around 66 percent. As at 1985/86,

34.1 percent of Nigerians lived below poverty level, but that figure had jumped to over 50 percent by the time Babangida left office. Also 13 million Nigerians were core poor in 1985, unlike around 26 million when he stepped aside (Ikejiaku, 2013: 19).

When Ernest Shonekan became the country's leader through his appointment as the head of the Interim National Government by Babangida, one of the key issues he talked about was corruption and a general decline in the value system. In his IS (that is, ES1) corruption talk accounted for 11% of the total number of clauses in the speech. Despite Shonekan's seeming unwillingness to criticize the previous government who appointed him, the manner in which he emphasized the issue of corruption shows that the Babangida government may not have done enough to curb the phenomenon. This is observable in the tone of commitment, for example, when he said: 'I am serving notice here and now of the determination of the Interim National Government to launch a crusade against corruption in our national life'. The 82-day life span of the administration was not enough to adequately match the words with actions; however, he claimed in his final speech (ES2) that 'the Interim National Government has tried very hard to bring honour to government and has taken steps to campaign against the incidence of corruption and indiscipline in the society' (Shonekan 1993).

The resignation of Shonekan paved the way for Sani Abacha to become the next military president. Between November 1993 and mid-1998 of Abacha's rule, Figure 5.1 shows a drop in corruption-related talk as Abacha did not say much about corruption, although, as observed by political scientists, his administration was reputed for large-scale corruption (e.g. Ikejiaku, 2013). Appraising the report of the African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD, 2007), *ThisDay* newspaper notes that:

A lot of limelight has been placed on Abacha looted/stolen wealth put conservatively at over \$3m a large chunk of which were in his Swiss account. Since February 2003, looted Abacha funds scattered all over identified Western banks are being repatriated to Nigeria. Jersey Island for instance, early in 2003, returned about \$180 million of Abacha loot traced to 7 of its banks ... As at February 2006, the total loot returned was about \$700m (*ThisDay* Newspaper cited in Ikejiaku 2013).

The volume of corruption-related clauses in Abdulsalami Abubakar's AA1 is more than his AA2. Abubakar took over from Sani Abacha after the latter's sudden death. Going by this circumstance of his assumption of office, he also used his IS (AA1) to address the sudden death of his predecessor. Corruption-related clauses in the inaugural speech is about 7% of the total speech, and the valedictory speech is 4%. However, the quality of the corruption issues raised in the two speeches is analysed in the later chapters.

5.2.5. The period 1999 - 2015

Nigeria was governed by three presidents (all civilian) within this period. It is important to note that at this time, crude oil had almost completely become the country's economic backbone, and agriculture had totally ceased to be a source of the country's foreign earning. Inflation rose to an alarming proportion. In Figure 5.1 above, we see that the volume of corruption talk rose very significantly in 1999. It picked up from the valedictory speech of Abdulsalami Abubakar (AA2) and reached a remarkable height at the end of May. This was when Olusegun Obasanjo (as a civilian president) took over power from Abdulsalami Abubakar after a general election. About 27% of the clauses in his inaugural speech (OO-D1) were on corruption. However, as observed above, this did not translate to true disengagement from corrupt activities as we shall see in the subsequent chapters. Despite Obasanjo's anticorruption policies, there were reports pointing accusing fingers at his presidency, some of which were captured in Nigerian newspapers: 'Corruption: Obasanjo's eight years worse than Abacha's – Ribadu' (*Vanguard*, September 4, 2011) and 'House: Obasanjo is Grandfather of Corruption in Nigeria' (*ThisDay*, November 25, 2016). On Obasanjo Presidential Library (OPL) project, the Guardian newspaper (Nigeria) expressed disappointment in the launch:

The library launch has been described elsewhere as executive extortion. What has happened is perhaps more serious than that. It can be described as constructive corruption where the construction is subtle, disarming and palpable negative.... Knowing the Nigerian mindset you cannot involve functionaries of government and its agencies and tell the world that all their donations are coming from their salaries and private enterprise (*Guardian Editorial*, Monday 16 May 2005).

In Figure 5.1, we see a decline in the corruption-related clauses in the valedictory speech of Obasanjo (OO-D2). The OO-D2 contains three (implicitly crafted) corruption-related clauses, far

short of what we see in his inaugural speech (OO-D1). This remarkable drop continued with a slight fluctuation in the up and down movement around 2007 through 2015. Politically, this period marks the exit of Obasanjo and the coming of Umaru Yar’adua and Goodluck Jonathan respectively. It is believed that Obasanjo facilitated the emergence of Yar’Adua and Jonathan due to his overwhelming influence as the leader of his political party and as the leader of the nation at large.

The mention of corruption in the speeches of Yar’adua and Jonathan who took over from Obasanjo was not significantly different. In the inaugural speech of Yar’adua (UY1), there are six corruption-related clauses (6% of the total clauses in the speech). The second speech (UY2) before his death is also about 7%. Ijewereme (2015) observes that Yar’Adua repeatedly reaffirmed the determination of his government to fight corruption and ensured adherence to the rule of law and due process; however ‘the actions and body language of Yar’Adua depicted the opposite’, adding that the government failed to sustain ‘the impressive performance of Nuhu Ribadu’ (Ijewereme 2013, 2; see also Aderonmu 2009). Jonathan became both acting president and ‘confirmed’ president after the death of Yar’Adua in 2010. However, his actual presidency began in 2011 after his victory in a general election. In his inaugural speech (GJ1), only 4 clauses which represent a little above 2% of the total number of clauses in the speech are on the issue of corruption. However, in the valedictory speech (GJ2) corruption talk accounts for 4 percent of the total number of clauses. Unlike his predecessor, Jonathan completed his term of office. However, the noticeable increase in his talk about corruption may be described as reactionary – a response to the public outcry and criticism over the alleged spate of corruption and embezzlement of public funds during his administration. He was quoted to have argued that ‘[Over] 70% of what are called corruption [offences], even by the EFCC [Economic and Financial Crimes Commission] and other anti-corruption agencies, is not corruption, but common stealing’ (*Vanguard*, November 6, 2014). Olaniyan (2014) apparently refers to this reported comment of Goodluck Jonathan on corruption and its various implications when he writes that:

The ‘over 70% cases of corruption’ that fit as ‘common stealing’ under the president’s ‘definition’ would presumably include dozens of unresolved corruption cases against former governors, unresolved cases of corruption in the petroleum sector, especially the case of the missing \$20 billion from the account of the Nigeria

National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), unresolved oil subsidy scam, the unimplemented KPMG report on corruption within the NNPC, unresolved cases of corruption in the pension fund, unresolved cases of corruption in the Universal Basic Education Commission funds, and the unresolved cases of corruption in the capital market. The list goes on! (Kolawole Olaniyan *Vanguard*, November 6, 2014).

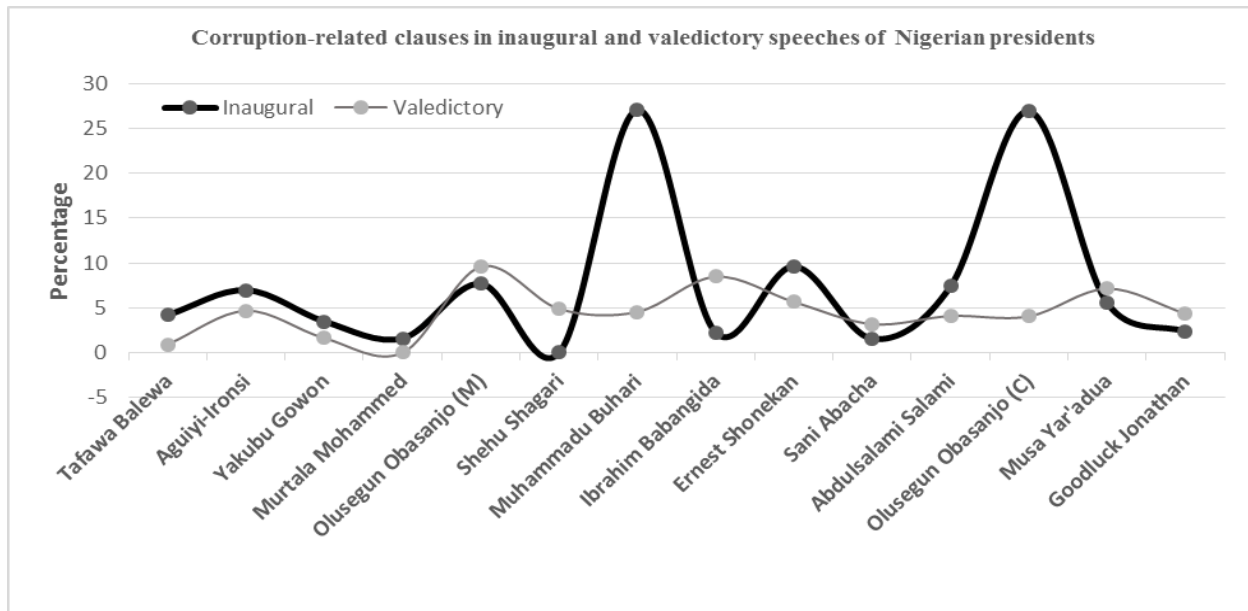
In concluding this overview, in which we have sought to provide a sociopolitical context for processing the data on corruption in speeches as presented in Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1, we may recall a number of points that have stood out. First, the concern with corruption in presidential speeches dates back to 1957, shortly before Nigeria gained independence, and has virtually remained a constant feature of all such speeches. Second, the salience of corruption in the speeches varies, from the lowest, approximately 1% of the totality of clauses in the speeches by Tafawa-Balewa and Aguiyi-Ironsi in the year 1960 and 1966 to the highest which is 27% in Obasanjo's speech (OO-D1) in 1999. Third, the relationship between volume of corruption talk in speech and happenings in society is a complex one as mentioned previously: even though there are obviously no benchmarks, low levels of corruption talk may for instance not reflect the level of practice of corruption or national concern with it.

In the next section, we analyse inaugural and valedictory speeches to determine if they have different corruption profiles.

5.3. Corruption-related Issues in Inaugural and Valedictory Speeches

As noted at the beginning of the chapter, another relevant way of getting an overview of corruption issues in the speeches of Nigerian leaders is to quantitatively and 'functionally' explore their inaugural and valedictory speeches. By 'function' we mean unpacking corruption-related messages that feature in both IS and VS. Figure 5.2 below presents IS and VS of the presidents.

Figure 5.2. Corruption-related clauses in the Inaugural and Valedictory speeches



In Figure 5.2, the dark line represents the IS while the grey one is for the VS. The Figure allows us to see the relationship between IS and VS in terms of volume of corruption talk. Thus, we see that there is more corruption talk in the IS of the following presidents than in their VS: Tafawa Balewa, Thomas Aguiyi-Ironsi, Yakubu Gowon, Murtala Muhammad, Muhammadu Buhari, Ernest Shonekan, Abdulsalami Abubakar and Olusegun Obasanjo (Civilian). In the speeches by Muhammadu Buhari (MB1), Ernest Shonekan (ES1) and Olusegun Obasanjo (Civilian), corruption-related clauses are higher in their IS by between 10% and 27% than in the VS. In speeches by the following presidents, the difference between IS and VS is about 3% or less: Tafawa Balewa, Thomas Aguiyi-Ironsi, Murtala Muhammad and Abdulsalami Abubakar. Also, there is more corruption-related clauses in the VS of the following presidents than their IS: Olusegun Obasanjo (Military), Shehu Shagari, Ibrahim Babangida, Sani Abacha, Umaru Yar'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan.

Having seen the differences in the IS and VS from a quantitative perspective, let us now attempt a more theme-based accounting. For the eight presidents (8 out of 14 presidents) whose corruption-related issues are higher in their IS than in their VS, it may not be surprising considering the uniqueness of the occasion. A new government is expected to show to the public its seriousness in tackling major socio-economic problems of the country in which corruption is one (e.g. Obuah 2010; Muhammed 2013). In some cases, a government may need to explain not only its policies and programmes but also the manner in which those in government should conduct their activities

in relation to corruption. In the IS of Tafawa-Balewa, for instance, the corruption-related talks are largely used to warn politicians against corrupt tendencies which can mar the achievement of the new administration.

On no account should we allow the selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardise the peace of the thirty-three million law-abiding people of Nigeria... Let us be honest with ourselves, and let us be sincere ... we can get it, and get it at the right time, provided we are not delayed by selfish quarrels (Tafawa-Balewa 1957).

Similarly, corruption is one of the major issues in the IS of Muhammadu Buhari. A substantial part of the speech was used to categorically explain his government's policy vis-à-vis corruption as seen in the extract below:

This government will not tolerate kick-backs, inflation of contracts and over-invoicing of imports etc. Nor will it condone forgery, fraud, embezzlement, misuse and abuse of office and illegal dealings in foreign exchange and smuggling... Corrupt officials and their agents will be brought to book (Buhari 1984).

For the six presidents whose VS is higher than the IS, a number of corruption issues raised are either vaguely presented, or are made to justify certain government actions relating to corruption which, if not addressed, may have repercussion on the government. Others are just mere appeal against specific acts of corruption, or are more about a particular type of corruption than other types seen in the IS. For a president like Ibrahim Babangida, the higher figure of the VS is more about electoral corruption than other types (such as political or bureaucratic). For example in his IS, he made reference to political corruption (albeit implicitly) within a certain period in Nigeria: '[t]he history of our nation had never recorded the degree of indiscipline and corruption as in the period between October 1979 and December 1983' (Babangida 1985). On the contrary, however, the specific issues of (electoral) corruption raised in the VS are largely meant to justify his government's cancellation of Nigeria's 1993 presidential election. Accusing finger was pointed at the candidates, the electoral officials and the electorate. All the issues raised amounted to what political scientists describe as electoral corruption.

There were authenticated reports of the election malpractices against party agents, officials of the National Electoral Commission and also some members of the

electorate. ... It is true that the presidential election was generally seen to be free, fair and peaceful. However, there was in fact a huge array of election malpractices virtually in all the states of the federation before the actual voting began. (Babangida 1993).

Similarly, corruption issues in the VS of Olusegun Obasanjo (as a military president) focused on public servants at the time; and it was an attempt to justify the sack of a number of the civil servants as may be observed in this extract: '[T]he purge of the public service of undesirable elements was undertaken to revitalize the service. Those that are diligent and honest in their work need not fear. Indeed they would be rewarded' (Obasanjo 1976).

In the case of Sani Abacha, the reference to corruption in his VS which is only slightly higher than the IS (numerically) appears to be vague rather than direct as noticed in IS. The problem of corruption was not being specifically addressed. An example is given below:

...in realisation of the problems that have brought about economic recession and instability in our country, this administration introduced some far-reaching measures to sanitize the system and instill some discipline in the operation of the economy and public service management (Abacha 1996).

However, one would see a big difference if we consider how related issue was constructed in the IS:

This regime will be firm, humane, and decisive. We will not condone nor tolerate any act of indiscipline. Any attempt to test our will be decisively dealt with. (Abacha 1993)

Also, corruption-related clauses in the VS of Umaru Yar'Adua is also constructed vaguely. This can be seen, for instance, in the way he referred to what he considered as the progress made in his government's anticorruption effort as seen in this extract: '[the] strengthening of the anti-corruption institutions and other law enforcement agencies is a direct consequence of our determination to institutionalize zero-tolerance for corruption' (Yar'Adua 2008). For Goodluck Jonathan, in contrast to way in which he directly appealed to people to jettison corruption and work against same in his IS, the VS is devoid of such 'flavour'. In the IS, he categorically stated that

‘[t]he bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective determination, to rid our nation of this scourge ...’ (Jonathan 2011). The focus on corruption in the VS appears to be more reactionary to public criticisms of his administration regarding corruption.

My Administration has emphasized giving a free hand to our Anti-corruption agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC). We preferred that they mature into strong institutions instead of being the images, the hammer and the anvil of a strong man ... We must encourage them to abide by the rule of law and due process instead of resorting to dramatic or illegal actions. (Jonathan 2015)

The disparity in the quantity of corruption-related issues in the speeches of the presidents, particularly the VS, may partly suggest a waned commitment to corruption. Although, aspects of analysis tend to confirm this, other reasons as indicated in the foregoing paragraphs may also account for the numerical disparity.

5.4. Types of Corruption expressed in the Speeches

In this section, we give an overview of the types of corruption reflected in the speeches, drawing on social sciences scholarship on specific types of corruption (e.g. Rose-Ackerman 2001; Heidenheimer and Johnston 2011; Andvig et. al. 2000).

A number of caveats are in order at this point. Context and co-text have been used to determine what clause fits into what type of corruption. However, a clause may appeal to more than one type of corruption. For example, what is said about corruption may simultaneously appeal to both ‘political’ and ‘moral’ corruption. In those situations, we counted such clauses twice in order to give a fairly accurate quantification of each type of corruption.

We find four types of corruption in the data, as seen in Figure 5.3. First, we have mentioned that political corruption occurs at the highest levels of political office and classes, and it largely involves policymakers or people in government and administration. Corruption-related clauses in the speeches that are categorized as political, exemplify acts of corruption and wrongdoing among politicians or political office holders. They relate to corrupt acts that are perpetrated in the process of governance and politics. Second, clauses categorized under bureaucratic corruption are those

directed at public or civil servants, the military or military officers, government agencies and parastatals or people working in those places. Social scientists describe this type of corruption as taking place at the lower level or the implementation level of government and administration. The categorization here involves issues of violation of the rule of law and due process in the conduct of official activities. Third, corruption-related issues categorized under moral corruption are the clauses that focus on corrupt acts that directly question the individual’s moral character. They appeal to moral uprightness, raise moral questions or indicate faulty or inappropriate of human behavior. It borders on the inability of individuals to self-regulate private or public affairs. Finally, clauses considered under electoral corruption relate to corrupt behavior during an election or in an electoral process such as rigging, stuffing of ballot boxes, offering bribes or other financial inducements to get votes and all other forms of malpractices. They are mostly perpetrated to favour a candidate or a political party. Our categorization for electoral corruption also includes all the illegitimate means of getting to power. See Figure 5.3 with these four types of corruption.

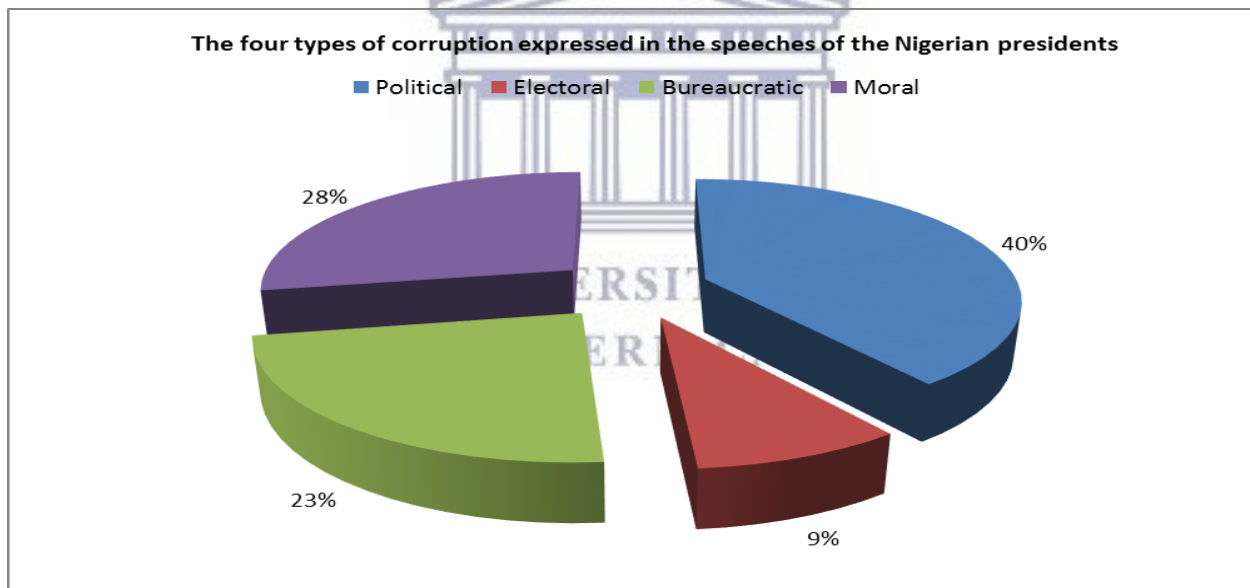


Figure 5.3. Four types of corruption identified in the speeches

In terms of quantity, we see that political corruption is the highest (40%), followed by moral (28%), bureaucratic (23%) and electoral (9%) corruption. This implies that corruption issues occurring at the realm of high political office holders are substantially mentioned in the speeches. In other words, there are many cases in which the issue of corruption talked about point at top political leaders who run state affairs. In the following example from Muhammadu Buhari (MB1), we see veiled allusion to political corruption: ‘[The] premium on political power became so exceedingly

high that political contestants regarded victory at elections as a matter of life and death struggle' (Buhari 1984). Political corruption is also seen in the speech of Olusegun Obasanjo (as a civilian president) (OO-D1): '[G]overnment and all its agencies became thoroughly corrupt and reckless' (Obasanjo 1999).

Moral corruption follows political corruption in terms of quantity. This suggests that a lot of corruption issues in the presidential speeches appeal to moral character. Such issues are inclusive of the various implications of corruption; they commend anticorruption behaviors and convey other corrective and preventive messages. In the following example from Ernest Shonekan (ES1), we see an example which appeals to moral corruption.

The total disregard for uprightness in our society, which has enthroned wealth by all means, is quite worrisome to me. Thus, not only are those who defraud our public treasuries honored, even armed robbers and drug barons are able to buy respectability (Shonekan 1993).

Another example of moral corruption is extracted from Umaru Yar'Adua's speech (UY1): '[L]et us work together to restore our time-honoured value of honesty, decency, generosity, modesty, selflessness, transparency, and accountability' (Yar'Adua 2007).

Bureaucratic corruption indicates that speeches make reference to corruption that largely take place at the implementation level of government policies and administration (e.g. among civil servants). The following example from Thomas Aguiyi-Ironsi's and Ibrahim Babangida (IB2) speeches is a relevant examples.

However, my government believes in maintaining the highest standard of efficiency in the Civil Service and will not hesitate to do away with anyone found guilty of inefficiency, nepotism, tribalism and corruption (Aguiyi-Ironsi 1966). There were authenticated reports of the election malpractices against party agents, officials of the National Electoral Commission and also some members of the electorate (Babangida 1993)

As seen above, electoral corruption is the type of corruption that has the least occurrence across the speeches. The following example is taken from Ibrahim Babangida’s speech (IB2): ‘[E]vidence available to government put the total amount of money spent by the presidential candidates as over two billion, one hundred million naira (N2.1 billion)’ (Babangida 1993). Also, we see a veiled allusion to electoral corruption in the speeches of Abdulsalami Abubakar: ‘[We], therefore, established the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and insulated it from any interference’ (Abubakar 1999).

In Figure 5.4, the types of corruption that the clauses in each president’s speeches appeal to are plotted in a graph with distinct lines.

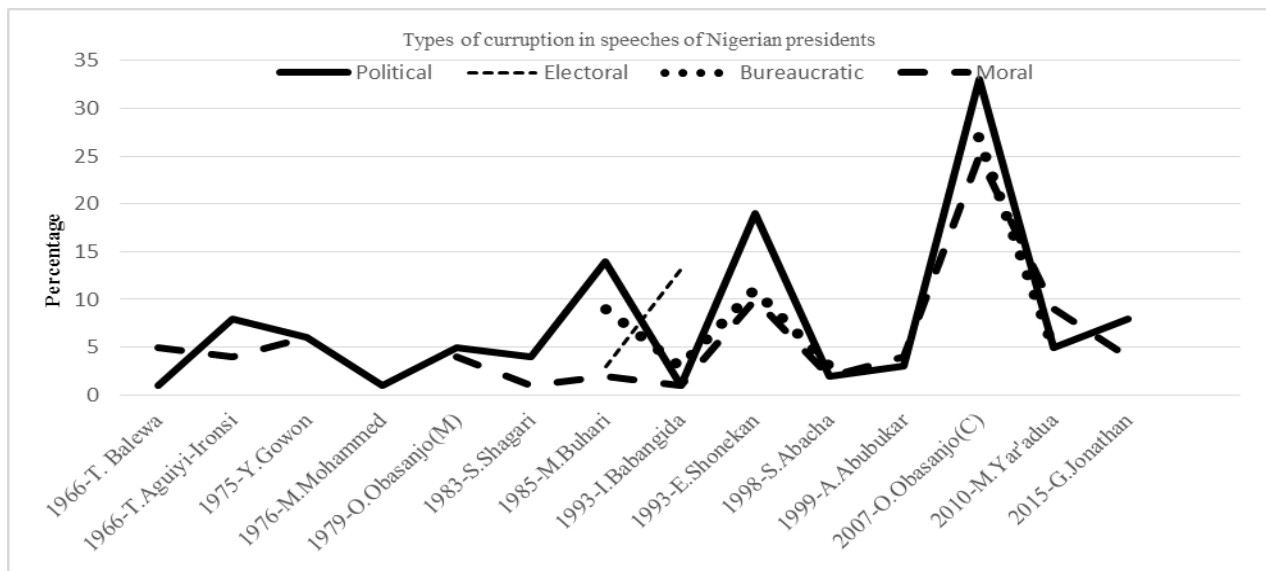


Figure 5.4. The type of corruption in the speeches over time

Figure 5.4 presents types of corruption over time. The figure shows that in the early days of Nigeria’s independence, moral type of corruption is more prevalent in the speeches, hovering above 5% especially under the leadership of Tafawa Balewa, Aguiyi-Ironsi and Yakubu Gowon. The moral type of corruption is almost non-existent between 1975 and 1979 under the leadership Yakubu Gowon and Murtala Mohammed and Olusegun Obasanjo. From 1979 to 1993, moral corruption is under 5% in the speeches particularly under Shehu Shagari, Muhammadu Buhari and Ibrahim Babangida. It is remarkably high, up to 20%, under the leadership of Ernest Shonekan, and reached its peak in 1999 under the leadership of Olusegun Obasanjo. The figure also indicates

that political corruption first emerged in the speeches of Thomas Aguiyi-Ironsi and it was below 10%. It continued to increase, for example to 15% around 1985 under Buhari Administration; and it shoots up to 20% around 1993 specifically under Shonekan Government. It, however, reached its peak between 1999 and 2007 under the government of Olusegun Obasanjo. The figure also shows that bureaucratic type of corruption begins to be noticeable (almost 10%) under the government of Muhammadu Buhari between 1983 and 1985. In 1993, it rose above 10% under the administrations of Ibrahim Babangida and Ernest Shonekan, and it reached the peak (above 25%) under the administration of Olusegun Obasanjo from 1999 to 2007. As for electoral corruption, it is almost non-existent as at the time of independence up to the time of Buhari Administration. However, it is seen conspicuously under Ibrahim Babangida's regime reaching almost 15%. Thereafter, it is non-existent through 2015 as observed in Figure 5.4. One of the immediate reasons may be attributed to long years of military rule in which no elections took place.

The domination of political corruption suggest that this corruption type is the one that affect the country the most; and it indicates that the political class may have not done enough in eradication the phenomenon. This account shows that political corruption type is largely pronounced when a new government considers itself as a corrective one. In the case of Aguiyi-Ironsi, for example, he took over power from the first ever (civilian) government which was forcefully removed in a military coup. Political type of corruption which is also prominent in Buhari's speech is also described as a corrective one (as shown in the speech) in the sense that the previous government headed by Shehu Shagari, was allegedly seen to be corrupt. In the case of Ernest Shonekan, he took over from Ibrahim Babangida whose administration was pressured to step down due to public criticism. Thus, the coming of Shonekan was seen to be corrective. For Olusegun Obasanjo in whose speech political corruption type is mostly pronounced, he took over power from Abdulsalami Abubakar as a civilian president after many years of military rule, and his speech tends to focus largely on political corruption.

5.5. Corruption: whose favourite subject – Military or Civilian leadership?

Another significant way in which we provide an overview of corruption in the data is by comparatively exploring the quantity and nature of corruption-related issues in the presidential speeches from the standpoint of whether they are made by military or civilian presidents. Although military rule is seen as an aberration (Arnold, 1977, Siollun, 2013), Nigeria has had a good taste

of it as the first military coup took place in 1966 – about six years after the country gained independence from the colonialists.

Between the time of independence and 2015, Nigeria was ruled by eight soldiers as military presidents and six civilian presidents (see Figures 5.5a and 5.5b below). One of them – Olusegun Obasanjo – ruled the country at two times, first as a military president (1976 – 1979) and secondly as a duly-elected civilian president (1999 – 2007).

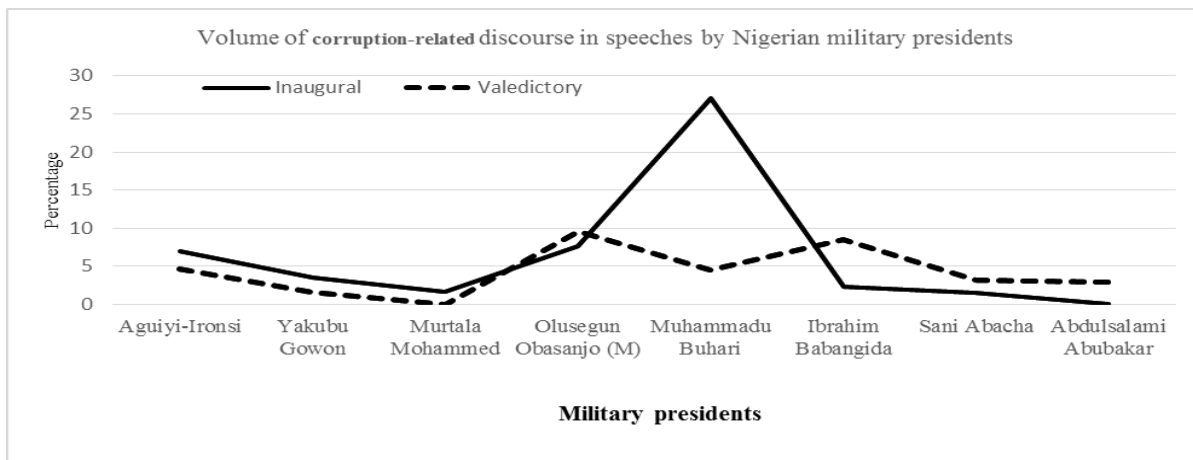


Figure 5.5a. Corruption-related clauses in the speeches of the military presidents

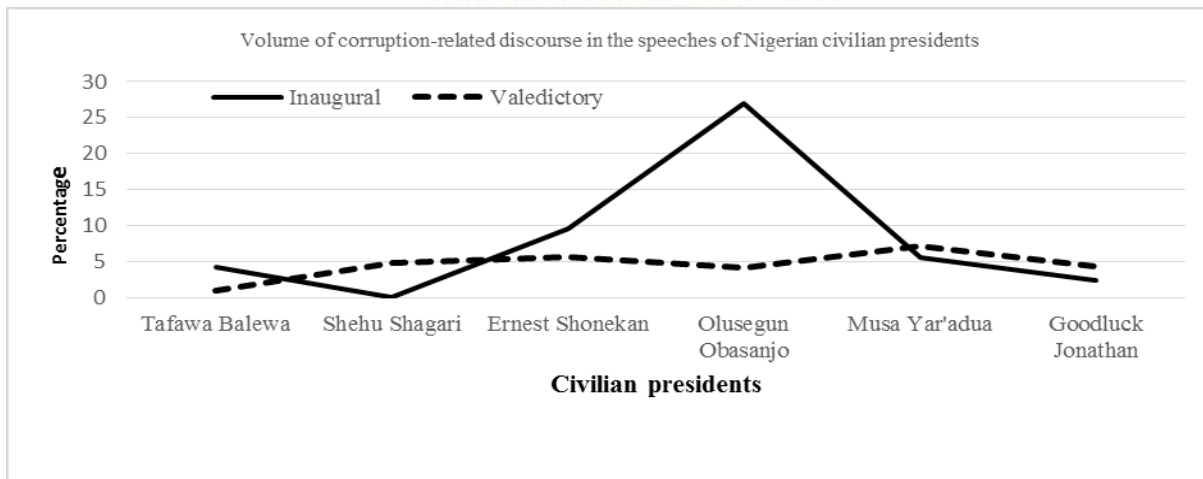


Figure 5.5b. Corruption-related clauses in speeches of civilian presidents

The thick un-dotted lines represent the inaugural speeches (IS), while the dotted lines represent the valedictory speeches (VS).

In comparing Figure 5.5a (for military presidents) and 5.5b (for civilian presidents), we see that corruption-related clauses reach a peak under the regime of Muhammadu Buhari, who was a military leader (at the time), as well as under Olusegun Obasanjo (who was a civilian president). Both military and civilian presidents have almost the same number of corruption-related clauses with a difference of less than 0.5% in 'favour' of Muhammadu Buhari in their IS[s]. Also, the VS of Buhari is slightly higher than that of Obasanjo with about 0.5%. Similarly, the least corruption-related clauses (0%) is found in the VS of a military president (Murtala Muhammad); whereas the least corruption-related clauses (0%) is found in the IS of a civilian president (Shehu Shagari). Furthermore, the pattern in the movement of the line graph shows that the IS[s] are numerically higher in three military presidents: Aguiyi-Ironsi, Yakubu Gowon and Murtala Muhammed; and the VS is higher in two military presidents: Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha. But in the VS of the civilian presidents, we see a unique flow of the line graph across time between 5% and 7%.

Of significance is the period in which the talk on corruption peaks in the speeches of both the military and civilian presidents. This is because the corruption-related clauses tend to reflect the socio-economic and political situation at the time. For the military, Muhammadu Buhari's speech (MB1) was made in 1984 after the sack of Shehu Shagari's government through a military coup. For the civilian, Olusegun Obasanjo's speech (OO-D1) was made 15 years after, and it suggests that there was no significant change in corruption and the socio-economic and political situation of the country. A comparison of the following excerpts from Buhari's speech (military) and that of Obasanjo (a retired military-officer-turned civilian president) underscores the claim that no significant change achieved especially in terms of corruption.

'The corrupt, inept and insensitive leadership in the last four years has been the source of immorality and impropriety in our society' (Buhari 1984). 'Government and all its agencies became thoroughly corrupt and reckless' (Obasanjo 1999).

The foregoing indicates that corruption talk is a favourite theme for both the military and the civilian presidents. What this overview has helped to show (as seen in Figures 5.5a and 5.5b) is that the talk about corruption can be found in the speeches of both the military and civilian presidents almost at comparable levels. However, for Olusegun Obasanjo who was once a military officer/military president before becoming a civilian president, it shows that leaders with military background tend to be stern and more forceful in addressing corruption than their purely civilian

counterparts. We may say suggest that the military background of Obasanjo has greater influence on his speech even as a civilian president.

Also, the information contained in both Figure 5.5a and 5.5b seems to confirm one of the claims in social science studies on corruption in Nigeria, which points accusing finger of corruption at both civilian and military regimes. The situation may have been exaggerated as observed in Ogbeide's (2012) claim that:

...since independence a notable surviving legacy of the successive political leadership both civilian and military that have managed the affairs of the country at different times has been the institutionalisation of corruption in all agencies of the public service, which, like a deadly virus, has subsequently spread to the private sector of the country (Ogbeide 2012, 3).

5.6. Summary of the Chapter

In this overview chapter, we have been able to respond to our first objective by giving an exploration of how corruption-related issues are enacted through the speeches of Nigerian presidents since the period of the country's existence as an independent nation. So far, our analysis has shown that most of the talk about corruption in the presidential speeches are not just incidental, rather they are emblematic of what happens in the general society.

On the trajectory and evaluation of corruption-related issues in the speeches, we showed that corruption emerged in presidential speeches as far back as 1957 and it continued to reflect in the speeches across time, reaching a peak at two different periods, in 1984 and in 1999 under Muhammadu Buhari and Olusegun Obasanjo's governments respectively. Secondly, on the corruption-related issues in inaugural and valedictory speeches, the numerical disparity in the corruption-related issues in the two speech kinds, especially in the VS of six presidents, partly suggest a waned commitment to corruption. However, we demonstrated that other reasons may also account for the numerical disparity. Thirdly, on the types of corruption expressed in the speeches, four different types were identified and presented in order of quantity namely, political, moral, bureaucratic and electoral corruption. The prevalence of political corruption across the speeches suggests that this type of corruption may show that most corrupt acts may have occurred among the political leadership of the country. Also, political corruption is also more pronounced

in the speeches by presidents that consider their regimes as a corrective one. Finally, on whether corruption is a favorite subject among military leadership than the civilian leadership, we showed that both the military and civilian presidents talk about corruption almost at the same level (quantity). We noted that presidents with military background tend to be very strict and coercive in addressing corruption than their civilian counterparts. We gave the example of the two presidents whose speeches have the highest corruption-related clauses; the civilian president Olusegun Obasanjo had military background and, of course, Muhammad Buhari, was a military president (within the scope of this study).

In the following chapter, we furthered the analysis by looking more closely at the clauses on corruption from the standpoint of the various language choices made. We aim to demonstrate by analysis how corruption may have been construed by the presidents as reflected in their own speeches.



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CHAPTER 6: Construal of Corruption in the Speeches: A Transitivity Analysis

6.0. Introduction

In this chapter, we analyse the clauses on corruption in response to the second objective of this thesis (see Chapter 1) which is to determine how corruption is construed in the presidential speeches from the dominant linguistic choices made from the system of Transitivity. As may be recalled from Chapter 3, transitivity in SFL has to do with how meaning is represented in the clause, and it involves three major components: process, participants and circumstance. The claim of the transitivity system is that the choice of each component and especially the process can reveal how an issue (in our case corruption) is construed or represented.

This analysis is presented under the following major headings: representation of corruption as faceless, *actors on corruption*: representation of self-versus others, metaphorical versus non-metaphorical representations, definitional representations, overgeneralization and ambiguity of participants' roles, implicit representations, and discussion of construal by presidents and conclusion.

6.1. Overview of Processes across the Corruption-related Clauses

It would be recalled that 'process' is the compulsory element in the clause, and what lies behind all processes are 'verbs'. In Table 6.1, we present all the processes in the corruption-related clauses occurring in our corpus and assign them to various types.

Table 6.1 Processes in the corruption-related clauses

Type of Process, with example	Number of processes	Total of processes	Percentage of processes
Material process Corruption, the greatest single bane of our society today, will be tackled head-on at all levels (OO-D1)	129		66.1%
Relational process Rampant corruption and get-rich-quick mania, therefore, have become cankerworms	39		20.0%

in all spheres of our national life. (ES1)			
Existential process ...there were proofs of manipulations through offer and acceptance of money and other forms of inducement against officials of the National Electoral Commission and members of the electorate. (IB2)	9	195	4.6%
Behavioural process But those who continue to be indolent, inefficient or corrupt will be removed. (OO-M2)	8		4.1%
Mental process We are determined to intensify the war against corruption...(UY1)	8		4.1%
Verbal process I am referring to the fire incidents that gutted the P&T buildings in Lagos, the Anambra State Broadcasting Corporation, the Republic Building at Marina...	2		1.0%

Going through the Table 6.1, we see distinctly that material process dominates with 66.1%. It is followed by relational process (20%). Existential process ranks third, making up 4.6% of the total clauses. Behavioural process and mental process share the same percentage in the corruption-related clauses accounting for 4.1 % each of the total process types. Verbal process is the least used, making up 1% of the total processes used.

The dominance of the material processes may not be surprising in the sense that of all the processes, the material process is considered to be the most frequently-used type in political speeches (see Liping 2014). It may be recalled from Chapter 3 that the material process refers to the processes of ‘doing’ or ‘happening’ – ‘that some entity ‘does’ something – which may be ‘to’ some other entity’ (Halliday 2004, 227). Thus, the dominance of material process in the corruption-related clauses suggests that corruption is being represented as activity-oriented. Generally, across the speeches, material processes are used in five situations in which: (1) the citizens or public officials are being admonished to avoid corruption or corrupt tendencies; (2) a specific corrupt act is pointed out; (3) an appeal is made against corrupt activities; (4) measures to deal with corruption

are stated; and (5) acts that aided corruption are spelt out. In the following extracts, an example of each of these cases is given.

1. Politicians **must** carefully **examine** the budget to ensure that public funds are judiciously **spent**. (OO-D1)
2. Evidence available to government **put** the total amount of money **spent** by the presidential candidates as over two billion, one hundred million naira (N2.1 billion). (IB2)
3. It is equally important that we **strive** to improve the quality of governance, **accept** transparency and accountability in the management of public finance and **carry out** a crusade against corruption.
4. I will immediately **reintroduce** civil service rules and financial instructions and **enforce** compliance.
5. Thus, not only are those who **defraud** our public treasuries **honored**, even armed robbers and drug barons are able to buy respectability.

The above examples underscore the claim that ‘a *material* clause construes a quantum of change in the flow of events as taking place through some input of energy’ (Halliday 2004, 224). In this case, the event or activity revolves around the issue of corruption and the choice of different material processes in the clauses suggests that certain things have to be done (input of energy) for certain results to be achieved.

Now that we have given an overview of the processes, let us turn to how they work in clauses to allow for several construals of corruption to emerge.

6.2. Representation of Corruption as Faceless

6.2.1. Agentless clauses

In SFL, participants are ‘inherent’ in the process (Halliday 2014). That is, every experiential type of clause has at least one participant and in some cases, it can have up to three participants. Unlike ‘circumstance’, participants are close to the centre, similar to the traditional grammatical distinction of word classes into verbs, nouns, and the rest. They are directly involved in the process in that they bring about its occurrence or are affected by it in some way. Also, the nature of

participants varies according to the type of process (Halliday 2004, 221). In the clause construction, the speaker or writer has the freedom of choice whether or not to include participants or agents. The speaker also has the choice to determine the nature or kind of roles assigned to a participant either as the doer or receiver of an action or as a beneficiary or sufferer within the clause (Halliday 2004).

Following from this background, corruption is seen as an activity-oriented phenomenon which also represents experience. It is enacted or executed by series of acts performed by (human) individuals or groups generally called ‘participants’ and which are further distinguished as ‘actors’ or ‘agents’ depending on the nature of the process. In other words, abstract and inanimate concepts such as corruption cannot occur without these human agents (human beings). Our analysis of the corpus shows that corruption is largely construed as a faceless entity naturally existing or occurring by itself. In the following extracts, actors or agents who initiate certain acts for or against corruption in the ‘material’ clauses are not mentioned.

Table 6.2. Agentless Clauses on Corruption

Extract	Clauses	Participants/Notes
1	The political climate is poisoned ; economic activities are at low ebb while corruption, indiscipline and other social ill reign supreme. (ES1)	Actors/Agents of the process who did the poisoning unnamed. The relational process ‘are’ has Carrier as the participant. The participant (agent) of the process ‘reign’ is ‘social ill’ which can only be activated by human effort which is unnamed.
2	Good men were shunned and kept away from government while those who should be kept away were drawn near. (OO-D1)	Actors/Agents of the compound processes ‘shunned and kept’ unnamed.
3	Our Infrastructures – NEPA, NITEL, roads, railways, education, housing and other social services were allowed to decay and collapse. (OO-D1)	Actor(s) who ‘allowed’ the country’s infrastructure to decay and collapsed unnamed.
4	There were allegations of irregularities and other acts of bad conduct levelled against the presidential candidates but NEC went ahead and cleared them. (IB2)	The participant(s) who ‘levelled’ the allegation unnamed.
5	Cases of impersonation of officers of the Armed Forces are still reported . (TA2)	The actor who did the reporting is excluded.
6	Arson has been used to cover up fraudulent acts in public institutions. I am referring to the fire incidents that gutted the P&T buildings in Lagos, the Anambra State Broadcasting Corporation, the Republic Building at Marina, the Federal Ministry of Education, the Federal Capital Development Authority Accounts at Abuja and the NET Building. (MB1)	The actor(s) of the process ‘used’ is unnamed. Those who engaged in arson and fraudulent acts are not named.

All the three clauses that make up Extract 1 are connected to the issue of corruption. However, one of the two material processes has no actors, the second material process required a human agent but an inanimate agent ‘social ill’ was the choice. The lexical choices as seen in the reference to the poisoned political climate and corruption that reigns supreme may suggest on some analysis that the speaker is aware of perpetrators but he chooses not to name the actors. Equally interesting is the choice of ‘political climate’. This choice reflects the prevailing socio-political situation at the time, particularly the situation that suddenly brought the speaker (Ernest Shonekan) to power when his predecessor Ibrahim Babangida increasingly became unpopular due to the prevailing high level corruption, poor economy and his government’s annulment of the a popular general election (see Chapter 5). It also suggests that certain people were engaging in corrupt activities at the time. However, the choices fail to reveal the identities (e.g. names and positions) of those responsible for the chaotic situation at hand.

The clauses in Extracts 2 and 3 are part of the inaugural speech of Olusegun Obasanjo (OO-D1) in 1999. As noted in Figure 6.2 above, the participants of the processes ‘shunned’ and ‘kept’ are not stated. The choices are an attempt to criticize the previous administrations for corruption forms such as nepotism, cronyism and favouritism. They are also an apparent attempt to characterize the spate of corruption that prevailed during preceding administrations. However, he chooses not to name the actors in those governments who shunned the ‘right’ people and drew the ‘wrong’ people near, just as he failed to name individuals or groups that ran down the state infrastructure in Extract 3. Representing corrupt activities of this nature without important details such as participants and specific examples, can provoke a number of questions, particularly about the true perception of corruption as well as the interest of the speaker.

There are two material processes in Extract 4 – ‘levelled’ and ‘went’. The inherent participants (that is, those who accused the presidential candidates of irregularities and bad conduct) are not mentioned. The clause was constructed as if those ‘misconducts’ or ‘allegations’ just existed without human activation. The participant of the process (went) is the National Electoral Commission (NEC), the official body saddled with the responsibility of overseeing and conducting the electoral process. What this shows is that the government of Babangida failed to grant the required independence to the electoral body to conduct the elections. Considering the political situation at the time, particularly the public protests that followed the cancellation of Nigeria’s

1993 presidential election, the choices could have included the participants – those who brought the allegations that justified the annulment.

The choices in Extracts 5 and 6 also excluded important participants that carried out specific roles. The participant(s) of the process ‘reported’ in Extract 5 is/are unnamed. Impersonation is a form of corruption that requires an actor just as those who give the report of impersonation are human participants, but their identities are made implicit for certain reasons that cannot be understood within the immediate context of the clause. The process ‘used’ in Extract 6 is connected to arson. Arson is considered a criminal activity, and in this case, it is used to cover up other criminal activities – fraudulent acts. Like the foregoing clauses, the identities of the actors are shielded with non-inclusion of participants in the clause.

What we see so far amounts to turning the expression ‘name and shame’ to ‘shame the unnamed’. The ingrained facelessness of corrupt activities in the speeches, through the speakers’ choice to hide the identity of individuals or groups in the talk about corruption, may raise a number of questions such as the credibility of the claims, possible concerns with the legal repercussions, and level of commitment to what is said.

6.2.2. Nominalization in corruption-related clauses

Nominalization, as explained in the theory and methodology chapters, is a means of avoiding the identification or naming of participants. It is a grammatical instrument used in turning verbs/verbal group or other clause constituents into nouns/noun phrases. In other words, the strategy deletes agency and reifies the process (e.g. Downing and Locke 2006; Billig 2008). Human participants who may have influenced what happens in the process being nominalized are deleted. The claim of SFL, as was seen in Chapter 3, is that the decision to identify or not to identify a participant represents a choice that is potentially meaningful. As seen in the methodology chapter, an interpretation for the non-identification of participants would be that the president was trying to avoid counter claims, public actions, litigations or any other reasons. When all human agents are completely removed especially in this context of corruption, there is a tendency to doubt the leaders’ true commitments to fight corruption. Table 6.3 presents corruption-related clauses with nominalizations in *boldface*.

Table 6.3. Clauses on Corruption – Nominalisations

Extract	Clauses (with nominalizations)	Notes
1	The use of money <u>was</u> again the major source of undermining the electoral process. (IB2)	Token: use of money With the nominalization – ‘use of money’, agent using the money is completely removed. In ‘undermining’, the inherent participant is deleted. Process: Relational
2	Apart from the tremendous negative use of money during the party primaries and presidential elections, there <u>were</u> moral issues which were also overlooked by the Defence and National Security Council. (IB2)	Nominalization: the agent – user(s) of money – is (are) hidden. Process: Existential
3	There <u>were</u> allegations of irregularities and other acts of bad conduct... (IB2)	Existent: allegations of irregularities Inherent participants who alleged the irregularities are deleted. The nom. hides participants. Process: Existential
4	There <u>were</u> proofs as well as documented evidence of widespread use of money during the party primaries as well as the presidential election. (IB2)	Nominalizations: proofs, widespread use of money... hides participants Process: Existential
5	There <u>were</u> authenticated reports of the election malpractices against party agents, officials of the National Electoral Commission and also some members of the electorate. (IB2)	Existent: authenticated reports Participants who wrote/gave the reports as well as the authentication are deleted. Process: Existential
6	...there <u>were</u> proofs of manipulations through offer and acceptance of money and other forms of inducement against officials of the National Electoral Commission and members of the electorate. (IB2)	Existent: proofs of... Nom.: participants unnamed Existent: proofs of manipulations, offer and acceptance of money and inducement Process: Existential
7	There <u>were</u> (sic) also evidence of conflict in the process of authentication and clearance of credentials of the presidential candidates. (IB2)	Existent: evidence of conflict Nom.: participants who engaged in the conflict deleted. Process: Existential
8	The twin problem of corruption <u>is</u> social indiscipline which is also widespread in our country today. (ES1)	Token: problem of corruption Nominalization – reification Human participants deleted. Process: Relational
9	It <u>is</u> indiscipline which breeds corruption and the other social problems afflicting us. (ES1)	‘Indiscipline’ takes the place of the human agent. Thus, nom. (reification) removes human participants.

In the clauses presented in Table 6.3 above, nominalized expressions are identified and explained. The choices attempt to conceal the roles of human agents who can only initiate the nominalized processes or issues expressed in the clauses. Interestingly also, across the nine extracts above, there are six ‘existential’ and three ‘relational’ clauses which suggest that speakers/writers can easily exploit the two processes to evade the burden of naming people or entities around an issue such as corruption. In SFL, existential process is seen to be relatively similar to the relational process:

whereas ‘things are stated to exist in relation to other things’ in relational process ... in existential process things are simply stated to exist’ (Eggins 2012, 237-238).

Looking again at Table 6.3 above, a good number of the nominalized expressions are extracted from Ibrahim Babangida’s speech (IB2) while the remaining two are extracted from the inaugural speech (ES1) of Ernest Shonekan. Corruption is talked about in terms of various activities in which it is enacted. It is also talked about in connection with general socio-political situation in the country at the time of speech. Babangida’s speech (IB2) largely focused on justification of the annulment of Nigeria’s 1993 general elections. It is therefore not surprising that all the clauses foreground claims of corrupt acts (electoral malpractices) which are used to justify the cancellation of the election. However, rather than naming the politicians (presidential candidates), government officials or specific individuals who must have taken part in the corrupt acts, he chooses linguistic expressions that conceal the identities of the perpetrators. Although a number of corrupt activities are mentioned here, the intense use of nominalizations hide the actors. For example, ‘the use of money’ in Extracts 7 and 8 conceals information at two levels – it completely distances the action from the actor while also hiding the identities of those who use money in the elections. One of the functions of nominalization is that it distances us from the event, raising the representation of a situation to a higher level of abstraction’ (Downing and Locke 2006, 162).

In Extract 1, the nominalized expression is ‘use of money’ which is the Token (the Subject) with the relational process (was); and in Extract 2, the nominal group ‘allegations and irregularities’ is the Existent with the existential process (were). Similar accusation is foregrounded in Extract 4 where the Existent is a nominalization (proofs ... documented evidence of widespread use of money) in which up to three processes have been condensed, and as explained above, the participants (those who use money are not completely removed) just as the ‘use of money’ is semantically vague. Similar expressions are also found in Extracts 5, 6 and 7. These repetitions underscore the speaker’s (Babangida’s) speech goal which is not primarily to address corruption but an attempt to justify the cancellation of the poll and to douse public tension. This underscores why all the (electoral) corruption claims are presented as if they happened ‘naturally’ without human influence.

A similar pattern is also found in Extracts 8 and 9 which are taken from the speeches of Shonekan (ES1). In Extract 8, for example, the representation of the ‘problem of corruption’ (which is Token

in the ‘relational’ clause) suggests that corruption probably emerged as a problem for humans, and not that the human actually created corruption. The same explanation goes for Extract 9 in which the Value ‘indiscipline’ is used to take the place of human agent. This aspect of nominalization is called ‘reification’ which deletes human participants and replaces it with abstract concepts (see Fowler 1991; Billig 2008). When all human activities are completely removed from corruption-related clauses which require human activation, a leadership’s construal of corruption and the true commitments are called to question.

6.3. Corruption: Underspecification of Participants

In the preceding sections, we have analysed the corruption-related clauses with specific focus on the various choices made including those related to agentless clauses and nominalizations. These formations are used by the speakers (the presidents) in concealing both the acts of corruption and the actors of corruption. Here, we pay attention to clauses with participants. What we found, however, is that the choices underspecify participants in the clauses. By this, leaders, individuals or groups who are either accused of taking part in corrupt activities or helping corruption in any way are vaguely represented.

In Table 6.4, the processes are connected to participants that are either identified by their professional group or by their public positions. In boldface are the ‘participants’ and in italics are the ‘processes’.

Table 6.4. Underspecification of participants in corruption claims

Extract	Clause	Process	Others, notes
1	Government and all its agencies <i>became</i> thoroughly corrupt and reckless. (OO-D1)	Relational (intensive)	Carrier – Attribute Participants underspecified
2	To be appointed a minister, or to any other public office <i>is</i> not a license to loot the treasury. (OO-D1)	Relational	Token – Value Participants are vaguely identified.
3	Thus, not only are those who defraud our public treasuries <i>are honoured</i> , even armed robbers and drug barons <i>are</i> able to buy respectability. (ES1)	Material Relational (intensive)	Participants (Carrier) are vaguely identified
4	The corrupt, inept and insensitive leadership in the last four years <i>has been</i> the source of immorality and impropriety in our society. (MB1)	Relational	Carrier – Attribute Carrier (participants) Too general and broad
5	The premium on political power <i>became</i> so exceedingly high that political contestants <i>regarded</i> victory at elections as a matter of life and death struggle and <i>were determined</i> to capture or retain power by all means (MB1).	Relational (intensive) Mental Mental	Carrier – Attribute Participants (<i>Sensors</i>) are vaguely identified by their profession

6	There were charges by opposition parties of rigging of the elections and general abuse of power by the Regional Government in the conduct of the elections. (TA2).	Existential	Roles vaguely identified
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In Extract 1, the process (is) is relational and with a compound subject ‘Government and all its agencies’ as Carrier. Within the context of the whole speech, Obasanjo’s accusations are not targeted at a specific government, rather they point to all the previous governments (except, as seen in OO-D1, that of Abdulsalami Abubakar, under whose leadership the general election that brought Obasanjo to power was conducted). Thus, the choice of a big brush of corruption to paint all the previous administrations lacks specificity. In Extract 2, the process (is) is also a relational process with a non-finite clause as Token, and it does not point at any specific individual. The focus is rather on yet-to-be-appointed ministers who are being warned not to ‘loot the public treasury’. Considering the spatial or geographical context of the speech where millions of Nigerians are being addressed, it is obviously too cumbersome to know who or what set of people the statement is directed at. Even if the ministers were already known within the president’s political camp, the statement still lacks significance as people cannot identify those concerned at the time of the speech.

There are three processes and two participants in Extract 3 which is extracted from Ernest Shonekan’s speech (ES1). The ‘main’ process ‘are’ is a relational process. The two other processes are material processes; they are used in the dependent clauses that form the participant (Carrier) of the relational process. The speaker attempts to paint the picture of corruption within public institutions as well as of corruption through violent criminal activities such as armed robbery and drug trafficking. The speaker’s obvious concern here appears to be the indifferent attitude of the society.

The way in which the participant (Carrier) is constructed (...those who...) underspecifies the participants, using the kind of corrupt activities they enact. It may be argued that Shonekan might not be able to name all the inscribed participants (armed robbers and drug barons, public officials) but with his position in government it is expected the choices should come with clarity and precision that can make such speeches more credible. The choice to vaguely identify those who may have defrauded the nation or short-changed the Nigerian people he was addressing raise fundamental questions relating to interest and commitment.

The participant (Carrier) of the relational process ‘has been’ in Extract 4 is ‘leadership’ with negative pre-modifiers (the corrupt, inept and insensitive). The speaker, Buhari, uses these negative qualities of the previous leadership and connects them to the consequence (Attribute) – *the source of immorality and impropriety in our society*. The corruption issues raised are directed at the previous political leadership and politicians entirely. The choice of the determiner ‘the’ before other pre-modifiers for ‘leadership’ is very significant in the sense that the definite article (the) technically assumes that both the speaker (Buhari) and the people share the same understanding or perception about the country’s leadership. Like the previous examples, the choice of ‘leadership’ is an underspecification of the characters around corruption. This is thematically similar to the clauses in Extract 5, made up of one relational process and two mental processes. The process ‘became’ has the nominal group (The premium on political power) as Carrier with ‘so exceedingly high’ as the Attribute. The two mental processes ‘regarded’ and ‘determined’ have ‘political contestants’ as Sensors. The choices are used in describing the corrupt activities and tendencies of Nigerian politicians in the Second Republic (See Chapter 5).

This is similar to what we see in Extract 7 where political and professional group names are chosen as participants. The process is an Existential process. The Existent ‘charges’ has an extension (opposition parties) which is one of the two participants in the clause; the second participant was ‘the Regional Government’ who was accused of abuse of power. Also the use of the plural form ‘parties’ obviously shows that there is more than one political party; it is also used as a collective nominal expression for individuals that make up a (political) party. By excluding the identity of the political parties and their leaders as well as the leadership of those parties who made the charges, we may assert that the identities have been underspecified. This, to a great extent, subjugates any corruption and wrongdoing claims that may be expressed in the clauses.

In addressing issues of national significance such as corruption, underspecification of characters around the phenomenon affects appropriate problematization of corruption, finding solutions to it, apportioning blames and assigning responsibilities.

6.4. Actors on Corruption: Representation of Self versus Others

In the talk about corruption in the speeches, there are instances in which presidents (as speakers) include themselves as participants in the clause. By ‘self’, we mean the presidents who make the speeches, and by ‘others’ we refer to all other categories of Nigerians. The grammatical item used

in the clause structure as presented in Figure 6.5 below is the personal pronoun ‘I’. This choice is very significant in this analytical context in the sense that it attributes what is said vis-à-vis corruption to *self* (i.e. the speaker or the president), while it automatically excludes others in the propositions or claims made.

Table 6.5. Corruption: Self versus Others

Extract	Clause	Process	Notes
1	I believe that this administration must deal with the following issues even in these difficult times of near economic collapse...law and order with particular reference to armed robbery and cultism in our educational institutions... corruption, drug, organized fraud called 419... (OO-D1)	Mental	The participant ‘I’ represents the speaker (Obasanjo) as Senser.
2	I am very aware of the widespread cynicism and total lack of confidence in government, arising from the bad faith, deceit and evil actions of recent administrations. (OO-D1)	Mental	The participant ‘I’ represents the speaker (Obasanjo) as Senser who expresses awareness about the Phenomenon (corrupt tendencies – deceit and evil actions).
3	I will give the forthright, purposeful, committed, honest, and transparent leadership... (OO-D1)	Material	The process ‘give’ in the clause context signifies doing something...showing example.
4	I will immediately reintroduce civil service rules and financial instructions and enforce compliance. (OO-D1)	Material	The Actor here is the participant ‘I’ (Obasanjo). The other participant is the nominal group which comes after the process ‘reintroduced’. It may be implied that corrupt activities occur within the civil service.
5	I expect every public officer indeed, every Nigerian to measure up to a high degree of efficiency, integrity and moral rectitude. (OO-M2)	Mental	The participant ‘I’ represents the speaker (Obasanjo) as Senser. The Phenomenon is too general and less forceful.
6	I have come to the painful conclusion that to forge ahead as a society we <i>must extirpate</i> corruption from our public life. (ES1)	Mental Material	The participant ‘I’ represents the speaker (Shonekan) as Senser. The participant of the material process ‘we’ refers to the populace.
7	I am also convinced that to accomplish this very important task the battle must begin with the leadership of our country. (ES1)	Mental	The Senser (Shonekan) implies that the country’s leadership is corrupt. The choice (leadership) lacks precision.
8	Therefore, I am serving notice here and now of the determination of the Interim National Government to launch a crusade against corruption in our national life. To this end, I shall strive to lead by example. (ES1)	Material	The speaker (Shonekan) makes a policy pronouncement on corruption, but the choice of ‘determination’ shows that the anticorruption notice has not been supported with action.
9	I am seizing the opportunity of this occasion, therefore, to charge the members of the ING to demonstrate the virtues of discipline and integrity at all times. (ES1)	Material	The choice positions the participant ‘I’ (Shonekan) as an anticorruption campaigner. Human participants in the clause (members of the ING) are identified as a group.
10	I challenge all of us to continue to show fidelity to and rededicate ourselves to those values of honour, courage, right conduct... (AA2)	Material	The lexical choices positions the participant ‘I’ (Abubakar) himself as an anticorruption campaigner in the clause.

11	<i>I wish</i> to appeal to all governors in the nineteen states to ensure proper discipline and prudence in their general management of public funds. (SS2)	Mental	The choice of the process ‘wish’ operates at the cognitive level of the participant ‘I’ (Shagari), and it is meant to serve the immediate purpose of the speech which is appealing to ‘all state governors’.
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In Extracts 1 and 2, the ‘I’ refers to Olusegun Obasanjo as a participant (Senser) in the two clauses. In place of the mental processes, he has the option of directly choosing a material process such as ‘deal’ (in Extract 1) saying ‘I will deal with...’ or implying something similar, rather than the choice of the mental process ‘believe’ which portrays lesser commitment. As the country’s chief executive, he is constitutionally empowered to tackle various problems including corruption. In Extract 3, the ‘I’ represents the Actor which is the Subject of the material process ‘will give’ although it does not refer to ‘giving’ a concrete object, it is a way of promising anticorruption leadership.

However, the choice of process in the following clause (in Extract 4) is more activity-oriented and it is directed at civil servants. The processes of the Actor ‘I’ is ‘reintroduce’ and ‘enforce’. The proposition to ‘reintroduce’ civil service rules may limit our thoughts to believing that corruption only takes place within the civil service. Intertextually, Obasanjo made similar choices as a military president (OO-M2) focusing on public servants. Also in Extract 5, Obasanjo’s personal involvement is demonstrated by the use of the personal pronoun ‘I’ with the mental process ‘expect’ which indicates that the issue (of corruption) being talked about is within what human cognitive ability can decipher, and can judge as inappropriate.

The choice of the process ‘come’ as used in Extract 6 is material process which occurs at the level of cognition. With the accompanying Phenomenon (...to a painful conclusion...), it is known that the activity took place at a mental level. However, for a leader with immense official powers to check corruption, stopping at expression of thoughts and drawing of conclusions to extirpate corruption may not be considered adequate. More precise statements are expected. Similar explanation can be ascribed to the clause in Extract 7 above which is about the country’s leadership and corruption. The clause participant (‘I’) refers to Shonekan as a Senser rather than being a ‘doer’ or an ‘actor’ against corrupt leadership. Furthermore, Shonekan’s choices in Extracts 8 and 9 position him as an anticorruption campaigner. The process ‘am serving’ in Extract 40 has the participant ‘I’ (the speaker, Shonekan) as Actor giving the notice (the Goal) to Nigerians of the

Interim National Government's (ING) willingness to 'launch a crusade against corruption'. However, the choices fail to indicate how that will be done or achieved. It is also necessary to add that this metaphorical personification of corruption may underplay the fact that it is humans that actually ignite the problem of corruption (details below). And in Extract 41, the speaker's choice of the process 'am seizing' is a way exploiting the immediate opportunity of the occasion of the inaugural speech (ES1) to get the people to maintain an anticorruption stance in the business of government.

The clause participants 'I' in Extracts 10 and 11 are the speakers (Abdulsalami Abubakar and Shehu Shagari). The process 'challenge' is the speaker's way of encouraging people to embrace anticorruption values of fidelity, honour and right conduct etc. A similar anticorruption appeal is made in Extract 11, but it is directed at the public officials (state governors) by the speaker (Shagari) with the participant 'I'. The choice of the mental process (wish) before the infinitive (to appeal) is instantaneous, and appears to serve the immediate communication purpose. It further softens the efficacy of the message of anticorruption (discipline and prudence) being preached.

The presidents' inclusion of their person in the talk about corruption can be seen, in a way, as foregrounding their various conceptualizations of corruption as something that largely operates at the cognitive level. It is also a way of exploiting their unique and vantage position (as presidents) which places them at the forefront of anticorruption rhetoric regardless of whether they believe in it or not. However, the processes that accompany the personal pronoun 'I' are largely contemplative and devoid of direct anticorruption action. It is precisely in this choice of processes that we see how corruption is construed by the presidents.

6.5. Metaphorical versus Non-metaphorical Representation of Participants

As indicated in the theory chapter, participants can also be represented metaphorically. The nature of the participants is indicated by the type of process in the clause.

It would be recalled that metaphor refers to the phenomenon whereby we talk (or write), and potentially, think about something in terms of something else (Semino 2008). Specifically, conceptual metaphors are viewed as effective linguistic formulae in that they are connected to conceptual frames such as disease, journey, war and others; and those frames assist the audience (listener/reader) perceive many abstract and complicated social, economic and political

phenomena (Charteris-Black 2005, 2009; Chilton, 2004; Borčić, Kanižaj and Kršul 2016). However, when the use of metaphor involves using language to talk or write about a phenomenon in terms of another, then non-metaphoric constructions is expected to be literal, reflecting exactness of the concept or what is meant.

Regarding corruption, the choice of metaphorical expressions suggest a deeper and more emotional resentment of corruption, which has the potential of appealing to the people compared to non-metaphorical representations. It must be noted, however, that metaphors may be used only to serve rhetorical purposes and may not be a true reflection of corruption perception. Also, they tend to shield the role human participants in the clause. As we shall see below, the metaphorical representations realized in the speeches are those of war, battle, disease and scourge.

6.5.1. Corruption as war

In a typical war or battle, it is generally known that there must be at least two parties. In Extract 1 of Table 6.6, the metaphor of war positions corruption as a party (in the war) and the people (who should enlist) as the other party.

Table 6.6. Metaphorical Representation of Corruption as War

Extract	Token	Process - Relational	Value (+ the metaphor)	Concluding clauses
1	The fight against corruption	is	a war	...in which we must all enlist so that the limited resources of this nation will be used for the growth of our common wealth. (GJ1)
Extract	Senser	Process - Mental	Phenomenon (+ the metaphor)	Concluding clause
2	We	are determined	(to intensify) the war against corruption	...more so because corruption is itself central to the spread of poverty. (UY1)
Extract	Senser	Process - Mental	Embedded (nominal) clause	Phenomenon (+ the metaphor)
3	I	am (also) convinced	(...that to accomplish this very important task...)	...the battle must begin with the leadership of our country (ES1)

Thus, the nominal group ‘a war’ which is the metaphorical representation of corruption in the clause, is a major participant (value). The ‘the fight against corruption’ is another nominal group and is the subject of the identifying relational process (is).

Instructing all Nigerians to ‘enlist’ in the war against corruption may appear to be wholesome; it depicts corruption as a human enemy which must be conquered. As noted above, this metaphor of ‘war’ may serve as political rhetoric which allows politicians to endear themselves to the public. Considering the significance of choice in language, the speaker, for example, could have chosen to spell out clear policy statement that can convince the citizenry that corruption is seriously being addressed by the government rather than the metaphor.

The same metaphor of ‘war’ is used in Extract 2. The choice of the infinitive ‘to intensify’ in the clause implies that the ‘war’ on corruption has been in existence before the current administration. While the choice of the metaphor of war can achieve a rhetorical purpose, one may wonder that if the war of corruption was truly ‘fought’ by the preceding administration, specific details such as success and failure of the war, should not have been excluded. The mental process, ‘determined’, portrays the participants (We) as ‘Sensors’. The choice of ‘we’ is relatively ambiguous as ‘we’ can point to the speaker (alone, as in royal ‘we’); it can also point to both the speaker and members of his government; and it may also refer to the speaker, his administration and the entire citizenry. Whatever is meant, the metaphorical representation of corruption as war underscores its negative impact in the (Nigerian) society.

Another related metaphorical representation, ‘the battle’ is used in Extract 3. The participant (Phenomenon) of the mental process is the metaphor of the battle against corruption. Here, corruption is seen as a battle which shares a similar meaning with ‘war’. In the Phenomenon part of the clause, the speaker (Ernest Shonekan) indicates that such ‘battles’ should start with the country’s leadership. Leadership, within the context of the speech, refers to public officials or political office holders who run the affairs of the country. Thus, ‘leadership’ in this sense, points to a group of people administering the country; it overshadows corrupt activities of individuals that constitute this class of leadership. However, it points to high level corruption among top public officials. However, the metaphor of battle rather points to an internal or a cognitive endeavour that can lead to an anticorruption stance. In other words, the clause attempts to portray the speaker’s ‘conviction’ that if corruption can be eradicated among the leadership, it will be easy to replicate same among the general populace. At the time of Shonekan’s inaugural speech, many Nigerians were still suffering from the effects of large scale corruption recorded during Babangida’s regime

(see Chapter Five). Although, Shonekan chose not to name the specific leaders involved, analysis in the subsequent chapters explains suggests specific interests that was being protected.

The choice of the metaphor of war, no doubt, portrays the dangerous nature of corruption and its seemingly listless implications and effects on individuals and society at large. However, the way the clauses are constructed where participants are identified as groups may substantially reduce the significance of such metaphorical representations.

6.5.2. Corruption as a disease

Corruption is also represented metaphorically in disease pathological terms. Here, corruption is directly compared to a disease-inflicting insect (cankerworm) which can be destructive not only to plants and animals but also to humans. In Table 6.7, the way in which the first participant (Carrier) of the clause presents corrupt acts as very ‘rampant’ underscores the enormity of destructive tendency ‘cankerworm’. The metaphor does not only depict an abhorrence of corruption but also portrays the magnitude of damage it can cause to any society.

Table 6.7. Metaphorical Representation of Corruption as a Disease

Extract	Carrier	Process - Relational	Attribute (+ the metaphor)	
4	Rampant corruption and get-rich-quick mania, (therefore)	have become	...cankerworms in all spheres of our national life. (ES1)	
Extract	Verbiage	Verbiage (+ the metaphor)	Process – Verbal	Sayer
5	The role of the populace in fighting...	the cankerworm of corruption	...cannot be over-emphasized. (ES1)	-----
Extract	Clauses (+ the metaphor)	Processes	Notes	
6	No society <u>can</u> achieve anything near its full potential if it <u>allows</u> corruption to become the full-blown cancer it (corruption) has become in Nigeria. (OO-D1)	Mental Material	<i>The full-blown cancer</i> as a metaphor for corruption represents corruption in disease pathological terms. Corruption, having the tendency to become cancer, is another way of reifying the abstract concept.	

As shown in Extract 5, the verbiage in the ‘verbal’ clause has ‘cannot be over-emphasized’ as process; it is a nominal clause that makes reference to corruption as cankerworm. Indeed, the ‘diseases’ caused by corruption in Nigeria are myriad – from poor infrastructural facilities to prevalent poverty, avoidable illness and even death. With these adverse consequences of corruption, expressions referring to the generality of Nigerians (populace) without specific

measures to be observed may amount to nothing but mere rhetoric. Also, in Extract 6, corruption is represented as another disease-related term – cancer.

The modifier (full-blown) explains the magnitude of negative impacts of corruption in Nigeria. Cancer in humans is a serious and terrible disease involving malignant tumour in parts of the body. By extension, corruption is viewed as an evil and destructive phenomenon that is difficult to eradicate as in the case of cancer. The clauses appear to be very categorical, and aim at saying that the country will continue to be unfit socially, economically and politically just as any human with cancer is medically unfit.

6.5.3. Corruption as bane

The term ‘bane’ has negative and ‘scary’ connotations such as a scourge, plague, poison, destruction and even death. This representation is found in the inaugural speeches (IS) of two successive presidents, Olusegun Obasanjo (OO-D1) and Goodluck Jonathan (GJ1). Table 6.8 below presents Extracts 7 and 8.

Table 6.8. Representation of Corruption as Bane

Extract	Clauses (+ the metaphors)
7	Corruption, the greatest single bane of our society today, will be tackled head-on at all levels (OO-D1)
8	The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective determination, to rid our nation of this scourge . (GJI)

In Extract 7, the nominal group containing the metaphor (the greatest single bane) is a participant (Goal) in the ‘material’ clause. The actor of the process ‘will be tackled’ is not stated; however, it is suggestive that the expression points to the speaker (Olusegun Obasanjo) and his administration. The representation of corruption in this manner is quite significant in the sense that it foregrounds the fatality of corruption, particularly in terms of its destructive capabilities to individuals and the society at large.

In Extract 8, the metaphor, ‘(the) bane’ is connected to ‘corruption’ itself in a nominal group (Goal), indicating that corruption has come to be accepted as the ‘bane’ of the society. The process ‘met’ has two inanimate participants which are the nominal groups (‘the overwhelming force of our collective determination’ and ‘the bane of corruption’) as Agent and Goal respectively. The way in which the clauses in Extract 7 and 8 are structured with the metaphor of ‘bane’ and ‘scourge’, completely backgrounds the human actor(s) who are to ‘tackle’ corruption. Similarly

the choice of an abstract and inanimate Participant for the process (met) where human action is required in Extract 8, also hides participants who should take the responsibility of tackling corruption. This leaves us to wonder whether the metaphor (bane) has not been reduced to a cliché used for mere rhetorical effect.

6.5.4. Corruption as metallic material

The metaphor of corrosion in Table 6.9 below depicts the damaging consequences of corruption just as metallic objects are destroyed by chemical reactions in their environment. The part of the ‘relational’ clause that contains the metaphor is the participant (Token), and the object of the process (is) is the Value (is all too visible...).

Table 6.9. Representation of Corruption as a Metallic Object

Extract	Clause (+ the metaphor)
9	Its (corruption’s) corrosive effect is all too visible in all aspects of our national life. (UY1)

6.5.5. Non-metaphorical representations

Unlike metaphorical representation in which more cognitive effort and more processing time may be required on the part of the reader or listener, ‘literal’ expressions tend to present ideas with more clarity. Thus, in non-metaphorical representations of corruption, thinking about corruption in terms of other things such as war, disease, scourge and others, as seen above, is not required. In non-metaphorical contexts, corruption is literally evoked in clear language that spells out what is generally and obviously known about it. Apart from their potentials of obscuring participants, non-metaphorical expressions are devoid of the seemingly strong emotional resentment or condemnation of corruption which metaphorical representations provide. See Table 6.10.

Table 6.10. Non-metaphoric versus Metaphoric Representation

Extract	Clauses without metaphors	Clauses with metaphors
1	The issue of crime requires as much attention and seriousness as the issue of corruption . (OO-D1)	The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist ... (GJ1)
2	The public officer must be encouraged to believe once again that integrity pays and self-respect must be restored. (OO-D1)	Rampant corruption and get-rich-quick mania , (therefore) have become cankeworms in all spheres of our national life. (ES1)
3	Beyond the very impressive records of enhanced convictions by statutory anti-corruption agencies like the EFCC and ICPC, our other strategy has been to fashion economic policies that deliver higher deterrence and frustrate concealment. (GJ2)	The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective determination , to rid our nation of this scourge. (GJI)

4	Let us work together to restore our time-honoured value of honesty, decency, generosity, modesty, selflessness, transparency, and accountability. (UY1)	The role of the populace in fighting the cankerworm of corruption cannot be over-emphasized. (ES1)
5	In the spirit of the on-going ethical revolution, proven cases of abuse of office and corruption will attract immediate sanctions .	We must, forever, resist and renounce the seduction and temptation of political power and office .

In Table 6.10, elements that serve as participants are typed in *boldface*. Whereas clause participants are clear and easily decipherable under the column for non-metaphors, the clauses with metaphor require further processing and interpretation to be adequately deciphered. In Extract 1, for example, participant elements in the clause, under the column without metaphor, are clearly expressed. In the metaphor column, however, corruption is expressed in terms of war. The reader/listener needs to mentally activate the notion of war and then situate same in the arena of corruption. Also, in Extract 5, the two *boldfaced* participants are clearly known – ‘proven cases of abuse of office and corruption’ and ‘immediate sanctions’. However, in the metaphorical column, while ‘we’ expresses exactness of what is meant, the same cannot be said of ‘seduction and temptation of political power and office’ which represents corruption in terms of human attributes. It is in understanding the notions of ‘seduction’ and ‘temptation’ that one can cognitively relate them to ‘political power and office’.

Although the metaphorical representations can depict stronger emotional condemnation and resentment of corruption, the foregoing analysis demonstrates that the metaphors can serve to background the role of human connections or responsibilities. Being a tool in political rhetoric, metaphors have strong manipulative roles, and repetition of these metaphors can at times result in ‘dulling the critical faculties rather than wakening them’ (Edelman 1985, 124). In other words, when these metaphorical representations are constantly repeated, the audience’s cognitive consciousness about corruption and the actual perpetrators are easily undermined; resultantly, they stop questioning or criticizing the government.

6.6. Corruption: Definitional Representations

Although representations here may not be described as metaphor, the lexical choices made in the three extracts below define and present corruption as ‘incipient, rampant, pervasive and intractable’ as if those descriptions can take place without any human influence. The agent is totally removed from the meaning being foregrounded. See Table 6.11.

Table 6.11. Definitional Representation of Corruption

Extract	Clause	Process	Participants
1	Corruption is <i>incipient</i> in all human societies and in most human activities (OO-D1)	Relational	Token – Value
2	The impact of official corruption is so <i>rampant</i> (OO-D1)	Relational	Token – Value
3	Corruption has become so <i>pervasive</i> and <i>intractable</i> . (MB1)	Relational	Carrier – Attribute

Another definitional representation of corruption is found in the choice of the phrase ‘abuse of office’. These choices are made in the speeches to indicate varied acts of corruption. The expression was first used by Murtala Muhammed in relation to corruption (see Chapter Five). The nominal phrase allows the speakers to skip important information such as the participants (at least in mind), the nature of the abuse, and so on. In Extract 4, ‘abuse of office’ is the Goal of the process, ‘condone’ is the process, while ‘the government’ is the actor. The clause is part of the larger structure (paragraph) which talks about moral principles (sacrifice and self-discipline) and immoral principle (indiscipline).

Table 6.12. Definitional Representation of Corruption

Extract	Clauses
4	Fellow Countrymen, the task ahead of us calls for sacrifice and self-discipline at all levels of our society. This government will not tolerate indiscipline. The Government will not condone abuse of office . (MM1)
5	In this administration, being a minister or holding any other public office will not deprive you of what you have before you come into office, but you will not be allowed to have conflict of interest, abuse of office , or illicit acquisitions. (OO-D1)
6	In the spirit of the on-going ethical revolution, proven cases of abuse of office and corruption will attract immediate sanctions. (SS2)
7	This government will not tolerate kick-backs, inflation of contracts and over-invoicing of imports etc. Nor will it condone forgery, fraud, embezzlement, misuse and abuse of office and illegal dealings in foreign exchange and smuggling. (MB1)

Also in Extract 5, the actor of the process ‘not be allowed’ is not directly mentioned but it is retrievable in the sense that the referent ‘administration’ is stated in the opening clause of the Extract. Here, ‘abuse of office’ is also used along with another act that points to corruption (illicit acquisitions). A similar pattern is seen in Shehu Shagari and Muhammadu Buhari’s speeches (Extracts 6 and 7). The phrase, ‘abuse of office’, is used along with ‘corruption’ with actor(s) unspecified in Extract 6; and in Extract 7, it is used along with some forms of corruption (forgery, fraud, and embezzlement).

This representation of corruption as ‘abuse of office’ is consistent with definitions of corruption as ‘abuse of office’ or ‘abuse of power’ (Kaufmann 2005; Senior, 2006; OECD 2007).

Representing corruption in this manner is a way of using language to manipulate as people are cognitively subjected to the views of their leaders and have no means of questioning the status quo. By extension, such linguistic choices help leaders to distance themselves from the act as well as to avoid being fingered as culpable.

6.7. Overgeneralization and Ambiguity of Roles in Corruption

Another important feature in the construal of corruption can be described as overgeneralization and ambiguity of participants' roles in corruption. The thematic foci of the representation are (1) criticizing specific instances of corruption or trying to address the problem, and (2) explaining specific corruption-related activities. However, the underlying common feature among all the extracts is overgeneralizing roles, which sometimes creates role ambiguity.

Although clauses in the following extracts criticize specific instances of corruption, the choices made particularly relating to the participants in the clauses appear to be too generalized, and therefore conceal the identity of those concerned. This mass representation of participants makes it difficult to hold specific individuals to account. In Extract 1 of Table 6.14 below, the choice of the 'legislators' for the mental process, 'preoccupied', is a good example of mass representation of participants, overgeneralization and role ambiguity. This is especially true for a nation like Nigeria that has hundreds of legislators often elected at both federal and state levels. Furthermore, abundance of proof will be required to substantiate the claim that all legislators partook in the corrupt act of selfishly enriching themselves at the expense of the people.

Table 6.13. Mass representation of participants

Extract	Clauses
1	Instead, the legislators <i>were preoccupied</i> with determining their salary scales, fringe benefit and unnecessary foreign travels, et al. which <i>took</i> no account of the state of the economy and the welfare of the people they represented. (MB1)
2	Members of the public <i>had</i> to bribe their way through in ministries and parastatals to get attention and one government agency <i>had</i> to bribe another government agency to obtain the release of their statutory allocations of funds. (OO-D1)

Similarly, the choice of participants for the relational process 'had' in Extract 2 above can be seen in the same light of mass representation amounting to overgeneralization. Even, if it is argued that the speaker did not mean the entire members of the public or all the public agencies, a counter argument might be the president has access to information which could have made the overgeneralization avoidable. The apparent unverifiable and straight-jacketed claims of corruption

by leaders, which lack evidence, leave one to wonder whether those claims are not only meant for rhetorical purposes or other motives.

We also find instances of ambiguity and overgeneralization in the clauses that explain certain issues about corruption. As presented Table 6.14 below, these instances are found mainly in the speeches of Muhammadu Buhari (MB1) in reference to the previous administration of Shehu Shagari. In Extract 3 of the Table, it is difficult to determine whether the participant (plural personal pronoun ‘we’) that makes the actor of the process ‘come’ (and its variant ‘our’) is ‘inclusive’ or ‘exclusive’. If it is inclusive of all Nigerians, then it becomes overgeneralized in that all Nigerians are not directly involved in the business of governance. And if it is exclusive, then it becomes ambiguous as we are unable to know (even within the context of the whole speech) whether the choices refer to the then current government of Buhari, the previous one or both.

6.14. Overgeneralization and ambiguity of participants

Extract	Clauses
3	As a result of our inability to cultivate financial discipline and prudent management of the economy, we <i>have come</i> to depend largely on internal and external borrowing to execute government projects with attendant domestic pressure and soaring external debts, thus aggravating the propensity of the outgoing civilian administration to mismanage our financial resources. (MB1)
4	The only political parties that could complain of election rigging are those parties that lacked the resources to rig. (MB1)
5	Most of these fire incidents occurred at a time when Nigerians were being apprehensive of the frequency of fraud scandals and the government incapacity to deal with them. Since what happens in any society is largely a reflection of the leadership of that society, we deplore corruption in all its facets. (MB1)

In Extract 4, we also see an example of overgeneralization, particularly relating to participants. The main participant, ‘political parties’, is connected to all the processes in the clause and it is inclusive of all political parties in Nigeria’s Second Republic. The main process in the relational process ‘are’ which connects the two other processes ‘complain’ and ‘lacked’. Pointing accusing fingers at all political parties with the big brush of electoral corruption of course needs to be substantiated by evidence for the issue to be taken seriously. Similarly, the choice of ‘Nigerians’ without any determiner in Extract 5 above is a way of overgeneralizing people’s reaction that they were ‘apprehensive of the frequency of fraud scandals and the government incapacity to deal with them’.

Also the choice of the process ‘deplore’ reflects a feeling of condemnation of corruption. However, the main participant (Senser), represented by ‘we’, can be seen as both ‘inclusive’ and ‘exclusive’. It is unclear whether it refers back to ‘the leadership’ in the preceding (dependent) clause, in which case, it becomes ambiguous as one is left wondering which set of leaders are being talked about, how many of them, and so on.

From this analysis, we see a number of instances of ambiguity and overgeneralization of roles as far as corruption is concerned. Lack of precision in addressing various issues and characters around corruption may suggest that the presidents lack the required willingness or administrative capacity to tackle the problem.

6.8. Implicit Representations of Corruption

By implicit representations, we refer to choices which indirectly or impliedly suggest that certain individuals or groups are corrupt. This implicitness resides in both grammatical and lexical choices; and such choices suggest avoidance of direct accusation of people for corruption. Analysis also shows that the speakers, who are presidents, situate clause participants at the receiving end of anticorruption campaign and enlightenment. Specifically the clause messages are largely targeted at politicians or public office holders who hold high positions in government, but ordinary Nigerians are targeted as well.

We find specific examples of clauses which suggest that the politicians are not really ‘clean’ as they claim to be. As seen in Table 6.15 below, there are three extracts relating to politicians as participants in the clause.

Table 6.15. Politicians as corrupt or potentially corrupt

Extract	Clauses
1	Politicians <i>must carefully examine</i> the budget to ensure that public funds are judiciously spent (OO-D1). They (politicians) <i>must join</i> in the campaign against corruption and <i>help</i> re-establish integrity in the conduct of public affairs (OO-D1). The public officer must be encouraged to believe once again that integrity pays and self-respect must be restored... (OO-D1).
2	I wish to appeal to all governors in the nineteen states to ensure proper discipline and prudence in their general management of public funds... imprudent and uncoordinated budgeting at the state level <i>will have</i> an almost equally negative effect on the national economy. (SS2)
3	On no account should we allow the selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardize the peace of the thirty-three million law-abiding people of Nigeria (TB1). <i>Let us</i> be honest with ourselves, and <i>let us</i> be sincere—we <i>know</i> what we want , and we are sure that we can get it , and <i>get it</i> at the right time, provided we are not delayed by selfish quarrels . However, we were not to be allowed the selfish luxury of focusing our interest on our own homes . (TB2)

The main participant for the process ‘examine’ and ‘spent’ is ‘politicians’, and in the following clause the referent of the pronoun ‘they’ are also politicians with the processes ‘join’ and ‘help’. In the third clause of the Extract, the main participant is not stated due to passivization although it may be inferred. The other participant is ‘[the] public officer’ and is connected to the three processes (‘must be encouraged’, ‘pays’ and ‘must be restored’) in the sense that the public officers are largely politicians, and they are expected to understand those moral principles.

When public officials are openly reminded, albeit superficially, about budgeting and judicious spending of public funds, about integrity, this suggests that the opposite is the order of the day.

The process ‘wish’ in Extract 2 is a mental process which has the speaker (Shehu Shagari) and the state governors being addressed as participants. Shagari’s anticorruption call with the choice of the two lexical components (‘discipline’ and ‘prudence’) in the clause is an indication that corruption activities or tendencies may be prevalent at the time. However, the speaker’s choice to be a Senser with the choice of ‘wish’ as process indicates a lowered commitment to the issue of corruption being raised. Besides, it requires no mandatory adherence. The following clause with the relational process ‘will have’ explains the negative consequence of the anticorruption appeal on the economy.

In Extract 3, the clauses are anticorruption messages by Tafawa-Balewa which are targeted at the politicians of the time. In the first clause, the plural pronoun ‘we’ refers to the politicians in which the speaker is inclusive; the process ‘allow’ is preceded by the negation (no) to one of the root causes of corruption ‘selfish ambitions’. The anticorruption messages in the next two clauses with ‘let’ as processes are injunctions and calls to the opposites – honesty and sincerity. As seen in the extract, there are two other clauses that negate the corrupt attitude of selfishness by public officials. Tafawa-Balewa was the first chief executive (prime minister) Nigeria had after its independence from Britain (see Chapter 6).

6.8.1. Implicit representations of Nigerians as corrupt

Nigerians are also implicitly represented as corrupt. The clauses that make up the four extracts in Table 6.16 below indirectly suggest that all Nigerians as corrupt or potentially corrupt. When expressions of appeal, caution or warning are used in talking about Nigerians in relation to corruption, it is a way of cognitively positioning the citizens as corrupt individuals.

Table 6.16. Representation of Nigerians as potentially corrupt

Extract	Clauses
4	Each and every one <i>should resolve</i> to join the crusade (against corruption) (ES1).
5	It is how honest and principled we are , that <i>will determine</i> whether Nigeria attains that true greatness for which we all yearn (AA1).
6	<i>Let us work</i> together to restore our time-honoured value of honesty, decency, generosity, modesty, selflessness, transparency, and accountability. <i>Let us stop</i> justifying every shortcoming with that unacceptable phrase, ‘the Nigerian factor’, as if to be a Nigerian is to settle for less (UY1).
7	<i>Let us stop</i> justifying every shortcoming with that unacceptable phrase, ‘the Nigerian factor’, as if to be a Nigerian is to settle for less (UY1).

The mental process ‘resolve’ in the first clause has ‘each and every one’ as the main participant, and it is used to address Nigerians without exception to think of corruption in negative terms. The first process in Extract 5 (is) is a relational process, and it specifically relates to anticorruption notions of honesty and principle, and the remaining four processes in the extract complement the two anticorruption notions of ‘honesty’ and ‘principle’. However, the speaker presupposes that all Nigerians including the speaker ‘yearn’ for the country’s greatness.

In Extract 6, the material process ‘work’ has a nominal group, an inanimate participant (indirect object) that communicates such opposites of corruption as transparency, modesty and accountability. The last sentence in the extract comprises two clauses which are a continuation of what is said in the preceding clauses. The first process ‘stop’ also has another nominal group (indirect object) which counters all expressions that portray Nigerian in the bad light of corruption.

Constructing ideas in this manner is an indication that there are ongoing corrupt activities or tendencies among the politicians being addressed. The focus on Nigerians also indicates that all Nigerians are potentially corrupt and they need to be counseled. However, the speakers have chosen not to be forceful in addressing the issue. Part of the reasons may be to gain continued political support, to sustain party affiliation, avoidance of public scrutiny and litigation.

6.9. Construal of Corruption by each President: Discussion and Conclusion

In this section, we attempt to summarise our analyses by recapitulating various points made across each section of the chapter. The discussion is organised with reference to the previous chapter on the trajectory of corruption in Nigeria and pays attention to individual presidents. The primary focus here is not the quantity of the representations but what the representations indicate. Table 6.17 presents summary of construal of corruption (1957 – 1966).

Table 6.17. Summary of construal of corruption (1957 – 1966)

Summary of representations	TB	TA
Facelessness of Corruption: Agentless processes	✓ (3)	✓ (1)
Implicit representations	✓ (3)	

Tafawa Balewa's government was the first democratic experience for the country after colonial rule. As shown in Table 6.17, corruption is represented as a faceless phenomenon in the speeches of both Tafawa Balewa and Aguiyi-Ironsi. The facelessness resides in the way in which the identity of individuals is hidden. This is grammatically achieved through agentless clauses. In addition, the choices also indicate that the politicians of the time are represented as either corrupt or potentially corrupt. The word 'corruption' is not directly used. Instead, lexical expressions 'selfish ambitions', 'selfish quarrels', 'selfish luxury' are used. Thomas Aguiyi-Ironsi was the first (military) president to use the word 'corruption' in his speech. Table 6.18 presents summary of construal of corruption (1957 – 1979).

Table 6.18. Summary of construal of corruption (1966 – 1979)

Summary of representations	YG	MM	OO-M
Facelessness of Corruption: Underspecification of corruption participants	✓ (3)		
Definitional representation		✓ (2)	
Implicit representation of participants as corrupt			✓ (1)
Overgeneralization of participants' roles			✓ (4)

Similar representations and others are also found in corruption-clauses of Yakubu Gowon, Murtala Muhammed and Olusegun Obasanjo (Military) as shown in the Table 6.18. The representations show that Gowon vaguely identified participants, Muhammed represented corruption by definition suggesting that the speaker may not want to name any individuals involved and Obasanjo represented participants (public officers) *en masse* and implicitly represented them as corrupt leading to overgeneralization of roles. Among others, these choices substantially make it difficult to hold any individual accountable 'discursively' as far as corruption is concerned. We argue that this indicates lack of willingness to adequately address the problem of corruption; it also serves to protect certain interests. Table 6.19 presents summary of construal of corruption (1979 – 1999). It summarises representations of corruption by six presidents, namely, Shehu Shagari, Muhammadu Buhari, Ibrahim Babangida, Ernest Shonekan, Sani Abacha and Abdulsalami Abubakar. For the first time in the speeches, we see how presidents self-represent themselves.

Table 6.19. Summary of construal of corruption (1979 - 1999)

Summary of representations	SS	MB	IB	ES	SA	AA
<i>Actors on corruption</i> - Self representation	✓ 1			✓ 2		✓ 1
Definitional representation	✓ 1	✓ 1				
Concealing corruption roles using nominalization			✓ 7	✓ 4		
Underspecification of (corruption) participants				✓ 3		
Facelessness of corruption: Agentless processes			✓ 2			
Implicit representations	✓ 2	✓ 1			✓ 3	✓ 1
Overgeneralization of participants' roles		✓ 8				
Metaphorical representations		✓		✓ 3		

Although the choices tend to show the commitment of the three, the transitivity analysis shows that the processes that accompany the 'I' participant are largely contemplative devoid of specific measurable anticorruption responses. Similarly, some of the issues of corruption raised by Babangida and Shonekan may be thematically valid, but the use of nominalisations conceal processes and participants' roles. Metaphorical representation of corruption as war and disease was seen, for the first time, in the speeches of Shonekan. Although the metaphors suggest a deeper emotional rejection of corruption, they simultaneously help in concealing human participants involved.

The foregoing also applies to the three successive presidents within the period, namely, Olusegun Obasanjo (as civilian president), Umaru Yar'adua and Goodluck Jonathan. As seen in the previous chapter, Obasanjo and Buhari's speeches have the highest number of corruption-related clauses. However, the three presidents implicitly represented participants (e.g. Nigerians, politicians) as corrupt; they also represent corruption metaphorically as war, scourge, disease and corrosion signaling which largely expresses a resentment of corruption. Table 6.20 presents summary of construal of corruption (1999 – 2015). As stated at the beginning of this chapter, our analysis is focused on varied representations that explain construal of corruption in the presidential speeches. The notion of linguistic choices in SFL informed the in-depth exploration and analysis of the corruption-related clauses. Generally, and as may be expected, a surface evaluation of the corruption-related clauses would indicate a posture of condemnation.

Table 6.20. Summary of Construal Corruption (1999 – 2015)

Summary of representations	OO-D	UY	GJ
Actors on corruption - Self representation	✓ 6		
Definitional representation	✓ 2		
Concealing corruption roles using nominalization			
Underspecification of corruption participants	✓ 2		✓ 1
Corruption claims with agentless processes	✓ 3		
Implicit representations	✓ 7	✓ 7	
Overgeneralization of participants' roles	✓ 2		
Metaphorical representations	✓ 1	✓ 2	✓ 3

However, with transitivity analysis, we found that corruption clauses are constructed without agents, participants are underspecified or represented in mass, or metaphors are used to hide corruption characters, among others. We are led to conclude that those choices are functional, and not just arbitrary. They are indications of interests, culpability, low commitment, avoidance of public action and litigation, etc.

Aspects of the speeches make claims about certain corrupt activities which require further identification of people and activities involved. However those activities are only mentioned without agents (or actors) as may be applicable. In other words, the clauses are agentless and this omission adversely reduces the effectiveness of such statements. Similar explanation can be given to representations that totally conceal the participants and reify corruption. These are achieved through nominalizations. With nominalizations, issues raised are made to appear as if they naturally occur without human input.

Another way in which the choices raise questions is with underspecification or vague representations. This is also related to participants in the clause. An interesting aspect is the way in which the presidents present themselves vis-à-vis corruption. Due to their political positions in which what they say is discursively influential, they strategically position themselves as vanguards of anticorruption. By the same token, the presidents have the political leverage to speak against corruption and roll out policy measures to the citizens. This positioning has the potential of making it discursively cumbersome to beam the searchlight of corruption on their various administrations.

On the other hand, we may say the presidents, as discourse participants, enjoy one of the elements of any discourse as being a social practice, which has ‘eligibility conditions’. Van Leeuwen (2008) maintains that eligibility conditions are ‘qualifications’ participants must have in order to be eligible to play a particular role in a particular social practice. The role of the president (who may also be affected by what is said) is to ordinarily discourage corruption. As shown above, all the Nigerian presidents that ruled the country from 1957 – 2015 represented corruption in way that raises question about interests and commitment. Further analysis of these features (as done in subsequent chapters) can help to probe into their true commitment on ending corruption.

In case of the metaphoric representations, corruption is directly compared to disease, war, scourge and a mechanical material that can suffer corrosion. As noted earlier, the metaphors may serve rhetorical purposes, they may serve to project the problem of corruption in a manner in that conceals the role of the perpetrators. And as Elderman (1985) suggested, they are simple metaphors discursively repeated to achieve political purposes

Some choices also implicitly represent corruption or human participants. Implicit representation is an allusion, a way of face-saving which may serve certain undisclosed purposes such as avoidance litigation and public criticism. Allusion may be used ‘as a linguistic strategy to avoid direct face threatening acts’ (David 2014, 2). Here, it is an appeal against corrupt acts; instead of directly accusing public officers of corruption. Within the larger context of the speech, it could be a way of suggesting preventive methods against any previous or potential corrupt practices. A similar facet is overgeneralization, particularly in relation to participant roles. The choices however raise concerns about the appropriate ways of tackling the problem of corruption. We showed that the choices are substantially exploited when specific instances of corruption are criticized or when certain corruption related activities are reported in the speeches.

In all, we have been able to show that although aspects of presidential speeches deal with corruption, the choices made in those speeches make it appealing to question the commitment to combatting it. Most of the corruption-related clauses can at best pass as rhetoric devoid of commitment. The choices are also capable of manipulating citizens who are made to believe that the leadership is truly committed to transparency and anticorruption values. This seems to agree with van Dijk’s (1997) argument that textual arrangements in political discourse are used to achieve certain (political) goals. This is what we see in various lexicogrammatical configurations

and constructions that potentially absolve the leadership of blame or culpability when it comes to the issue of corruption.



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CHAPTER 7: Interpersonal Meaning in the Presidential Speeches: An Appraisal Analysis of Corruption

7.0. Introduction

In the previous chapter, we used the transitivity system of SFL to analyse various representations of corruption in the speeches. We explored how sometimes presidents talk about corruption but fail to communicate commitment to combatting it. The analysis made it possible to see how the ‘world’ of corruption is painted, including how participants’ roles are linguistically manipulated through varied choices.

In this chapter, our attention is focused on Appraisal, another aspect of SFL dealing with the interpersonal function of language. This chapter seeks to respond to the third objective of this dissertation which has to do with how the interpersonal meaning is enacted in the speeches by the presidents for positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation vis-à-vis corruption. It would be recalled, from Chapter 3, that Appraisal is described as a theory in linguistics dealing with emotion, ethics and aesthetics, and it focuses on how speakers (or writers) use language to express feelings, how the feelings are amplified and how additional voices are added in discourse. Unlike the ‘grammatical’ analysis of the clause associated with transitivity, appraisal elements in the clause are realised across the full range of grammatical categories and structures, although adjectives, adverbials and modal verbs are seen to be quintessential realizations. Such interpersonal meanings can reside in a single element in a clause, and they may be strung throughout it (see Hart 2014).

We, thus, adopt the relevant appraisal resources of Attitude, Engagement and Graduation to analyse how various lexical configurations in the selected clauses construe corruption interpersonally. Recall also that Attitude, which consists of Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation, is used to negotiate feelings, judge people’s behaviour or character and evaluate the worth of things. Engagement resources are used to take positions of alignment, antagonism or neutrality with respect to previous speakers’ value positions, and Graduation enables speakers to present themselves as more or less strongly aligned with utterances or locutions sensitive to the anticipated positions of the construed listener or reader (see Hart 2014; Martin and White 2005). The goal,

ultimately, is to determine how Appraisal choices made position the speakers (Nigerian presidents) positively vis-à-vis corruption, while positioning other social actors (participants) negatively.

The chapter is structured under the following eight major headings: (1) evaluation of corruption as an ‘entity’, (2) evaluation of preceding administrations, (3) attitudinal evaluation of politicians in the speeches, (4) evaluation of civil servants, (5) evaluative reference to the military (6) potential culpability of the people in corrupt acts, (7) evaluation of own government and self and (8) discussion of the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

7.1. Evaluation of Corruption as an ‘Entity’

It would be recalled from the analysis in the previous chapter that corruption was represented in a variety of ways: as definitions, metaphorically, etc. These representations had the effect of portraying corruption as an entity, often because participants were suppressed. We wish to argue here that these modalities of representation in fact incorporate attitudinal elements. Table 7.1 below presents specific instances in which corruption is evaluated as an ‘entity’ based on the perception of the speaker. The predominant appraisal category deployed is Appreciation, and it largely portrays ‘negativity’. The boldfaced elements in the clauses carry the appraisal evaluation.

Table 7.1. Evaluation of corruption as an entity

Extract	Corruption-related clauses	Appraisal categorization
1	Corruption, the greatest single bane of our society today , will be tackled head-on at all levels. No society can achieve anything near its full potential if it allows corruption to become the full-blown cancer it has become in Nigeria. The impact of official corruption is so rampant and has earned Nigeria a very bad image at home and abroad. Besides, it (corruption) has destroyed (sic) and retrogressed development. (OO-D1)	Evaluative resources used in this Extract is Appreciation (a subtype of Attitude). Further refinement of the choices may be categorized as ‘Reaction’ and further refinement as ‘Impact’.
2	We are determined to intensify the war against corruption, more so because corruption is itself central to the spread of poverty . (UY1)	Attitude – Appreciation
3	The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective determination, to rid our nation of this scourge . (GJ1)	Attitude – Appreciation
4	Rampant corruption and get-rich-quick mania, therefore, have become cankercworms in all spheres of our national life. (ES1)	Attitude – Appreciation
5	The role of the populace in fighting the cankercworm of corruption cannot be over-emphasized. Each and every one should resolve to join the crusade. (ES1)	Attitude – Appreciation

Except for the evaluative choices in Extract 2 which are explicit (inscribed), all the lexical choices boldfaced are examples of evoked attitude in the sense that they express attitudinal meanings indirectly. For the Extract 2, it could be understood that the conceptualization of corruption as being central to the spread of poverty is another way of evaluating the concept, and portraying it as one of the causes or parameters for poverty and its spread in the society. The remaining extracts however require a more careful analysis in the sense that they communicate evoked attitude.

In Extract 1, ‘the greatest single bane of our society today’ is in apposition to corruption; it does not only define the concept but also evokes an attitudinal meaning (Appreciation). The important element in the group, bane, foregrounds a negative evaluation of corruption. The same lexical choice (bane) is found in Extract 3 where the speaker (Goodluck Jonathan) uses similar evaluative elements that evoke corruption as dangerous – scourge. Furthermore, similar description can be ascribed to the second clause in the Extract in which corruption is ‘appraised’ as ‘full-blown cancer’. The adjective, full-blown, exacerbates the negative connotation which ‘cancer’ already has, thus, evoking a negative a negative attitude. The third part of the Extract has three evaluative elements that assess corruption in the same light, namely: ‘so rampant’, ‘bad image’ and ‘destructured (sic) and retrogressed’.

In Extract 2, the conceptualization of corruption as being central to the spread of poverty is another way of evaluating the concept and portraying it as one of the causes or parameters for poverty and its spread in the society. Metaphorical representations of corruption as cankerworm in Extracts 4 and 5 explicate the speaker’s abhorrence of corruption. As explained in the previous chapter, cankerworms are destructive and disease–inflicting insects.

In sum, what the above analysis has shown is how, even with the explicit representation of participants, clauses treating corruption as an entity can incorporate attitudinal elements that enable us to infer how the speaker appraises corruption. This would seem to be rather insightful as we have typically come to expect that the interpersonal function needs to be linked to (explicitly) the represented human participants.

7.2. Evaluation of Preceding Administrations

We have indicated above that Appraisal allows us to evaluate the social behavior or conduct of people, particularly in terms of socially-established sets of moral, legal and personal norms. This possibility is associated with a subtype of Attitude called judgement. Judgment assessments can

take positive and negative values. As shown in Table 7.2, evaluative expressions from the corruption-related clauses in the speeches are used in assessing preceding administration(s). Evaluative elements that point to various interpersonal meanings in connection with the issue of corruption are typed boldfaced.

Table 7.2. Evaluative Choices for Preceding Governments

Extracts	Corruption-related clauses	Notes and comments
1	Government officials became progressively indifferent to propriety of conduct and showed little commitment to promoting the general welfare of the people and the public good. (OO-D1)	Attitudinal Judgement of Propriety (Negative). The government and its officials are negatively evaluated.
2	Government and all its agencies became thoroughly corrupt and reckless. (OO-D1)	Attitudinal Judgement of Propriety This is reference to people that constitute the government and its agencies. Thoroughly: Graduation (Force)
3	I am very aware of the widespread cynicism and total lack of confidence in government, arising from the bad faith, deceit and evil actions of recent administrations. (OO-D1)	Although ‘government’ and ‘administration’ are mentioned, the negative Attitudinal Judgement of Propriety is targeted at the people in government.
4	We shall forever remember him (immediate past president Sani Abacha) for his innovative leadership and transparent stewardship to the nation at the most trying period of our nascent history. (AA1)	Attitudinal Judgement – Esteem (Positive)
5	The country hoped, however, that the military regime which followed would quickly restore discipline and confidence in the army and introduce a just, honest, patriotic and progressive government. The country was disappointed in those hopes. (YG2)	Attitudinal Judgement of Propriety (Negative)
6	The National Military Government owes it as a duty to the people of this country to remove the ills which infested the former regime. (TA2)	Judgement of Sanction. It is a negative evaluation of the people that constitute the regime.

As seen in Table 7.2, the predominant evaluative resources which the boldfaced elements in clauses speak to is the subtype of Attitude called Judgement. Judgement is further subcategorized into Social Esteem and Social Sanction.

In Extract 1, the two appraisal elements (‘progressively indifferent’ and ‘little’) are respectively modifiers (adverb + adjective and adjective) to the nominal group ‘propriety of conduct’ and ‘commitment’. By this, government officials in preceding administrations are evaluated negatively in terms of their attitude to corruption. Although the expression ‘became thoroughly corrupt and reckless’ in Extract 2 evokes Attitude (Judgement of Propriety), the choice of the adverb ‘thoroughly’ up-scales the Attitude which evokes the Force (intensification) under Graduation. In

Extract 3, the adjectival elements, ‘widespread’ and ‘total’, which modify the nominal elements, ‘cynicism’ and ‘lack of confidence’, should ordinarily evoke a negative evaluation (about those concerned) but it is used in the neutral sense to underscore the negative evaluation of the preceding administrations that followed; and lexical elements that speak to corruption are ‘bad faith, deceit and evil’.

Furthermore, the adjectival element in Extract 4, ‘transparent’ indicates a positive attitudinal evaluation (Judgement) of the past administration headed by Sani Abacha. In Extract 5, the choice of the adjectives ‘just, honest, patriotic and progressive’ to modify ‘government’ indicates a positive evaluation. The following clause which contains the evaluative word ‘disappointed’ suggests that the government of Aguiyi-Ironsi, which was being referred to, did not live up to expectation in terms those values associated with transparency. Similarly, the choice of the ‘ills’ in relation to the performance of the (people in the) former regime is analysed as ‘Judgement’ which indicates immorality and dishonesty associated with corruption.

The data in Table 7.2 describe an interesting context for analysing the use of Appraisal. We have seen how, in their reference to preceding administrations, all, but one of the presidents, return negative judgements centered on corruption. While these evaluations show disapproval of corrupt practices in preceding administrations, other motives may underscore the choices. For instance, evaluative language that condemns the activities of preceding administrations as corrupt conveys a message that the current administration will not be similarly corrupt.

7.3. Attitudinal Evaluation of Politicians in the Speeches

As obtained in many parts of the world, elected officials including presidents are also politicians; they belong to one political platform or another through which they are elected. In talking about politicians, presidents make choices that evaluate their fellow-politicians vis-à-vis corruption. In the case of military presidents who are obviously not elected, their speeches also talk about politicians and the linguistic choices in this talk also are also evaluative. In Table 7.3 below, interpersonal meaning created from the choices evoke different Appraisal resources.

Table 7.3. Evaluation of politicians in the speeches

Extract	Corruption-related clauses	Appraisal categorization
1	I wish to appeal to all governors in the nineteen states to ensure proper discipline and prudence in their general management of public funds.	Attitude (Invoked) – Judgement (Propriety)

	This is because no matter how well we establish planning, discipline at the federal level, imprudent and uncoordinated budgeting at the state level will have an almost equally negative effect on the national economy. (SS2)	Attitude – Appreciation – Quality
2	Politicians must carefully examine the budget to ensure that public funds are judiciously spent. They (politicians) must join in the campaign against corruption and help re-establish integrity in the conduct of public affairs. (OO-D1)	Graduation (Intensification) Graduation (Intensification)
3	On no account should we allow the selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardise the peace of the thirty-three million law-abiding people of Nigeria. (TB1)	Attitude - Judgement (Propriety)
4	There were charges by opposition parties of rigging of the elections and general abuse of power by the Regional Government in the conduct of the elections. (TA2)	Engagement – Entertain (Acknowledge)
5	To be appointed a minister, or to any other public office is not a license to loot the treasury. (OO-D1)	Engagement – Proclaim (Pronounce)

In Extract 1, the attitudinal elements in the clause are adjectives. It is these modifications of the nominal groups, (**proper** discipline and prudence) and (**imprudent and uncoordinated** budgeting), that evoke the Attitudes of Judgement and Appreciation respectively. The notions of discipline and prudence are associated with anticorruption (transparency); also budgeting requires anticorruption values of prudence and coordination. The clauses in Extract 2 also speak to corruption in terms of the behaviour or conduct expected of politicians. The choice of ‘must’ in the two clauses can be explained as ‘unmediated (authorially-sourced) assessments of obligation’ (see Martin and White, 2005:166). Martin and White (2005, 161) explain that there are conventions that operate to ‘strongly condition the evaluative styles employed by writers’ in relation to particular rhetorical effects and ‘construct particular authorial identities or personas’. Thus, the ‘must’ can be categorised under the Force of Intensification (Graduation) and it underscores the significance of the anticorruption measures mentioned in the extract.

In Extract 4, the adjective ‘selfish’ is used in evaluating the ‘ambitions of individuals’ (politicians). Within the larger context of the speech, there is a strong connection between selfish ambition and corruption. This aspect of the speech was directed at politicians at the time of Tafawa-Balewa’s leadership. Assessing politicians in this manner evokes Attitudinal Judgement. Martin (2000, 155) notes that judgemental values can be conceptualized in terms of ‘the institutionalization of feeling, in the context of proposals (norms about how people should and shouldn’t behave)’. In Extracts 4 and 5, the verbal elements ‘were’ and ‘is(not)’ evoke the evaluation of the two clauses as Engagement, in the sense that they attempt to bring the audience into positions of alignment with

the points of view being raised by the speaker (Hart 2014). The corruption issue being raised in Extract 4 is election rigging, and it can serve as a virile foundation for other forms of corruption. The corruption issue in Extract 5 is embezzlement which similar to looting the public treasury.

Our analysis has shown how on the basis of interpersonal meanings politicians are construed as either culpable of corruption, potentially corrupt or not doing enough to end corruption. The evaluative resources employed for this analysis have derived from the components of Attitude, Engagement and Graduation. The prevalence of corruption in Nigeria and its attendant consequence are largely blamed on the wrongdoings of politicians who see politics as money-making venture, and as an opportunity to amass wealth at the expense of the populace. This largely affects the quality of governance as elected leaders focus on how to recoup what is expended during elections. The evaluative resources used in respect of politicians' corruption pale in significance compared to those used for civil servants as we shall see below.

7.4. Evaluation of Civil Servants

Through appraisal choices, interpersonal meaning is equally enacted in references to civil servants (as collective individuals) as well as the civil service (as an entity) in the speeches analysed. In other words, corruption-related issues in the presidential speeches express the speakers' evaluative stance in connection with the public/civil servants and the public/civil service.

In Table 7.4 below, evaluative expressions in the corruption-related clauses show the attitude of the speakers to corruption or potential corruption by civil servants within the public service.

Table 7.4. Corruption: Evaluation of civil servants

Extract	Corruption-related clauses	Appraisal categorization
1	The purge of the public service of undesirable elements was undertaken to revitalize the service. Those that are diligent and honest in their work need not fear. Indeed they would be rewarded. But those who continue to be indolent, inefficient or corrupt will be removed. (OO-M2)	Attitude – Affect (Dissatisfaction) Attitude – Affect (Satisfaction) Attitude – Affect (Dissatisfaction)
2	However, my government believes in maintaining the highest standard of efficiency in the Civil Service and will not hesitate to do away with anyone found guilty of inefficiency, nepotism, tribalism and corruption . (TA2)	Attitude – Affect (Dissatisfaction)
3	Let me therefore here and now, serve notice that we shall not allow inefficiency or improper conduct on the part of any public officer. (OO-M2)	Attitude – Affect (Dissatisfaction)
4	The rampant corruption in the public service and the cynical contempt for integrity that pervades every level of the bureaucracy will be stamped out. (OO-D1)	Attitude – Affect (Disinclination)

5	Fellow Nigerians ... this administration introduced some far-reaching measures to sanitize the system and instill some discipline in the operation of the economy and public service management. Already, the Failed Banks Decree, which has come into effect, has sent positive signals for recovery and sanitization in that sector. (SA2)	Attitude – Affect (Security – Confidence) Attitude – Affect (Inclination) Attitude – Affect – Satisfaction
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As seen in Table 7.4, the predominant appraisal resource used is Affect, a subtype of Attitude. In Extract 1, the attributive adjective, ‘undesirable’ carries the evaluative meaning for ‘elements’ which is a representation of the public servants that were relieved of their duties. The word ‘elements’ in itself is a lexical metaphor which expresses an evoked attitude because it portrays the emotional state (Dissatisfaction) of the speaker. One of the strategies for instantiating attitudinal meanings indirectly is through the use of lexical metaphors. Lexical metaphors illustrate *provoked attitude* in that they have the potential to cause an attitudinal response in listeners or readers (Martin and White 2005). Similar attributes in the Extract (indolent, inefficient or corrupt) which express negative affectual meaning (Dissatisfaction) modify ‘those who continue...’ which refers to the category of public servants that will be sacked. The affectual meaning expressed with ‘diligent and honest’ is also attributed to civil servants that ‘need not fear’. ‘Fear’ also evokes an affectual meaning of ‘disinclination’ (Martin and White 2005, 42). In trying to unpack the choices in the Extract, we see three categories of civil/public servants being evaluated – those whose appointments have been terminated from the public service, those whose appointments would still be terminated and those who would not be affected. For the first two, the appraisal elements employed are expectedly negative, particularly due to issues associated with corruption which the choices reflect. And for the third category, there is positive assessment in the evaluative quality of honesty and diligence.

In the second extract, all the four evaluative lexical items – inefficiency, nepotism, tribalism and corruption – can be categorised as inscribed attitude that enacts emotional feeling of ‘dissatisfaction’. The four lexical items are closely related not only because they negatively evaluate a specific set of civil servants with those inherent features but also because they are all directly or indirectly connected to the subject of corruption. Affectual meaning of dissatisfaction is expressed with the choice of ‘inefficiency’ and ‘improper’ conduct of public officers in Extract 3. Both lexical items are also connected to corruption in the sense that ‘improper’ behaviour can include corrupt acts; they also indicate the nature of behaviours unexpected of a public offer.

In Extract 4, the pre-modifier ‘the’ before ‘rampant’ suggests that the speaker presupposes that listeners (people) share his view regarding the prevalence of corruption in the public service. The affectual attitude foregrounded here is ‘disinclination’ and it portrays the nature of the speaker’s emotional disposition to corruption in the public service. Needless to say, the focus is not the public service as an entity but the public servants that comprise the entity. In Extract 5, the adjective, ‘far-reaching’, is directly connected to the nominal group, ‘measures ... to sanitize the system’ to evoke an affectual attitude of ‘security’; ‘discipline’, a nominal element conveys an affectual attitude of ‘inclination’ particularly regarding ‘the economy and public service management’, and lastly, the attribute, ‘positive’, portrays an affectual attitude of ‘satisfaction’. These evaluative elements are linked to corruption-related issues: it is a corrupt system that needs to be sanitized; indiscipline in economic and public service management can aid corrupt acts. Lastly, the expression, ‘signals for recovery and sanitization in that sector’, in the same extract (Extract 5), in connection with ‘failed banks’ cannot be farther corrupt tendencies which may have occurred in the banking sector.

In concluding this section, it is worth noting that one common feature across the five extracts is that the evaluative expressions deployed in addressing civil servants and corruption tend to be more forceful and decisive in comparison to those that focus on politicians’ corruption in Section 7.2 above.

7.5. Evaluative Reference to the Military

Although the military has always claimed that their regimes are corrective in nature, the evaluative choices and analysis in Table 7.5 below suggests the contrary. Nigeria’s military regimes are not devoid of corruption or corrupt tendencies.

Table 7.5. Appraisal: Corruption and the Military

Extract	Corruption-related clauses	Notes
1	One of the greatest tragedies of military rule in recent times is that corruption was allowed to grow unchallenged and unchecked even when it was glaring for everybody to see. (OO-D1)	Military rule evaluated negatively for aiding corruption. ‘Greatest’ evokes the appraisal resource of Graduation (intensification)
2	Most youths go into the military now not to pursue a noble career but with the sole intention of taking part in coups and to be appointed as military administrators of states and chairmen of task forces. (OO-D1)	Young military officers negatively evaluated for corruption-related tendencies.
3	Now, therefore, is the time for the military to return to its constitutional role of defending the country’s territorial integrity and sovereignty. We must, forever , resist and renounce the seduction and temptation of political power and office. (AA2)	The choice of ‘We’ suggests that the speaker indirectly evaluates himself and the entire military. Corruption-related issue is ‘seduction and temptation of political power and office’.

4	The National Military Government owes it as a duty to the people of this country to remove the ills which infested the former regime, to restore the faith of our people in their fatherland and its institutions... (TA2)	A military regime negatively assess another. The evaluative element associated with corruption is ‘ills’.
5	The country hoped, however, that the military regime which followed would quickly restore discipline and confidence in the army and introduce a just, honest, patriotic and progressive government. (YG2)	A military regime negatively assesses another. The evaluative elements associated with corruption are its antithesis - just, honest, patriotic and progressive.

In Extract 1, the choice of the superlative modifier ‘greatest’ for ‘tragedies’ explicates the destructive nature of corruption. Thus, the superlative attribute ‘greatest’ evokes an appraisal category called Graduation, and which can be further classified and fine-grained as ‘intensification’. The lexical form ‘tragedies’ is in itself an invoked attitude with negative connotation. Also, the expression ‘unchallenged and unchecked’, positions corruption as an entity, and (expectedly) negatively evaluates same. The choices can be categorised as Attitude, with further refinement as Appreciation. In Extract 2, the idea of corruption is reflected in the nominal group ‘the sole intention’ through which the speaker asserts that young military officers are in the military primarily for the purpose of being assigned political appointments. In Nigeria, a military officer’s ‘intention’ to take up political appointments may be viewed negatively as a corrupt tendency considering the long years of military rule plus the incessant military coups which depict the military as being more interested in the privileges attached to political offices rather their primary role of protecting the country.

The evaluative elements related to corruption in Extract 3 lie in the choice – ‘the seduction and temptation of political power and office’. The expression is a nominal group (a noun phrase); and the choice of the definite article (the) at the beginning potentially indicates that people (specifically the military officers) share the same view with the speaker. The two most important words in the group which evoke negative attitude about the military are ‘seduction’ and ‘temptation’. The speaker evaluates military officers in terms of their attraction to political offices or appointments. In Extract 4, the word ‘ills’ evokes negativity, which may be associated with corruption; it evokes the affectual attitude that portrays ‘dissatisfaction’ of the speaker with the previous government headed by Tafawa-Balewa. It would be recalled from the preceding sections that Tafawa-Balewa used an evaluative expression (selfish ambition) that can lead to corruption to ‘appraise’ politicians of the time.

In Extract 5, the expression used by Yakubu Gowon to evaluate the military government of Thomas Aguiyi-Ironsi also depicts negativity. The adverb ‘quickly’ is used in an opposite sense to depict how Aguiyi-Ironsi government responded to the crises of confidence that greeted his regime. Other positive evaluative elements – just, honest, patriotic and progressive – which are used but the opposite is implied point to corruption and highlight values that the Aguiyi-Ironsi government could not achieve.

Interestingly, these negative evaluations of military officers and their governments by military presidents themselves indicate that the underlying goal of the forceful power grab, through coups and counter coups, is not completely in the interest of people or good governance. As may be found in the literature, other personal or group benefits seem to be involved.

7.6. Potential Culpability of the (Nigerian) People in Corrupt acts

Resources that are sometimes used in assessing the populace are an indication that the (Nigerian) people are ‘appraised’ as culpable in corruption. Evaluative elements extracted from the speeches point to certain forms of conduct that are corrupt or may lead to corruption. What is generally noticed, as shown in Table 7.6 below, is that people are covertly implicated as having the potential of engaging in corruption or in acts that may eventually lead to corruption.

Table 7.6. Appraising the populace as corrupt

Extract	Corruption-related clauses
1	Fellow Nigerians, the total disregard for uprightness in our society, which has enthroned wealth by all means, is quite worrisome to me. Thus, not only are those who defraud our public treasuries honoured , even armed robbers and drug barons are able to buy respectability. Rampant corruption and get-rich-quick mania, therefore, have become cankerworms in all spheres of our national life. (ES1)
2	I challenge all of us to continue to show fidelity and rededicate ourselves to those values of honour, courage, right conduct and belief in family and God, on which our society and republic are built. (AA2)
3	Cases of impersonation of officers of the Armed Forces are still reported. I have to warn again those who indulge in these criminal acts to discipline themselves forthwith...(TA1)
4	Nobody, no matter who and where will be allowed to get away with the breach of the law or the perpetration of corruption and evil . (OO-D1)
5	The twin problem of corruption is social indiscipline which is also widespread in our country today . It is indiscipline which breeds corruption and the other social problems afflicting us. Therefore, we must join hands together to uproot indiscipline in all its ramification from our society. In this respect, parents, teachers, and religious leaders have an important role to play. (ES1)

In Extract 1, the two expressions, ‘total’, ‘quite worrisome’ and ‘honoured’ are used to evaluate Nigerians. Whereas the adjective, ‘total’ helps to communicate negative attitude of judgement, the other two evoke affectual attitude (dissatisfaction). Also, the adjective ‘rampant’, which modifies ‘corruption’ evokes Appreciation which is a subtype of Attitude. Although ‘corruption’ as used by Ernest Shonekan portrays it as an entity in the clause, the hidden participants capable of perpetrating corruption are the people. In Extract 2, the verbs ‘challenge’ and ‘rededicate’ which apply to ‘all’ (Nigerians) are arguably neutral words within the context of the clauses, and they carry affectual attitude (inclination). The desired anticorruption ‘values of honour, courage, right conduct...’ are used to (potentially) evaluate corrupt-free Nigerians. These evaluative elements indicate that those anticorruption values are not yet ingrained in the consciousness and psyche of the people.

The choice of ‘impersonation’ and ‘criminal acts’ in Extract 3 reflect an evaluation of individuals who may engage in those two corrupt-related acts. The two expressions have the potential of provoking attitudinal response. Also, the corruption-related acts can only be implemented by human beings, and these set of persons are evaluated by the nature of the malfeasance proclaimed in the clauses, thus evoking the attitudinal judgement of propriety. In Extract 4, the choice of ‘nobody’ in the clause indicates that all persons with no exception are being evaluated vis-à-vis the issue of corruption. The corruption-related issue raised is connected to ‘breach of law’ and ‘the perpetration of corruption and evil’. This is a way of presupposing that people generally have the potential of being corrupt or act in the like manner in the society.

Another example of an indirect way of evaluating the people is seen in Extract 5. Here, ‘corruption’ is equated to ‘social indiscipline’. The latter is also qualified by an attribute ‘widespread’. A connection is made between indiscipline and corruption. The choice of the modifier ‘widespread’ is to express the extent of the spread of social indiscipline and corruption in the society. The evaluative focus of the clause is on all categories of Nigerians as reflected in the clause that follows (see Table 7.6 above). The expressions ‘corruption’ and ‘indiscipline’ are examples of evoked attitude in that they have the potential to cause an attitudinal response of the listener or reader.

In conclusion, evaluative reference to people in this manner suggests that the speakers seem to perceive people generally as corrupt or as having the tendencies to engage in one corrupt act or

another. We have seen how interpersonal meaning foregrounded through a varied choice of appraisal resources communicates the speakers' assessments of the populace.

7.7. Evaluation of own Government and Self

Speeches delivered by presidents in their official capacities are not devoid of linguistic contents that can pass as *self-evaluation* or *self-appraisal*. This position affords a president (the speaker) the opportunity to make comments, pronouncements and maintain specific evaluative stances on a number of issues of national significance including corruption. In Table 7.8 below, we present corruption-related extracts that attempt to evaluate the government of the day and/or the speaker (as the country's president).

Table 7.7. Evaluative Reference to Self and own Government

Extract	Corruption-related clauses	Appraisal categorisation, notes
1	<u>We</u> have waged relentless battles to correct many of the ills in our society. (OO-D2)	'We' refers to the government of Olusegun Obasanjo, and the corruption-related issue is encapsulated in the choice of 'ills'.
2	<u>We</u> are determined to intensify the war against corruption ... <u>I</u> will set a worthy personal example as your President. (UY1)	'We' refers to the administration of Umaru Yar'Adua, and 'I' refers Yar'Adua as president.
3	My fellow Nigerians, <u>our</u> approach to governance has been marked by accountability, transparency and openness . (AA2)	'Our' refers to the government of Abdulsalami Abubakar. The boldfaced anticorruption words evaluate his government and himself respectively.
4	The strengthening of the anti-corruption institutions and other law enforcement agencies is a direct consequence of <u>our</u> determination to institutionalize zero-tolerance for corruption. (UY2)	'Our' also refers to the government of Yar'Adua. The evaluation of own government resides in the nominal group which is the subject of the verb 'is'.
5	<u>My Administration</u> has emphasised giving a free hand to our Anti-corruption agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) (GJ2)	Clearly, the underlined nominal element refers to the government of Goodluck Jonathan. The verbal element 'emphasised' contains the appraisal resource that evaluate 'My Administration'.
6	To this end, <u>I</u> shall strive to lead by example . The <u>ING</u> will also ensure that laws against corruption are enforced without fear or favor . (ES1)	'I' refers to Ernest Shonekan, and the ING is the shortened form for his government – the Interim National Government.

In Extract 1, the descriptive word 'relentless' pre-modifies 'battle' which is a metaphor deployed to foreground the nature of efforts instituted by the Olusegun Obasanjo Government against societal ills of which corruption is key. The choice evokes an affectual attitude of 'satisfaction'. The evaluative elements in Extract 2 are capable of provoking an attitudinal response. The choices – 'determined' and 'to intensify the war' – depict confidence and fearlessness yielding to affectual attitudinal meaning. The clause participant being evaluated here is the government of Umaru

Yar'Adua, and in the second clause, the human participant evaluated as setting a 'worthy' personal example is Yar'Adua himself. Setting examples for the populace to follow demonstrates confidence (a feature of an affectual attitude) of the speaker, and at the same time positively evaluates him.

The three antitheses of corruption – accountability, transparency and openness – are deployed by Abdulsalami Abubakar to evaluate his own government; and they all appeal to propriety of conduct which is a feature of Judgement, an evaluation of social behavior in terms of socially established sets of moral, legal, and personal norms. As explained in Table 7.7 above, the possessive pronoun 'our' refers to Abubakar and his government. As shown in the preceding two Extracts, the choices positively position the speaker and his government. In Extract 4, the evaluation of own government resides in the nominal clause – 'The strengthening of the anti-corruption institutions and other law enforcement agencies' – which also serves as the subject of the verb 'is'. The emotional feeling that is likely to be provoked in the listener or reader is 'security' and 'happiness' which are classified under affectual attitude. The expression, 'zero-tolerance', is another evaluative word capable of evoking a negative 'appreciation' of corruption as something that must not be tolerated at all. A government that chooses to evaluate itself and corruption in this manner has the potential of being supported by a good number of the people.

The verb 'emphasise' in Extract 5 carries the evaluation signal in the clause; it is capable of provoking an affectual attitudinal response of 'inclination' and 'security'. This is a positive evaluation of Jonathan's government. It is contrary to what we saw in the previous chapter where mere emphasis was considered as an inadequate corruption measure particularly for an executive president who possesses overwhelming powers that can be leveraged to tackle corruption. He is in a vantage position to create the appropriate socio-political environment for the anticorruption bodies to perform their duties without hindrance. In Extract 6, leading 'by example' portrays the speaker as confident of his anticorruption stance, and that he is ready to demonstrate that by action. Thus, it a way of positive 'self-appraisal' of himself. In the second clause, the Interim National Government (ING) he headed is also evaluated positively. The expression that portrays this positivity is the one that describes how 'laws against corruption' are to be enforced – without fear or favour. The choice does not only portray the government as interested in tackling corruption, but also positions the ING as impartial.

It is worthy of note that the evaluative linguistic elements used in the presidential speeches positively portray the presidents and their respective governments. They serve to project the image of their governments and their own personalities in anticorruption light. The analysis also positions them as ‘saints’ of a kind, and as anticorruption ‘ambassadors’. This self-positive glorification can be seen as a deliberate strategy aimed at telling the populace that they are not only incorruptible but also truly stand against corruption.

7.8. Discussion: Strategy of Positive Self-presentation and Negative Other-presentation

In responding to the objective of this chapter, it is important to briefly examine the speakers’ choices of evaluative elements across the speeches. As indicated at the beginning, appraisal involves ways by which we externalise our feelings and emotional dispositions to issues through various linguistic choices. Analysis so far demonstrates that evaluative choices made in relation to corruption and the social actors around the phenomenon positively portray each president (the speaker) and government as a corruption fighter or anticorruption advocate, whereas the choices used in connection with other categories of people – other governments, politicians, military, public servants and (Nigerian) people – portray them as either corrupt or potentially corrupt.

These are strategies of delegitimisation (of the other) and legitimisation (of the self) (Chilton 2004), which reflects positive presentation/action of Us and negative presentation /action of Them (van Dijk 2006). The claim here is that delegitimisation, for example, may reflect in negative other presentation, acts of blaming, scape-goating, excluding, attacking the moral character, among others. In contrast, legitimisation involves positive self-presentation, which may reflect in acts of self-praise, self-explanation, self-justification, self-identification, etc.

These strategies underscore the significance of our analysis particularly on how successive presidents have chosen to assess other social actors regarding the subject of corruption. As we have demonstrated, preceding administrations and their leadership are evaluated and portrayed as either corrupt, as having aided corruption or as not having done enough to curtail corruption. Other interesting patterns noticed include negative evaluation of politicians by politicians, and military by the military. We also see negative cross evaluation of civilian administrations by military presidents and vice versa. Whereas the choices that evaluate the people or Nigerians only indirectly indicate corrupt tendencies, those that evaluate civil servants are direct, taking the form of stern warning and threats of punishment.

As we see in 7.7 above, appraisal choices for self-evaluation are entirely positive. Due to their privileged positions, presidents are able to strategically downplay the enormity of corruption in their own administrations. They are able to blame others such as previous administrations for failing to stop corruption, or to lash out at civil servants with threats of punishment as against subtle anticorruption sermons to fellow politicians and even total avoidance of comment in some cases.

7.9. Summary of the Chapter

Language is undoubtedly a powerful resource not only for communication but also for better understanding of our world. An aspect of systemic linguistics, appraisal theory, has helped our understanding of the discourse of corruption from the perspective of the leaders who ordinarily may not admit to corruption in their respective governments. The tendency of presidents to accuse or negatively talk about preceding administrations while either being silent about corruption in their own administrations or commending their anti-corruption efforts, reveals a measure of deception. The appraisal analysis also foregrounds discrepancies in the way in which the presidential speeches address politicians in contrast to the civil servants. For the civil servants, stern warning and threats of employment termination are prominent. Conversely, corruption-related statements targeted at politicians are in form of advice and explanations without stating any strict official or legal implications. This demonstrates double standards.

Also, the appraisal resource called evoked attitude (which helps understanding of implicit use of language) plus the immediate context of language use, further assisted us in understanding the inexplicit discourse about corruption. For example, in corruption issues targeted at politicians and the generality of the people, corruption or its features are not stated explicitly; however, with the kind of appraisal resources being foregrounded, it is comprehensible that the speaker is actually referring to improprieties that border on corruption. Thus, when Abdulsalami Abubakar (AA2) challenged Nigerians ‘to show fidelity to and rededicate ourselves to those values of honour, courage, right conduct...’, we understand that he is advising people to maintain anticorruption stance in their affairs. The following chapter which applies critical discourse analysis frameworks will provide interest and ideological bases that may have informed some of the choices.

CHAPTER 8: Accounting for Choices in the Speeches: A Critical Discourse Analysis

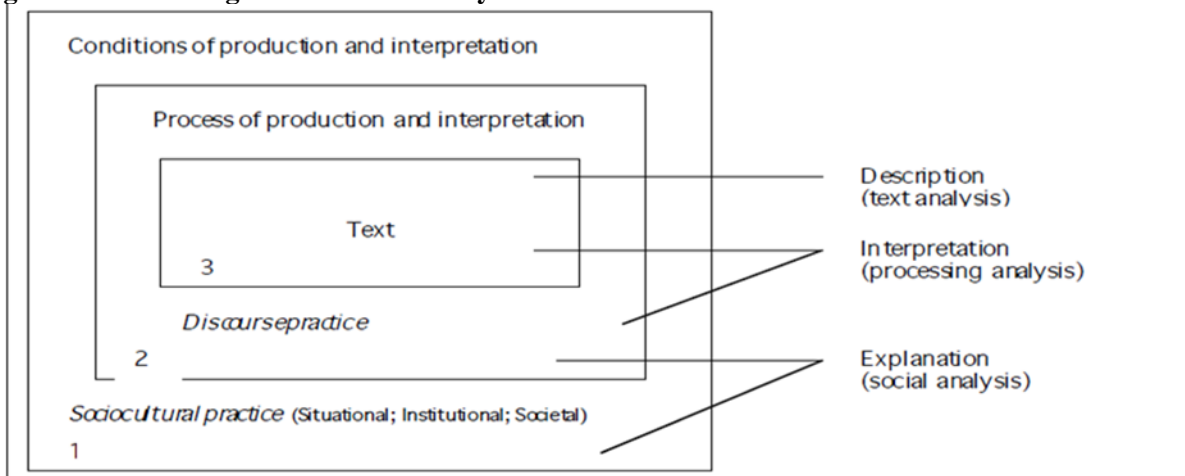
8.0. Introduction

In this chapter, we attempt to respond to the last two objectives of this thesis which is to critically interrogate the interest, ideological, partisan or other bases for the choices made in the speeches and to evaluate the presidents in terms of how the analyses position them in relation to combating corruption. Thus, this chapter investigates how the linguistic choices relating to corruption in the speeches reflect inherent interests within the Nigerian society. In other words, what are the ideological considerations or interests that the choices on corruption are made to serve and how are the choices made to serve them. Given that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a framework associated with the principle which maintains that there are relations between texts (which are constitutive of choices) and society, (Fairclough and Wodak (1997), it is therefore suitable for use in this chapter. We therefore assume that there are social motivations in form of unshared interests or ideologies underpinning several of the choices seen in preceding chapters on transitivity and appraisal analyses.

The analysis in this chapter may be construed under the ‘explanation’ level within Fairclough’s three-level model of CDA. As was seen in Figure 3.2, reproduced below as Figure 8.1, in the explanation phase, an attempt is made to show the reciprocal relationship between social structures and discursive structures; that is, how choices made in discourse are influenced by social structures and themselves shape society. In this respect, CDA notions which hold that discourse does ideological work (representing, constructing society and reproducing unequal relations of power) and that it is a form of social action, are particularly important.

We identify three major motivations for the choices, and structure the chapter around each one: legitimacy, power consolidation and fear of post-tenure retribution.

Figure 8.1. Fairclough's three-level analytical model



8.1. Legitimacy

Legitimacy is a term commonly used in political science and law to express the belief that a leader, ruler or institution has the right to govern and to be accepted as authority with governing laws. In other words, it is the desire of any leader to achieve support, understanding and acceptance of the people for ease of governance. This seems to agree with the view that if a government or an authority is 'not viewed as legitimate, social regulation is more difficult and costly' (Tyler 2001, 416). In Nigeria, gaining legitimacy becomes an important issue of ideological interest for a president whose ascension to power is largely seen as unpopular or questionable.

A number of political upheavals and military interventions in governance have been recorded in Nigeria's political history. The incessant incursion of the military into Nigerian politics until 1999 has been seen as an aberration and quite unhelpful. Similarly, electoral malpractices (e.g. rigging) that have characterised our polity over the years have also been counterproductive especially for the Nigerian masses. As seen in Chapter 2, Abdullah (2012) describes these seeming political woes and the accompanying crises of legitimacy when he writes that:

From 1960 to date Nigeria had not experienced the kind of stable political atmosphere necessary for orderly continuity of good governance for development and growth expected in truly democratic societies. Within a relatively short period of 52 years, Nigeria has had 14 heads of state (an average of three years each), and of this number nine were not elected, and of the remaining five only on two

occasions were their election deemed free and fair (Abdullahi 2012, Vanguard online page).

Thus, legitimacy crisis is clearly an issue in Nigeria's transition politics. Abdullah's point is that many civilians who became presidents did so through elections characterised by rigging, violence and other electoral disputes; or where the electoral victory was contested in a tribunal or a court of law. Also, a military president, who ascends power through the barrel of the gun, may also face similar legitimacy crisis if ascension to power is widely considered as unpopular, especially in cases where loss of lives was involved or where the overthrown government was adjudged to be doing fairly well. So, virtually all Nigerian presidents have been under pressure to address some form of legitimacy deficit or the other.

It is not surprising that corruption talk, especially in inaugural speeches, should have some prominence as it offers hope to a citizenry whose circumstances or lives are characterized by a high poverty rate, unemployment, poor investment, morbidity and mortality from preventable diseases, inadequate and poor health facilities, poor infrastructure and a surge in economic-related crimes, among others. Interestingly, all these problems have been attributed to widespread corruption (see Chapter 2). It is against this background that a presidential speech especially those delivered at the inception of an administration may be seen to harp on the issue of corruption in order to deflect attention from the questionable mode of accession to power. It is in this sense that choices that are made in the corruption-related issues can be seen as strategic attempt to purchase acceptance, understanding, support and legitimacy for a government.

An analysis of Nigeria's political history shows that there are two categories of presidents who may be under pressure to gain such legitimacy. The first are civilian presidents who came to power through a general election that was considered to be rigged, disputed or accompanied by violence. As Siollun (2015) points out, 'previous Nigerian presidents were too cynical to expose themselves to the unpredictable risk of a fair election. The election victories of PDP presidents during the past 16 years have been partially "assisted" by electoral malpractice' (Siollun 2015, online page).

Presidents who fall into this category are Shehu Shagari, Umaru Yar'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan. Both elections that produced Shagari in 1979 and 1983 were reportedly rigged. Awopaju

(2011) recounts that ‘of the five political parties that contested the August 11, 1979 presidential elections, three rejected the results on the ground that it was full of flaws’ (Awopeju 2011, 7). The election was challenged up to the Supreme Court when the case was finally rested in favour of Shagari’s NPN on September 26, 1979 (International IDEA, 2000: 343). For the 1983 general elections, the electoral umpire reportedly connived with the ruling party, National Party of Nigeria (NPN), to perpetrate election rigging. Kurfi (1983, 222-223) notes that ‘the FEDECO (the electoral body) staff were variously accused of aiding and abetting the perpetration of electoral fraud’ (brackets mine). The 2007 election that brought Yar’Adua to power was also marred by malpractices. Awopeju (2011, 9) writes that ‘elected officials, alongside with the very government agencies charged with ensuring the credibility of polls, reduced the elections to a violent and fraud-riddled farce’. European Union observers also reported that the election was ‘far short of basic regulation and international standards for democratic elections’ (*The Guardian*, April 30, 2007). The 2011 general elections that produced Goodluck Jonathan as president were also marked by violence, ballot box stuffing and reported cases of electoral fraud at the collating stations. The goal of the rigging in the 2011 elections ‘appears to have been ensuring that Jonathan met the two constitutional requirements¹⁰ for electoral victory’ (Campbell 2015, online page).

There are two military presidents who may also have been pressured to seek legitimacy (from the perspective of talking about corruption). They are Thomas Aguiyi-Ironsi and Ibrahim Babangida. Aguiyi-Ironsi was the first military leader after the bloody coup that terminated the first civilian government headed by Abubakar Tafawa-Balewa. The death of political leaders as a result of the coup and the sack of a democratic process definitely put a crisis of legitimacy on the government of Aguiyi-Ironsi. The military government headed by Buhari was overthrown by Babangida. Although some people considered Buhari’s government as too strict and highhanded, the regime was largely considered to be doing fairly well particularly in curbing corruption and restoring discipline in the country. Thus, the Babangida Administration carried the burden of legitimacy and it was reflected in the way he handled the issue of corruption and indiscipline. Sani Abacha grabbed power from Ernest Shonekan, who became the country’s leader after the exit of Babangida.

¹⁰ The constitution of Nigeria requires a successful presidential candidate to win 50 percent plus one vote of the total cast; and it also requires the successful candidate to win 25 percent of the vote in two-thirds of the states.

In Table 8.1, we present excerpts from the presidents' speeches which lend credence to this legitimacy interest in talking about corruption-related issues. It is in the nature of analysis of this kind to substantiate claims with relevant data. First, we present and analyse corruption-related issues from the three civilian presidents who potentially faced legitimacy crises due to rigged or disputed elections with which they come to power. Choices that substantiate the legitimacy interest include implicit representations of corruption or social actors, underspecification of participants, metaphorical representation of participants and definitional representations (of corruption). Thereafter, we briefly describe the relevant types of corruption (see Chapters 2 and 5) that correspond to extracts from the speeches in which some of the choices are foregrounded.

Table 8.1. Civilian presidents, legitimacy concerns and corruption talk

Extract	Corruption-related issues	Relevant choices and ideological consideration
1	<p>The problems of creating a national government, a viable economic base and the integration of the various ethnic groups in Nigeria in fairness and without acrimony overwhelmed the First Republic. These problems are still with us. And, it is our determination to do our utmost to contribute to their solution. This Second Republic is a great challenge and a new opportunity for all of us. (SS1)</p> <p>In the spirit of the on-going ethical revolution, proven cases of abuse of office and corruption will attract immediate sanctions. Indiscipline and inefficiency will similarly be punished while a system of rewarding competence and efficient delivery will be evolved. In answer to the demands of our times, only competent and trustworthy men and women, able and willing to deliver, will be put at the helm of affairs. (SS2)</p>	<p>Transitivity choice: Implicit representations Reference is indirectly made to the nature of corruption in the First Republic where 'selfish interest' of politicians constitute major issue of corruption.</p> <p>Transitivity choices: implicit representation of participants and underspecification of the social actors:</p> <p>Ideological consideration: Social actors in the case of abuse of office and corruption are completely excluded.</p>
2	<p>We are determined to intensify the war against corruption, more so because corruption is itself central to the spread of poverty. Its corrosive effect is all too visible in all aspects of our national life ... We also are committed to rebuilding our human capital, if we are to support a modern economy. We must revive education in order to create more equality, and citizens who can function more productively in today's world. (UY1)</p>	<p>Transitivity choice: Metaphorical representation of participants and definitional representations.</p> <p>Ideological consideration The metaphor conceals the roles of social actors who have the potential to enact corruption. The word 'corruption' is made to communicate what it may mean or its effects, e.g. 'corruption is ... central to the spread of poverty'.</p>
3	<p>Fellow citizens, in every decision, I shall always place the common good before all else. The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective determination, to rid our nation of this scourge. The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist, so that the limited resources of this</p>	<p>Transitivity choice: Metaphorical representation of participants and overgeneralisation of participants' roles. Ideological consideration: The metaphor conceals the roles of social actors whose attitude has made corruption a</p>

	nation will be used for the growth of our common wealth. (GJ1)	bane. Also, corruption is represented by a way of communicating what it may mean or its effects, e.g. ‘corruption is ... central to the spread of poverty’.
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In an attempt to solidly establish his government’s legitimacy after the disputed election of 1979 (see above), we see an implicit representation of corruption as used by Shehu Shagari in Extract 1 (Table 8.1). He strategically took the populace down memory lane regarding the socio-economic and political problems of the First Republic (in which corruption was also part of). He noted that those problems were still around, but assured of his government’s readiness and determination to find solutions to those problems. This was clearly a bid to garner the much-needed legitimacy and support from the citizenry. Although Shagari attempts to be more specific on the issue of corruption in the second part of Extract 1, our analysis shows that the choices partly represent corruption as implicit, while the social actors connected to the issue of corruption are underspecified. . Being his second inaugural speech and being aware that one of the challenges of the preceding years of his administration had been alleged corruption among his ministers¹¹ and state governors, the increased precision of his remarks on corruption are quite understandable. Expressions such as ‘in the spirit of the on-going ethical revolution... and ... in answer to the demands of our times...’ which refer to the social realities of the time suggest that Shagari and his government were shopping for legitimacy, acceptance and understanding of the people.

Representations of corruption in Extracts 2 and 3 (Table 8.1) from Umaru Yar’Adua and Goodluck Jonathan’s speeches are similar in the sense that they both deploy metaphors to foreground their ideas about corruption. In addition to the metaphorical representation, another choice in Extract 2 (Yar’Adua’s) also defines corruption by along one of its negative effects (corruption as central to the spread of poverty). The choices attempt to address the negative impact of corruption by raising people’s feelings of resentment towards the phenomenon. Clearly, the calculation is that linking corruption to such negative effects as poverty, unemployment and poor infrastructure, then linking a proposed response to war that needs to be fought can substantially enhance the legitimacy and popularity of a president, especially with respect to Nigerian masses who are adversely affected

¹¹ For example, Umaru Dikko, a minister under Shagari Government, was chairman of the presidential task force on rice. He was accused of embezzling £1 billion (The Cable 2017).

by corruption. As seen above, both presidents came to office through elections that were marred by rigging and violence. Thus, emphasis on corruption in this manner can greatly boost their governments' image and acceptance.

Let us now turn to military presidents who potentially faced legitimacy crises due to unpopular circumstances through which they emerged. See Table 8.2 below.

Table 8.2. Military presidents, legitimacy concerns and corruption

Extract	Corruption-related issues	Relevant choices and ideological consideration
1	There were charges by opposition parties of rigging of the elections and general abuse of power by the Regional Government in the conduct of the elections. Riots, arson, murder and looting became widespread in Western Nigeria since October. The situation deteriorated and certain army officers attempted to seize power. (TA1)	Transitivity choice – underspecification of participants: Participants (or social actors) are represented by the institution they belong (Regional Government). It underspecifies the social actors that constitute the regional government. This makes it impossible to identify them.
2	The attempt to overthrow the government of the day was done by eliminating political leaders and high-ranking Army officers, a majority of whom came from a particular section of the country. The Prime Minister lost his life during this uprising. But for the outstanding discipline and loyalty of the members of the Army who are most affected, and the other members of the armed forces and the police, the situation probably could have degenerated into a civil war ... There followed a period of determined effort of reconstruction ably shouldered by Maj-Gen. J. T. U. Aguiyi-Ironsi but, unfortunately, certain parties caused suspicion and grave doubts of the Government's sincerity in several quarters. (YG1)	Transitivity choice: implicit representations: The underlying issues here border on selfish interest as reflected in desperation of certain individuals/groups to seize power at whatever cost. Presenting the circumstance with which he came to power can help buy some legitimacy.
3	The history of our nation had never recorded the degree of indiscipline and corruption as in the period between October 1979 and December 1983. While this government recognises the bitterness created by the irresponsible excesses of the politicians, we consider it unfortunate that methods of such nature as to cause more bitterness were applied to deal with past misdeeds. (IB1)	Transitivity choices – corruption as faceless (nominalisations) and underspecification of participants (by profession). Ideological consideration: Exclusion of the social actors concerned, as well as vague identification by profession may help the president earn legitimacy.
4	Fellow Nigerians, the events of the past months, starting from the annulment of the June 12 presidential election, culminating in the appointment of the former Head of State, Chief Ernest Shonekan, who unfortunately resigned yesterday, are well known to you. The economic downturn has undoubtedly been aggravated by the ongoing political crisis ... Drug trafficking and other economic crimes such as 419 must be tackled and eliminated. (SA1)	Transitivity choices – corruption as faceless (nominalisations) and implicit representations: The inherent interest in the choices is to buy legitimacy; from the general citizenry to those who commit 'economic crimes'. Appraisal choice – positive evaluation of previous government which is achieved by showing deploying negative attitude (affect) (dissatisfaction), regarding the exit of Ernest Shonekan ('unfortunately resigned') was also aimed at gaining some legitimacy.

The first two extracts in Table 8.2 are taken from the speeches of Thomas Aguiyi-Ironsi and Yakubu Gowon respectively. As mentioned previously, based on the socio-political situation of the country at the time, the crisis of legitimacy faced by each leader is relatively different. Aguiyi-Ironsi was the first military leader after the first civilian government was sacked and prominent political leaders killed including Abubakar Tafawa-Balewa who was the head of government (prime minister, in a parliamentary system). It was noted that the immediate reason for the coup was connected to ‘the nationwide disillusionment with the corrupt and selfish politicians, as well as with their inability to maintain law and order and guarantee the safety of lives and property’ (Metz 1992, 217). On the other hand, Gowon came to power in another counter coup with the burden of unifying the country as the coup that toppled Aguiyi-Ironsi was seen as retaliatory¹² (see Chapter 2). It is therefore instructive that any speech in such circumstance is targeted at gaining the desired legitimacy.

Our transitivity and appraisal analyses in the preceding two chapters indicate that corruption is alluded to in many of the speeches; some of the representations underspecify participants. As we see in Extract 1, the social actors involved in the rigging of the elections and power abuse are surprisingly represented as an institution (Regional Government). Representation in Extract 2 is more implicit. Gowon attempted to point out the events (...suspicion and grave doubts...) that culminated in the coup. Similarly, implicit representation is noticed in the manner in which the coup plotters are represented as ‘certain parties’ that ‘caused suspicion and grave doubts’. Although the underlying corruption-related issues that informed the political upheavals are not made explicit, the representation suggests the speaker’s motive of legitimizing his ascension to power.

As seen in Extract 3 (Table 8.2), the choices that gave credence to legitimacy interest are those that represent corruption as faceless and those that underspecify the social actors. The choices do not only conceal the identities of social actors but also background their specific roles. In this circumstances where consideration is accorded to what is said about corruption, it suggests another interest which will be discussed in the next section. The talk about corruption is, in the first

¹² The coup was largely seen as a reaction to the killings of Northern politicians and officers by mostly Igbo soldiers on January 15, 1966 (see Metz 1992).

instance, to garner the much-needed people's support and acceptance. Even in the attempt to condemn the strategy used in fighting corruption by the previous government of Buhari, the mention of the latter or any of his aides was totally avoided. In Extract 4, the interpersonal meaning created is noticed in the choice of a positive evaluative element for ousted leader Ernest Shonekan. This may be seen as a way of positioning his government for public acceptance and legitimacy. Abacha's ascension to power came at a time when people were hopeful that public agitation for the release of the annulled 1993 general election results will be a reality with the coming of Shonekan. Also, addressing the issue of 'drug trafficking' and 'economic crimes' is another way of potentially purchasing legitimacy at two ends. The mention can easily buy some popularity and support for the speaker, however the choice to represent corruption as faceless (e.g. through nominalisation and passivization) where reference to 'events of the past months' as well as 'drug trafficking and economic crimes' are made without human agency nor process are indications of other considerations by the speaker (Sani Abacha) (See the next section).

In reference to extracts in Table 8.1 and 8.2, it is also worthy of mention that the type of corruption largely alluded to in the speeches are political and moral corruption. As seen in Chapter 2, political or grand corruption is largely found among top level political office holders, and it occurs when politicians and state agents mandated to make and enforce the laws in the name of the people use this authority to sustain their power, status and wealth. Sadly, political corruption also perverts the manner in which government decisions are made. For example, the reference to state governors, abuse of office, rigging by political parties including some of the incidents of forceful takeover of government for selfish reasons are located under the umbrella of political corruption. Moral corruption results from lack of moral and ethical values. For corruption to be considered a moral issue, it must have the ability to harm others or go against social norms among others. Abacha's reference to 'drug trafficking and other economic crimes such as 419' is a good example (see Table 8.2, Extract 4).

As explained above, the circumstances through which these presidents assumed office contributed to the way they articulated their views on corruption. To provide some contrast, we present excerpts from speeches of those presidents who did not appear to have as many legitimacy concerns. The presidents who appear to fall into this category are: Murtala Muhammed, Muhammadu Buhari and Olusegun Obasanjo (as civilian president); and the choices are

definitional representation (transitivity) and evaluation of the (Nigerian) people as potentially corrupt (appraisal). Consider the three extracts in Table 8.3 below.

Table 8.3. Excerpts from the speeches of presidents with no apparent legitimacy challenges

Extract	Corruption-related clauses	Explanation of relevant choices
1	This government will not tolerate indiscipline. The Government will not condone abuse of office. (MM1)	Transitivity choice – definitional representation: corruption is represented some of the ways in which it can be conceptualised. It takes a ‘declaration’ form which shows some sort of determination on the part of the speaker. Appraisal choice – evaluation of own government and self: this choice positively present the speaker and his government although it may not be intended.
2	This government will not tolerate kick-backs, inflation of contracts and over-invoicing of imports etc. ... Nor will it condone forgery, fraud, embezzlement, misuse and abuse of office and illegal dealings in foreign exchange and smuggling. (MB1)	Definitional representation – corruption is represented by various activities that amount to corruption. It also indicates various ways in which it has been conceptualised. The emphatic and declarative tone of the choice suggest that the speaker required no legitimacy of any sort.
3	Nobody, no matter who and where will be allowed to get away with the breach of the law or the perpetration of corruption and evil. (OO-D1)	Appraisal choice – evaluation of the (Nigerian) people. The choice portray Nigerians as potentially corruption. This indicates that the speaker and it shows that the speaker was not in want of legitimacy.

All the three presidents cited above came to office in circumstances that were largely welcomed by the citizens. For instance, when people seemed to have been fed up with the Gowon Administration due to widespread corruption in the government, Murtala Muhammed came to power with the zeal to fight it and prosecute the offenders. In Chapter 2 (Literature Review), we explained that one of the reasons for the 1975 coup that toppled Gowon was an attempt to end corruption in the public service. Twelve state military governors in the Gowon regime were indicted for corruption by the Federal Assets Investigation Panel of 1975 (see Ogbeide 2012). Buhari also came to power when cases of corruption were prevalent among the politicians of the Second Republic. He was not pressured to seek legitimacy as his emergence was largely seen to be in the interest of the masses. And for Obasanjo, he came to power as a civilian president and enjoyed the support of Nigerians who had largely become fed up with military rule. As indicated above, a common feature in all the three extracts is the decisiveness with which the issue of corruption was addressed, although that does not mean there were no other interests as we shall later in this chapter.

The foregoing confirms the CDA notion (and indeed, SFL) that the linguistic choices people made in discourse or texts are not neutral but are consciously or unconsciously ‘principled and systematic’ (Fowler et al., 1979, p. 188). Analysis, so far, indicates that certain interests (in this case political legitimacy) are embedded in the talk about corruption in the presidential speeches. We have seen that the choices attempt to address one corruption-related issue or another in a president’s bid to gain legitimacy, however the way the corruption issues are addressed where implicit representations were made, or where the act is represented as faceless etc., suggests that the choices are motivated by the interest to acquire legitimacy. This claim is further underscored in Chilton (2004) who argues that legitimisation is ‘usually oriented to the self’, and it ‘includes positive self-presentation, manifesting itself in acts of self-praise, self-apology, self-explanation, self-justification, self-identification as a source of authority, reason, vision and sanity, where the self is either an individual or the group with which an individual identifies or wishes to identify’ (Chilton 2004, 47).

8.2. Power Consolidation: Placating the Ingroup

In Nigeria, the emergence of presidents or any political office holder is usually ratified, enhanced and supported by ‘powerful’ individuals known as godfathers who work to ensure that the aspirant emerges as party candidate and eventually wins during election. Ibrahim (2007) notes that in many parts of Nigeria, successful candidates are often those who are ‘sponsored’ by wealthy and powerful individuals known in Nigerian parlance as political godfathers. Human Rights Watch, the world’s rights advocate, writes that:

These godfathers are not mere financiers of political campaigns. Rather they are individuals whose power stems not just from wealth but from their ability to deploy violence and corruption to manipulate national, state or local political systems in support of the politicians they sponsor. In return, they demand a substantial degree of control over the governments they help bring into being – not in order to shape government policy, but to exact direct financial ‘returns’ in the form of government resources stolen by their protégé or lucrative government contracts awarded to them as further opportunities for graft. Godfathers also require their sponsored politicians to use government institutions to generate patronage for other protégé (*Human Rights Watch* 2007, online page).

These powerful individuals who finance elections and provide the enabling environment for their candidate's ascension to power need to be pacified and appeased in many respects including avoiding what may affect their image in the public. For example, the interest of a political godfather who may have amassed wealth from shady businesses and deals needs to be protected. And at the same time, the interest of the masses who suffer the effect of corruption needs to be taken care of as seen in the previous section. A president is thus caught in between the two ends – the need to talk about corruption in order to purchase legitimacy from the citizenry, and the need to talk about corruption in such a way as not to anger the ingroup members such as the godfathers.

From the foregoing, it is seen that the overall goal of addressing the issue of corruption in certain ways, particularly as to conceal corrupt activities of specific individuals, amounts to power consolidation.

Observation and analysis of Nigeria's socio-political situation shows that leaders who might be in need of power consolidation are Ernest Shonekan, Abdulsalami Abubakar, Olusegun Obasanjo (as civilian president), Umaru Yar'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan. We illustrate below.

Shonekan became the leader on the recommendation of the Babangida-led military government. To consolidate power, Shonekan would have had to tone down his talk about corruption and its perpetrators. Abubakar became the military president after the sudden demise of Abacha. The death of Abacha did not mean that top military officers who were his loyalists and still wielded influence had disappeared under Abubakar. Obasanjo became the civilian president in 1999, supported by Abdulsalami Abubakar who was the military president, and who oversaw the election that brought in Obasanjo. On the face of it, Obasanjo would not allow his talk about corruption to offend his political benefactor. Yar'Adua became Nigeria's president on the recommendation and support of Obasanjo who vigorously campaigned for Yar'Adua's presidency. Yar'Adua may have good reasons not to similarly offend his godfather (Obasanjo). Following the death of Yar'Adua in office, Obasanjo who was widely acknowledged as 'kingmaker' ensured that Jonathan succeeded Yar'Adua as president. Intuitively, Jonathan would not be expected to offend his boss, Yar'Adua, or their shared mentor, Obasanjo.

Four transitivity choices and two appraisal choices that lend credence to the (power consolidation) interest are underspecification of participants, corruption as faceless, overgeneralisation of

participants' roles, implicit representations and metaphorical representations where the inherent emotional resentment of corruption blurs the role of the social actors, and evaluation of previous government as well as evaluation of corruption as an entity.

In Table 8.4 below, we provide excerpts from speeches of five presidents mentioned above based on the explicated circumstances.

Table 8.4. Corruption-related clauses deployed for achieving power consolidation

Extract	Corruption-related clauses	Relevant choices and ideological consideration
1	The political climate is poisoned; economic activities are at low ebb while corruption, indiscipline and other social ill reign supreme ...I am also convinced that to accomplish this very important task the battle must begin with the leadership of our country. (ES1)	Transitivity choice: corruption as faceless (agentless process), underspecification of concerned social actors. Ideological consideration: The 'climate' can said to have been created by his predecessor and benefactor, Babangida.
2	We shall forever remember him (immediate past president Sani Abacha) for his innovative leadership and transparent stewardship ... We salute his honesty...	Appraisal choice: positive evaluation of previous government Ideological consideration: Abdulsalami Abubakar is a direct 'beneficiary' of the sudden death of Sani Abacha.
3	...we experienced in the last decade and half and particularly in the last regime but one , persistent deterioration in the quality of our governance, leading to instability and the weakening of all public institutions ... Government officials became progressively indifferent to propriety of conduct and showed little commitment to promoting the general welfare of the people and the public good. (OO-D1)	Appraisal choice: positive evaluation of previous government Ideological consideration: The expression 'but one' singled out the regime of Abdulsalami Abubakar who oversaw the election that brought Obasanjo in as president. Transitivity choice: overgeneralisation of roles Ideological consideration: the big brush of corruption is used to paint 'government officials' as corrupt (and used without a determinant, arguably because they are not needed to legitimize his government).
4	We are determined to intensify the war against corruption, more so because corruption is itself central to the spread of poverty. Its corrosive effect is all too visible in all aspects of our national life. This is an area where we have made significant progress in recent years , and we will maintain the momentum. (UY1)	Transitivity choice: implicit representations and metaphorical representation Ideological consideration: The speaker implicitly commended Olusegun Obasanjo and his government. Exclusion e.g. excludes alleged corruption incidents in Obasanjo Government. Appraisal choice: corruption is evaluated as an entity.
5	The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective determination, to rid our nation of this scourge. The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist, so that the limited resources of this nation will be used for the growth of our common wealth. (GJ1)	Transitivity choice: metaphorical representation, underspecification of social actors and overgeneralisation of roles of the social actors. Ideological consideration: social actors represented as inanimate; excludes alleged roles of political leaders in corruption. Appraisal choice: corruption is evaluated as an entity.

As noted in the Table, all of these choices are highly ideological and interest-prone. For example, the underspecification of the social actors observed in Extract 1 in relation to poisoned political climate, economic downturn and corruption can be attributed to the previous leadership of Babangida. The ascension of Shonekan to power was facilitated by Ibrahim Babangida (who had faced intense public opposition to his rule at the time). And in spite of the public outcry against prevalent corruption, we see that Shonekan may have considered the inherent interest of

(consolidating power) to enable him to govern unhindered. The choice to use mass noun (leadership) which underspecifies any intended social actor(s) instead of identifying those responsible for corruption and political upheaval is undoubtedly a case of interest to consolidate his power.

Abdulsalami Abubakar rose to power after the sudden death of Sani Abacha. Despite the latter's demise, he still remained a powerful force capable of destabilizing the nascent regime in the sense that other members of the ingroup loyal to Abacha (e.g. senior military officers and civilian associates as well as his family) were still very much around. The expression, 'transparent leadership' in Extract 2 (Table 8.4) is a positive evaluation of Abacha regime, which indicates that 'positive Other' can also occur in political speeches. However, the ideological interest in this case is power consolidation to enable Abubakar run his government. This positive evaluation is an immediate strategy of inclusion deployed by Abubakar, especially as both leaders were military officers, and they may potentially share the same ideology. This embedded ideology in the choice of positive evaluation (transparent leadership) is further foregrounded if we consider later revelations that Abacha regime was allegedly engulfed in large scale financial malfeasance (Ogbeide 2012, Ikejiaku 2013; Ijewereme 2015). Corruption under Abacha's government is described in Ogbeide (2012).

Under General Abacha, corrupt practices became blatant and systematic. General Abacha and his family alongside his associates looted Nigeria's coffers with reckless abandon ... It was estimated that the embezzlement of public funds and corruption proceeds of General Abacha and his family amounted to USD 4 billion (Ogbeide 2012).

Olusegun Obasanjo, Umaru Yar'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan are civilian presidents, and as indicated above, there is a political connection among them. The three presidents emerged from the same political party and one president (Obasanjo) was instrumental to the emergence of the remaining two. For Obasanjo, his interest in power consolidation is linked to the immediate past regime headed by Abdulsalami Abubakar. In Obasanjo's inaugural speech (which was his second coming as a Nigerian leader), he managed to take care of the interest of Abubakar by singling out his administration in the talk about corruption using appraisal and transitivity choices – positive evaluation of previous government and overgeneralisation of participants' roles. While the big

brush of corruption was used in painting preceding administrations, Abubakar's was excluded from that painting. Abubakar facilitated the emergence of Obasanjo as president and to consolidate power the latter could not antagonize the former. What we see in the case of Yar'Adua was systematic commendation of Obasanjo in the talk about corruption by implicitly commending Olusegun Obasanjo and his government (implicit representations) and metaphorically representing corruption as both war as well as metallic object that can suffer corrosion. . By saying '[we] are determined to intensify the war against corruption' in Extract 4 (Table 8.4) is an implicit way of giving a pass mark to the immediate past government of Obasanjo. Such commendation is however in some contrast with Human Rights Watch's claim that '[U]ntil 2007, limited efforts at investigating and prosecuting corrupt politicians focused on enemies of the Obasanjo administration, undermining if not destroying the credibility of those efforts altogether' (Human Rights Watch 2007, 4).

With the transitivity choice, overgeneralisation of roles of the social actors, Jonathan places the issue of fighting corruption was put at the doorstep of all Nigerians with total exclusion of the role of the political class. As laudable as it is that '[the] fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist, so that the limited resources of this nation will be used for the growth of our common wealth' (as seen in Extract 5, Table 8.4), the decision not to identify perpetrators or give details of their roles was ideological in the sense that giving such details may have angered his political benefactors, including Obasanjo, whose administration was later allegedly linked with corruption. Indeed, there were indications which suggest that Obasanjo was probably corrupt during his tenure. For example, The Guardian wrote that:

[T]he library launch has been described elsewhere as executive extortion. What has happened is perhaps more serious than that. It can be described as constructive corruption where the construction is subtle, disarming and palpable negative.... Knowing the Nigerian mindset you cannot involve functionaries of government and its agencies and tell the world that all their donations are coming from their salaries and private enterprise. (The Guardian, Monday 16 May 2005)

It is then clear that Jonathan's choice to ignore allegations of corruption that preceded his administration was motivated by self-interest: consolidation of power. This situation left us wondering why the governments of (military) presidents such as Murtala Muhammad and

Muhammadu Buhari who were known to be very decisive and resolute on the issue of corruption were not allowed to last long.

From the perspective of corruption types (see Chapter 2 and 5), it is interesting to note that most of the types of corruption which the choices allude to are political, moral and bureaucratic. What we see here underscores part of our finding (in Chapter 5) where political corruption takes the largest chunk of the types (40%) in our corpus of corruption-related clauses in the speeches. Political corruption is followed by moral and bureaucratic corruption (28% and 23% respectively). The reference to political climate and corruption, (political) leadership and the reference to quality of governance (see Extract 1 and 3) speak to political corruption. The way political corruption manifests in the speeches is connected to Graaf's (2007) 'Ethos of Public Administration theories', which states that performance of a public official has a causal path from societal pressure through the level of organizations. In other words, the administrative culture of transparency or otherwise within public management as influenced by the society. Also, the reference to government officials in Extract 3 is inclusive of corruption that occurs at the implementation end of politics (bureaucratic corruption). This is the type of corruption that people encounter every day which may be categorised as 'defensive' and 'extortive' corruption according to Alatas (1980). It would be recalled that defensive type of corruption involves situations where a person needing a critical service is compelled to bribe in order to prevent unpleasant consequences being inflicted on the interests of such person; the extortive type refers to the behaviour of a person demanding personal compensation in exchange for services. Lastly, expressions such as indifference to propriety of conduct, indiscipline and social ills (in Extracts 1 and 3) appeal to moral corruption which considers appropriateness of individual moral character. It is believed that faulty behaviour of people is a reflection of defective moral standard. In Graaf's Clashing Moral Values theories, the causal chain in these theories starts with certain values and norms of society that directly influence the values and norms of individuals, and these values and norms influence the behavior of individual officials, making them corrupt (see Chapter 2, Table 2.3 – *Theories of the causes of corruption*).

So far, we have been able to suggest that the choices in the presidential speeches relating to corruption are politically motivated. We have suggested that choices such as underspecification of social actors, overgeneralisation of participants' roles and metaphorical representations are

consistent with the need of presidents to consolidate their power. Doing this was shown to mean protecting the interests of their political godfathers and benefactors who possess the ability to undermine their administration. In addition to our analysis and conclusions on legitimacy in the previous section, we see that discourse can be deployed to achieve a range of interests. A president is able to pacify the masses and gain their support and legitimacy, and at the same time, he is able to mitigate what is said in order to consolidate power especially through powerful individuals who have the resources to sabotage government policies or programmes.

The foregoing analysis indicates that language can be used to serve both personal and group interests. Indeed, one of the major CDA assumptions is that discourse does ideological work (e.g. Fairclough and Wodak 1997), and ideology itself is seen as the 'basis of the social representations shared by members of a group' (van Dijk 1998, 8). As far back as 1960s, language (or discourse) has been viewed as a medium of domination and social force which can serve to legitimize the relations of organized power or dominant group (Habermas 1967). While it can be argued that people's socio-cognitive processes (described by Fairclough as members resources - MR or interpretive procedures) were being bought into in the creation and presentation of texts (speeches) by the presidents, the 'explanation' stage, which is 'concerned with the social constitution and change of MR, including ... their reproduction in discourse', can help to reposition the interpretative consciousness of the people who the speeches are largely targetted at. Thus, our understanding in CDA, that discourse produces knowledge, identities and social relations and thereby maintaining specific social patterns, has been demonstrated from these analyses.

8.3. Fear of Post-tenure Retribution

Retribution is generally associated with 'vengeance' or 'recompense'. By 'fear of post-tenure retribution', we mean a president's attempt to avoid potential political or legal backlash, post-tenure, to things they had said or done while in office. Thus, even an issue of such national concern as corruption may have to be approached in a careful manner in order to avoid this potential negative (political) consequence.

In examining post-tenure negative consequences, it becomes helpful to relate the discussion with CDA's principle which maintains that discourse perform ideological roles in the sense that it views issues of power as discursive; it also sees discourse as connected to the past, contemporary and subsequent social contexts. Although the 'the right interpretation does not exist' (Fairclough,

2002), our analysis here shows that discourses (such as those surrounding the fear of retribution) are not produced without contexts. In addition, discourse plays vital roles in terms of societal beliefs and actions, more so that our society is shaped by discourse while discourse also shapes that very society and its structures. Understanding prevailing sociopolitical situation in a country like Nigeria can add immense value to social analysis of texts of this nature.

In Nigeria, the power of incumbency makes it very difficult to expose the corrupt acts being perpetrated by an incumbent political leader. The 1999 Constitution, specifically in its Section 308¹³, provides immunity from prosecution for presidents and state governors. What makes the fear of post-tenure retribution plausible as reason for choices made in speeches is the existence and potential manipulation of legally backed anticorruption institutions such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC). Although corruption-related bodies and promulgations have always existed (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.3), the EFCC and the ICPC were given enabling powers to arrest and prosecute offenders. Awareness of the sweeping powers of these anticorruption bodies, and the prospect of them being manipulated by adversaries to settle scores, can largely determine what a president says about corruption and how it is said.

Two presidents whose speeches may depict a fear of retribution are Olusegun Obasanjo (as civilian president) and Goodluck Jonathan, First, the EFCC and the ICPC were already established before the end of their tenure. Notably, Olusegun Obasanjo was credited for the creation of the two anticorruption bodies. Second, it is only these two presidents that made 'true' valedictory speeches in the sense that they ascended power through an election and were able to handover to another president in a democratic setting. As noted in the Methodology chapter, most of the presidents were either overthrown, assassinated or died while in office. Extracts from inaugural and valedictory speeches of the two presidents are presented in Table 8.5.

In analysing Extract 1a (Table 85), we may recall our arguments (in Chapter 6) that the seeming emphasis on corruption in some inaugural speeches such as those found in Obasanjo's speech,

¹³ This section applies to a person holding the office of President or Vice-President, Governor or Deputy; and the reference in this section to 'period of office' is reference to the period during which the person holding such office is required to perform the functions of the office.

faceless representations and underspecification of participants where social actors are represented by their professions or groups they belong to, are quite suspicious and questionable.

Table 8.5. Corruption-related clauses from inaugural and valedictory speeches of Obasanjo and Jonathan

Extract	Corruption-related issues	Speech type, choices and notes
1a	The rampant corruption in the public service and the cynical contempt for integrity that pervades every level of the bureaucracy will be stamped out. The public officer must be encouraged to believe once again that integrity pays and self-respect must be restored ... A code of conduct for ministers and other public officers will be introduced. Other measures for individual and collective self-control and self-discipline of ministers and other public officers will also be introduced. (OO-D1)	Extracted from inaugural speech (IS) of Olusegun Obasanjo (OO-D1) Obasanjo took over power from military president Abdulsalami Abubakar (in 1999) Transitivity choice: underspecification of social actors Strategy: functionalization – social actors identified by their roles; personalization – focus on social actors as individuals.
1b	We have waged relentless battles to correct many of the ills in our society. We have demonstrated our determination to bring about a more moral society . (OO-D1)	Extracted from valedictory speech (VS) of Olusegun Obasanjo. By this time (2007), Nigeria’s EFCC and ICPC have been created (see Chapter 2) Transitivity choice: Implicit representation Strategy: indirect/allusion to corruption; avoiding a confrontational approach of the IS
2a	Fellow citizens, in every decision, I shall always place the common good before all else. The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective determination, to rid our nation of this scourge. The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist, so that the limited resources of this nation will be used for the growth of our common wealth. (GJ1)	Extracted from inaugural speech (IS) of Goodluck Jonathan. Jonathan took over from Umaru Yar’Adua (in acting capacity) but was duly elected as president in 2011. Transitivity and appraisal choice: metaphorical representation and overgeneralization of responsibility; representation of corruption with human attribute. Strategy: creating emotional resentment of corruption; avoiding precision of solution and roles.
2b	My Administration has emphasized giving a free hand to our Anti-corruption agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC). We preferred that they mature into strong institutions instead of being the images, the hammer and the anvil of a strong man . We must encourage them to abide by the rule of law and due process instead of resorting to dramatic or illegal actions orchestrated for cheap applause. Beyond the very impressive records of enhanced convictions by statutory anti-corruption agencies like the EFCC and ICPC, our other strategy has been to fashion economic policies that deliver higher deterrence and frustrate concealment. In this regard, the Bureau of Public Procurement has played a central role and impacted strongly on the fight against corruption. (GJ2)	Extracted from valedictory speech (VS) of Goodluck Jonathan (GJ1). By this time, EFCC and ICPC were already at the forefront of fighting corruption in Nigeria. Transitivity choice: implicit representation Strategy: a different perspective on tackling corruption is brought forward. Subtle conceptual metaphor is used to suggest that the two anticorruption bodies are being used by some powerful individuals. It is a way of provoking sympathy against potential post-tenure consequences especially as the speech was made towards the end of the speaker’s administration.

Indeed, such representations are ideologically inclined in that certain interests are being considered. As an instance, in Extract 1a, the embedded strategy of the transitivity choice, underspecification of social actors, may be described as functionalization and genericization where social actors are identified by their professional roles and class (Leeuwen 2008). van Leeuwen (2008, 42) describes ‘functionalization’ as describing social actors by what they do (occupation or roles), and ‘genericization’, identification of the social actors by class, where plural nouns without an article are deployed (e.g. ministers and public officers in Extract 1 above), and the use of the singular noun with a definite article (e.g. the public officer and the public service also in Extract 1 above). Lack of specificity in these constructions which suggest certain ideological considerations on the part of the speaker can substantially achieve less result when it comes to dealing with corruption.

In Extract 1b (Table 8.5), we see an increased implicitness or impreciseness in reference to corruption and the social actors in Obasanjo’s valedictory speech (OO-D2). This suggests a ‘hidden’ fear of possible repercussions after he must have relinquished power and automatically lost his presidential immunity. Across the whole speech, what is observed is almost total silence on corruption in comparison to the inaugural speech (cf. Extract 1a). The transitivity choice (implicit representation) was used a strategy of allusion to corruption. The corruption-related expression found is merely an allusion (the ills in our society) where social actors connected to those ‘ills’ are completely excluded. This apparent discursive difference in the two speeches may be precipitated by the fear of the ‘unknown’ after his tenure. It may also be argued that the Obasanjo’s political support for the emergence of the two presidents that succeeded him (Umaru Yar’Adua and Goodluck Jonathan) (e.g. Joseph and Gilles 2010), is a practical way of safeguarding himself and his interest after his tenure. The fear of reprisal after office may culminate in the kind of discursive makeup we see in the valedictory speech.

We now turn to Extracts 2a and 2b taken from inaugural and valedictory speeches of Goodluck Jonathan. When we relate the representations to the society and its social structures as informed by CDA, we observe that the fear of retribution is differently catered for in the two speeches. For the inaugural speech (IS), the transitivity and appraisal choices (metaphorical representation and overgeneralization of roles; representation of corruption with human attribute) are used as

strategies for demonstrating an emotional resentment of corruption as well as avoiding precision of solution and responsibility. Also, metaphorical representations of participants (see Chapter 6) enables the identities and corrupt acts of social actors to be concealed. In the first part of Extract 2, we find metaphors for corruption such as the bane of corruption, the scourge and a war. Embedded in these metaphors are human participants who are capable of executing all the activities encapsulated in the metaphors. Apart from the deeper emotional resentment of corruption they bring, the choices can be used ideologically to conceal the identities of affected social actors for fear of repercussions.

This fear of repercussion appears to be intensified in his (Jonathan’s) valedictory speech as seen in Extract 2b (Table 8.5). The mention of ‘giving a free hand’ in reference to anticorruption agencies may sound good superficially, but what comes after, in the following clause, rather suggests a kind of reaction to some ongoing social issues around Jonathan’s government and corruption. Also, the implicit representation of corruption is a strategy of bringing up a different perspective to the fear of retribution. The use of subtle conceptual metaphor to suggest that the two anticorruption bodies were being manipulated by some powerful individuals is a way of provoking sympathy against potential post-tenure consequences especially as the speech was made a day to the end of his administration.

Another perspective for explaining the fear of post-tenure retribution can be seen in the quantity of what is said about corruption (see Chapter 5). In Figure 8.2., we see a striking disparity between inaugural and valedictory speeches of Obasanjo.

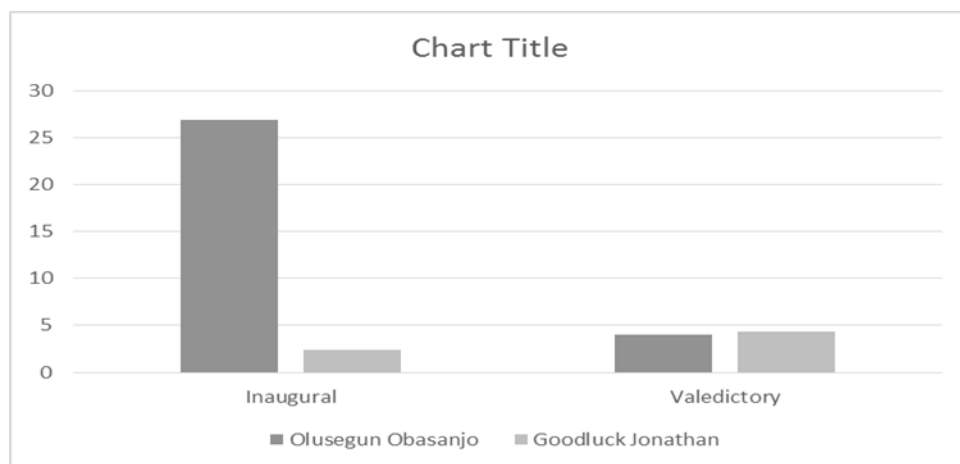


Figure 8.2. Comparing inaugural and valedictory speeches (Obasanjo and Jonathan)

In Figure 8.2, we see a remarkable difference between the quantity of the inaugural speech (IS) and valedictory (VS) of Olusegun Obasanjo which is over 20% higher. One expects that the similar zeal with which the issue of corruption was addressed at the beginning of the administration was replicated in the VS, which could include successes made and challenges encountered. However, this glaring disparity underscores our preceding analysis which relates to fear of retribution. On the other hand, we see a relatively higher number of clauses on corruption (about 2% more) in the VS of Goodluck Jonathan than his IS. However, we have explained that issues raised are more of reaction and defense apparently aimed at discrediting the two anticorruption bodies and elicit sympathy against potential post-tenure consequences.

8.4. Summary of the Chapter

Our analysis in this chapter has been focused on three major ideological and interest bases of various linguistic choices in the speeches of the presidents. With insights from relevant CDA assumptions as reflected in Fairclough, van Leeuwen and van Dijk's models, the analysis focused on interrogating the interest and ideological bases of the (transitivity and appraisal) choices made in the speeches and how these choices speak to their commitment to combating corruption. We argued that talking about corruption in a country where corruption has been the major obstacle to development can earn a president the much-desired legitimacy particularly those who gained power through questionable or unpopular circumstances. Analyses also show that various representations relating to corruption are made in consideration of powerful individuals or groups in the society in order to help a president to consolidate power. And in comparison between inaugural and valedictory speeches (IS and VS) of two presidents who came to power after two anticorruption agencies in Nigeria have been established (the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other related Offences), analysis showed a fear of retribution in the way in which the issue of corruption are addressed in their inaugural and valedictory speeches. All of these interests betray the very purpose of foregrounding corruption in the speeches, and to a large extent, demonstrate unwillingness and lack of commitment to fight corruption and reduce its adverse effects on the populace. Finally, the chapter confirms the complementarity CDA and SFL in social analysis of language. CDA is an approach that assists analysts to explain texts, establishes their relationships to society and culture and unearth any potential issues of interests, power and ideology that may embed in such texts.



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CHAPTER 9: General Conclusion

9.0. Introduction

This concluding chapter addresses the following: (1) it recalls the rationale and the objectives of the study, the context of the study and why the context makes the study potentially significant, the theoretical framing as well as the methodology; (2) the major findings of the study, and the contributions to scholarship and advocacy which these findings represent; (3) the limitations of the study and some directions for further research.

9.1. Rationale and Objectives of the Study

This research is partly motivated by the understanding that corruption is a topical issue across the world (Yeboah-Assiamah et.al. 2014; Senior 2006), and that a country like Nigeria has experienced a lot of negative impacts of corruption socially, economically and politically (Urien 2012; Adeyemi 2012). Also, the research substantially draws on the various conceptualisations of corruption in the field of social sciences. We acknowledged that there are many definitions of corruption according to scholars, and indeed there are scholarly arguments as to how it should be defined. The positive dimension to this, however, is that many writers tend to simply describe corruption as ‘the misuse of public office for private gain’ (Rose-Ackerman 2008, 551) or as behaviour that deviates from the formal duties of a public role (elective or appointive) because of private regarding (personal, close family, private clique) wealth or status gains (Nye 1967,417). And in consideration of our data and context, we have also seen corruption as any form of social wrongdoing, inappropriate or illegal conduct in government, political or private settings in which the perpetrator(s) enjoy(s) undue benefits or advantage.

We also identified various types of corruption within the social science disciplines (see Chapter 2, 2.2). The types of corruption alluded to in the speeches are political, bureaucratic, moral and electoral corruption. Political corruption occurs at the highest level of government, politics and administration. Bureaucratic corruption occurs at the implementation end of government, in public and other social services. This type of corruption can result in subjugating people in unlawful manners and discriminating against them based upon race, ethnicity, culture, or other social

orientations. Moral corruption is seen as failure of self-regulated behaviours, which have the ability to harm others, go against social norms and are devoid of moral values. Electoral corruption involves promises of special favours to electoral umpires or the electorate, intimidation of voters or officials, interference with freedom of election, buying of votes and disenfranchisement. Others are snatching of ballot boxes, victimizing and maiming, mutilation of election results in favour of losers and votes turning up in areas where votes were not cast (see for example, Pearson 1999; Byrne 2007; Schulte-Bockholt 2013; Gardiner 1993).

Nigeria, as our research context, becomes very significant not only because available indices show that the country is corrupt but also because of the apparent mismatch between the country's enormous resources and the poor level of development. The World Bank report (2017), for example, suggested that more than 35 million Nigerians live in 'extreme poverty' (less than \$1.90 a day). Paradoxically, it was reported that close to \$400 billion was stolen from Nigeria's public accounts from 1960 to 1999, and between 2005 and 2014, about \$182 billion was lost through illicit financial flows from the country which represent some 15 per cent of the total value of Nigeria's trade over the period 2005 – 2014, at \$1.21 trillion (Global Financial Integrity 2017).

With more than 50 years of the country as an independent nation (as at 2015, Nigeria was 55), corruption seems to have remained an insurmountable challenge with its attendant negative effect on socio-economic and political life of the nation. For some, it has become a way of life, a culture of some sort (Ojukwu and Shopeju 2010; Smith 2007). What is more paradoxical, however, is the fact that corruption-related issues have been part of the speeches of Nigerian leaders since independence.

Much of the research on corruption in the social science disciplines such as political science, sociology, economics and law (e.g. Schulte-Bockholt 2013; Heidenheimer and Johnston 2001; Tanzi 1998; Rose Ackerman 1999; Nye 1967, 2008; Eke 1975; Waterbury 1973; Williams 1976, 1999) has largely focused on understanding corruption and its impact on governance and economy, political power dynamics and developmental concerns, among others. Analytical approaches have either been through observation of socio-economic and political implications of corruption or analysis of indicators such as poverty level and poor public infrastructures.

We also made reference to other studies that focus on corruption and its relationship with human rights violation, and attempted to advance legal frameworks to address some of the root causes of corruption in relation to human right violations and poverty (Warren 2004; Smith 2007; Ikejiaku, 2013; Olaniyan 2016; Peter 2015).

It was also noted that the study of corruption from the perspective of language and linguistics has not been quite substantial. To the best of our knowledge, apart from Pierce (2016), Kajsiu (2014) and Koechlin (2013) who have attempted to relate corruption to specific areas of discourse theory and language, other language-related studies have focused on issues such as declaration of interest to contest presidential elections (e.g. Kamalu and Agangan, 2012), use of personal pronouns in a president's speech (Bello 2013), or on presence of features derived from pragmatics (Ayemoni and Akinkuolere 2012) (see Chapter 2, 2.7).

The foregoing shows that the study of corruption using frameworks associated with linguistics to analyse presidential speeches in a country like Nigeria has been limited. Thus, our knowledge is inadequate especially with respect to how these presidents construe corruption, how the resources of language resources used in speeches are superficially critical of corruption while simultaneously belying their commitment to fight it and possible variations in the construal of corruption at the beginning and at the end of a given president's tenure, among others.

We then set to examine language choices related to the theme of corruption in speeches made by Nigerian presidents from 1957 to 2015. We employed the frameworks provided by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). SFL is interested in the kinds of linguistic choices we make in the production of texts (or speeches). We particularly deployed SFL's transitivity and appraisal which helped to identify specific choices made in the presidential speeches and which assisted in understanding how corruption is construed by the presidents. CDA, which is also a social theory, provided a number of approaches and models used for our analysis. Its focus on issues of ideology and power relations provides the opportunity to understand interests for some of the choices made in the presidential speeches.

Based on this, we collected the data of the speeches of Nigerian presidents (some were addressed heads of state and one a prime minister, we referred to all them in this research as presidents), basically inaugural and valedictory speeches (or any last-known speech) from 1957 to 2015, the

year which the actual research commenced. This amounts to 28 speeches made by 13 presidents distributed across military and civilian presidents (one of them served as both military and civilian president as different times).

With mixed methods, which allows for a combination of both qualitative and quantitative approaches, the following questions were asked: (1) at what time do corruption-related themes and types begin to manifest in Nigerian presidential speeches and how have these themes evolved from 1957 – 2015; (2) what are the dominant choices made from the system of transitivity (Process, Participants and Circumstances) in the clauses and how do they explain the presidents' construal of corruption; (3) what resources of the interpersonal metafunction of language are drawn upon in speeches delivered at different times for a positive self-presentation of the president/administration and a negative-other presentation; (4) what partisan, ethnic, religious and other interests inform the choices made in the speeches from the systems associated with the experiential and interpersonal metafunctions of language; and (5) how are the speeches drawn on those resources of the experiential and interpersonal metafunctions of language that indicate a commitment or otherwise to combating corruption?

9.2. Findings

On the first question, which is about the time that corruption-related themes and types began to manifest in Nigerian presidential speeches and how these themes evolved from 1957–2015, a quantitative analysis of corruption-related clauses in the speeches revealed that corruption emerged in presidential speeches as far back as 1957 and that it peaked at two different periods, in 1984 and in 1999, under Muhammadu Buhari and Olusegun Obasanjo's governments respectively. Regarding inaugural and valedictory (IS and VS) of the presidents, analysis showed a numerical disparity between the two. For presidents with higher IS than the VS, we suggested that it was partly due to a waned commitment to fighting corruption, and for those with higher VS, we demonstrated that other reasons or interests (e.g. justifying certain government actions relating to corruption to prevent repercussions, or addressing particular type of corruption than other types to justify a government's decision) are accountable for the different in the volume of the corruption-related clauses. With reference to the type of corruption alluded to in the speeches, four types were identified, and they are political, moral, bureaucratic and electoral corruption. We argue that the prevalence of political corruption type in the speeches indicates a large number of corrupt activities

may have occurred among the political leadership of the country since political corruption takes place at the topmost level of government. On whether corruption is more a favorite subject among military presidents than the civilian presidents, our data shows that the volume of corruption are almost at the same level in the speeches of both type of leaders (see Chapter 5).

In reference to the second research question, which is about the dominant linguistic choices made from the system of transitivity (Process, Participants and Circumstances) in the clauses and how they explain the presidents' construal of corruption, we found that corruption clauses are constructed without agents; participants are underspecified or at best represented in mass, or metaphors are used to hide corruption characters and at the same time, indicating strong emotional resentment for corruption, among others. For example, in situations where certain corrupt activities which require further identification of people and activities involved, we found that such corruption activities are only mentioned without agents (or actors, as may be applicable) which adversely reduces the effectiveness of such statements. We showed that almost the Nigerian presidents, that ruled the country from 1957–2015, represented corruption in ways that raise doubts about interests and commitment.

On the third question, which is about the resources of the interpersonal metafunction of language drawn upon in speeches for a positive self-presentation of the president/administration and a negative-other presentation, analysis showed that the presidents' tendency to negatively talk about preceding administrations while either being silent about corruption in their own administrations or commending their anti-corruption efforts, reveals a measure of deception. Also, we foregrounded choices that point to the negative-other presentation particularly regarding the discrepancies noticed in the way in which evaluative language used to address corruption in relation to political office holders are subtle and advisory in contrast to the civil servants where stern warning and threats of employment termination are deployed.

Regarding the nature of interests that inform the choices from the systems associated with experiential and interpersonal metafunctions of language and how those resources indicate a commitment or otherwise to combating corruption in questions four and five, our analysis indicated that three major interests may account for the choices: legitimacy, power consolidation and fear of post-tenure retribution. With insights from CDA which holds that language use is never neutral and that opaque relationships exist between texts (e.g. Fairclough 1995), this research

indicated that talking about corruption in a country where corruption has been a major obstacle to development can earn a president the much-desired legitimacy particularly if the president had gained power through questionable circumstances. It also showed that various representations (such as underspecification of social actors) relating to corruption are made in consideration of powerful individuals or groups in the society in order to help a president to consolidate power. Finally, the analysis also showed a potential fear of what may become of a president after his tenure when presidential immunity would have been lost. We argued that these interests betray the very purpose of talking about corruption in the speeches, and to a large extent, demonstrate unwillingness and lack of commitment to fight corruption or reduce its adverse effects on the populace.

9.3. Major Research Contributions

In this thesis, there are thirteen fairly unique contributions that have been made. We identified **six** contributions on **theory and application** (SFL, CDA and social science scholarship), **four** contributions relating to **methods** (CDA and SFL) and **three** on public commentary and advocacy.

9.3.1. Contributions relating to theory

Firstly, it is widely acknowledged that material processes indicate a strong commitment to ‘doing’ something or achieving a particular goal and this has been pointed out in a number of studies. However, this research has shown that it is perhaps erroneous to base any conclusion solely on material process without paying attention to participants especially whether participants are deleted or included. While our study has shown the dominance of material processes in the corruption-related clauses, which may ordinarily suggest that majority of the presidents are committed to combating corruption, it has emerged that there are contrary mechanisms that could take place at the level of the participants which empty the material processes of what could have been its value of commitment (see Chapter 6).

Secondly, although text analysis within SFL at the level of the clause has been carried out on a range of subjects (governance, politics, economy, education and development generally among others), to the best of our knowledge, this is the first time in which the subject of corruption is analysed at a granular, fine-grained level of clause analysis.

Thirdly, it is common knowledge that a combination of CDA and SFL in the analysis of texts is rewarding in the sense that SFL allows us to account for linguistic choices made in texts while CDA takes it further by investigating why certain choices are made. However, we have not found studies that have effectively combined CDA with SFL in the context of speeches on corruption.

Fourthly, a number indicators have been used by corruption scholars in the social sciences to adjudge a president or an administration as corrupt or incorrupt. Such indicators have emerged from observation of economic and political situations, interview of stakeholders, media reports, among others (e.g. Ijewereme 2015; Ogbeide 2012). This study, which involved a close SFL–CDA analysis, has shown that a president can be perceived publicly to be tough on corruption but turn out to actually be soft. In Chapters 6, 7 and 8, we account for the linguistic choices deployed to talk about corruption and how those choices belie any commitment that the choices may ostensibly represent.

Fifthly, in understanding a president's commitment to combatting corruption, we may say, to the best of our knowledge, that this research is the first to have deployed textual data to infer such commitment. Prior to this research, studies aimed at determining leaders' commitment to fighting corruption have been done through observation of indicators such as a government's policies and programmes against corruption through, for example, qualitative content analysis of newspapers and magazines, journals, articles and internet materials (e.g. Muhammed 2013).

Lastly on contribution to theory and application, followers of Michael Halliday's SFL have analysed many texts using the notion of linguistic choice to account for and explain certain patterns. As shown in Chapter 3, several other scholars have used the framework to analyse a range of texts. However, this study is novel in terms of explaining the implication of various choices made in presidential speeches and how they portray interests that are related to a quest for legitimacy, a need to consolidate power by not offending godfathers as well as avoiding potential consequences after office.

9.3.2. Contributions relating to method

As indicated above, there are four important contributions which are explained here. First, to the best of our knowledge, there have not been (many) studies that approach SFL from a quantitative perspective especially on corruption. Research frameworks such as SFL and CDA have been

largely based on text analysis which may be employed to understand certain patterns of language under investigation. However, this study has shown that information (e.g. issues of corruption) contained in clauses under SFL can be investigated quantitatively to determine pattern of usage overtime and relate such figures to the corresponding social, economic or political situation.

Second, prior to this research, studies on corruption have been largely approached, for example, on the basis of its socio-economic problems, causes and consequences and solutions as well as its legal implications using a range of social science theories. Where quantitative data have been used, they have usually been obtained from reports of anticorruption agencies, economic and final reports and statistics. This is arguably the first time in which an overview of corruption in Nigeria is given based on quantifiable empirical data in presidential speeches, and in which the data is delineated following the understanding of the notion of a clause in SFL.

Third, Nigeria is a country that has been ruled by both civilian and military leaders. The claim has been that military interventions in governance are for corrective purposes. In other words, they were meant to remove social ills such as corruption. Previous studies have approached this issue based on varied social and economic indicators. This dissertation introduced a quantitative approach – quantifying corruption talk in presidential speeches of civilian versus military presidents. The result has shown that there is no significant difference in the volume of corruption talk between the two types of leadership.

Lastly on method, prior to this study, presidential speeches including those of Nigeria have been studied (see Chapter 1 and 2). Such studies have focused on a range of issues of social significance. However, no known studies have compared inaugural speeches (IS) with valedictory speeches (VS) in terms of how corruption is talked about by presidents on two such separate occasions of political significance, and identified a socially meaningful pattern as done in this study.

9.3.3. Contributions relating to public commentary and advocacy

As stated above, there are three important contributions which are explained here. Firstly, before this study, the talk about corruption had hardly been linked to an incumbent's relationship to an incoming president/administration. However, this study revealed that how a previous administration is criticised with respect to corruption depends on the nature of the relationship between an incoming president and an outgoing president. When a successor or the succeeding

administration is more like a continuation of the preceding one, either in terms of political party or in terms of solidarity or in terms of self-succession (even within the military establishments), we noticed that there is hardly any criticism of the previous administration by the incoming administration. For example, when Olusegun Obasanjo took over, there was no criticism of Murtala Mohammed by Obasanjo. In contrast, when Babangida toppled Buhari, he was very critical of Buhari, and obviously they were not aligned as military officers. Also, when Yar'Adua took over from Obasanjo, who is widely reported to have handpicked him, Yar'Adua did not criticise Obasanjo Administration; and when Goodluck Jonathan took-over, first as acting president (after Yar'Adua's death), he did not criticise his late boss. Unfortunately, the period when Muhammadu Buhari became civilian president lies outside the scope of this work. But a cursory look at his inaugural speech shows that Buhari, who belongs to a different party from Jonathan's, was very critical of the Jonathan Government.

Secondly, it is generally assumed that what is said by a president should represent an accurate government policy or a direction which the people need to believe and work with. However, the study has shown the need for processing with caution what is said by presidents and other political leaders. In other words, speeches of political leaders should not be reacted to or acted upon based on the explicit face value of what is said. Consideration of any text or speech at the level of the ordinary can be misleading as we see in the choices that were influenced by specific interests.

Lastly, research on corruption by anticorruption bodies for the purpose of rating countries and their leaders has been largely conducted using quantitative approaches. This current research can be helpful in showing that a fine-grained text analysis can say a lot about corruption and the motivations for constructing such texts. With this, a lot of information can be available to these international anticorruption and human rights organisations such as the Transparency International (TI), The World Bank, The United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC), International Association of Anti-Corruption Authorities (IAACA), Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC) in their various efforts to eradicate national and trans-border corruption, encourage global consciousness against the phenomenon and bring about an egalitarian society. Equally, national anticorruption agencies in Africa such as the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in Nigeria, National Anti-Corruption Forum (NACF) in South Africa and The Kenya Anti-

Corruption Commission (KACC) among others can benefit from this research by adopting critical approaches into what is said (and unsaid) in their analysis of corruption within and across nations.

9.4. Limitations and Directions for Future Research

While the analysis in this dissertation has been based on the volume of corruption-related clauses in the speeches as well as how the issue of corruption is expressed, it may be seen that this approach clearly has certain limitations in the sense that it could amount to a misreading of CDA to assume that it is only what is said that is meaningful, as what is not said can also be very important. For instance, there is the argument that silences are partly ‘the manifestation of the actions of the powerful in denying the marginal access to archives and that this has a significant impact on the ability of the marginal groups to form social memory and history (Carter 2006, 215). In analysing the volume of corruption-related clauses in the presidential speeches in Chapter 5, we saw that there seemed to be a decline in the corruption-related clauses of some the presidents’ speeches at a time when research and other media and public discourse were awash with complaints of corruption. Thus, what is not said, in other words, the silence over corruption which has lowered the statistics, needs also to be understood as a statement of a president’s views on corruption.

Secondly, in terms of the choice or selection of presidential speeches as data in preference to, for example newspaper reports or articles on corruption, the view held in this research is that a country’s president is a very powerful and knowledgeable individual who, by virtue of the position, can obtain any information desired. Moreover, he or she is seen as the primary change agent, thus if any change is going to occur, it would be because the president is convinced. As seen in this research, and beyond their superficial display of opposition to corruption, it was both interesting and revealing to see how language has been exploited for double-speak on corruption. However, future research may focus on other sources such as mentioned above to understand, for instance, how various segments of the society may have construed corruption and by extension, whether similar features as seen in the presidential speeches would be found including the implication of such features.

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APPENDIX A

[PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES]

ABUBAKRA TAFAWA BALEWA'S SPEECH (TB1) (1957)

By 1957 Nigeria was clearly on the path toward independence. In preparation the British Government named Abubakar Tafawa Balewa the first Prime Minister of the soon to be independent nation in a power sharing agreement among the colony's three major political parties. In the following radio address broadcasted to the Nigeria in September 1957, Balewa accepts his new appointment and outlines the political future of the soon-to-be independent nation.

This has been a great day for Nigeria, and, as the first Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, I am proud to speak to my fellow-countrymen tonight. I am proud, and I am humble, too, when I think of the enormous responsibility which has been placed upon me, and my colleagues.

Today, we have set out on the last stage of our journey to Independence, and the next three years will see the culmination of a process which has been gathering momentum year by year, and will see us reaping the harvest of what we have sown. The success of the harvest will depend upon us, and that is why I am glad to speak to you tonight. Every one of us has his part to play in the work of preparing Nigeria for Independence on the 2nd of April, 1960. I want everyone in Nigeria to realise that this is no easy task, and it cannot be performed by the Federal and Regional Ministers and legislators alone. It is a task for every one of you because it is only by the personal effort of each individual that Independence for the Federation can become a reality in 1960.

We have declared our intention of attaining Independence for the Federation on the 2nd of April, 1960, and if we wish to take our place among the responsible nations of the world, we must make every effort to see that this aim is achieved, and achieved with an international reputation for good internal government.

Nigeria has now reached a critical stage in her history. We must seize the opportunity which has been offered to us to show that we are able to manage our own affairs properly. Every Nigerian, whatever his status, and whatever his religion, has his or her share to contribute to this crucial task. I appeal to all my countrymen and women to cooperate with me and my colleagues to create a better understanding among our peoples, to establish mutual respect, and trust, among all our tribal groups, and to unite in working together for the common cause, the cause for which no sacrifice will be too great.

I am convinced, and I want you also to be convinced, that the future of this vast country must depend, in the main, on the efforts of ourselves to help ourselves. This we cannot do if we do not work together in unity. Indeed, unity today is our greatest concern, and it is the duty off every one of us to work so that we may strengthen it. This morning I said in the House of Representatives that bitterness due to political differences would carry Nigeria nowhere, and I appealed to the political leaders throughout the country to control their party extremists. To you who are listening tonight I repeat that appeal—Let us put away bitterness and go forward in friendship to Independence.

To further this overriding need for unity, my colleagues in the Council of Ministers and I have decided to give the country a lead by inviting the leaders of the Action Group to form with us a truly National Government composed of members of the main parties in the Country, and here I must pay tribute to Dr Azikiwe, to Chief Awolowo, Dr Endeley and to the leader of my own party, the Sardauna of Sokoto, for

supporting me in this decision. I and my Colleagues of the N.C.N.C. and N.P.C. hold out our hands in welcome to the Action Group members of the Council and I promise you that we shall do our utmost to ensure that the deliberations of the Council are held in an atmosphere devoid of strife and narrow party prejudice.

And now I would like to say a word to the civil service. We are grateful to all the civil servants, through whose work the country has reached the present stage of political development. I know that every constitutional advance puts a great strain on the civil service. Not only is there additional work to be done, but some officers find it hard to accept the new changes, but I must emphasize that Nigeria has today taken another important step forward, and if we are to succeed we must have the loyalty of all Nigerian and expatriate officers in this vital period before self-government is achieved. I should like to reassure all our expatriate staff of our continued sincerity in the pledges given over the last few years and to promise them that they need have no fears about their future. Their aim and our aim remains what it has always been—the welfare and prosperity of Nigeria. Our political advance will be of no value if it is not supported by economic progress. It is therefore most important that the development plans throughout the country should be carried out with vigour in order that we may have a proper financial standing when, in three years' time; we ask the world to regard us as an independent self-governing nation.

I would like to remind you of what a great American once said. It was this, 'United we stand, divided we fall'. This statement is as true for Nigeria today as it has been for any other country. The peoples of Nigeria must be united to enable this country to play a full part in shaping the destiny of mankind. On no account should we allow the selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardise the peace of the thirty-three million law-abiding people of Nigeria. It is the duty of all of us to work for unity and encourage members of all our communities to live together in peace and harmony. The way to do this is to create understanding, mutual respect and trust. It is important that we should first show respect to each other before asking the world to respect us.

Well—it is time for me to wish you good night, but first I would like to tell you how absolutely vital it is for your future and the future Nigeria which your children will inherit that, during this interim period before Independence we should be united. Let us be honest with ourselves, and let us be sincere—we know what we want, and we are sure that we can get it, and get it at the right time, provided we are not delayed by selfish quarrels. At a time like this, we must all turn our minds to Almighty God and seek His guidance and assistance—by His grace, we shall succeed.

ABUBAKAR TAFAWA BALEWA'S SPEECH (TB2) (1960)

Today is Independence Day. The first of October 1960 is a date to which for two years, Nigeria has been eagerly looking forward. At last, our great day has arrived, and Nigeria is now indeed an independent Sovereign nation.

Words cannot adequately express my joy and pride at being the Nigerian citizen privileged to accept from Her Royal Highness these Constitutional Instruments which are the symbols of Nigeria's Independence. It is a unique privilege which I shall remember forever, and it gives me strength and courage as I dedicate my life to the service of our country. This is a wonderful day, and it is all the more wonderful because we have awaited it with increasing impatience, compelled to watch one country after another overtaking us on the road when we had so nearly reached our goal. But now, we have acquired our rightful status, and I feel sure that history will show that the building of our nation proceeded at the wisest pace: it has been thorough, and Nigeria now stands well-built upon firm foundations.

Today's ceremony marks the culmination of a process which began fifteen years ago and has now reached a happy and successful conclusion. It is with justifiable pride that we claim the achievement of our

Independence to be unparalleled in the annals of history. Each step of our constitutional advance has been purposefully and peacefully planned with full and open consultation, not only between representatives of all the various interests in Nigeria but in harmonious cooperation with the administering power which has today relinquished its authority. At the time when our constitutional development entered upon its final phase, the emphasis was largely upon self-government: We, the elected representatives of the people of Nigeria, concentrated on proving that we were fully capable of managing our own affairs both internally and as a nation. However, we were not to be allowed the selfish luxury of focusing our interest on our own homes.

In these days of rapid communications, we cannot live in isolation, apart from the rest of the world, even if we wished to do so. All too soon it has become evident that for us, independence implies a great deal more than self-government. This great country, which has now emerged without bitterness or bloodshed, finds that she must at once be ready to deal with grave international issues. This fact has of recent months been unhappily emphasised by the startling events which have occurred in this continent. I shall not belabour the point but it would be unrealistic not to draw attention first to the awe-inspiring task confronting us at the very start of our nationhood. When this day in October 1960 was chosen for our Independence, it seemed that we were destined to move with quiet dignity to our place on the world stage. Recent events have changed the scene beyond recognition, so that we find ourselves today being tested to the utmost. We are called upon immediately to show that our claims to responsible government are well-founded, and having been accepted as an independent state, we must at once play an active part in maintaining the peace of the world and in preserving civilisation.

I promise you, we shall not fall for want of determination. And we come to this task better-equipped than many. For this, I pay tribute to the manner in which successive British governments have gradually transferred the burden of responsibility to our shoulders. The assistance and unfailing encouragement which we received from each Secretary of State for the Colonies and their intense personal interest in our development has immeasurably lightened that burden. All our friends in the Colonial Office must today be proud of their handiwork and in the knowledge that they have helped to lay the foundations of a lasting friendship between our two nations. I have indeed every confidence that, based on the happy experience of a successful partnership, our future relations with the United Kingdom will be more cordial than ever, bound together, as we shall be in the Commonwealth, by a common allegiance to Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, whom today we proudly acclaim as Queen of Nigeria and Head of the Commonwealth. Time will not permit the individual mention of all those friends, many of them Nigerians, whose selfless labours have contributed to our Independence. Some have not lived to see the fulfilment of their hopes – on them be peace – but nevertheless they are remembered here, and the names of buildings and streets and roads and bridges throughout the country recall to our minds their achievements, some of them on a national scale. Others confined, perhaps, to a small area in one Division, are more humble but of equal value in the sum-total.

Today, we have with us representatives of those who have made Nigeria: Representatives of the Regional Governments, of former Central Governments, of the Missionary Societies, and of the Banking and Commercial enterprises, and members, both past and present, of the Public Service. We welcome you, and we rejoice that you have been able to come and share in our celebrations. We wish that it could have been possible for all of those whom you represent to be here today. Many, I know, will be disappointed to be absent, but if they are listening to me now, I say to them: ‘Thank you on behalf of my countrymen. Thank you for your devoted service which helped to build up Nigeria into a nation. Today, we are reaping the harvest which you sowed, and the quality of the harvest is equalled only by our gratitude to you. May God bless you all. This is an occasion when our hearts are filled with conflicting emotions: we are, indeed, proud to have achieved our independence, and proud that our efforts should have contributed to this happy event.

But do not mistake our pride for arrogance. It is tempered by feelings of sincere gratitude to all who have shored in the task of developing Nigeria politically, socially and economically.

We are grateful to the British officers whom we have known, first as masters, and then as leaders, and finally as partners, but always as friends. And there have been countless missionaries who have laboured unceasingly in the cause of education and to whom we owe many of our medical services. We are grateful also to those who have brought modern methods of banking and of commerce, and new industries. I wish to pay tribute to all of these people and to declare our everlasting admiration of their devotion to duty. And finally, I must express our gratitude to Her Royal Highness, the Princess Alexandra for personally bringing to us these symbols of our freedom and especially for delivering the gracious message from Her Majesty, The Queen. And so, with the words 'God Save Our Queen', I open a new chapter in the history of Nigeria and of the Commonwealth, and indeed, of the world.

THOMAS AGUIYI-IRONSI'S SPEECH (TA1) (1966)

The Military Government of the Republic of Nigeria wishes to state that it has taken over the interim administration of the Republic of Nigeria following the invitation of the Council of Ministers of the last Government for the army to do so.

For some time now there have been escalating political disturbances in parts of Nigeria with increasing loss of faith between political parties, between political leaders themselves. This crisis of confidence reached a head during the elections in the Western Region in October last year. There were charges by opposition parties of rigging of the elections and general abuse of power by the Regional Government in the conduct of the elections. Riots, arson, murder and looting became widespread in Western Nigeria since October. The situation deteriorated and certain army officers attempted to seize power.

In the early hours of the morning of January 15, 1966, these officers kidnapped the Prime Minister and minister of Finance and took them to an unknown destination. The revolt was widespread throughout the country and two Regional Primers and some high-ranking army officers were killed. The whereabouts of the Prime Minister is still unknown. The vast majority of the Nigerian Army under the command of the General Officer commanding the Nigerian Army remained loyal to the National Government and immediately took steps to control the situation.

The Council of Ministers of the National Government met and appraised the immediate need to control the serious situation which threatened the Republic. They also saw quite clearly a possible deterioration of the situation in the light of development on Saturday 15, 1966. On Sunday, 16, the Council of Ministers unanimously decided to hand over voluntarily the administration of the country with immediate effect, to the Nigerian Army. This was formally done the same day by the Acting President of the Republic.

The Government of the Republic of Nigeria having ceased to function, the Nigerian Armed Forces have been invited to form an interim Military Government for the purpose of maintaining law and order and of maintaining essential services.

The invitation has been accepted and I, General Johnson Thomas Umunkwe Aguiyi-Ironsi, the General Officer Commanding the Nigerian Army have been formally invested with authority as Head of the National Military Government and Supreme Commander of the Nigerian Armed Forces.

The Military Government hereby decrees: the suspension of the provision of the Constitution of the Federation relating to the office of president, the establishment of parliament, and of the office of Prime Minister; the suspensions of the provisions of the Constitution of the Regions relating to the establishment of the offices of Regional Governors, Regional Premiers and Regional Executive Councils and Legislatures.

The Federal Military Further decrees: that there shall be appointed a Military Governor in each Region of the Federation, who shall be directly responsible to the Federal Military Government for the good government of the Region; the appointment as Adviser to the Military Governor of the Region, of the last person to hold the office of the Governor of the Region under the suspended provisions of the Constitution.

The Federal Military Government further decrees: that the Chief Justice and all other holders of judicial appointments within the Federation shall continue their appointments, and that the judiciary shall continue to function under their existing statutes; that all holders of appointments in the Civil Service of the Federation and of the Regions shall continue to hold their appointments and to carry out their duties in the normal way, and that similarly the Nigeria Police Force and the Nigeria Special Constabulary shall continue to exercise their functions in the normal way; that all Local Government Police Forces and Native Authority Police Forces shall be placed under the overall command of the Inspector-General.

The Federal Military Government announces, in connection with the internal affairs of the Federation: that it is determined to suppress the current disorder in the Western Region and in the Tiv area of the Northern Region; that it will declare Martial Law in any area of the Federation in which disturbances continue; that it is its intention to maintain law and order in the Federation until such times as a new Constitution for the Federation, prepared in accordance with the wishes of the people, is brought into being.

The Federal Military Government announces, in connection with the external affairs of the country: that it is desirous of maintaining the existing diplomatic relations with other States; and that it is its intention to honor all treaty obligations and all financial agreements and obligations entered into by the previous Government.

The Federal Military Government call upon all citizens of the Federation to extend their full cooperation to the Government in the urgent task of restoring law and order in the present crisis, and to continue in their normal occupations.

THOMAS AGUIYI-IRONSI'S SPEECH (TA2) (1966)

Fellow Nigerians:

During the past two weeks I presided over meetings of the Supreme Military council and the Central Executive Council at which many important state matters were considered. It is now three months since the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria was handed over to the Armed Forces. Now that peace has been restored in the troubled areas it is time that the Military

Government indicates clearly what it proposes to accomplish before relinquishing power. The removal of one of the obstacles on the way is provided for in the Constitution (Suspension and Modification) Decree (No. 5) 1966 which was promulgated by me today and comes into effect at once. The provisions of the Decree are intended to remove the last vestiges of the intense regionalism of the recent past, and to produce that cohesion in the governmental structure which is so necessary in achieving, and maintaining the paramount objective of the National Military government, and indeed of every true Nigerian, namely, national unity.

The highlights of this Decree are as follows:

The former regions are abolished, and Nigeria grouped into a number of territorial areas called provinces. Nigeria ceases to be what has been described as a federation. It now becomes simply the Republic of Nigeria. The former Federal Military government and the Central Executive Council become respectively the National Military Government and the executive Council. All the Military Governors are members of the Executive Council. A Military Governor is assigned to a group of provinces over which and subject to the direction and control of the Head of the National Military Government, he shall exercise executive

power. In order to avoid any major dislocation of the present administrative machinery, the grouping of the provinces has been made to coincide with the former regional boundaries. This is entirely a transitional measure and must be understood as such. The present grouping of the provinces is without prejudice to the Constitutional and Administrative arrangements to be embodied in the New Constitution in accordance with the wishes of the people of Nigeria.

The National Military Government assumes the exercise of all legislative powers throughout the Republic subject to such delegations to Military Governors as are considered necessary for purposes of efficient administration. The public services of the former federation and regions become unified into one national public service under a National Public Service Commission. There is a provincial Service Commission for each group of provinces to which is delegated functions in respect of public officers below a given rank. This rather drastic change will probably involve a reconstitution of the existing commissions, and the National Military Government reserves the right to do so in the manner stipulated in the Decree. Until this is done, the present Commissioners continue to act in their posts. Every civil servant is now called upon to see his function in any part of Nigeria in which he is serving in the context of the whole country. The orientation should now be towards national unity and progress. I expect all civil servants to co-operate and to consult at all levels, vertically and horizontally, between groups of Provinces and between Provinces and the Centre. People are aware that Study Groups have been set up to look into various aspects of governmental activity. One of them is concerned with problem relating to the Constitution. This Decree is without prejudice to their activities and their reports will be given proper consideration by the National Military Government in formulating the proposals for the future civilian government.

In my nation-wide radio broadcast of January 28, 1966, I said, among other things: "We cannot afford to continue with sterile political strife and mutual recriminations. I have therefore ordered that there shall be no display in party flags or symbols, and no shouting of political slogans."

On March 3, I caused a press release to be issued calling attention to the fact that political meetings were, in spite of my order, being held in certain parts of the country, and warned the public and the press to cooperate with the Federal Military Government in its tasks of national reconstruction. In spite of these warnings, political party activities still continue, either directly, or through various tribal societies and organizations. The National Military Government owes it as a duty to the people of this country to remove the ills which infested the former regime, to restore the faith of our people in their fatherland and its institutions, so that when the time comes for the civilian government to return, a healthy body politic would have emerged, and last vestiges of bitter factionalism removed. The National Military Government having committed itself to this task is firmly resolved to conclude it, and will not be diverted from, or obstructed in, the fulfillment of this objective by the activities or political manoeuvres of any society, party, union or association. Part of our task is the removal of politics based on tribal affiliations which, as everybody knows, have manifested political intrigues, or have been used as bases for party-political propaganda. This leads me to the removal of the second obstacle on the way for which provision has been made in the Public Order Decree 1966, which I have signed today and which comes into operation forthwith, dissolving all organizations of the type scheduled therein, and banning any manifestations of their political purpose. These organizations have been dissolved and will be buried along with the tribal, sectional and regional bitterness which they engendered. Certain types of associations and organizations are unaffected and will remain so, only for as long as they do not engage in any political activity.

It is the cardinal aim of my Government to foster the growth of town development unions, membership of which should be open to all inhabitants of the particular town irrespective of their tribal origin. This does not mean for instance that Efiks residing outside Calabar should not contribute towards the development of Calabar development union but it does mean that a Tiv or Hausa residing in Calabar should be eligible for

membership and should be allowed to participate fully in the development of that town. This Decree also prohibits the formation of new political parties. I must emphasize however that the ban on formation of new political parties is of limited duration and is designed to enable this corrective government to get on with its task especially at this initial stage. At the appropriate time, provisions will be made outlining the procedure for the formation of new political associations.

I want however to leave no doubt in the mind of anybody, that the provisions of this decree will certainly be enforced. This is a Military Regime and soldiers do not allow themselves to be diverted from or obstructed in the fulfillment of their objectives. With us the objectives will be pursued with supreme determination and vigor. In this we need not only the cooperation but the discipline of every Nigerian. I wish to make it clear that the prohibition of the formation of new political associations has no sinister motive. The limitation period until the 17th of January 1969 may be reduced if the Military Government accomplishes its aims before then. Our determination is that until the two decrees I have signed today are abrogated, every individual should be preoccupied with the task of national reconstruction, not as ex-politician, but simply as a Nigerian with faith in his country's destiny. Malicious rumours designed to mar our national reconstruction continue to be carried about by certain individuals in spite of my repeated warnings. Cases of impersonation of officers of the Armed Forces are still reported. I have to warn again those who indulge in these criminal acts to discipline themselves forthwith and not to provoke us into taking very drastic measures which may otherwise become necessary.

In pursuance of its policy for achieving national unity, my Government is setting up a body to review all the existing Government-sponsored newspapers in the context of national unity. This body will also recommend the most effective organization for running the Information, Broadcasting and Television Services in the country and the financial implications involved.

I must not end this broadcast without pointing out a recent development which, if not checked, will adversely affect the morale of the Civil Service and thereby hamper our national reconstruction. By this I mean the unnecessary criticism recently being leveled against the Civil Service by certain sections of the Press. It is common knowledge that civil servants are expected to tender advice to Ministers but it was not obligatory on the part of the former Ministers to accept advice so tendered. It will therefore be wrong to blame civil servants for mistakes made by their Ministers who in many cases did not accept the advice given to them by these officers.

I have to make it abundantly clear to everyone that my Government will continue to use the services of the present civil servants. However, my government believes in maintaining the highest standard of efficiency in the Civil Service and will not hesitate to do away with anyone found guilty of inefficiency, nepotism, tribalism and corruption.

I therefore wish to appeal to all newspaper editors and columnists to look for a more profitable pastime and desist from criticizing civil servants unnecessarily especially as they realize that because of the tradition of their calling, civil servants are barred from defending themselves on the pages of newspapers. Such attacks will certainly not help the Military Government and is sure eventually to demoralize members of the Public Service who are rendering such noble service to this nation under difficult conditions. If any member of the public has any genuine case against any civil servant, he or she should make a report to the appropriate quarters.

We are determined to accomplish the main tasks we have set ourselves. The various problems involved are being studied by the various working parties which I have set up. Whilst these studies are in progress my Government cannot remain at a standstill and must therefore forge ahead in the meantime. As a corrective regime we must ensure that the fatal maladies of the past are cured before we relinquish power. We propose

as a last act to give the country an accurate count as well as a Constitution which will guarantee unity, freedom, and true democracy to all Nigerians everywhere. Investigations are proceeding in respect of ex-politicians of the former regime. Any of them found guilty will be dealt with according to Law irrespective of their position in the community. My Government will then consider utilizing the services of those who have not been found wanting and who are prepared to serve in the context of national unity. Nigerians must understand and respect one another in the new national spirit. Those ex-politicians in different camps who previously regarded one another as enemies should now forget the past and work together for the common good. With the dissolution of political parties and tribal unions I want all Nigerians everywhere in Nigeria to regard one another not as strangers but as Nigerians with common nationalists irrespective of their tribe or place of origin. From henceforth no reference to tribe or place of origin will appear in any official document. Finally, I appeal to all Nigerians and friends of Nigeria to cooperate with the Military Government in the difficult task of national reconstruction.

YAKUBU GOWON'S SPEECH (YG1) (1966)

This is Lt-Col. Y. Gowon, Army Chief of Staff, speaking to you.

My Fellow Countrymen,

The year 1966 has certainly been a fateful year for our beloved country, Nigeria. I have been brought to the position today of having to shoulder the great responsibilities of this country and the armed forces with the consent of the majority of the members of the Supreme Military Council as a result of the unfortunate incident that occurred on the early morning of 29th July 1966. However, before I dwell on the sad issue of 29th July 1966, I would like to recall to you the sad and unfortunate incidents of 15th January 1966 which bear relevance.

According to the certain well-known facts, which have so far not been disclosed to the nation and the world, the country was plunged into a national disaster by the grave and unfortunate action taken by a section of the Army against the public. By this I mean that a group of officers, in conjunction with certain civilians, decided to overthrow the legal government of the day; but their efforts were thwarted by the inscrutable discipline and loyalty of the great majority of the Army and the other members of the armed forces and the police. The Army was called upon to take up the reins of government until such time that law and order had been restored.

The attempt to overthrow the government of the day was done by eliminating political leaders and high-ranking Army officers, a majority of whom came from a particular section of the country. The Prime Minister lost his life during this uprising. But for the outstanding discipline and loyalty of the members of the Army who are most affected, and the other members of the armed forces and the police, the situation probably could have degenerated into a civil war.

There followed a period of determined effort of reconstruction ably shouldered by Maj-Gen. J. T. U. Aguiyi-Ironsi but, unfortunately, certain parties caused suspicion and grave doubts of the Government's sincerity in several quarters. Thus, coupled with the already unpleasant experience of the 15th January still fresh in the minds of the majority of the people, certain parts of the country decided to agitate against the military regime which ad hitherto enjoyed country-wide support. It was, unfortunately, followed by serious rioting and bloodshed in many cities and towns in the north. There followed a period of uneasy calm until the early hours of 29th July 1966, when the country was once again plunged into another very serious and grave situation, the second in seven months.

The position on the early morning of 29th July was a report from Abeokuta garrison, that there was a mutiny and that two senior and one junior officers from a particular section of the country were killed. This soon spread to Ibadan and Ikeja. More casualties were reported in these places. The Supreme Commander was

by this time at Ibadan attending the natural rulers' conference and was due to return on the afternoon of 29th July. The Government Lodge was reported attacked and the last report was that he and the West Military Governor were both kidnapped by some soldiers. Up till now, there is no confirmation of their whereabouts. The situation was soon brought under control in these places.

Very shortly afterward, at about the same time, there was a report that there were similar disturbances among the troops in the North, and that a section of the troops had taken control of all military stations in the North as well. The units of Enugu and the garrison at Benin were not involved. All is now quiet and I can assure the public that I shall do all in my power to stop any further bloodshed and to restore law, order and confidence in all parts of the country with your co-operation and goodwill.

I have now come to the most difficult part, or the most important part, of this statement. I am doing it, conscious of the great disappointment and heartbreak it will cause all true and sincere lovers of Nigeria and of Nigerian unity both at home and abroad, especially our brothers in the Commonwealth.

As a result of the recent events and the other previous similar ones, I have come to strongly believe that we cannot honestly and sincerely continue in this wise, as the basis of trust and confidence in our unitary system of government has not been able to stand the test of time. I have already remarked on the issues in question. Suffice to say that, putting all considerations to test-political, economic, as well as social-the base for unity is not there or is so badly rocked, not only once but several times. I therefore feel that we should review the issue of our national standing and see if we can help stop the country from drifting away into utter destruction. With the general consensus of opinion of all the Military Governors and other members of the Supreme and Executive Council, a decree will soon be issued to lay a firm foundation of this objective.

Fellow countrymen, I sincerely hope we shall be able to resolve most of the problems that have disunited us in the past and really come to respect and trust one another in accordance with an all-round code of good conduct and etiquette.

All foreigners are assured of their personal safety and should have no fear of being molested. I intend to continue the policy laid down in the statement by the Supreme Commander on 16th January 1966 published on 26th January 1966. We shall also honour all international treaty obligations and commitments and all financial agreements and obligations entered into by the previous government. We are desirous of maintaining good diplomatic relationships with all countries. We therefore consider any foreign interference in any form will be regarded as an act of aggression.

All members of the armed forces are requested to keep within their barracks except on essential duties and when ordered from SHQ. Troops must not terrorise the public, as such action will discredit the new National Military Government. Any act of looting or sabotage will be dealt with severely. You are to remember that your task is to help restore law and order and confidence in the public in time of crisis.

I am convinced that with your co-operation and understanding, we shall be able to pull the country out of its present predicament. I promise you that I shall do all I can to return to civil rule as soon as it can be arranged. I also intend to pursue most vigorously the question of the release of political prisoners.

Fellow countrymen give me your support, and I shall endeavour to live up to expectations. Thank you and Good morning.

YAKUBU GOWON'S SPEECH (YG2) (1970)

It is with a heart full of gratitude to God that I announce to you that today marks the formal end of the civil war. This afternoon at Dodan Barracks, Lt. Col. Phillip Effiong, Lt. Col. David Ogunewe, Lt. Col. Patrick Anwunah, Lt. Col. Patrick Amadi and Commissioner of Police, Chief Patrick Okeke formally proclaimed

the end of the attempt at secession and accepted the authority of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria. They also formally accepted the present political and administrative structure of the country. This ends thirty months of a grim struggle. Thirty months of sacrifice and national agony.

Exactly four years ago on January 15, 1966, a group of young army officers overthrew the Government of the country with violence. The country hoped, however, that the military regime which followed would quickly restore discipline and confidence in the army and introduce a just, honest, patriotic and progressive government. The country was disappointed in those hopes. There were further tragic incidents in the army leading to the death of many officers and men in July 1966.

I then assumed the leadership of the Federal Military Government. I gave a solemn pledge to work to reduce tension in the army and the country, to restore the Federal Constitution and to prepare the country for an orderly return to civilian rule as early as possible. Despite my efforts and to co-operation of all other members of the Supreme Military Council, the former Lt. Col. Ojukwu pushed us from one crisis to another. This intransigent defiance of Federal Government authority heightened tensions and led to the much regretted riots in September/October 1966. He subsequently exploited the situation to plunge the former Eastern Region into secession and the nation into a tragic war.

The world knows how hard we strove to avoid the civil war. Our objectives in fighting the war to crush Ojukwu's rebellion were always clear. We desired to preserve the territorial integrity and unity of Nigeria. For as one country we would be able to maintain lasting peace amongst our various communities; achieve rapid economic development to improve the lot of our people; guarantee a dignified future and respect in the world for our prosperity and contribute to African unity and modernization. On the other hand, the small successor states in a disintegrated Nigeria would be victims of perpetual war and misery and neo-colonialism. Our duty was clear. And we are, today, vindicated.

The so-called "Rising Sun of Biafra" is set for ever. It will be a great disservice for anyone to continue to use the word Biafra to refer to any part of the East Central State of Nigeria. The tragic chapter of violence is just ended. We are the dawn of national reconciliation. Once again, we have an opportunity to build a new nation.

My dear compatriots, we must pay homage to the fallen. To the heroes, who have made the supreme sacrifice that we may be able to build a nation great in justice, fair play, and industry - they will be mourned for ever by a grateful nation. There are also the innocent men, women, and children who perished, not in battle but as a result of the conflict. We also honour their memory. We honour the fallen of both sides of this tragic fratricidal conflict. Let it be our resolution that all those dead shall have not died in vain. Let the greater nation we shall build be their proud monument forever.

Now, my dear countrymen, we must recommence at once in greater earnest, the task of healing the nation's wounds. We have at various times repeated our desire for reconciliation in full equality, once the secessionist regime abandoned secession. I solemnly repeat our guarantees of a general amnesty for those misled into rebellion. We guarantee the security of life and property of all citizens in every part of Nigeria and equality in political rights. We also guarantee the right of every Nigerian to reside and work wherever he chooses in the Federation, as equal citizens of one united country. It is only right that we should all henceforth respect each other.

We should all exercise civic restraint and use our freedom, taking into full account the legitimate right and needs of the other man. There is no question of second class citizenship in Nigeria.

On our side, we fought the war with great caution, not in anger or hatred, but always in the hope that common sense would prevail. Many times we sought a negotiated settlement, not out of weakness, but in order to minimize the problems of reintegration, reconciliation, and reconstruction. We knew that however the war ended, in the battlefield, or in the conference room, our brothers fighting under other colours must rejoin us and that we must together rebuild the nation anew.

Those now freed from the terror and misery of the secessionist enclave are therefore doubly welcome. The nation is relieved. All energies will now be bent to the task of reintegration and reconciliation. They will find, contrary to the civil [thus in press release; but probably 'evil' propaganda with which they were fed, that thousands and thousands of Ibos have lived and worked in peace with other ethnic groups in Lagos and elsewhere in the Federation throughout the dark days of the civil war. There is, therefore, no cause for humiliation on the part of any group of the people of this country. The task of reconciliation is truly begun.

The nation will be proud of the fact that the ceremony today at Dodan Barracks of reunion under the banner of the Federal Republic of Nigeria was arranged and conducted by Nigerians amongst ourselves alone. No foreign good offices was involved. That is what we always prayed for. We always prayed that we should resolve our problems ourselves, free from foreign mentors and go-betweens however well intentioned. Thus, our nation is come of age. And the meaning of today's event must be enshrined in the nation's memory for ever.

There is an urgent task to be done. The Federal Government has mounted a massive relief operation to alleviate the suffering of the people in the newly liberated areas. I have as announced, assigned special responsibility for this to a member of the Federal Executive Council. We are mobilizing adequate resources from the Federal Government to provide food, shelter, and medicines for the affected population. Rehabilitation and reconstruction will follow simultaneously to restore electricity, transport and communications. We must, as a matter of urgency, resettle firms and reopen factories to ensure that normal economic life is resumed by everyone as soon as possible. Special attention will be given to the rehabilitation of women and children in particular, so long denied the comfort of homes, the blessing of education and the assurance of a future by Ojukwu's wicked tyranny and falsehood. We must restore at once to them hope and purpose in life. Federal troops have a special charge to give emergency relief to the people in the areas they have liberated before civilian help can come. They must continue and intensify their splendid work in this regard. The state administrations are giving emergency relief the first priority. The Rehabilitation Commissions and the Voluntary Agencies are extending their efforts. The appropriate agencies of Federal Government will soon make further announcements about additional relief measures.

My Government has directed that former civil servants and public corporation officials should be promptly reinstated as they come out of hiding. Detailed arrangements for this exercise have been published. Plans for the rehabilitation of self-employed people will also be announced shortly. The problem of emergency relief is a challenge for the whole nation. We must prove ourselves equal to the task. Our resources, which have enabled us to prosecute the war successfully and without obligations to anyone, are considerable. I appeal to the nation for volunteers to help in the emergency relief operations in the newly liberated areas. Doctors, nurses, engineers, technicians, builders, plumbers, mechanics, and administrators - all skilled hands willing to help are urgently required. The detailed arrangements for recruitment will soon be announced. I am sure that there will be a prompt and good response to this call.

You will have heard that my Government may seek the assistance of friendly foreign governments and bodies, especially in the provision of equipment to supplement our national effort. There are, however, a number of foreign governments and organizations whose so-called assistance will not be welcome. These are the governments and organizations which sustained the rebellion. They are thus guilty of the blood of

thousands who perished because of prolongation of the futile rebel assistance. They did not act out of love for humanity. Their purpose was to disintegrate Nigeria and Africa and impose their will on us. They may still harbour their evil intentions. We shall therefore not allow them to divide and estrange us again from one another with their dubious and insulting gifts and their false humanitarianism.

Regarding the future, we shall maintain our purpose to work for stability with the existing political structure of a minimum of twelve states. The collision of three giant regions with pretensions to sovereignty created distrust and fear and to the tragic conflict now ending. The multi-state structure will therefore be retained with the minimum of the present twelve states. Immediate post-war planning and reconstruction will continue on this basis. Any new constitution will be the result of discussion by the representatives of all the people of Nigeria.

I am happy that despite the war, Nigeria has maintained a strong and expanding economy. Plans are also far advance for faster economic modernization. Our enormous material resources and our large dynamic population will make this possible. We are pledge to ensure rapid development for the benefit of the Nigerian people themselves. It will be much easier to achieve reconciliation and reintegration in increasing prosperity.

Fellow countrymen, the civil war is truly over. We thank God. But the state of national emergency and emergency regulations remain. Discipline and sacrifice are essential if we are to achieve our goals in the immediate post-war period and lay sound foundations for the future. I demand of you patience, resolution, and continued dedication. I demand of the workers and employers continued restraint in industrial relations in keeping with the recent decree. A decree on price control will soon be promulgated. We shall soon review wages and salaries to improve the lot of the ordinary man. The immediate economic problems are challenging and we must behave accordingly.

On this occasion, I wish to place on record the nation's gratitude to the Organization of African Unity for its splendid diplomatic and moral support for the Federal cause. I thank particularly the Chairman of the Consultative Committee on Nigeria, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I and the other members of the committee. I also thank the President of the OAU General Assembly, Presidents Mobutu, Boumedienne, and Ahidjo, who presided over OAU summit discussions of the Nigerian crisis. The enemies of Africa were restrained by the demonstration of such solid support. I thank the Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant, for his understanding attitude towards our country's crisis and the specialized agencies for their assistance. I also thank the friendly governments who gave us moral and material support in the darkest hour of our need. The nation will remember them as true friends. It is the desire of my Government that our relations with them should grow stronger.

Consistent with our basic policy, we shall maintain correct relations with all foreign governments notwithstanding the anxieties they may have caused us. As we emerge from our greatest trial we shall endeavour to work for peace in the world and for a better economic deal for the less developed countries of the world.

The Armed Forces deserve the greatest praise for their valour in battle, their loyalty and dedication and for their resourcefulness in overcoming the formidable obstacles placed in our way. I praise them for observing strictly the code of conduct issued to them at the beginning of the operations. It is necessary now more than ever when the rebellion is ended for them to maintain the high standard they have attained. The letter and spirit of the code must be obeyed. Their first duty is to protect the lives and property of all surrendering troops and civilians and to give them humane treatment. Stern disciplinary measures will be taken against any who violate the code. I know, however, that I can continue to count on your loyalty and discipline.

I also praise the civilian population everywhere in the country for their patience, sacrifice, loyalty, and steadfast support for the fighting troops and for One Nigeria. We must all be justly proud. All Nigerians share the victory of today. The victory for national unity, victory for hopes of Africans and black people everywhere. We must thank God for his mercies. We mourn the dead heroes. We thank God for sparing us to see his glorious dawn of national reconciliation. We have ordered that Friday, Saturday, and Sunday be national days of prayer. We must seek his guidance to do our duty to contribute our quota to the building of a great nation, founded on the concerted efforts of all its people and on justice and equality. A nation never to return to the fractious, sterile and selfish debates that led to the tragic conflict just ending. We have overcome a lot over the past four years. I have therefore every confidence that ours will become a great nation. So help us God. Long Live the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

MURTALA MUHAMMED'S SPEECH (MM1) (1975)

Fellow Nigerians, events of the past few years have indicated that despite our great human and material resources, the Government has not been able to fulfill the legitimate expectations of our people.

Nigeria has been left to drift. This situation, if not arrested, would inevitably have resulted in chaos and even bloodshed.

In the endeavour to build a strong, united and virile nation, Nigerians have shed much blood. The thought of further bloodshed, for whatever reasons must, I am sure, be revolting to our people.

The Armed Forces, having examined the situation, came to the conclusion that certain changes were inevitable.

After the civil war, the affairs of state, hitherto a collective responsibility became characterized by lack of consultation, indecision, indiscipline and even neglect.

Indeed, the public at large became disillusioned and disappointed by these developments. This trend was clearly incompatible with the philosophy and image of a corrective regime.

Unknown to the general public, the feeling of disillusionment was also evident among members of the armed forces whose administration was neglected but who, out of sheer loyalty to the Nation, and in the hope that there would be a change, continued to suffer in silence.

Things got to a stage where the head of administration became virtually inaccessible even to official advisers; and when advice was tendered, it was often ignored.

Responsible opinion, including advice by eminent Nigerians, traditional rulers, intellectuals, et cetera, was similarly discarded.

The leadership, either by design or default, had become too insensitive to the true feelings and yearnings of the people. The nation was thus plunged inexorably into chaos.

It was obvious that matters could not, and should not, be allowed in this manner, and in order to give the nation a new lease of life, and sense of direction, the following decisions were taken: the removal of General Yakubu Gowon as Head of the Federal Military Government and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces; the retirement of General Yakubu Gowon from the Armed Forces in his present rank of General with full benefits, in recognition of his past services to the Nation; General Gowon will be free to return to the country as soon as conditions permit; he will be free to pursue any legitimate undertakings of his choice in any part of the country. His personal safety and freedom and those of his family will be guaranteed.

The following members of the Armed Forces are retired with immediate effect: Vice-Admiral J.E.A Wey – Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters; Major-General Hassan Katsina, Deputy Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters; Major-General David Ejoor, Chief of Staff (Army); Rear Admiral Nelson Soroh – Chief of Naval Staff; Brigadier E.E Ikwue, Chief of Air Staff; and all other officers of the rank of major general (or equivalent) and above. Alhaji Kam Salem, Inspector General of Police, Chief T.A Fagbola, Deputy Inspector General of Police.

Also with immediate effect, all the present Military Governors, and the Administrator of East Central State, have been relieved of their appointments and retired.

As you are already aware, new appointments have been made as follows: Brigadier Olusegun Obsanjo, Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters; Brigadier T.Y Danjuma, Chief of Army Staff; Colonel John Yisa Doko, Chief of Air Staff, Commodore Michael Adelanwa, Chief of Naval Staff; Mr. M.D Yusufu, Inspector General of Police.

New Military Governors have also been appointed for the States as follows:

1. Lt. Col. Muhammed Buhari, North East;
2. Colonel George Innih, Midwest
3. Lt. Col. Sani Bello, Kano
4. Captain Adekunle Lawal (Navy), Lagos
5. Lt. Col. Paul Omu, South East
6. Colonel Ibrahim Taiwo, Kwara
7. Captain Akin Aduwo, (Navy), West
8. Col. Anthony Ochefu, East Central
9. Lt. Col. Usman Jibrin, North central
10. Col. Abdullahi Mohammed, Benue-Plateau
11. Lt. Col. Umaru Mohammed, North West
12. Lt. Col. Zamani Lekwot, Rivers



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The Structure of Government has been reorganized. There will now be three organs of government at the federal level namely: the Supreme Military Council; the National Council of States; the Federal Executive Council.

There will, of course, continue to be Executive Councils at the State level. The reconstituted Supreme Military Council will comprise the following: the Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces; Brigadier Olusegun Obasanjo – Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters; Brigadier T.Y Danjuma, Chief of Army Staff; Commodore Michael Adelanwa, Chief of Naval Staff; Col. John Yisa Doko, Chief of Air Staff; Mr. M.D Yusuf, IG of Police. General Officers Commanding:

- 1st Division, Brigadier Julius Akinrinade
- 2nd Division, Brigadier Martin Adamu
- 3rd Division, Brigadier Emmanuel Abisoye
- L.G.O., Brigadier John Obada
- Colonel Joseph Garba
- Lt. Col Shehu YarAdua
- Brigadier James Oluleye
- Brigadier Iliya Bisalla
- Colonel Ibrahim Babangida
- Lt. Col Muktar Muhammed

Colonel Dan Suleiman
Captain Olufemi Olumide (NN)
Captain H Husaini Abdullahi (NN)
Mr. Adamu Suleman, Commissioner of Police
Lt. Col. Alfred Aduloju
Lt. Commander Godwin Kanu (NN)

All the civil commissioners in the Federal Executive Council are relieved of their appointments with immediate effect. The composition of the new Executive Council will be announced shortly.

Political Programme

We will review the political programme and make an announcement in due course.

In the meantime, a panel will be set up to advise on the question of new states. A panel will also be set up to advise on the question of the federal capital.

With due regard to the 1973 population census, it is now clear that whatever results are announced will not command general acceptance throughout the country. It has, therefore, been decided to cancel the 1973 population census.

Accordingly, for planning purposes, the 1963 census figures shall continue to be used. A panel will be set up to advise on the future of the Interim Common Services Agency (ICSA) and the Eastern States Interim Assets and Liability Agency (ESIALA).

The Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture is postponed in view of the obvious difficulties in providing all the necessary facilities. Consultations will be held with other participating countries with a view to fixing a new date.

Finally, we reaffirm this country's friendship with all countries.

Foreign nationals living in Nigeria will be protected. Foreign investments will also be protected. The government will honour all obligations entered into by the previous Governments of the Federation.

We will also give continued support to the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations Organization, and the Commonwealth.

Fellow Countrymen, the task ahead of us calls for sacrifice and self-discipline at all levels of our society.

This government will not tolerate indiscipline. The Government will not condone abuse of office.

I appeal to you all to cooperate with the Government in our endeavour to give this nation a new lease of life. This change of Government has been accomplished without shedding any blood; and we intend to keep it so.

Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Good night.

MURTALA MUHAMMED'S SPEECH (MM2) (1976)

FELLOW Nigerians,

A joint meeting of the Supreme Military Council and the National Council of States has just concluded sitting. The meeting has declared on reports submitted by the following panels (a) assets investigation of some former public officers; (b) abandoned properties in the three Eastern States which comprised the former Eastern Region; (c) location of the Federal Capital and (d) creation of more states.

Those panels, as you will no doubt recall, were set-up by this administration at its inception. They were all given adequate terms of reference and sufficient time in which to deliberate and submit their reports and recommendation to the FMG.

I will like to seize this opportunity to thank each and every one of them for the excellent work they have done. They deserve the nation's gratitude.

In deliberation on these reports, I will like to emphasise that the joint meeting was guided solely by national interest and consideration for justice, peace and stability.

THE PANEL ON THE LOCATION OF FEDERAL CAPITAL

The panel on the location of the Federal Capital has recommended that the nation's capital should move out of Lagos to a federal territory of about 8,000 square kilometres to the central part of the country. The Supreme Military Council has accepted this recommendation. The site recommended the satisfied the panels criteria of centrality good and tolerable climate, land availability, and use, inadequate water supply, low population density, physical planning convenience, security and multi-access possibility. The area is not within the control of any of the major ethnic groups in the country. We believe that the new capital created on such virgin lands as suggested will be for all Nigerians a symbol of their oneness and unity. The Federal Territory will belong to all Nigerians.

The few local inhabitants in the area who need to be moved out of the territory for planning purposes will be resettled outside the area in places of their choice at government expense.

In order to avoid land speculation in the area, a decree is being promulgated immediately to vest all land in the Federal Territory in the Federal Government. A Federal Capital Development Authority is to be established to plan and administer the territory. An administrator for the Federal territory will soon be appointed to provide municipal services in the area.

The chairman of the Federal Government Authority of nine members will be of cabinet rank. The authority is expected to start work at once but the movement of the seat of the Federal Government out of Lagos is expected take some ten to fifteen years. The present administration is firmly committed to ensuring that the necessary ground work is completed and construction work started within the next four years.

Lagos will, in the foreseeable future, remain the nation's commercial capital and one of its nerve centres. But in terms of servicing the present infrastructure alone the committed amount of money and effort required will be such that Lagos State will not be ready to cope. It will even be unfair to expect the state to bear this heavy burden on its own. It is therefore necessary for the Federal Government to continue to sustain the substantial investment in the area. The port facilities and other economic activities in the Lagos area have to be expanded. There is need in the circumstances for the Federal Government to maintain a special defence and security arrangement in Lagos which will henceforth be designated a special area. These arrangements will be carefully worked out and written into the new constitution. Kaduna and Port Harcourt are to be accorded similar status and designated... (The rest unfound!)

OLUSEGUN OBASANJO'S SPEECH (OO-M1) (1976)

Fellow Citizens,

We are once again passing through a critical period in the history of this country; for me personally, this has been one of the saddest moments in my life.

The Supreme Military Council has already announced the assassination of his Excellency, General Murtala Mohammad. We will mourn the passing away of one of the greatest sons of Nigeria.

I had the privilege of serving as the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, under him and I have no doubt in my mind that the late General Mohammad gave this country a unique sense of direction and purpose.

We are all now obliged to continue with these policies laid down by the Supreme Military Council under the dynamic leadership of General Mohamed.

From the account of the tragic incident gathered so far, the late Head of state was shot yesterday on his way to the office. His aid de camp, Lt. A. Akinsehinwa, his orderly and driver who were with him in the car were also killed.

The Governor of Kwara State, Colonel Ibrahim Taiwo, who was abducted yesterday, was shot dead and his body was found in a shallow grave outside Ilorin.

This dastardly act was committed by a few dissident troops organized by Lieutenant Colonel B.S Dimka of the Nigeria Army Physical Training Corps. Many arrests have already been made and the Supreme Military Council has set up a Military Board of Enquiry to carry out full scale investigations to the incident and the planning of the assassinations.

I wish to assure the nation that the Supreme Military Council has taken a firm decision that all those found to be guilty will be summarily dealt with in a military way.

I therefore appeal to all sections of Nigeria not to take law into their hands. They can be rest assured that the Federal Military Government would see to it that justice is done.

As you have heard in the statement by the supreme Military Council, I have been called upon against my personal wish and desire to serve as the new Head of State. But I have accepted this honor in the interest of the nation and in memory of the late Head of State.

I know that he would have wished that somebody should continue the task of nation building from where he left off.

I have worked very closely with him and I have shared his beliefs and commitments to the Federal Government's policies and actions.

I believe and feel strongly committed to all we have being doing. I can pay him no better tribute than to continue in the spirit with which he had led this country-that of complete dedication.

All policies of the Federal Military Government continue as before and all Ministries should continue their usual duties.

The tragic incident can only lead to a greater dedication to the upliftment and progress of this nation.

This situation was brought swiftly under control because of the loyalty and dedication of the Armed Forces and the Police. The Armed Forces and Police deserved praise and appreciation from the government and people of this country.

Reports have also reached me from all over the country of public support from various sections of the community. The federal Military Government is very much gratified by this demonstration of loyalty and support.

At the end of the seven-day mourning period which, was announced earlier, Friday the 20th of February 1976, is hereby declared a public holiday to enable all Nigerians to offer special prayers in all places of worship.

Finally, I will like to appeal to all of you for calm and avoid any action that might cause a breach of the peace.

This is the period that calls for continued vigilance and it is the duty of one and all to maintain this vigilance in order to preserve the stability of the nation.

OLUSEGUN OBASANJO'S SPEECH (OO-M2) (1976)

The Supreme Military Council has been meeting to consider, among other things the conclusions of the Military Tribunal appointed by the Federal Military Government to try those involved in the abortive coup of February 13. The Council has confirmed the sentences passed by the Tribunal. Those condemned to death by firing squad have been executed today. These include Lt-Col B.S. Dimka and Mr J.D. Gomwalk, two of the principal actors of the abortive coup.

With these executions and the other sentences confirmed we have now substantially disposed of the major issues arising from the coup attempt. Let me assure the nation that throughout the investigations, scrupulous efforts were made to ensure that all those accused were fully heard and given a fair trial. Indeed it was because of our desire to be meticulous in the pursuit of justice that it took this long to put the issues resulting from the abortive coup behind us.

Regarding Yakubu Gowon, you are aware of the effort being made to get him back to Nigeria and answer the serious allegations on his complicity in the abortive coup. He has continued to resolutely refuse to come despite the guarantees for his safety and fair trial which the Federal Military Government has given him. In spite of this refusal, we have resisted the expediency of trying him in absentia because of our belief that he should be given a chance to be fully heard and fairly tried. We have similarly assured the British Government of Yakubu Gowon's safety and justice. These assurances were personally conveyed by the Commissioner for External Affairs. Believing in the strength of the relationship that existed between our two countries and peoples, we had requested the British Government to facilitate Yakubu Gowon's return to Nigeria. The British Prime Minister through a message brought by his Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, has now informed us of the decisions of his government not to grant this request. We have made it clear to the British Government that any country which harbours Yakubu Gowon, or for that matter, Dauda Usman and Clement Yildar, is committing an unfriendly act towards the government and people of Nigeria.

In the meantime the Supreme Military Council has decided to dismiss Yakubu Gowon from the Nigerian Army. He will from now be treated as a wanted person to face the allegations against him any time he sets foot on Nigerian soil. Dauda Usman and Clement Yildar have also been dismissed from the army.

February 13, 1976 as a tragic day for all of us. No one should be in doubt about the unmitigated disaster and unparalleled bloodshed which would have ensued had the coup of February succeeded. We mourned the death of our late dear Head of State, General Murtala Ramat Muhammed, and those who were murdered with him, in as befitting a way as our energies and sorrows allowed. With the tragedies behind us, we should now pursue with determination and vigour, our declared policies and programme of action. We have all learnt valuable lessons from the sad experience which we must never forget. Our purpose is to instill a new sense of public morality among all classes of Nigerians. Let me therefore, here and now serve notice that we shall now allow inefficiency or improper conduct on the part of any public officer.

This administration will not be diverted from its chosen course. Ours is a responsible administration. Those who have genuine grievances or complaints should use the established channels to secure redresses. But anyone who takes the law into his hands will henceforth have himself to blame.

The Federal Military Government will continue to ensure the smooth running of all our essential services. This is a time for sacrifice not intransigence. We have not allowed selfish elements or those who appear bent on breaching the solidarity between the government and the people of this our great country to unleash industrial, student, economic and other forms of unrest.

We shall be severe in our dealing with foreign and Nigerian profiteers who try to stand in the way of our policy to free our economy and improve the lot of the ordinary and deprived citizenry of this country. I expect every public officer indeed, every Nigerian to measure up to a high degree of efficiency, integrity and moral rectitude. The purge of the public service of undesirable elements was undertaken to revitalize the service.

This objective has not been fully achieved. Those that are diligent and honest in their work need not fear. Indeed they would be rewarded. But those who continue to be indolent, inefficient or corrupt will be removed. These standards are set not only for public servants but for all Nigerians.

Our Nigerians so far has shown the need to heighten our sense of civic responsibility and vigilance. This is your nation; it belongs to all of us. If we allow it to be ruined, each one of us will be ruined.

This administration believes in the capacity of Nigerians to make her a great country where social and economic justice, political freedom and the rule of law prevail. We are dedicated to the pursuit of this goal. I am therefore calling on every one of you to rise to the challenge. Good night.

SHEHU SHAGARI'S SPEECH (SS1) (1979)

Fellow Nigerians,

We have witnessed today the birth of the Second Republic of Nigeria. With the swearing-in-ceremony this morning, I have formally assumed office as your first executive president. I want to take this opportunity to thank all of you for your patience, and support throughout the period of transition. The Second Republic has come after almost 14 years of military rule in the course of which we went through a civil war. Today, our new constitution comes into effect; a constitution carefully drawn up by ourselves for ourselves. We are assuming office as a result of a free, democratic and peaceful election. We must be proud of this, and we must be grateful to God and to all those who have worked so hard to make it possible. This is an occasion which calls for sober reflection on the problems of the First Republic in order to appreciate the magnitude of the tasks ahead. The problems of creating a national government, a viable economic base and the integration of the various ethnic groups in Nigeria in fairness and without acrimony overwhelmed the First Republic. These problems are still with us. And, it is our determination to do our utmost to contribute to their solution. This Second Republic is a great challenge and a new opportunity for all of us. This administration is determined that the slogan of "One Nation, One Destiny" shall be translated into reality. We are not so naive as to think that nationalism is a natural phenomenon, which comes about automatically, as we grow. It has not been so in any part of the world. National integration requires hard work. There is need for a dedicated leadership and citizenry imbued with faith to cultivate a wide-spread national feeling for "One Nigeria." I am convinced that these goals are attainable because we are at this time operating in more auspicious circumstances. Surely, we have learnt great lessons from the past and we have no need to permit divisive factors to continue to undermine our national well-being. I urge all Nigerians to join me in working with resolution for the attainment of these goals. The first thing is for all those who have participated in the recent elections to work together, whether they won or lost. Now that the elections are over, we must act as good sportsmen, set aside differences and harness our energies to the task of nation-building. I would like to enjoin all our state governors to bear in mind that regardless of their party affiliations, the interest of the nation is supreme. The state which each of them governs is simply a part of Nigeria and a part cannot indeed be greater than a whole. I congratulate them in their new position and

sincerely urge them as well as every other citizen of this great country to join hands with me in facing the great task ahead. For my part, I assure you all that the Federal Government will give equal treatment to each state of the Federation regardless of the party in power in that state. Fellow citizens, great challenges and opportunities are before us. While noticeable achievements have been made, the problems of our economy have become even more complicated. There has been a steep rise in the rate of inflation in Nigeria as is the case all over the world. Nevertheless, we are dedicated to building a viable economy by fostering broad mass participation and the utilization of local resources. This way, we shall enhance our economic independence. Our key domestic programmes are in the sectors of Agriculture, Housing, Education, Health, Industry and the new Federal Capital. Our first great challenge is agriculture. Throughout the election campaigns, our party, the National Party of Nigeria, made strong commitments to the people of this country to rapidly develop and improve agriculture. For centuries, generations of Nigerian farmers have struggled with technologies invented by our ancestors to meet the demands of a long gone age and to wrest a living from a weary and exhausted soil. I personally spoke many times on our policy for a Green Revolution. There is need to provide adequate food for every family. There is need to stop the current drain of foreign exchange on the importation of foodstuff. We are determined to transform Nigeria's agriculture to the point where Nigeria will be self-sufficient in food production and ensure that the money is more effectively utilized. We shall devote more manpower and technological resources to increase our agricultural productivity and expand our agro-based industries. We shall immediately map out strategies to encourage Nigerians to engage in fruitful agricultural activities. In addition, we shall encourage joint ventures with foreign partners to establish farming as commercial and profitable enterprises to produce food as well as raw materials. New emphasis will be placed on modern methods of food storage, distribution and processing. Because of the importance we attach to housing, we shall establish a Ministry of Housing and Environment. Good shelter is recognised by our government as the right of every Nigerian. There is no doubt that to meet acceptable human standards, Nigeria will require millions of additional housing units in the urban, as well as in the rural areas. Our current resources and industrial base cannot immediately produce enough housing units to meet our current demand. However, we will vigorously attack the problem of housing. In the urban areas, we will immediately create new layouts to be serviced by adequate drainage systems, roads and other infrastructure. Through an improved financing system, urban dwellers will have more credit to build their own houses. In rural areas and small towns, the establishment of Rural Housing Co-operatives will be encouraged. Financial institutions will be encouraged to make loans available to needy low-income families who wish to build or rebuild their own houses. A primary objective is to create the right atmosphere for a rapid increase in home ownership. We strongly believe that home ownership will lead to family pride and healthy surroundings in every Nigerian community. Since the cost of building a house is directly related to the cost of building materials, our government will encourage the local production of building materials. Continuous research will be undertaken and factories will be established for the local manufacture of durable and low-cost building materials. Education is our next priority programme.

Fellow citizens, know that the elections are over and October 1 is here, the realities of the problem of education stare us boldly in the face. This government accepts the responsibility for free education at all levels as has been provided for in the Constitution. The main problem, however, is how to make education accessible to all even the current financial constraints and inadequacy of teachers and educational facilities. We need more schools, more teachers, more laboratories; more books more desks more playing fields and numerous other supplies and equipment all of which are involved with the increase in enrolment. These cannot be found overnight. My administration is irrevocably committed to making education a priority. We shall immediately expand education infrastructure in order to cope with the demand at all levels of our educational system. We also plan to make education more qualitative and functional with a sound moral

content. To this end, we shall improve the quality of teachers and conditions of service in order to attract them in the right number and quality. We shall encourage individuals and Voluntary Agencies to open schools as long as they meet government guidelines.

The need for technical manpower and the rapid development of technology demands that we maximize the use of all technical and vocational institutions in the country, and establish many more. In this connection, we shall establish a Ministry of Science and Technology, which shall develop policies to be reflected throughout our educational system. I like to emphasize that our overall policy seeks to provide education that will equip all recipients with the necessary attitude, knowledge and skill to contribute to national development.

Directly related to these priority programmes both at home and abroad, is the need to create a more suitable economic environment. There is need to transform our under-developed country into a modern industrialized society. To achieve this objective requires the energy of all of us. Our government is determined to release the creative energies of enterprising Nigerians and encourage them to help develop the economy for the good of all. I particularly call on the Labour Movement to rise up to the challenges of our time. I am aware of the constraints under which Nigerian workers have had to live in the immediate past. The wage freeze in an era of biting inflation has had to be maintained in view of the resource constraints of our developing economy; but there are certainly limits beyond which no democratic government will wish to demand sacrifices from workers. The wage freeze issue, the question of car loans, the question of labour independence and the restoration of the free collective bargaining rank as priorities in the labour policy of my government. Arrangements are on hand for a dialogue between government and the leaders of organized labour: issues will be reviewed. Thereafter, I will take necessary action to effect remedies in the interests of the nation, and of the nation's workers. This administration stands committed to ameliorate the conditions of Nigerian workers through appropriate measures including consultation and legislation. However, we must all be determined to see that higher wages and better conditions of service are matched by higher productivity in the interest of national development. As we develop our economy, we shall be in a better position to provide the needed services and amenities for all our citizens. We shall then be better equipped to improve our health and other social services programmes for the nation.

In the area of foreign policy, as your president, I will continue to advance and defend the cause of our great country before the world comity of nations. It is our national will that Africa shall remain the cornerstone of our foreign policy. Also it is our national will that Africa shall be free, free of racial bigotry, free of oppression, and free from the vestiges of colonialism. My government is determined to see the cause of justice and human decency prevail in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. We shall continue to support all forces of progress and oppose all forces of oppression in Africa and elsewhere. I hereby re-affirm our faith and support for the charter of the United Nations and the universal declaration of human rights, the charter of the Organisation of African Unity, the Economic Community of West African States, and the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Our watchword shall always be the advancement of mankind and the enhancement of the cause of peace, prosperity and progress through mutual respect and co-operation between nations.

I wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to members of our Armed Forces and to our immediate predecessors in office. They have successfully guided the destiny of our nation through trying conditions. Their discipline, devotion to duty and loyalty to the country have been tested and proved beyond doubt. I trust they will keep it up. You all remember when the Government of General Murtala Mohammed and General Obasanjo came to power, it gave a pledge to return this nation to civil rule on October 1, 1979. They have kept their word as true men of honour and today, the country has been duly handed over to a

democratically elected government. History will indelibly record this nation's gratitude to their exemplary leadership, dedication, statesmanship and courage.

I want to conclude this address by greeting all Nigerians of all walks of life on this historic day. I salute our law enforcement agencies including the Police and all those working in the public and private sectors. I salute all our traditional rulers, fathers of our communities and custodians of our cultural heritage. I also salute our religious leaders, custodians of faith and morals. My fellow citizens, the task ahead is enormous and it is a task for all of us. Our government is committed to building a united, stable and prosperous nation. I need your contribution, co-operation and support. Nigeria can and must become a great and modern nation. Let us with true conscience and determination join hands and re-dedicate ourselves to the service of this great country so that it will be a place we can and shall all be proud of. We cannot afford to fail in this task and by the grace of God, we shall succeed. May God bless our country and may God bless you all.

SHEHU SHAGARI'S SPEECH (SS2) (1983)

Fellow Nigerians, four years ago, in accordance with our constitution, I was sworn in as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. This inauguration ceremony on 1st October 1979 marked the end of almost 14 years of military rule. It marked the beginning of a new presidential system of government based on democracy. At the inception of the civilian administration four years ago, I pledged to uphold our Constitution, to ensure the continued existence of Nigeria as a virile and indivisible entity, and to serve our country to the very best of my ability.

I am happy to say with deep gratitude to Almighty God that we have achieved considerable success in the pursuit of these measures. During the last four years our experience with the democratic process has been an unqualified success. Our country has enjoyed peace in her pursuit of the policy of self-sufficiency and self-reliance, especially in food production. To this end, we have constituted a green revolution programme, and I know that we are on the right course. We have started to achieve our target. We are providing houses for the people. Our efforts to develop the new federal capital have progressed steadily. In the educational sector, we have pursued the policy of qualitative functional education with unremitting vigour. We have therefore increased the number of federal universities from 13 - 21, the latest being the National Open University. To provide a sound basis for our technical development, we have created seven universities of technology. We have completed one steel plant, three rolling mills and at the Ajaokuta complex, whose first phase has already being commissioned, work is continuing on the remaining phases.

Fellow Nigerians, that we have been able to record these achievements, despite the agonizing and harsh economic circumstances witnessed midway through our first term in office as a result of severe global economic recession, was due to your co-operation and understanding.

As I speak to you today on the 23rd anniversary of our independence, we have just emerged from protracted general elections which have put to the test both our new democratic institutions and our will as a nation to support them in circumstances of severe economic condition. We have passed test and our electorate has come of age in the sense that it has laid to rest many of the false assumptions about the nature of the political loyalties in this country which is supposed to militate against the emergence of the national consensus in our political life. I must congratulate the electorate for exercising its constitutional obligation in a mature manner.

I wish also to place on record my gratitude and that of the entire nation to the Federal Electoral Commission, the law enforcement agencies, and the judiciary for a job well done. These institutions have, in spite of the many difficulties they faced in the performance of their duties, done everything in their power to ensure the success of our new democratic experiment. The elections are now over.

You have given me a clear mandate as your president for another term of four years. I am grateful to you for the honour and I accept the challenges with humility. I trust that with your patient co-operation and God's guidance, we shall succeed in our national endeavour of building a stronger and more prosperous Nigeria.

More than ever before, I ask for your continued co-operation and understanding because the magnitude of the task ahead of us demands nothing less. Although there are brighter prospects in the economic sphere, the situation is still far from normal. The world still in the throes of the most severe economic depression since the Second World War. The Nigerian economy could not be immune to the very adverse effects of the global economic recession. Indeed, our oil export earnings, which reached a peak of 23.4 billion dollars in 1980, declined to an estimated 9.6 billion dollars in 1983. Moreover, the exportable surplus of oil production is being gradually reduced by the growing domestic consumption of refined petroleum products. With the fall in oil revenues, the country is now faced with a growing shortage of foreign exchange. At the same time, our manufacturing sector, which is unhappily import-oriented, continues to weaken.

In the light of this unfavourable economic situation, we intend to reappraise and reorder our priorities. The Federal Government's annual expenditure will therefore be rationalized to reflect the re-ordering of investment priorities with emphasis on consolidating viable on-going projects in agriculture and industries, with the provision of infrastructural facilities. Concurrently, concerted efforts will be made to improve project implementation and monitoring. A number of on-going projects will therefore be reviewed. The proposed additional expenditure on the iron and steel industry will be re-examined with a possible re-phasing of completion dates. We will avoid entering into new commitments with high foreign exchange content. We will only give serious consideration to projects based on locally available resources, such as the petrochemical and LNG projects which will lead to the revitalization and diversification of the economy.

To bridge our yawning resource gap, efforts at internal resource generation will be intensified. In this regard, the exploitation and usage of our local resources have become so important in our quest for self-reliance that it will receive priority attention by the appropriate Ministries. Measures will be taken to ensure that government agencies take a lead in waste reduction in consonance with the dictates of these austere times. In this connection, unprofitable government ventures will be scrapped. Moreover, the recommendations of the various commissions set up to look into the operations of parastatals and other public enterprises will be implemented especially as they relate to the achievement of self-financing and cost-effectiveness. In the allocation of budget funds, greater emphasis will henceforth be placed on maintenance of plants and equipment rather than on purchase of new ones. In this regard, government will encourage the private sector to establish service industries.

To revive and stabilize the economy on a long-term basis, it is imperative that the country now begin the structural re-adjustment process required for renewed economic buoyancy. Macro-economic and sectorial policy changes will have to begin in order to shift resources to the productive sectors of the economy. We therefore intend to adopt a selective expenditure reduction in the 1984 budget so that on-going viable priority projects will not suffer. In pursuance of this objective, I intend to create a national planning commission which will be an expert body for the initiation and co-ordination of economic policy options and to ensure greater planning, discipline and efficiency. This Commission which will be located in the presidency will, among other things serve as the secretariat for the National Economic Council.

At this juncture, I wish to appeal to all governors in the nineteen states to ensure proper discipline and prudence in their general management of public funds. This is because no matter how well we establish planning, discipline at the federal level, imprudent and uncoordinated budgeting at the state level will have an almost equally negative effect on the national economy.

In the light of the present economic situation, I have also decided to re-structure and rationalize the machinery of government to facilitate improved performance. To reduce cost, and make for greater efficiency through better co-ordination, the number of federal ministries and departments will be reduced.

Henceforth, renewed emphasis will be place on a prudent management of men and materials. I wish, therefore, to stress that, under the new dispensation, mall government functionaries, especially ministries, special advisors and top government officials, will be expected to demonstrate not only competence, resourcefulness and dedication but also an exemplary standard of probity and integrity.

In the spirit of the on-going ethical revolution, proven cases of abuse of office and corruption will attract immediate sanctions. Indiscipline and inefficiency will similarly be punished while a system of rewarding competence and efficient delivery will be evolved. In answer to the demands of our times, only competent and trustworthy men and women, able and willing to deliver, will be put at the helm of affairs.

In addition to the deduction in the number of the ministries and political appointments, I am convinced that we have now gained sufficient awareness of the type of civil service which we require under the presidential system of government which we now operate. Our civil service which is a product of the parliamentary era had adapted itself reasonably well to the demand of the new system. I would therefore like to commend the civil service for the support it has given to the ongoing administration. I trust I can count on its continued support during my second term of office.

However, like any other organisation, the civil service is not perfect. It has therefore become necessary to re-examine it in terms of structure and organization in order to make it more efficient and responsive to the requirements of the new presidential system. In order to ensure that its adaptation is systematised, I intend to set up a panel to re-examine the concept and structure of the civil service commission and to review the operations procedures, methods of organizations, recruitment, control and discipline of the civil service in relation to the responsibilities of the civil service commission to it and to make appropriate recommendations for improving its efficiency and productivity.

Our 1983 manifesto has promised free, functional and qualitative education at all levels. In fulfillment of that objective, I have set up a high-powered technical committee to work out the details of the financial and other implications of the scheme and advise government on how best to achieve these policy objectives. The approach has become imperative to enable us to arrive at long-term solutions to the problems of financing education in all its ramifications. Pending the completion of this exercise, all states currently implementing the free education policy should continue to do so without prejudice to whatever recommendations the committee may make on this issue.

At this juncture, I wish to extend my hearty congratulations to all those who have been into the various elective offices in our constitution. I offer them my hand of fellowship. I ask them to join me in this task of making Nigeria great. To their other opponents as well as mine, I congratulate them on putting up a good fight. I ask them not to allow their spirit to be dampened by defeat but to co-operate with us and give the best of their services to our fatherland. Now that elections are over, I wish to appeal to all Nigerians to go about their legitimate business peacefully. i must warn, however, that lawlessness will not be condoned. And any attempt by anybody or group to cause a breach of the peace will be adequately dealt with by the law enforcement agencies. To our brothers and friends in the international community, I once more offer our hands of continued fraternity and friendly relations, our special commitment to Africa as the centrepiece of our foreign policy will continue. The struggle for the achievement of freedom for all the oppressed people of Africa will continue to attract our sympathy and support. Nigeria will strive to encourage other African countries to emulate our democratic experiment and learn from our democratic experience. No sacrifice will be considered too great in the achievement of real freedom and democracy in Africa.

Fellow Nigerians, we have spent the last four years in establishing and consolidating our new system of government. In the difficult days ahead, I will need all your support and understanding to bring about economic stabilisation and prosperity for all our people. I will need all your support to generate and sustain a high standard of national ethics. I will need all your support to enable Nigeria to assume an even more dynamic and purposeful role in the achievement of Africa unity, international peace and security. Your massive mandate freely given to me in the just concluded elections makes me confident that this support will not be denied. On my part, I wish to renew my pledge to uphold the constitution and to serve you all to the very best of my ability. May God bless you all.

MUHAMMADU BUHARI'S SPEECH (MB1) (1984)

Fellow Nigerians,

You are aware of the change in government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which was announced early this morning.

In pursuance of the primary objective of saving our great nation from total collapse, I, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari of the Nigerian army have, after due consultation amongst the services of the armed forces, been formally invested with the authority of the Head of the Federal Military Government and the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It is with humility and a deep sense of responsibility that I accept this challenge and call to national duty.

As you must have heard in the previous announcement, the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1979) has been suspended, except those sections of it which are exempted in the constitution.

The change became necessary in order to put an end to the serious economic predicament and the crisis of confidence now afflicting our nation. Consequently, the Nigerian armed forces have constituted themselves into a Federal Military Government comprising of a Supreme Military Council, a National Council of States, a Federal Executive Council at the centre and State Executive Councils to be presided over by military governors in each of the states of the federation. Members of these councils will be announced soon.

The Nature of Politics since 1979:

The last Federal Military Government drew up a programme with the aim of handing over political power to the civilians in 1979. This programme as you all know, was implemented to the letter. The 1979 constitution was promulgated. However, little did the military realise that the political leadership of the second republic will circumvent most of the checks and balances in the constitution and bring the present state of general insecurity. The premium on political power became so exceedingly high that political contestants regarded victory at elections as a matter of life and death struggle and were determined to capture or retain power by all means.

Mismanagement of the Economy:

It is true that there is a worldwide economic recession. However, in the case of Nigeria, its impact was aggravated by mismanagement. We believe the appropriate government agencies have good advice but the leadership disregarded their advice. The situation could have been avoided if the legislators were alive to their constitutional responsibilities. Instead, the legislators were preoccupied with determining their salary scales, fringe benefit and unnecessary foreign travels, et al, which took no account of the state of the economy and the welfare of the people they represented. As a result of our inability to cultivate financial discipline and prudent management of the economy, we have come to depend largely on internal and external borrowing to execute government projects with attendant domestic pressure and soaring external debts, thus aggravating the propensity of the outgoing civilian administration to mismanage our financial

resources. Nigeria was already condemned perpetually with the twin problem of heavy budget deficits and weak balance of payments position, with the prospect of building a virile and viable economy.

The 1983 Elections:

The last general election was anything but free and fair. The only political parties that could complain of election rigging are those parties that lacked the resources to rig. There is ample evidence that rigging and thuggery were relative to the resources available to the parties. This conclusively proved to us that the parties have not developed confidence in the presidential system of government on which the nation invested so much material and human resources.

Corruption and Indiscipline

While corruption and indiscipline have been associated with our state of under-development, these two evils in our body politic have attained unprecedented height in the past few years. The corrupt, inept and insensitive leadership in the last four years has been the source of immorality and impropriety in our society. Since what happens in any society is largely a reflection of the leadership of that society, we deplore corruption in all its facets. This government will not tolerate kick-backs, inflation of contracts and over-invoicing of imports etc. Nor will it condone forgery, fraud, embezzlement, misuse and abuse of office and illegal dealings in foreign exchange and smuggling.

Arson has been used to cover up fraudulent acts in public institutions. I am referring to the fire incidents that gutted the P&T buildings in Lagos, the Anambra State Broadcasting Corporation, the Republic Building at Marina, the Federal Ministry of Education, the Federal Capital Development Authority Accounts at Abuja and the NET Building. Most of these fire incidents occurred at a time when Nigerians were being apprehensive of the frequency of fraud scandals and the government incapacity to deal with them.

Moment of Truth:

Fellow Nigerians, this indeed is the moment of truth. My colleagues and I in the Supreme Military Council, must be frank enough to acknowledge the fact that at the moment, an accurate picture of the financial position is yet to be determined. We have no doubt that the situation is bad enough. In spite of all this, every effort will be made to ensure that the difficult and degrading conditions under which we are living are eliminated.

Let no one however be deceived that workers who have not received their salaries in the past eight or so months will receive such salaries within today or tomorrow or that hospitals which have been without drugs for months will be provided with enough immediately. We are determined that with the help of God we shall do our best to settle genuine payments to which government is committed, including backlog of workers' salaries after proper scrutiny.

We are confident and we assure you that even in the face of the global recession, and the seemingly grim and disturbing financial picture, given prudent management of Nigeria's existing financial resources and our determination to substantially reduce waste, it will be possible to clear the accumulated domestic payment arrears, to reduce and eventually narrow down rising budgetary deficits and weak balance of payments position.

Priority Programmes:

The Federal Military Government will reappraise policies with a view to paying greater attention to the following areas:

- The economy will be given a new impetus and better sense of direction;

- Corrupt officials and their agents will be brought to book;
- In view of the drought that affected most parts of the country, the Federal Military Government will, within the available resources, import food stuffs to supplement the shortfalls suffered in the last harvest;
- Payment of salary arrears to workers.

Our foreign policy will both be dynamic and realistic. Africa will of course continue to be the centre piece of our foreign policy.

The morale and combat readiness of the armed forces will be given high priority. Officers and men with high personal and professional integrity will have nothing to fear.

The Judiciary, the Civil Service, and the Police Et cetera

The Chief Justice of Nigeria and all other holders of judiciary appointments within the federation can continue in their appointments and the judiciary shall continue to function under existing laws subject to such exceptions as may be decreed from time to time by the Federal Military Government. All holders of appointments in the civil service, the police and the National Security Organisation shall continue to exercise their functions in the normal way subject to changes that may be introduced by the Federal Military Government. All those chairmen and members of statutory corporations, parastatals and other executive departments are hereby relieved of their appointments with immediate effect.

External Relations

The Federal Military Government will maintain and strengthen existing diplomatic relations with other states and with international organisations and institutions such as the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and its organs, Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, ECOWAS and the Commonwealth etc. The Federal Military Government will honour and respect all treaties and obligations entered into by the previous government and we hope that such nations and bodies will reciprocate this gesture by respecting our country's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Fellow Nigerians, finally, we have dutifully intervened to save this nation from imminent collapse. We therefore expect all Nigerians, including those who participated directly or indirectly in bringing the nation to this present predicament, to cooperate with us. This generation of Nigerians, and indeed future generations, has no other country than Nigeria. We shall remain here and salvage it together. May God bless us all. Good morning.

MUHAMMADU BUHARI'S SPEECH (MB2) (1984)

I approve your appointment as military governors for the nineteen states of the federation. Your choice for this assignment is based mainly on your personal merit and the confidence which the members of the Supreme Military Council have in your ability to discharge the responsibilities of a military governor in the best interest of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and without fear or favour, affection or ill-will in accordance with the oath.

The conduct of the 1983 Elections dashed that hope. Since, as I said before on another occasion, that election could be anything but free and fair. The Nigerian people were therefore lumbered with a government who sets massive victory at the polls led it to a state of complacency. The plan-less downright incompetence and irresponsibility which characterize previous four years has continued.

Gentlemen of the press, the Nigerian Armed Forces could not stand idly by while this country was drifting towards a dangerous state of political and economic collapse through the continued ineptitude and insensitiveness of a political leadership who are apparently unwilling to change. It had a duty to intervene to clean up the economic mess and set this country once again on the path of sanity.

On OPEC, we have to be quick to say so because there are other member countries who try to cause confusion in the oil market by speculating that we are going to panic and start selling oil at cheap...we are in OPEC, and even if we are going to change our opinion about OPEC, we are going to consult them. This is what we said.

IBRAHIM BABANGIDA'S SPEECH (IB1) (1985)

Fellow Nigerians, when in December 1983, the former military leadership, headed by Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, assumed the reins of government; its accession was heralded in the history of this country. With the nation at the mercy of political misdirection and on the brink of economic collapse, a new sense of hope was created in the minds of every Nigerian.

Since January 1984, however, we have witnessed a systematic denigration of that hope. It was stated then that mismanagement of political leadership and a general deterioration in the standard of living, which had subjected the common man to intolerable suffering, were the reasons for the intervention.

Nigerians have since then been under a regime that continued with those trends. Events today indicate that most of the reasons which justified the military takeover of government from the civilians still persist.

The initial objectives were betrayed and fundamental changes do not appear on the horizon. Because the present state of uncertainty, suppression and stagnation resulted from the perpetration of a small group, the Nigerian Armed Forces could not as a part of that government be unfairly committed to take responsibility for failure. Our dedication to the cause of ensuring that our nation remains a united entity worthy of respect and capable of functioning as a viable and credible part of the international community dictated the need to arrest the situation.

Let me at this point attempt to make you understand the premise upon which it became necessary to change the leadership. The principles of discussions, consultation and co-operation which should have guided decision-making process of the Supreme Military Council and the Federal Executive Council were disregarded soon after the government settled down in 1984. Where some of us thought it appropriate to give a little more time, anticipating a conducive atmosphere that would develop, in which affairs of state could be attended to with greater sense of responsibility, it became increasingly clear that such expectations could not be fulfilled. Regrettably, it turned out that Major-General Muhammadu Buhari was too rigid and uncompromising in his attitudes to issues of national significance. Efforts to make him understand that a diverse polity like Nigeria required recognition and appreciation of differences in both cultural and individual perceptions, only served to aggravate these attitudes. Major-General Tunde Idiagbon was similarly inclined in that respect. As Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, he failed to exhibit the appropriate disposition demanded by his position. He arrogated to himself absolute knowledge of problems and solutions, and acted in accordance with what was convenient to him, using the machinery of government as his tool. A combination of these characteristics in the two most important persons holding the nation's vital offices became impossible to content with. The situation was made worse by a number of other government functionaries and organisations, chief among which is the Nigerian Security Organisation (NSO). In fact, this body will be overhauled and re-organized.

And so it came to be that the same government which received the tumultuous welcome now became alienated from the people. To prevent a complete erosion of our given mandate therefore, we had to act so that hope may be rebuilt. Let me now address your attention to the major issues that confront us, so that we may, as one people, chart a future direction for our dear country. We do not pretend to have all the answers to the questions which our present problems have put before our nation. We have come with the strongest determination to create an atmosphere in which positive efforts shall be given the necessary support for lasting solutions.

For matters of the moment which require immediate resolutions, we intend to pursue a determined programme of action. Major issues falling into this category have been identified and decisions taken on what should be done. Firstly, the issue of political detainees or convicts of Special Military Tribunals. The history of our nation had never recorded the degree of indiscipline and corruption as in the period between October 1979 and December 1983. While this government recognises the bitterness created by the irresponsible excesses of the politicians, we consider it unfortunate that methods of such nature as to cause more bitterness were applied to deal with past misdeeds.

We must never allow ourselves to lose our sense of natural justice. The innocent cannot suffer the crimes of the guilty. The guilty should be punished only as a lesson for the future. In line with this government's intention to uphold fundamental human rights, the issue of detainees will be looked into with dispatch.

As we do not intend to lead a country where individuals are under the fear of expressing themselves, the Public Officers Protection against False Accusation Decree 4 of 1984 is hereby repealed. And finally, those who have been in detention under this decree are hereby unconditionally released. The responsibility of the media to disseminate information shall be exercised without undue hindrance. In that process, those responsible are expected to be forthright and to have the nation's interest as their primary consideration. The issue of decrees has generated a lot of controversies. It is the intention of this government to review all other decrees.

The last twenty months have not witnessed any significant changes in the national economy. Contrary to expectations, we have so far been subjected to a steady deterioration in the general standard of living; and intolerable suffering by the ordinary Nigerians have risen higher, scarcity of commodities has increased, hospitals still remain mere consulting clinics, while educational institutions are on the brink of decay. Unemployment has stretched to critical dimensions.

Due to the stalemate, which arose in negotiation with the International Monetary Fund, the former government embarked on a series of counter-trade agreements. Under the counter-trade agreements, Nigerians were forced to buy goods and commodities at higher prices than obtained in the international market. The government intends to review the whole issue of counter-trade.

A lot has been said and heard about our position with the International Monetary Fund. Although we formally applied to the fund in April 1983, no progress has as yet been made in the negotiation and a stalemate has existed for the last two years. We shall break the deadlock that frustrated the negotiations with a view to evaluating more objectively both the negative and positive implications of reaching a mutual agreement with the Fund. At all times in the course of discussions, our representatives will be guided by the feelings and aspirations of the Nigerian people.

It is the view of this government that austerity without structural adjustment is not the solution to our economic predicament. The present situation whereby 44 per cent of our revenue earning is utilised to service debts is not realistic.

To protect the danger this poses to the poor and the needy in our society, steps will be taken to ensure comprehensive strategy of economic reforms.

The crux of our economic problems has been identified to centre around four fundamental issues:

1. A decrease of our domestic production, while our population continues to increase.
2. Dependence on import for both consumer goods and raw materials for our industries.
3. A grossly unequal gap between the rich and the poor.

4. The large role played by the public sector in economic activity with hardly any concrete results to justify such a role.

These are the problems we must confront.

ON FOREIGN POLICY:

Nigeria's foreign policy in the last 20 months has been characterised by inconsistency and incoherence. It has lacked the clarity to make us know where we stood on matters of international concern to enable other countries relate to us with seriousness. Our role as Africa's spokesman has diminished because we have been unable to maintain the respect of African countries.

The ousted military government conducted our external relations by a policy of retaliatory reactions. Nigeria became a country that has reacted to given situations, rather than taking the initiative as it should and always been done. More so, vengeful considerations must not be the basis of our diplomacy. African problems and their solutions should constitute the premise of our foreign policy. The realization of the Organisation of African Unity's Lagos Plan of Action for self-sufficiency and constructive co-operation in Africa shall be our primary pursuit.

The Economic Community of West African States must be reborn with the view to achieving the objective of regional integration. The problems of drought-stricken areas of Africa will be given more attention and sympathy, and our best efforts will be made to assist in their rehabilitation within the limits of our resources. Our membership of the United Nations Organisation will be made more practical and meaningful. The call for a new International Economic Order which lost its momentum in the face of the debt crisis will be made once again.

Nigeria hereby makes a renewed request to the Non-Aligned Movement to regroup and reinvigorate its determination to restructure the global economic system, while we appeal to the industrialized nations to positively consider the debt plight of the developing countries and assist in dealing with the dangers that face us. We shall remain members of the various multilateral institutions and inter-governmental organizations which we belong to and do what must be done to enhance the membership and participation within them.

Fellow Nigerians, this country has had since independence a history mixed with turbulence and fortune. We have witnessed our rise to greatness, followed with a decline to the state of a bewildered nation. Our human potentials have been neglected, our natural resources put to waste. A phenomenon of constant insecurity and overbearing uncertainty has become characteristic of our national existence. My colleagues and I are determined to change the course of history. This government is determined to unite this country. We shall not allow anything to obstruct us.

We recognize that a government, be it civilian or military, needs the consent of the people to govern if it is to reach its objective. We do not intend to rule by force. At the same time, we should not be expected to submit to unreasonable demands. Fundamental rights and civil liberties will be respected, but their exercise must not degenerate into irrational expression nor border on subversion. The War Against Indiscipline will continue, but this time, in the minds and conduct of Nigerians, and not by way of symbolism or money-spending campaigns. This government, on its part, will ensure that the leadership exhibits proper example.

Criticisms of actions and decisions taken by us will be given necessary attention and where necessary changes made in accordance with what is expected of us. Let me reiterate what we said in 1984: This generation of Nigerians and indeed future generations have no other country but Nigeria. We must all stay and salvage it together. This time it shall be pursued with deeper commitment and genuine sincerity.

There is a lot of work to be done by every single Nigerian. Let us all dedicate ourselves to the cause of building a strong, united and viable nation for the sake of our own lives and the benefits of posterity.

Finally, I wish to commend the members of the Armed Forces and the Nigeria Police for their mature conduct during the change.

I thank you all for your co-operation and understanding.

God bless Nigeria.

IBRAHIM BABANGIDA'S SPEECH (IB2) (1993)

Fellow Nigerians, I address you today with a deep sense of world history and particularly of the history of our great country. In the aftermath of the recently annulled Presidential Election, I feel, as I believe you yourself feel a profound sense of disappointment at the outcome of our last efforts at laying the foundation of a viable democratic system of government in Nigeria.

I therefore wish, on behalf of myself and members of the National Defence and Security Council and indeed of my entire administration, to feel with my fellow countrymen and women for the cancellation of the election. It was a rather disappointing experience in the course of carrying through the last election of the transition to civil rule programme.

Nigeria has come a long way since this administration assumed power and leadership about eight years ago. In the attempt to grapple with the critical and monumental problems and challenges of National existence and social progress, this administration inaugurated and pursued sound and justifiable policies and programmes of reform.

These policies and programmes have touched virtually all aspects of our national life – the economy, political process, social structures, external relations, bureaucracy and even the family system. I believe strongly that in understanding, conception, formulation and articulation, these policies and programmes are not only sound but also comparatively unassailable. I believe too that history, with the passage of time, would certainly score the administration high in its governance of our country.

Let me also express my deep conviction that the core strategy and structures of our reform policies and programmes, as enunciated in 1986/87 would, for a very long time, remain relevant and durable in the course of changing our country positively. I believe that at the exit of the Administration from power, we would leave behind for prosperity, a country with an economy, the structures of which have been turned around for good. The average Nigerian person has come to reconcile himself with the fact that his or her social progress remain essentially in his or her hands in collaboration with other fellow Nigerians and not merely relying on what government alone could provide for him or her. The days are gone for good, when men and women trooped to government establishments for employment and for benevolence.

This administration has built the foundation that would take Nigerians away from their previous colonially-induced motivations and the encumbrances of colonialism. We have laid the foundation for self-reliant economic development and social justice. We have established a new basis in our country in which economic liberalization would continue to flourish alongside democratic forces and deregulated power structure. In all these, the average Nigerian person has more than ever before this administration imbibed and assimilated the values of hard work, resilience and self-confidence.

It is true that in the course of implementing our reform policies and programmes and especially because of the visionary zeal with which we approached the assignment and responded to incidental pressures of governance, we engendered a number of social forces in the country.

This is so because we sought to challenge and transform extant social forces which had in the past impeded growth and development of our country. We also sought to deal with the new forces to which our programmes of action gave rise. Thus in dealing with the dynamics of both the old and new social forces, we ran into certain difficulties.

In particular, during the course of handling the interlocking relationships between the old and new political forces and institutions, some problems had arisen leading us into a number of difficulties and thereby necessitating our having to tamper with the rules and regulations laid down in the political programme. As a result, the administration unwittingly attracted enormous public suspicions of its intentions and objectives. Accordingly, we have experienced certain shortfalls and conflicting responses to the pulls and pushes of governance in the course of policy implementation.

I believe that areas of difficulties with the transition programme, especially from the last quarter of 1992 to the recent cancelled presidential election, derived primarily from the shortfalls in implementing the programmes of actions which, though objectively taken, may have caused a deviation from the original framework and structure of the programme.

Fellow Nigerians, it is true that by the cancelled presidential election, we all found the nation at a peculiar bar of history which was neither bargained for, nor was it envisaged in the reform programmes of transition as enunciated in 1986/87. In the circumstance, the administration had no option than to respond appropriately to the unfortunate experience of terminating the presidential election. Our actions are in full conformity with the original objectives of the transition to civil programme. It was also in conformity with the avowed commitment of the administration to advance the cause of national unity, stability, and democracy. In annulling the presidential election, this administration was keenly aware of its promise in November 1992 that it would disengage and institute a return to democracy on August 27, 1993. We are determined to keep the promise.

Since this transition, and indeed any transition, must have an end, I believe that our transition programme should and must come to an end, honestly and honourably.

History will bear witness that as an administration we have always striven, in all our policy decisions, to build the foundation of lasting democracy. Lasting democracy is not a temporary show of excitement and manipulation by an over-articulate section of the elite and its captive audience; lasting democracy is a permanent diet to nurture the soul of the whole nation and the political process.

Therefore, it is logical, as we have always insisted upon, that lasting democracy must be equated with political stability.

Informed by our sad experience of history, we require nothing short of a foundation for lasting democracy. As an administration, we cannot afford to leave Nigerian into a Third Republic with epileptic convulsions in its democratic health. Nigeria must therefore confront her own reality; she must solve her problems notwithstanding other existing models of democracy in other parts of the world.

In my address to the nation in October 1992, when the first presidential primaries were cancelled, I had cause to remind our country men and women that there is nowhere in the world in which the practice of democracy is the same, even if the principles are similar and even for countries sharing the same intellectual tradition and cultural foundation. The history of our country is not the history of any other country in the world which is either practicing advanced democracy or struggling to lay the foundation for democracy. Yet, in spite of the uniqueness and peculiarities of Nigeria, there are certain prerequisites which constitute an irreducible minimum for democracy. Such essential factors include:

- A. Free and fair elections;
- B. Uncoerced expression of voters' preference in election;
- C. Respect for electorate as unfettered final arbiter on elections;
- D. Decorum and fairness on the part of the electoral umpires;
- E. Absolute respect for the rule of law.

Fellow Nigerians, you would recall that it was precisely because the presidential primaries of last year did not meet the basic requirements of free and fair election that the Armed Forces Ruling Council, the, had good reason to cancel those primaries. The recently annulled presidential election was similarly afflicted by these problems.

Even before the presidential elections, and indeed at the party conventions, we had full knowledge of the bad signals pertaining to the enormous breach of the rules and regulations of democracy elections. But because we were determined to keep faith with the deadline of 27th August 1993 for the return of civil rule, we overlooked the reported breaches. Unfortunately, these breaches continued into the presidential election of June 12, 1993, on an even greater proportion.

There were allegations of irregularities and other acts of bad conduct leveled against the presidential candidates but NEC went ahead and cleared them. There were proofs as well as documented evidence of widespread use of money during the party primaries as well as the presidential election. These were the same bad conduct for which the party presidential primaries of 1992 were cancelled.

Evidence available to government put the total amount of money spent by the presidential candidates as over two billion, one hundred million naira (N2.1 billion). The use of money was again the major source of undermining the electoral process.

Both these allegations and evidence were known to the National Defence and Security Council before the holding of the June 12, 1993 election, the National Defence and Security Council overlooked these areas of problems in its determination to fulfill the promise to hand over to an elected president on due date.

Apart from the tremendous negative use of money during the party primaries and presidential elections, there were moral issues which were also overlooked by the Defence and National Security Council. There were cases of documented and confirmed conflict of interest between the government and both presidential aspirants which would compromise their positions and responsibilities were they to become president. We believe that politics and government are not ends in themselves. Rather, service and effective amelioration of the condition of our people must remain the true purpose of politics.

It is true that the presidential election was generally seen to be free, fair and peaceful. However, there was in fact a huge array of election malpractices virtually in all the states of the federation before the actual voting began. There were authenticated reports of the election malpractices against party agents, officials of the National Electoral Commission and also some members of the electorate.

If all of these were clear violations of the electoral law there were proofs of manipulations through offer and acceptance of money and other forms of inducement against officials of the National Electoral Commission and members of the electorate. There were also evidence of conflict in the process of authentication and clearance of credentials of the presidential candidates. Indeed, up to the last few hours to the election, we continued in our earnest steadfastness with our transition deadline, to overlook vital facts.

For example, following the council's deliberation which followed the court injunction suspending the election, majority of members of the National Defence and Security Council supported postponement of the election by one week. This was to allow NEC enough time to reach all the voters, especially in the rural areas, about the postponement. But persuaded by NEC that it was capable of relaying the information to the entire electorate within the few hours left before the election, the council, unfortunately, dropped the idea of shifting the voting day. Now, we know better. The conduct of the election, the behaviour of the candidates and post-election responses continued to elicit signals which the nation can only ignore at its peril.

It is against the foregoing background that the administration became highly concerned when these political conflicts and breaches were carried to the court.

It must be acknowledged that the performance of the judiciary on this occasion was less than satisfactory. The judiciary has been the bastion of the hopes and liberties of our citizens.

Therefore, when it became clear that the courts had become intimidated and subjected to the manipulation of the political process, and vested interests then the entire political system was in clear dangers.

This administration could not continue to watch the various high courts carry on their long drawn out processes and contradictory decisions while the nation slides into chaos.

It was under this circumstance that the National Defence and Security Council decided that it is in the supreme interest of law and order, political stability and peace that the presidential election be annulled. As an administration, we have had special interest and concern not only for the immediate needs of our society, but also in laying the foundation for generations to come.

To continue action on the basis of the June 12, 1993 election, and to proclaim and swear in a president who encouraged a campaign of divide and rule among our ethnic groups would have been detrimental to the survival of the Third Republic. Our need is for peace, stability and continuity of politics in the interest of all our people.

Fellow countrymen and women, although the National Electoral Commission and the Centre for Democratic Studies officially invited foreign observers for the presidential elections, the administration also considered it as important as a democratic society, that our activities and electoral conduct must be open not only to the citizenry of our country but also to the rest of the world. In spite of this commitment, the administration did not and cannot accept that foreign countries should interfere in our internal affairs and undermine our sovereignty.

The presidential election was no an exercise imposed on Nigerians by the United Nations or by the wishes of some global policemen of democracy. It was a decision embarked upon independently by the government of our country and for the interest of our country. This is because, we believe, just like other countries, that democracy and democratization are primary values which Nigerians should cultivate, sustain and consolidate so as to enhance freedom, liberties and social development of the citizenry.

The actions of these foreign countries are most unfortunate and highly regrettable. There is nowhere in the history of our country or indeed of the third world where these countries can be said to love Nigeria or Nigerians any more that the love we have for ourselves and for our country. Neither can they claim to love Nigeria any more than this administration loves our country.

Accordingly, I wish to state that this administration will take necessary action against any interest groups that seek to interfere in our internal affairs. In this vein, I wish to place on record the appreciation of this

administration for the patience and understanding of Nigerians, the French, the Germans, the Russians and Irish governments in the current situation. I appeal to our fellow countrymen and women and indeed our foreign detractors that they should cultivate proper understanding and appreciation of the peculiar historic circumstances in the development of our country and the determination not only of this administration but indeed of all Nigerians to resolve the current crises.

Fellow Nigerians, the National Security and Defence Council have met several times since the June 12, 1993 election. The council has fully deliberated not only on our avowed commitment but also to bequeathing to posterity, a sound economic and political base in our country and we shall do so with honour. In our deliberations, we have also taken note of several extensive consultations with other members of this administration, with officers and men of the Armed Forces and will well-meaning Nigerian leaders of thought. We are committed to handing over power on 27th August 1993.

Accordingly, the National Defence and Security Council has decided that by the end of July 1993 the two political parties, under the supervision of a recomposed National Electoral Commission, will put in place the necessary process for the emergence of two presidential candidates.

This shall be conducted according to the rules and regulations governing the election of the president of the country. In this connection, government will in consultation with the two political parties and National Electoral Commission agree as to the best and quickest process of conducting the election.

In the light of our recent experience and, given the mood of the nation, the National Defence and Security Council has imposed additional conditions as a way of widening and deepening the base of electing the president and sanitizing the electoral process. Accordingly, the candidates for the coming election must:

- (1) Not be less than 50 years old.
- (2) Have not been convicted of any crime;
- (3) Believe, by act of faith and practice, in the corporate existence of Nigerians;
- (4) Posses records of personal, corporate and business interests which do not conflict with the national interests;
- (5) Have been registered members of either of the two political parties for at least one year to this election.

All those previously banned from participating in the transition process other than those with criminal records, are hereby unbanned. They can all henceforth participate in the electoral process. This is with a view to enriching the quality of candidature for the election and at the same time tap the leadership resources of our country to the fullest. The decree to this effect will be promulgated.

Fellow Nigerians, I wish to finally acknowledge the tremendous value of your patience and understanding, especially in the face of national provocation.

I urge you to keep faith with the commitment of this administration. I enjoin you to keep faith with the unity, peace and stability of our country for this is the only country that you and I can call our own. Nowhere in the world, no matter the prompting and inducements of foreign countries, can Nigerians ever be regarded as first class citizens. Nigeria is the only country that we have. We must therefore renew our hope in Nigeria, and faith and confidence in ourselves for continued growth, development and progress. Thank you all, and God bless you.

ERNEST SHONEKAN'S SPEECH (ES1) (1993)

Fellow Nigerians, the annulment of the June 12 president election, a broad-based national committee comprising representatives of the two parties, National Republican Convention, the Social Democratic

Party and government representatives recommended the formation of an interim National Government as the most viable stop-gap arrangement pending the time a fresh presidential election will be held by the Babangida administration.

That the Interim National Government is a child of circumstances is an incontrovertible fact. It is however, the best solution in the difficult way by which the country found itself. It turned out to be the only way by which a peaceful end could be put to the military leadership of the government of our country, given the firm determination of the military to annual June 12 and the obvious lack of a consensus among the political class in their response.

The rationale for the Interim National Government is the imperative to move forward as a united and indivisible nation. The country cannot afford to get bogged down much longer in the post-election quagmire which was leading progressively to a catastrophe. A solution had to be found since we all know that the long-run benefits of staying together as one nation far outweigh the interim pains of learning to grow together.

We simply cannot afford to fritter away the gains and experience for thirty three years of independence. The path of wisdom is to consolidate our gains and build our strengths while striving hard to correct our shortcomings. This is precisely what the Interim National Government is determined to do during its short tenure.

It is true that we have been passing through a particular difficult period of our history lately. However, the Interim National Government is the positive proof our enduring capacity to devise our own solutions to our peculiar problems. As a home-grown innovation, the Interim National Government ought, therefore, to reassure the cynics and detractors, both at home and abroad, of our resolve to stay together as one nation with a common destiny. I want to assure you all my fellow countrymen and women that the best is yet to come. June 12 has now become part of the political history of this country and it is advisable that we let it remain so. However, government will put together the records of the event in detail for posterity.

Fellow Nigerians, our recent wrenching remain a most painful reminder of our civil war which lasted three and half year with most traumatic consequences. Keen observers of events of the last few weeks would have wondered whether we learnt any lessons from the civil war. Upon sober reflections, such observers would after August 26 and 27, have concluded that we have indeed learnt that an all or nothing approach to a political crisis usually leads to disaster. Politics should not be a zero-sum game. Indeed, what we have just been through teaches us an additional lesson that we should not take our unity and corporate existence for granted. We must work hard and at it jealously protect and nature it. In this regard, the travails of the recent past should further strengthen the fabric of our national experience.

Generally, the duties and responsibilities of the Interim National Government are quite enormous and challenging. We have been charged with the responsibility of ensuring effective administration of the country by steering the ship of state in all national and international circumstances and to effectively protect all our citizens.

Our task also includes giving priority attention to the material well-being of our citizens. In addition, we are to oversee the local government elections due to later this year. Most importantly, we have an onerous duty of bringing to its logical conclusion the political transmission programme by overseeing the conduct of the presidential election and putting in place all necessary apparatus and processes which will ensure a smooth handing-over of power to a democratically elected president at the end of the interim period.

The general direction of our policy during the interim period will be towards promoting national reconciliation and healing the deep wounds inflicted on our collective psyche by recent political events. We intend to soothe frayed nerves and seek to enhance the tone and quality of public discourse. We also wish to adopt a people-oriented approach in policy formulation in order to rekindle hope of a bright future in the generality of our people. Our charity will begin at home and our style will be simple enough, but our resolve to do the right things for greater majority of our people will be firm.

The existence of the Interim National government terminates on March 31, 1994, which makes it seven-month tenure. You will agree with me that in order to successfully carry out our brief and make a positive impact we must be properly focused. Given the constraint of time, we must give priority to the conclusion of the political transition programme by overseeing the conduct of the presidential election and ensuring a smooth hand-over of power democratically elected president at the end of our tenure.

I have been assured that preparations for the local government elections which are due to take place in the last quarter of this year are on course. I shall give instructions immediately to the National Electoral Commission to consult with the two political parties with a view to establishing a timetable within the next one week for the presidential election.

On the political front, we are still groping in the dark for a generally acceptable and workable formula. The problems we confront in this sphere derive largely from the multi-ethnic group, multi-religious nature of our society. Since we cannot run away from this fundamental characteristic of our society we have to learn to understand our differences so that we can deal them realistically. It would not serve useful purpose to pretend we do not confront serious problems in fussing together the various segments of our society into a cohesive nation. This is a major challenge of leadership in the political life on our country.

In order to solve the fundamental problem of unity and douse the political storm brewing we must put in place a credible conflict resolution mechanism, fashioned to reflect our peculiar experiences and aspirations. If anything, events of the recent past had revealed poignantly in us as severally limited in crisis-solving capacity. Our leaders of thought must meaningfully address this area of urgent need.

Crises are integral part of nation-building, more so in our highly complex type of society. There are two critical factors to note in our search for a workable crisis resolution mechanism. First we accept the principle of dialogue, backed by a spirit of give and take second; we ought to widen our margin of tolerance in the debate on national issues.

Politicians have been assigned a prominent role in the Interim National Government and the two political parties are well represented in the new cabinet. More importantly, the powers of the National Assembly to legislate have been restored. Thus, the Interim National affords an opportunity for a befitting rehearsal of the third republic in terms of co-operation among the three keys arms of government, that is, the executive, the legislative and the judiciary.

The ball is now in the court of our politicians and I fervently hope that they will rise to the occasion and prove the “doubting Thomas’s” wrong. Additionally, I call upon the political parties to restore harmony and discipline within the various level of party leadership. Without these, they will find it difficult to fulfill the requirements and provide a conducive atmosphere for a free and fair election.

Fellow Nigerians, I am aware that the recent political unrest has taken a heavy toll on our economy. I do not intend to pretend otherwise. Reports reaching me about the movement and suffering of our people across the country, consequent upon the political firestorm make my heart ache indeed. Uncertainly and gloom remain on the horizon. Economic activities are generally depressed and investor confidence at home

and abroad is all but eroded. It behooves us, therefore, to prevent further deterioration of our economy and the collapse of the standard of living of our citizenry. However, giving the short tenure of the Interim National Government and the daunting tasks it confronts, we must priorities and manage our resources and time most efficiently. Hence the political problem will rank highest in the hierarchy of issues to be addressed in the next seven months, although we will not and cannot neglect economic issues.

We have decided to declare our priorities now to avoid being misunderstood later. During the life of Interim national Government, we intend to run and open government with an emphasis on the twin concepts of accountability and transparency. We shall encourage a consensus approach to policy-making, often consulting as widely as possible with various segments of our society on issues of national importance.

To this end, I am here by appealing to our traditional rulers, political and religious leaders, the private sector and labor organizations, academicians and students to come forward and offer ideas on how best to accomplish our tasks and move ahead.

Fellow Nigerians, the total disregard for uprightness in our society, which has enthroned wealth by all means, is quite worrisome to me. Thus, not only are those who defraud our public treasuries honored, even armed robbers and drug barons are able to buy respectability. Rampant corruption and get-rich-quick mania, therefore, have become cankerworms in all spheres of our national life.

Having given these problems a serious thought, I have come to the painful conclusion that to forge ahead as a society we must extirpate corruption from our public life. I am also convinced that to accomplish this very important task the battle must begin with the leadership of our country.

Therefore, I am serving notice here and now of the determination of the Interim National Government to launch a crusade against corruption in our national life. To this end, I shall strive to lead by example. The ING will also ensure that laws against corruption are enforced without fear or favor. The role of the populace in fighting the cankerworm of corruption cannot be over-emphasized. Each and every one should resolve to join the crusade. Each and every one must be determined to expose corruption wherever it exists.

The twin problem of corruption is social indiscipline which is also widespread in our country today. It is indiscipline which breeds corruption and the other social problems afflicting us. Therefore, we must join hands together to uproot indiscipline in all its ramification from our society. In this respect, parents, teachers, and religious leaders have an important role to play.

In addition, leaders of government must by their personal acts be a shining example of discipline. I am seizing the opportunity of this occasion, therefore, to charge the members of the ING to demonstrate the virtues of discipline and integrity at all times. On this score, I pledge to take the lead.

I want to appeal to our media as members of the fourth estate of the realm for full cooperation and patriotic understanding during the tenure of ING. We all have been living witnesses of the turbulent event of the recent past in which the media have by no means been passive observers. Experience, it is said, is the best teacher. Therefore, I expect that the media practitioners are much wiser now.

There is thin line connecting the orderly and the disorderly, hence, it behooves our media practitioners to report and analyze issues of national importance with utmost circumspection and a sense of patriotism.

It is widely accepted fact that democracy cannot thrive without a free press and it is equally widely acknowledged that Nigeria can boast of the most vibrant and freest press in Africa. I feel proud about this observation and I want to enjoin our media to maintain their good image. Ours is a government of reconciliation seeking to heal the wounds of the nation and the media should co-operate in this important

task. To this end, our newspaper, radio and television must seek to inform, educate and entertain in the best tradition of their noble profession.

They should at all times be objective in their reporting and seek to promote among Nigerians a sense of shared perspective on national and international issues. They should avoid the abuse of their privileged position by campaign of calumny and outlandish imaginative reporting calculated to bring into disrepute public figures and their families. To say the least, this smacks of an utter disregard of professionalism and respect of privacy.

More importantly, this runs counter to African tradition which accords respect to elders. The media should become a partner in progress and be carried along in the arduous task of nation-building.

Fellow countrymen and women, the government has noted with grave concern the crises that has engulfed or tertiary education since July 1992. Currently, most of our higher institutions are under closure following the strike embarked upon by members of the academic staff of the various institutions since early May. However, the foundation for progress and rapid transformation of our society comes from education. Indeed, development of human capital is a necessary if not sufficient condition for future growth and development of our national economy.

I wish to reiterate that within the limits of available resources, the ING is determined to provide succor for our institutions. This is matter close to my heart personally. Let me add however that in the face of dwindling national resources, it is necessary for tertiary education to evolve ways and means of managing well with less. It is important to continue to place emphasis on generating independent revenues as well as prudent management of available resources. I fervently appeal to all sections of the higher education sector to urgently set in motion the machinery for the resumption of national academic activities as part of the process of healing the nation's wounds.

I have noted with dismay the series of strikes and work stoppages which have characterized most of the current year. It particularly gives cause for concern that the country has been losing valuable man-hours at a time when the requirement of our weak economy is increased productivity.

I should emphasize that it is our national economy which suffers for it and ultimately the common man who bears the brunt of it all. I am hereby calling for a moratorium on labor unrest, work stoppages and stay-at-home orders in the greater interest of our fatherland. Consequently, I plead to enter into series of dialogue with various interest-groups so that, together, we can find lasting solutions to our problems.

It is now recognized that an important element in our political crisis is the reaction of foreign countries. Though basically an internal affair such as democratization becomes a major element of the evolving new world order that the Nigerian evolving democratic experiment is of universal interest. We have to admit that our tortuous path to democratization has been at once a source of admiration and of bewilderment to the outside world.

We began our process well before democratization became the fashion. However, let us not ascribe ill-will to our foreign friends. Rather, let us call upon them to quickly re-access our relation in light of the recent changes that this country has witnessed in its governance. The withdrawal of General Babangida as president, Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces on August 26, signaled to the final disengagement of the military from the government. This is a major step whose primordial significance should not be lost on our well-wishers.

I should like to restate particularly for the benefit of our foreign partners that the ING is not a military-led government either overtly or covertly. I have spent all my adult life working for and promoting free market

economy. In order for it to thrive, such a system requires free expressions of political opinions and government freely elected by the people.

Therefore, I cannot be a party to the perpetuation of military rule which by its nature is not based on democratic principles. In accepting to be part of the transitional government in January 1993 it was on the understanding that it was the final stage schedule to terminate in August 1993. With the complication that arose after June 12 and the annulment of the presidential election an interim arrangement became the most realistic option for making the military respect to target date of August 27 for their disengagement. Even in the environment of the new world order, the first step of any form of crisis resolution remains the encouragement of local initiatives. I call upon our foreign partners therefore to give us credit for fashioning out a Nigerian solution and to show their good will in our efforts at implementation.

Nigeria's population and resources have thrust on her regional leadership responsibilities in Africa. The commitment of our country to maintenance of international peace stability on the continent in general and the ECOWAS sub-region in particular which we intend to continue has often demanded a lot of sacrifice of our resources. We have gladly made the sacrifice to the admiration of the international community. Nigeria's well-being, therefore, should be seen by our foreign partners in a broader perspective. The continuation of Nigeria's policy of being its brother's keeper requires a sound economic base. The support and co-operation of our industrialized partners in our efforts at revamping our national economy become therefore of mutual interest. I hope that the ING can count on such support.

There is no doubt that our economy has suffered because of peace enforcement operation as part of ECOMOG in Liberia. Mercifully, the fratricidal war is now over and Liberians have at last begun the process of establishing a national government which will reconstruct the war torn country, and rehabilitate the war-weary populace. I can call upon the United Nations and other international agencies to come to the assistance of Liberia.

We in this sub-region have done enough. Now is time to bring the boy home. I have therefore directed the secretary of Defense to work out a withdrawal plan immediately, so as to bring the boys home before the end of the tenure of ING, I intend to discuss this plan at an ECOWAS summit meeting to be specially convened for this purpose.

Fellow Nigerians, in this concluding part of my first address to you as Head of the ING, I should like to emphasize a number of points

First, you should not ignore or under-rate the significant of August 26, the date on which General Babangida stepped down as president and commander in chief of the Armed Forces. How many of you believe when in his address to the joint session of the National Assembly on August 17, he offered to "voluntarily step aside"? In the days after that address a thousand interpretations were made of his assertion to "step aside" both in and outside Nigeria all showing signs of disbelief. As it turned out, he did, in fact, not only step aside but stepped down on August 26.

If I, Earnest Shonekan, accepted to take over from him the mantle of leadership of our country, albeit temporarily, it is a sacrifice I felt able to make in order to make August 26 happen. I am neither unaware of the personal risk nor the possible misunderstanding of my motives. Let me assure you, fellow Nigerians that if there had been an alternative way of making the military disengage and our march of full democratization as an indivisible entity assured, I would have embarked on a long deserve vocation. But, as events unfold my patriotic zeal could not made me walk away when it became clear that I had a crucial and historic role to play in the only solution viable under the circumstances.

Secondly, let it said loud and clear that the challenge of leadership in our country has never been more than it is now. The political climate is poisoned; economic activities are at low ebb while corruption, indiscipline and other social ill reign supreme. Our leadership should not allow the beautiful dreamed of a great country at independence to become a burden just after three decades. It would be tantamount to an unpardonable indictment of the present generation of leaders to allow the labors of our heroes past to be in vain. Therefore, our country cries out now for a leader who has a vision and the moral courage to translate that vision into reality. This is the way to debunk the myth of an ever-bungling leadership, incapable of building a modern society, in spite the generous endowment of nature in terms of human and material resources.

Thirdly, the way forward for all of us is to pull in the same direction toward clearly defined objectives. The ING is irrevocable committed to conclude the democratization process and to hand over power to an elected president at the end of its tenure. We must not lose sight of the urgent need to stem further deterioration of our economy and to implement measures of recovery and reform. It is equally important that we strive to improve the quality of governance, accept transparency and accountability in the management of public finance and carry out a crusade against corruption.

Fourthly, I want to assure the international community that Nigeria will continue to honor her obligations. During the tenure of interim national government, we will do all that is necessary to strengthen the structures that will guarantee to all Nigerians the fundamental human rights as enshrined in our constitution and in the relevant international instruments to which Nigeria is a party. In fact, we have clearly indicated our intentions in this direction by releasing some human rights activist a few days ago.

Lastly, I urge you, good people of Nigeria, to see the events of the past several weeks as nothing more than a passing phase in the life of our country. Please give this government a chance to live up its promise by keeping and maintaining the peace as well as going about your lawful duties without let or hindrance.

Thank you and God bless. Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

ERNEST SHONEKAN'S SPEECH (ES2) (1993)

Fellow colleagues of the Interim National Government, I have summoned you this evening on an unusual occasion. Earlier today, I met with the secretary of defence in company of the Chief of Defence Staff and the Chief of Army Staff, and we discussed the state of the nation.

They expressed serious concern about the general uneasiness in the country and the apparent lack of stability over the past three months. They spoke about the restiveness of the rank and file in the military. You will recall that today is our eighty second day in office, having been sworn in on August 26, 1993. Needless to say that we have all worked together to the best of our ability, and as a coherent team. I want to put it on record that I have enjoyed the period we worked together in the Interim National Government. It is common knowledge that the ING is a child of circumstance. It was conceived in crisis and born in crisis.

If I may recount some of the achievements of the Interim National Government to which you have all been witnesses, we may not have recorded landmarks, but we have taken the first step. In the social sector, we have brought back normalcy in the institutions of higher learning. On human rights, our records are impeccable and perhaps, unbeatable in the annals of our country. We freed all jailed human rights activists, we pardoned all political offenders both dead and alive, allowed all politicians in exile to return home, and we have not restricted the free movement of any activist in and out of the country. We also took the appropriate steps de-proscribe the newspapers proscribed by sending the Bills to the National Assembly to be repealed.

On the political arena, we have continued to work ceaselessly towards full democratization of our dear country. We have extended our right hand of fellowship to the legislature and have put in place the machinery for local and presidential elections next February.

On the economic scene, we were able to put in place an Economic Action Agenda for the nation in conjunction with the private sector operators. Let me assure you that our seemingly tough policies have received commendation from far and beyond. Ordinarily, I would have wished that the Interim National Government would be saddled only with economic problems. This derives from my belief that our country faces more economic challenges than anything else. Although we have not been able to implement some of our policies, nonetheless we have started out in the right direction by curbing frivolous expenditure and working closely with the private sector of the economy. I can only hope that the successor administration will take off from where we are leaving and continue courageously with the budgetary and other reforms we have adopted as well as our campaign for debt relief.

Distinguished colleagues, most importantly, the Interim National Government has tried very hard to bring honour to government and has taken steps to campaign against the incidence of corruption and indiscipline in the society. Several times, I have publicly acknowledged the collective transparency and integrity of this cabinet. Let me say loud and clear that here that we have all made sacrifices for these past 82 days in the strong belief that our country deserves the best. I have an unshaken faith in the promise of Nigeria and I believe that the best is yet to come.

However, I regret to inform you that in the light of recent events and after due consideration of all the facts, I am left with no alternative but to take the most honourable and dignified step of resigning, with immediate effect, my appointment as Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria.

Once more, I thank you very much and hope that the fellowship we have shared in this past period will continue to be the basis of good memory for long.

May God bless and long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

SANI ANACHA'S SPEECH (SA1) (1993)

Fellow Nigerians, sequel to the resignation of the former Head of the Interim National Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Chief Ernest Shonekan and my subsequent appointment as Head of State and Commander-in-Chief, I have had extensive consultations within the armed forces hierarchy and other well-meaning Nigerians in a bid to find solutions to the various political, economic and social problems which have engulfed our beloved country, and which have made life most difficult to the ordinary citizen of this nation.

Chief Ernest Shonekan took over as Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces at a most trying time in the history of the country. Politically, economically, and socially, there were lots of uncertainties. Things appeared bleak and the atmosphere was heavy with uncertainties. However, driven by a belief in himself, his countrymen, and love for his country, he accepted to face the challenges of our time. I will, therefore, like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to him for his selfless service to the nation. He showed great courage at taking on the daunting task of heading the Interim National Government and even greater courage to know when to leave.

Many have expressed fears about the apparent return of the military. Many have talked about the concern of the international community. However, under the present circumstances the survival of our beloved country is far above any other consideration. Nigeria is the only country we have. We must, therefore, solve our problems ourselves. We must lay a very solid foundation for the growth of democracy. We should avoid

any ad hoc or temporary solutions. The problems must be addressed firmly, objectively, decisively and with all sincerity of purpose. Consequently, the following decisions come into immediate effect:

- The Interim National Government is hereby dissolved.
- The National and State Assemblies are also dissolved.
- The State Executive Councils are dissolved. The Brigade Commanders are to take over from the Governors in their States until Administrators are appointed. Where there are no Brigade Commanders, the Commissioners of Police in the State are to take over.
- All Local Governments stand dissolved. The Directors of Personnel are to take over the administration of the Local Governments until Administrators are appointed.
- All former Secretaries to Federal Ministries are to hand over to their Directors-General until Ministers are appointed.
- The two political parties are hereby dissolved.
- All processions, political meetings and associations of any type in any part of the country are hereby banned.
- Any consultative committee by whatever name called is hereby proscribed.
- Decree 61 of 1993 is hereby abrogated.

A Provisional Ruling Council (PRC), is hereby established. It will comprise:

- The Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the federal Republic of Nigeria as Chairman.
- The Chief of General Staff as Vice-Chairman
- The Honourable Minister of Defence
- The Chief of Defence Staff
- The Service Chiefs
- The Inspector General of Police
- The Attorney General and Minister of Justice
- The Internal Affairs Minister
- The Foreign Affairs Minister

Also, a Federal Executive Council will be put in place.

Our security system will be enhanced to ensure that lives of citizens, property of individuals are protected and preserved. Drug trafficking and other economic crimes such as 419 must be tackled and eliminated. On the current strike throughout the nation following the increase in the price of fuel, I appeal to all the trade unions to return to work immediately. We cannot afford further dislocation and destruction of our economy.

On the closed media houses, government is hereby lifting the order of proscription with immediate effect. We, however, appeal to the media houses that in this spirit of national reconciliation, we should show more restraint and build a united and peaceful Nigeria.

Fellow Nigerians, the events of the past months, starting from the annulment of the June 12 presidential election, culminating in the appointment of the former Head of State, Chief Ernest Shonekan, who unfortunately resigned yesterday, are well known to you. The economic downturn has undoubtedly been aggravated by the ongoing political crisis.

We require well thought-out and permanent solutions to these problems if we are to emerge stronger for them. Consequently, a constitutional conference with full constituent powers will be established soon to determine the future constitutional structure of Nigeria. The constitutional conference will also recommend the method of forming parties, which will lead to the ultimate recognition of political parties formed by the

people. While the conference is on, the reorganisation and reform of the following major institutions will be carried out:

- The Military
- The Police
- The Customs
- The Judiciary
- NITEL
- NNPC
- NEPA
- The Banking Industry
- Higher Educational Institutions

This regime will be firm, humane, and decisive. We will not condone nor tolerate any act of indiscipline. Any attempt to test our will be decisively dealt with. For the International Community, we ask that you suspend judgment while we grapple with the onerous task of nation building, reconciliation and repairs. This government is a child of necessity with a strong determination to restore peace and stability to our country and on these foundations, enthrone a lasting and true democracy. Give us the chance to solve our problems in our own ways.

Long Live the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

SANI ANACHA'S SPEECH (SA2) (1996)

Fellow Nigerians,

I am happy to address you on this important occasion of the 36th Anniversary of our political independence which marks the beginning of a glorious era. I seize this opportunity to salute the memory of our founding fathers who endured all hardship to bequeath to us a prosperous and resilient nation.

This year's independent anniversary is coming at a time of great national transformation. As we continue to move along the path of success and progress in all sectors, we should rededicate ourselves to the cause of our great Nation and attain yet greater heights in all fields of our national endeavour.

In my National Day Broadcast in October last year I announced the transition programme leading to a democratically elected government on 1st October 1998. The various transition institutions were accordingly established and commenced work within the terms of reference given to them. I am happy to state that considerable measure of success has been recorded since my last National Day Broadcast. At the same time, I announced our commitment towards achieving economic stability and progress, which are basic for the political and social stability of our nation.

Following the remarkable success of the operation of the 1995 budget and the economic reforms of the same year we launched the budget of consolidation in 1996. We considered it necessary to consolidate on our gains of the previous year and move our nation forward. I am happy to state that the Mid-year budget report and independent assessment of the performance of the economy in 1996 have shown greater success over that of the previous year. We have now achieved considerable economic stability in various sectors and are in a position to plan ahead for the future.

Having effectively checked all areas of losses and wastages, we have met all our revenue targets in both oil and non-oil sectors. The heavy deficit level, which has adversely affected the operation of our budget and the performance of our economy for over a decade now, has been reversed. While in 1995 we recorded a surplus of N1 billion, our mid-year review shows prospects for a higher level of surplus at the end of 1996. We have achieved macro-economic stability in our exchange rate and interest rate regime. As a result of all

these, inflation is well under control and it is our hope that in the not too distant future all other negative trends in our economic and social lives will be effectively controlled. In particular government will put in place the appropriate policy measures meant to bring down cost of foodstuff, goods and services. In the meantime I appeal to manufacturers to respond positively to the various tax incentives and other policy measures to lower the prices of their goods and products.

With our political transition programme very well on course, the prospects for stability, peace and unity will continue to be greater. The successful conduct of the local government elections earlier in the year, formation of political associations and the process of registration as political parties, administrative reforms undertaken in the civil service are all positive signs of bright prospects for our nations.

Vision 2010

Fellow Nigerians, the concept of Vision 2010 is being adopted at this stage of our development to enable us appreciate the importance of long term planning in achieving national self-reliance, economic strength and political stability. It arose out of our historical experience of the post-independence era where successive national plans and strategies for development were conceived of and executed on short-term and ad-hoc basis.

Our nation has in the last three decades missed the opportunities to harness its resources properly, control areas of wastage and utilise such resources for development-oriented projects and programmes. We have also realised that in all that we did the mobilisation of our population in the rural areas towards meaningful development has not been effectively achieved. This state of affairs has led to a continuous rural-urban drift creating serious socio-economic problems for our people.

It is our hope, therefore, that a solid foundation for our progress and success could be achieved within the framework of Vision 2010. The first step is to identify where we went wrong and then consolidate our gains as a nation. Happily, this is the time to do so, having achieved within the last two years a substantial level of macro-economic stability, unity and peace. This is a period of stocktaking, a period to get the correct bearing for our nation, a period during which all hands should be on deck.

We should prevent a reversal of our major gains while exploring new grounds that should launch our nation successfully into the twenty-first century. The prospects for success are brighter now than ever before and we must not relent in our efforts. The future generation of Nigerians would expect from us this enormous but noble responsibility. It could be delayed any further. Accordingly, I urge all our countrymen and women to be part of this nation building process.

To ensure the success of the Vision 2010, government has now decided to set up a high powered committee, headed by Chief Earnest Shonekan, former head of state, an industrialist of international repute, to put into clear focus, and channel the course of Vision 2010. The committee, which will be composed of representatives from all sectors of our economy and public life, will be charged with the responsibility for defining for our nation its correct bearing and realistic sense of direction. It will specifically examine those aspects of our economy, which should be developed and strengthened. It will set goals and appropriate target for our economic growth and social stability. Our vision should focus on such important indices as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) literacy level, employment prospects, agriculture, industrialisation and development of science and technology.

Fellow Nigerians, let me re-state the fact that no nation can grow and develop without its own vision, its own original ideas, its will and determination to achieve true independence and sovereignty. We are not unaware of the social crisis that has adversely affected the growth and stability of our nation in the last three decades of the attainment of our political independence. The problems of unemployment, crime and

poverty, which have affected our society for some time now, must be addressed on both short and long-term basis. Already, Government has taken all the necessary steps to deal with these problems effectively. The various policy measures introduced in the last two years are meant to tackle such problems. The various projects being implemented under the Petroleum Trust Fund and the National Ruling Plan will have a long-term stabilizing effect on the social sector in particular, and on the nation in general.

Fellow Nigerians, in realisation of the problems that have brought about economic recession and instability in our country, this administration introduced some far-reaching measures to sanitize the system and instill some discipline in the operation of the economy and public service management. Already, the Failed Banks Decree, which has come into effect, has sent positive signals for recovery and sanitization in that sector. This policy will be maintained and further extended to other sectors with similar problems. The Failed Parastatals Decree will come into effect before the end of the year. As I have always stated positive growth and development of our economy cannot be achieved without a serious restructuring and sanitization of the system that supports our socio-economic and political development.

Fellow Nigerians, the perennial problem in our educational sector has been a major cause for concern to this administration. The crisis in the sector covers all segments of our educational system, from the primary to the tertiary levels. We do realise that the crisis arose out of the cumulative effect of several negative forces both from within and outside the sector. Their solution therefore has to be gradual but effective and long lasting. Accordingly, government has decided to set up a high powered committee consisting of eminent professionals in the field and other well-meaning Nigerians to examine the problems that have retarded our educational growth and proffer solutions for the restoration of normalcy to our national education system.

The committee will be charged with the responsibility of closely examining all past and present policies of education and to identify the areas of major constraints. Their focus will be the improvement of quality of education; the relevance of our various educational programmes and the structures already put in place to manage our educational system.

Let me convey Government's appreciation to all well-meaning Nigerians who have shown their concern and interest in our educational sector and who have contributed in many ways to the effort in restoring normalcy to the system. I commend the effort and concern of the committee of elders and traditional rulers on the issue of education in particular and all other matters of national interest.

ABDUSALAMI ABUBAKAR (AA1) (1998)

Fellow Nigerians,

The Provisional Ruling Council met at an extraordinary session yesterday following the sudden death of the Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Sanni Abacha, GCON and appointed me as the New Head of State, Commander-in-Chief.

Like other Nigerians, I received the sad news with great shock and, in accepting the burden of history now placed upon me as Head of State, I pray that Almighty God will give us the fortitude to bear the irreparable loss.

It is not in question that General Sanni Abacha died on very active and patriotic service of our beloved fatherland. We shall forever remember him for his innovative leadership and transparent stewardship to the nation at the most trying period of our nascent history.

We salute his honesty, resoluteness, fearlessness and total commitment to the preservation of Nigeria as a united, stable and prosperous entity. The most befitting way to honour his memory is for all Nigerians to uphold those ideals, ethos and lessons he tried to infuse into our national consciousness.

Fellow Nigerians, I enjoin you to bear this national tragedy with courage and faith in God. This is the time for reflection and national prayers. The Almighty God in His Infinite mercies and compassion will soothe our grief and strengthen our collective resolve and aspiration for peace, stability and socio-economic development of our country.

My fervent appeal also goes to the international community for their understanding and cooperation. Nigeria demands a fair hearing and constructive engagement and not isolation. We remain an important member of the international system through the framework of the United Nations, a veritable instrument of international cooperation and inter-dependence.

We shall honour all our international obligations and maintain our national commitment to international peace and security, especially in the West African sub-region. Similarly, we intend to continue to have friendly relations with all the nations of the world. However, in spite of the recent developments in the country, we shall resolutely defend our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

Fellow Nigerians, we remain fully committed to the socio-political transition programme of General Sanni Abacha's Administration and will do everything to ensure its full and successful implementation. In this regard, I am holding consultations with all relevant agencies at the highest level.

We shall need the full cooperation of all Nigerians to succeed in this sacred endeavour and wish to extend invitation to all those Nigerians in self-exile to return home to join the process of reconstruction, reconciliation and the conclusion of the transition programme.

One-month period of national mourning starting June 9, to July 7, 1998 has been declared to solemnize the occasion. In addition, Condolence Registers will be opened in strategic places in Abuja, State Capitals and Local Government Headquarters throughout the country.

Once again, may God Almighty inspire us and guide us to manage this national tragedy and pray that General Abacha's gentle soul may rest in perfect peace. Amen.

ABDUSALAMI ABUBAKAR (AA2) (1999)

I thank the Almighty God that I am able to address you today. This will be my last address to you as Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. But it is especially gratifying, that it should take place on the eve of a great national triumph. In a matter of hours, the inauguration of a democratically elected president would have been held. And the process of restoration of civil rule to our beloved country would have been completed.

Even though the time has been short, we have, indeed, come a long way. The event that we are about to celebrate, represents for us, profound achievement. When others doubted us, we knew we would come through. Together as Nigerians, diverse but one united and sharing the same vision to this present height. Our success attests to our indomitable and resolute will and unswerving faith in the promise of our future that is limitless. It is this strong sense of who we are; it is this determination to move this country forward that indicates, more than anything else, that the dream of a great Nigeria, secure of its place in an increasingly competitive world, is truly within our grasp.

My fellow Nigerians, you may recall the fateful event that thrust the leadership of our nation on me, in June last year. Prior to that tragic event, our country was in the depth of despair. We were buffeted from within;

by divisions and a frightening uncertainty about the direction we were headed. From the outside world, our country faced near total isolation, even from traditional friends and allies.

Thus, from the moment of its inception, this administration was faced with immediate, clear and grave challenges. We accepted the challenge. We accepted our responsibility, even though we recognized that time, resources and profound distrust were major constraints. Even in those difficult times, service to the nation was, to us, a matter of honour and privilege.

In my first major address to the nation on 20th July 1998, I set out the administration's broad policy agenda. We were determined to open up the political process and return our country to democratic rule in the shortest possible time. We were determined to put in place, measures that would lead to the social and economic regeneration of the country. We were determined to foster dialogue and national reconciliation among our peoples. We were particularly determined that the civil liberties and the human rights of our citizens would receive our fullest attention.

On the external front, we committed ourselves to re-establish relations with all nations, on the basis of equality and mutual respect. We were determined that Nigeria should regain its traditional pride of place in the comity of nations.

My fellow Nigerians, our approach to governance has been marked by accountability, transparency and openness. Equally, it has been marked by a willingness to listen to all views and shades of opinion. Thus, broad consultations with the citizens of this country, preceded the transition programme which we carefully formulated. This reflected our determination that the political process should be democratic and all-inclusive.

It was important that the institutions that would manage the process should not only be independent but must be seen to be so. We, therefore, established the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and insulated it from any interference. We gave it all the resources that it required to ensure its integrity and the credibility of its actions. INEC has been truly independent, in words and in deed. I am proud that it has justified the confidence of our people. We are proud that its performance has brought honour and respect for our country.

It was equally important that the political parties themselves should evolve from the people, reflecting their hopes and aspirations for a strong, virile and united country. The Administration's only interest lay in ensuring an even playing field for all who aspired to lead the nation at all levels. Our predominant concern was to ensure the unity of our country. This was our resolve and no more.

All we asked for was your trust, as well as your co-operation. We wanted you to give us a chance. And you did. With your wise counsel and overwhelming support, the administration mapped its political programme, with a promise to have a democratically-elected president sworn-in on 29th May, 1999. I am grateful to you all that you have made this possible.

My fellow Nigerians, right from the start, the administration took steps that would help create an environment in which democracy could thrive. In opening up the political process, we promised to release all political detainees and others convicted of political offences. We did so. We promised to drop all politically-related charges against our countrymen on self-exile. We did so. We urged them to return home, guaranteeing them safe and unmolested return. And they did so. We promised to abrogate legal provisions and statutes that inhibited political debate and interaction. Again, we did so. We promised to protect freedom of speech. We did so. We sought to expand the boundaries and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The administration also fully kept its word on this.

In this respect, I am happy to say that during its valedictory session held on the 26th May, 1999, the PRC approved the consequential repeal or amendment of existing decrees, whose tenors are incompatible with the provisions of the 1999 Constitution. Among the decrees repealed is Decree No.2 of 1984. Similarly, the Failed Bank Decree No 18 has been amended to transfer the jurisdiction of the existing tribunals to the Federal High Court, which has constitutional authority to adjudicate over these matters.

Fellow Nigerians, while the country's political situation, naturally, was a primary focus of the administration's attention, we also recognised the serious economic and social problems which we faced. We, therefore, took steps to upgrade and modernise our infrastructures and public facilities.

The objective was to provide an environment in which the economy could profitably receive and utilise investments. In order to ensure effective management of our external debts, we entered into dialogue with the creditor countries and relevant multilateral financial institutions. To remove distortions in the allocation of foreign exchange, we eliminated the dual exchange rate of the naira. We believe that this was necessary for serious and long-term investments in the country.

We re-examined the legal framework guiding the operations of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN). We made amendments that have strengthened the autonomy of the nation's apex bank.

This, we have done, out of conviction that an Independent Central Bank would be better placed to provide more efficient management of our monetary policies. We also divested the Central Bank of its commercial banking operations. The aim is to strengthen its supervisory and oversight role, in relation to the operation of other banks and financial institutions in the country.

While some of our economic policies and actions were designed to bring medium and long term relief to the nation, our salaries and wages policy was intended to bring immediate financial relief to workers. Despite the regrettable reaction that the implementation of the policy generated, the administration stands by the honest principle that informed its decision to review salaries and wages upward.

Still on the economic front, we did our best to turn-around the oil industry as the engine of development. For a long time, we went through the pains of long queues at petrol stations. This was truly embarrassing, but you demonstrated exemplary patience. Happily, the situation has since vastly improved. Not only have the queues shortened considerably, it is gladdening to note that all the four refineries in the country, have resumed production.

On the socio-political and economic fronts, we have endeavoured to do our best, given the enormous constraints which we faced. Never in the history of this nation, was an administration expected to do so much in so short a period. Nevertheless, with your unflinching support and cooperation, we are satisfied that we have made our contributions, however modest, in moving our country forward.

But we recognise that there is still much distance to cover. We recognise that there is still a lot to be done, for instance, in the area of continuing rehabilitation and maintenance of our infrastructures; in the area of fighting crimes and poverty; in the area of promoting social justice and in the area of modernising our industries and revamping our economy.

My fellow Nigerians, a key objective of our foreign policy in the last one year, has been the re-integration of Nigeria into the mainstream of international affairs. We have done this, by cultivating new friends, while retaining old friends and development partners. I am pleased to state, in this regard, that we have achieved considerable success. Out of a state of near-total isolation, Nigeria is, once again, a proud and respected member of the international community.

Our relations with the United States and major countries of the world have never been better. Our misunderstanding with the Commonwealth has been resolved, with the lifting of suspension from the association. Our relations with the European Union are being restored to their traditionally robust state. The European Union has lifted most of the sanctions it imposed on our country.

For the past three years, Nigeria has been the subject to criticism at the United Nations' Commission for Human Rights in Geneva. This is no longer the case. Indeed, only this April, the mandate of the Special Country Rapporteur, charged with monitoring and investigating the situation of human rights in Nigeria, was terminated. This is in recognition of our achievements in the area of human rights. What is more, as vote of confidence, Nigeria has been elected member of the commission.

Within the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of developing countries (G-15), our voice is once again heard, loud and clear. I participated at the 12th NAM Summit in Durban, South Africa and the 9th Summit of the G-15, in Montego Bay, Jamaica, as a demonstration of our commitment to South-South co-operation and solidarity.

We have remained firm and resolute in our commitment to the peace, security and stability of our sub-region. In the process, we have made sacrifices and called on our resources in men and materials. We have willingly done so, not only because it is the right thing to do, as good neighbours, but also because it is in our enlightened self-interest. A sub-region that is at peace and thriving is in the interest of our economic growth and stability.

Fellow Nigerians, at this unique moment in our national history, it is only right, that I should say a word or two to the officers, men and women of our Armed Forces and Police. Yours has been a noble calling and you have performed gloriously. You have played important roles in the life of our nation. In moments of great national crises, you have been the anchor on which the very survival of our fatherland had rested. You have been in the forefront in forging and defending the unity of our nation. And, at times, you have paid the supreme sacrifices for your endeavours and in the performance of duty. I commend you. The nation commends you for your bravery and patriotism.

Abroad, you equally have projected a proud image of our nation through your exemplary and active participation in peace-keeping operations in the sub-region, Africa and in many parts of the world. You are, indeed, first rate peace-keepers and peace makers. But, just as we work for peace in our sub-region and in the world, we also must be ready to meet any threats to our nation's security. You must continue to be the guarantors of our security and peace through commitment to professionalism.

Now, therefore, is the time for the military to return to its constitutional role of defending the country's territorial integrity and sovereignty. We must, forever, resist and renounce the seduction and temptation of political power and office. We must subject ourselves completely to civil authority. This is a sacred duty to which we must bind ourselves. It is our best guarantee to earn and retain the respect of our people. It is also your best chance for earning the approbation of the rest of a fast, changing world, in which new political and social values are transcendent.

Fellow Nigerians, every segment of our society has a vital role to play, as we face the daunting challenges of national integration and development. Whether as members of the media, the judiciary, the private sector, the clergy, or as public servants, academics, youths and, indeed, as plain ordinary Nigerians, we have a role to play in the building of this country. All hands must be on deck. We must not allow any dichotomy between the rulers and the people.

I challenge all Nigerians, irrespective of what we are and who we are, not to abandon the values and traditions around which our rebirth will be attained and sustained. I challenge all of us to continue to show fidelity to and rededicate ourselves to those values, of honour, courage, right conduct and belief in family and God, on which our society and republic are built. We must remember too, that it is how honest and principled we are, that will determine whether Nigeria attains that true greatness for which we all yearn.

My fellow Nigerians, today we are at the dawn of a new and exciting era. To us all beckons the historic opportunity to break, once and for all, the cycle of instability and mistrust that have wracked our political life since independence. In this enterprise, our politicians who are taking over the reins of government have a vital role to play. On them, devolve the duty and responsibility of making a success of our collective efforts.

Our constitution which has just been promulgated is the embodiment of our yearnings for democratic governance, under the rule of law. They must, in word and deed, make it work. I am confident that they will not betray the hopes and aspirations of our people. I am confident that they will be agents of dialogue and national unity. I am confident that they can rise to this challenge. I am confident that they will be bridges of understanding and, with consummate skill, help to conciliate the varying viewpoints in the country.

There is nothing wrong in having differences. It is how we manage the differences that is important. Democracy, it must be said, is not a gathering of people with the same views. It is not about uniformity of ideas, about the governance of the state. Democracy is about the resolution of differences that exist in society, in such a manner, that the state retains its focus and strength and is able to move forward to attain greater heights. Democracy is about working for the people and respecting their will and the rights of others. Democracy is about accountability, about decency and elevating conduct. That is what democracy is all about.

My fellow Nigerians, in the next few hours, the ceremony heralding the return of democratic and constitutional rule in our country, will take place. But we must also understand that democratisation, as a process, is a continuous and unfinished business. It is a journey, not a destination that has been reached.

In this next phase of the journey, we will be led, happily for the nation, by an experienced, patriotic and tested man. He had, in an earlier era, after assuming the leadership of this nation, readily bequeathed it, in that democratic spirit. We are fortunate that, at this critical point in our history, providence has again entrusted to him, the stewardship of our country. No country can ask for more. While we turn-over the running of our nation to a new crop of leaders, it remains for me to wish them the very best. But, I cannot end this address without paying tribute to those dedicated men and women who served with me during the brief period. I pay tribute to those who served in visible positions of government. I also pay deserved tribute to all those who served behind the scene, giving us support and encouragement at every stage. But above all, I wish to pay special tribute to you, the ordinary men and women of this country, who gave your unflinching support that enabled us to achieve the little that has made it possible to turn-around the fortune of our nation.

While I say good-bye to you, my fellow Nigerians, I wish you the best and I wish our country continued peace and prosperity. Our best days are yet to come.

Thank you and God bless Nigeria.

OLUSEGUN OBASANJO'S SPEECH (OO-D1) (1999)

Your Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, Your Excellencies, Visiting Presidents, Your Excellencies, Visiting Heads of Government, Your Excellencies, Visiting Special Representatives, Your Excellencies, Heads of Diplomatic Missions, Your Excellency, the Vice-President of Nigeria, My Lord, the Chief Justice of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Your Excellencies, Former Presidents and Heads of State of Nigeria, My lords – spiritual and temporal, Distinguished Senators and Honourable Members of the House of Representatives, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow Nigerians,

We give praise and honour to God Almighty for this day specially appointed by God himself. Everything created by God has its destiny, and it is the destiny of all of us to see this day. Twelve months ago, no-one could have predicted the series of stunning events that made it possible for democratic elections to be held at the local government level, the state level, and culminating in the National Assembly elections. Thereafter, you the good people of Nigeria elected me, a man who had walked through the valley of the shadow of death, as your president as your president to head the democratic civilian administration. I believe that this is what God Almighty has ordained for me and for my beloved country, Nigeria, and its people.

I accept this destiny in all humility and with the full belief that with the backing and support of our people, we shall not fail. I wish at this point to thank all you good Nigerians for the confidence reposed in me. I wish to pay tribute to the great and gallant Nigerians who lost their lives in the course of the struggle for liberty, democracy and good governance. They held the beacon of freedom and liberty high in the face of state terrorism and tyranny. We thank God that their sacrifice has not been in vain. We will surely always remember them.

Our thanks go also to the friends of Nigeria in many lands for the commitment and unrelenting support they gave throughout the dark ominous days of the struggle. Nigerians living in foreign lands deserve special tribute for not forgetting their fatherland, and for making their voices heard persistently in defence of freedom; and I must commend you, my home-based fellow Nigerians for the way you bore unprecedented hardship, deprivation of every conceivable rights and privileges that were once taken for granted.

I commend Gen Abdulsalami Abubakar and members of the Provisional Ruling Council, PRC, for the leadership they gave the country in the last 11 months, and for keeping meticulously to their announced time-table of handing over to a democratically elected government today. As officers and gentlemen, they have kept their word. The Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC, also deserve the thanks of all of us. In the face of doubt and scepticism and great time constraints, the chairman and his commissioners conducted the elections, right from local government level to the presidential level. They acquitted themselves creditably and they deserve our gratitude.

Nigeria is wonderfully endowed by the Almighty with human and other resources. It does no credit either to us or the entire black race if we fail in managing our resources for quick improvement in the quality of life of our people. Instead of progress and development, which we are entitled to expect from those who govern us, we experienced in the last decade and half, and particularly in the last regime but one, persistent deterioration in the quality of our governance, leading to instability and the weakening of all public institutions. Good men were shunned and kept away from government while those who should be kept away were drawn near. Relations between men and women who had been friends for many decades and between communities that had lived together in peace for many generations became very bitter because of the actions or inaction of government. The citizens developed distrust in government, and because promises made for the improvement the conditions of the people were not kept, all statements by government met with cynicism. Government officials became progressively indifferent to propriety of conduct and showed little commitment to promoting the general welfare of the people and the public good. Government and all its agencies became thoroughly corrupt and reckless. Members of the public had to bribe their way through

in ministries and parastatals to get attention and one government agency had to bribe another government agency to obtain the release of their statutory allocations of funds. The impact of official corruption is so rampant and has earned Nigeria a very bad image at home and abroad. Besides, it has destructed and retrogressed development. Our Infrastructures – NEPA, NITEL, roads, railways, education, housing and other social services were allowed to decay and collapse.

Our country has thus been through one of its darkest periods. All these have brought the nation to a situation of chaos and near despair. This is the challenge before us. Fellow Nigerians, let us rise as one to face the task ahead and turn this daunting scene into opportunities in a new dawn. Let us make this the beginning of a genuine renaissance.

Fellow Nigerians, the entire Nigerian scene is very bleak indeed; so, bleak people ask me: Where do we begin? I know what great things you expect of me at this new dawn. As I have said many times in my extensive travels in the country, I am not a miracle worker. It will be foolish to underrate the task ahead alone. You have been asked many times in the past to make sacrifices and to be patient. I am also going to ask you to make sacrifices and to exercise patience. The difference will be that in the past, sacrifices were made and patience exercised with little or no results. This time, however, the results of your sacrifice and patience will be clear and manifest for all to see.

With God as our guide and with 120 million Nigerians working with me with commitment, sustained effort and determination we shall not fail. On my part, I will give the forthright, purposeful, committed, honest, and transparent leadership that the situation demands. I am determined, with your full cooperation to make significant changes within a year of my administration. Together we shall take steps to halt the decline in the human development indices as they apply to Nigeria. All the impacts of bad governance on our people that are immediately removable will be removed while working for medium and long-term solutions. Corruption, the greatest single bane of our society today, will be tackled head-on at all levels. Corruption is incipient in all human societies and in most human activities, but it must not be condoned. This is why laws are made and enforced to check corruption so that society will survive and develop in an orderly, reasonable, and predictable way. No society can achieve anything near its full potential if it allows corruption to become the full-blown cancer it has become in Nigeria.

One of the greatest tragedies of military rule in recent times is that corruption was allowed to grow unchallenged and unchecked even when it was glaring for everybody to see. Rules and regulations for doing official business were deliberately ignored, set aside, or by-passed to facilitate corrupt practices. Beneficiaries of corruption in all forms will fight back with all at their disposals. We shall be firm with them.

There will be no sacred cows. Nobody, no matter who and where will be allowed to get away with the breach of the law or the perpetration of corruption and evil.

Under this administration, therefore, all the rules and regulations designed to help honesty and transparency in dealing with government will be restored and enforced. Specifically, I will immediately reintroduce civil service rules and financial instructions and enforce compliance. Other regulations will be introduced to ensure transparency. The rampant corruption in the public service and the cynical contempt for integrity that pervades every level of the bureaucracy will be stamped out. The public officer must be encouraged to believe once again that integrity pays and self-respect must be restored and his work must be fairly rewarded through better pay and benefits – both while he is in service and in retirement.

I am very aware of the widespread cynicism and total lack of confidence in government, arising from the bad faith, deceit and evil actions of recent administrations. Where official pronouncements are repeatedly

made and not met by action, government forfeits the confidence of the people and their trust. One of the immediate acts of this administration will be to implement quickly and decisively measures that will restore confidence in governance. These measures will help to create the auspicious atmosphere necessary for the reforms and the difficult decisions and the hard work required to pull the country back on the path of development and growth.

The issue of crime requires as much attention and seriousness as the issue of corruption. Although the police are in the forefront of fighting crimes and ensuring our security, it is our responsibility to help the police to be able to help us. The police will be made to do their job, all Nigerian citizens and residents in our midst are entitled to the protection of life and property. A determined effort will be made to cut down significantly the incidence of violent crimes.

I believe that this administration must deal with the following issues even in these difficult times of near economic collapse: the crises in the oil-producing areas, food supply, food security, and agriculture, law and order with particular reference to armed robbery and cultism in our educational institutions, exploration and production of petroleum, education, macroeconomic policies, supply and distribution of petroleum products, the debt issue, corruption, drug, organized fraud called 419, and crimes leading to loss of lives, properties, and investment; infrastructure, water supply, energy, telecommunications, ports, airways, national shipping and Nigeria railway; resuscitation of the manufacturing industry, job creation, poverty alleviation, housing both for civilian population and barrack refurbishment and new constructions for the armed forces and the Police; ECOMOG, health services, political and constitutional dialogue, women and youth empowerment.

In pursuit of these priorities, I have worked out measures which must be implemented within the first six months. Details of the focus and measures of this administration on these and other matters will be announced from time to time. I shall quickly ascertain the true state of our finances and the economy and shall let the nation know. In the light of resources available, I shall concentrate on those issues that can bring urgent beneficial relief to our people. I will need good men and women of proven integrity and record of good performance to help me in my cabinet. I appreciate that the quality and calibre of the members of my cabinet and top appointments will send a positive or negative signal to Nigerians and the international community as to the seriousness of the administration to make salutary changes. In a difficult and abnormal situation, great care and circumspection are called for in appointments to the cabinet and high public positions.

To be appointed a minister, or to any other public office is not a license to loot the treasury. It is a call to national service. It is one of the best ways of rendering dedicated service to humanity. In this administration, being a minister or holding any other public office will not deprive you of what you have before you come into office, but you will not be allowed to have conflict of interest, abuse of office, or illicit acquisitions. Service to be satisfying must entail certain amounts of sacrifice. A regular weekly meeting of cabinet will be reintroduced to enrich the quality of decisions of government through open discussions of memoranda in council. Before any issues are introduced to the cabinet, the time-tested procedure of inter-ministerial consultation will have been made.

The conclusion of council, circulated to all ministers and permanent secretaries, will, as used to be the practice in the past, be the authority for executive action and for incurring expenditure of public fund. This will help the cohesion of the government, ensure discipline, and hinder corrupt intentions since all major contracts must go to council for open consideration.

A code of conduct for ministers and other public officers will be introduced. Other measures for individual and collective self-control and self-discipline of ministers and other public officers will also be introduced.

I am determined to stretch my hand of fellowship to all Nigerians, regardless of their political affiliations. I intend to reconcile all those who feel alienated by past political events and I will endeavour to heal divisions and to restore the harmony we used to know in this country. A bill will be forwarded within weeks of the inception of the administration to the National Assembly for a law providing for 13 per cent derivation in revenue allocation to be used for ecological rehabilitation, infrastructure, and other developments. A competent group will be set up immediately to prepare a comprehensive development plan for the Niger Delta area. Dialogue will be held at all levels with the real representatives of all sections of the oil-producing communities to improve communication and better mutual understanding. Responsibility and initiative for resolving the crisis in the Niger Delta rests with the government.

Nigeria has over the years played a very active role in the ECOMOG for the restoration of peace in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Our national interests require the establishment and maintenance of peace and stability in the West African sub-region. Specifically, in the case of Sierra Leone, we shall endeavour to ensure a quick resolution of the crisis by dialogue and diplomatic means, by increasing activity on the second track of peace and reconciliation. This will enable us reduce our commitments in both theatres, but particularly in Sierra Leone. Nigeria, once a well-respected country and a key role player in international bodies, became a pariah nation. We shall pursue a dynamic foreign policy to promote friendly relations with all nations and will continue to play a constructive role in the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth, and other international bodies. We shall continue to honour existing agreements between Nigeria and other countries. It is our firm resolve to restore Nigeria fully to her previous prestigious position in the comity of nations.

Let me once again thank our international friends who fought for democracy alongside with us. Today, we are taking a decisive step on the path of democracy. We will leave no stone unturned to ensure sustenance of democracy because it is good for us, it is good for Africa, and it is good for the world. We call on the world, particularly the Western world, to help us sustain democracy by sharing with us the burden of debt which may be crushing and destructive to democracy in our land.

The incursion of the military into government has been a disaster for our country. The esprit de corps among military personnel has been destroyed. Professionalism has been lost. Most youths go into the military now not to pursue a noble career but with the sole intention of taking part in coups and to be appointed as military administrators of states and chairmen of task forces. As a retired officer, my heart bleeds to see the degradation in the proficiency of the military. A great deal of re-orientation has to be undertaken and a redefinition of roles, retraining, and re-education will have to be done to ensure that the military submits to civil authority and regains its pride, professionalism, and tradition. We shall restore military cooperation and exchanges with our traditional friends and we will help the military to help itself. It is my resolve to work harmoniously with the legislature and the judiciary to ensure that Nigeria enjoy good and civilized governance.

I am also determined to build a broad consensus amongst all parties to enhance national harmony and stability and, thus, ensure success in the long struggle ahead. Politicians have a duty in whatever capacity they may find themselves, whether as legislators or ministers, to be committed and be seen to be committed to the public good. Politicians must carefully examine the budget to ensure that public funds are judiciously spent. They must avoid damage to their own credibility and not vote for themselves special privileges. They must join in the campaign against corruption and help re-establish integrity in the conduct of public affairs. I assure you all that it is the policy of this government to ensure fair remuneration in service and in retirement to public servants, which includes legislators, civil servants, the police, and members of the armed forces, parastatals and public-owned educational institutions. I call on all Nigerians, but particularly our religious leaders, to pray for moral and spiritual revival and regeneration in our nation.

I shall end this address by stressing again that we must change our ways of governance and of doing business on this eve of the coming millennium. This, we must do to ensure progress, justice, harmony, and unity, and above all, to rekindle confidence amongst our people, confidence that their condition will rapidly improve and that Nigeria will be great and will become a major world player in the very near future.

May the Almighty help us all.

OLUSEGUN OBASANJO'S SPEECH (OO-D2) (2007)

"Tonight, I wish to bid you farewell as President of our country for the past eight years. Tomorrow, May 29th, will usher in a new and glorious dawn for our country. A new generation of Nigerian leaders will take over the great responsibility of running this great and diverse nation.

"In the past eight years you, by which I mean Nigerians, have worked together with me to revive our national image, our economy and to place us firmly on the path of sanity and progress.

"For the eight years that I have enjoyed your mandate and support, we changed not only the image of our country in the eyes of fair-minded, honest and objective observers both at home and around the world.

"We have run the longest democratic dispensation and eliminated the risk of violent changes of government through coups and counter-coups in our political culture.

"We have made clear to the world that the idea of Interim National Government does not have a place in our political culture and practice. It is something we must continue to detest. "We have widened, deepened and strengthened democracy. But democracy is not a destination, it is a journey. We must remain firmly, committedly and undivertedly on the journey.

"Tomorrow morning (today), we will, for the first time in our history, witness a peaceful transition of political leadership from one democratically-elected government and personality to a new set of elected President, Governors and Legislators.

As we usher in our new President and new Government tomorrow, let us take a moment and reflect on our journey so far. When we started on this journey on 29th May 1999, Nigeria was at its lowest ebb and shunned not only in the international arena but even here at home.

"Many Nigerians had lost hope for the future of the country. Our citizens were leaving our shores in droves in search of better conditions in more advanced countries of Europe, the United States of America and the Middle East.

"We thank God that many of these people are now returning home and are beginning to actively participate in the country's development.

"On the Economic Front, we have reformed the economy and are beginning to notice the benefits of the reforms on our development and progress.

"We are poised to witness positive changes for the benefit of our people. We have ceased to be one of the most heavily indebted nations of the world and can now be truly independent in all that we do for our country.

Infrastructural facilities, like telephones, which were once regarded as the preserve of a privileged few, are now commonly accessible to all. These are solid foundations upon which future governments can build.

"In Science and Technology, in Agriculture and Food Security, our nation has made tremendous and noticeable progress. Nigeria is not only becoming a food sufficient nation but also a food-exporting nation.

"Our industrial take-off is today more assured than at any other time in the past years. There still remains a lot that we must do. I have confidence that we are well on our way to a glorious destination.

"With determination, with tenacity and with the courage of our conviction, we can continue to face the future with confidence. We have set for ourselves ambitious targets that will make us one of the largest economies in the world by the year 2020.

"It is attainable and achievable but if we divert from the path of economic prudence, reform and realities, we can miss the road.

Then, the year 2020 will be a mirage. God forbid!

"We have waged relentless battles to correct many of the ills in our society. We have demonstrated our determination to bring about a more moral society. We see a bright and prosperous future for our country.

"I am particularly gratified to note how united our country is today, better than any other time in the past. In the past few months, Nigerians, from every corner of the country have amply demonstrated their yearnings for national unity, for harmony and for progress.

"The recent events have indicated that we are no longer divided along ethnic, tribal, religious lines or north-south divide. We have become simply Nigerians interested in the development and progress of our country. This is a great gain. Let us respect this spirit of oneness and unity in all that we do from now on.

"Tomorrow (today), I will hand over the instruments of governance to Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, our newly-elected President. He is a man in whom I have great confidence.

"I have worked with him and observed him at very close quarters. I know his track record and his pedigree. I have confidence that he will discharge his mandate to the satisfaction of all Nigerians. I pledge my continued support for him and his Government.

"Nigeria is in a better shape today than any time since 1979. We have started to move to the glory that God has ordained for us.

"Let me end this farewell address by thanking all Nigerians for eight years of working together for our fatherland. I am particularly grateful to my critics for keeping me constantly on my toes.

"Let us continue in the same spirit of what is best for our country motivated by patriotism and fear of God. I bid you good night and good-bye. God bless you. God bless Nigeria."

UMARU YAR'ADUA'S SPEECH (UY1) (2007)

His Excellency Vice President Goodluck Jonathan, President of the Senate, the Speaker House of Representatives, my Lord Chief Justice of Nigeria, President Olusegun Obasanjo, distinguished Presidents and Heads of Governments who have graciously honoured us with their presence today, leaders of our nation, guests from far and near, fellow citizens.

This is a historic day for our nation, for it marks an important milestone in our march towards a maturing democracy. For the first time since we cast off the shackles of colonialism almost a half-century ago, we have at last managed an orderly transition from one elected government to another. We acknowledge that our elections had some shortcomings. Thankfully, we have well-established legal avenues of redress, and I urge anyone aggrieved to pursue them. I also believe that our experiences represent an opportunity to learn from our mistakes. Accordingly, I will set up a panel to examine the entire electoral process with a view to ensuring that we raise the quality and standard of our general elections, and thereby deepen our democracy.

This occasion is historic also because it marks another kind of transitional generational shift when the children of independence assume the adult responsibility of running the country at the heart of Africa. My fellow citizens, I am humbled and honoured that you have elected me and Vice President Jonathan to represent that generation in the task of building a just and humane nation, where its people have a fair chance to attain their fullest potential. Luckily we are not starting from scratch. We are fortunate to have been led the past eight years by one of our nation's greatest patriots, President Obasanjo. On behalf of all our people, I salute you, Mr. President, for your vision, your courage and your boundless energy in creating the roadmap toward that united and economically thriving Nigeria that we seek. Many of us may find it hard to believe now, but before you assumed the presidency eight years ago, the national conversation was about whether Nigeria deserved to remain one country at all. Today we are talking about Nigeria's potential, to become one of the 20 largest economies in the world by the year 2020. That is a measure of how far we have come. And we thank you. The administration of President Obasanjo has laid the foundation upon which we can build our future prosperity.

Over the past eight years Nigerians have reached a national consensus in at least four areas: to deepen democracy and the rule of law; build an economy driven primarily by the private sector, not government; display zero tolerance for corruption in all its forms, and, finally, restructure and staff our government to ensure efficiency and good governance. I commit myself to these tasks. Our goal now is to build on the greatest accomplishments of the past few years. Relying on the 7-point agenda that formed the basis of our compact with voters during the recent campaigns, we will concentrate on rebuilding our physical infrastructure and human capital in order to take our country forward. We will focus on accelerating economic and other reforms in a way that makes a concrete and visible difference to ordinary people. Our economy already has been set on the path of growth. Now we must continue to do the necessary work to create more jobs, lower interest rates, reduce inflation, and maintain a stable exchange rate. All this will increase our chances for rap growth and development.

Central to this is rebuilding our basic infrastructure. We already have comprehensive plans for mass transportation, especially railroad development. We will make these plans a reality. Equally important, we must devote our best efforts to overcoming the energy challenge. Over the next four years we will see dramatic improvements in power generation, transmission and distribution. These plans will mean little if we do not respect the rule of law. Our government is determined to strengthen the capacity of law enforcement agencies, especially the police. The state must fulfill its constitutional responsibility of protecting life and property.

The crisis in the Niger Delta commands our urgent attention. Ending it is a matter of strategic importance to our country. I will use every resource available to me, with your help, to address this crisis in a spirit of fairness, justice, and cooperation. We have a good starting point because our predecessor already launched a master plan that can serve as a basis for a comprehensive examination of all the issues. We will involve all stakeholders in working out a solution. As part of this effort, we will move quickly to ensure security of life and property, and to make investments safe. In the meantime, I appeal to all aggrieved communities, groups and individuals to immediately suspend all violent activities and respect the law. Let us allow the impending dialogue to take place in a conducive atmosphere. We are all in this together, and we will find a way to achieve peace and justice.

As we work to resolve the challenges of the Niger Delta, so must we also tackle poverty throughout the country. By fighting poverty, we fight disease. We will make advances in public health, to control the scourge of HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases that hold back our population and limit our progress. We are determined to intensify the war against corruption, more so because corruption is itself central to the spread of poverty. Its corrosive effect is all too visible in all aspects of our national life. This is an area

where we have made significant progress in recent years, and we will maintain the momentum. We also are committed to rebuilding our human capital, if we are to support a modern economy. We must revive education in order to create more equality, and citizens who can function more productively in today's world.

To our larger African family, you have our commitment to the goal of African integration. We will continue to collaborate with fellow African states to reduce conflict and free our people from the leg chains of poverty. To all our friends in the international community, we pledge our continuing fidelity to the goals of progress in Africa and peace in the world. Fellow citizens, I ask you all to march with me into the age of restoration. Let us work together to restore our time-honoured value of honesty, decency, generosity, modesty, selflessness, transparency, and accountability. These fundamental values determine societies that succeed or fail. We must choose to succeed.

I will set a worthy personal example as your President. No matter what obstacles confront us, I will set a worthy personal example as your President. I have confidence and faith in our ability to overcome them. After all, we are Nigerians! We are a resourceful and enterprising people, and we have it within us to make our country a better place. To that end I offer myself as a servant-leader. I will be a listener and doer, and serve with humility. To fulfil our ambitions, all our leaders at all levels whether a local government councillor or state governor, senator or cabinet minister must change our style and our attitude. We must act at all times with humility, courage, and forthrightness. I ask you, fellow citizens, to join me in rebuilding our Nigerian family, one that defines the success of one by the happiness of many. I ask you to set aside negative attitudes, and concentrate all our energies on getting to our common destination. All hands must be on deck.

Let us join together to ease the pains of today while working for the gains of tomorrow. Let us set aside cynicism, and strive for the good society that we know is within our reach. Let us discard the habit of low expectations of ourselves as well as of our leaders. Let us stop justifying every shortcoming with that unacceptable phrase, "the Nigerian factor," as if to be a Nigerian is to settle for less. Let us recapture the mood of optimism that defined us at the dawn of independence, that legendary can-do spirit that marked our Nigerianness. Let us join together, now, to build a society worthy of our children. We have the talent. We have the intelligence. We have the ability. The challenge is great. The goal is clear. The time is now. I thank you, and God bless you.

UMARU YAR'ADUA'S SPEECH (UY2) (2008)

Fellow Nigerians,

As we mark forty eight years of nationhood today, I wish to thank God Almighty for the bountiful blessings he has continually bestowed on us as a people, in spite of the many challenges that we have had to face.

My dear countrymen and women, today brings with it another opportunity for us to reflect on the trying terrain we have had to traverse these past forty-eight years, while setting our sights firmly on the boundless opportunities and exciting possibilities that lie before us.

It is also a time to reflect on the critical elements of our commonality with the rest of the African continent, the African Diaspora, and humanity at large.

Our Administration came into office, resolved to frontally face up to Nigeria's development challenges, and set the nation on an assured path to becoming a properly grounded stable democracy and one of the world's twenty largest economies by the year 2020.

We are under no illusion as to the complexity and magnitude of the task we have set ourselves. We understand that sustained economic growth is only possible if peace, security and stability are assured. We recognize that constructive engagement and productive partnership with all major stakeholders and our development partners are vital imperatives. We are aware that single-minded, people-focused, results-oriented, creative, sincere and courageous leadership is critical.

Our appreciation of the enormity of our national transformation drives our steadfast pursuit of the ideals of democracy, good governance, free enterprise, and the rule of law. Our Seven-point Agenda is aimed at a structured approach to tackling the challenges which we must overcome if we are to sustainably raise the living standards of Nigerians, achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and realize our Vision 20-2020.

We are resolved as an Administration, not to resort to quick-fix methods and short-cuts in approaching fundamental problems which require methodical and sustainable solutions. The review of key sectors of our national economy, which we have embarked upon so far, points to the wisdom of this approach.

Fellow Nigerians, our economy is on a strong footing with an average growth rate of about 6.9%, a single digit inflation rate, external reserves of about 63 billion dollars, and the Naira appreciating steadily against the major currencies. This is a consequence of our policies aimed at maintaining relative stability and predictability in Nigeria's macro-economic environment.

However, we are aware that our physical infrastructure deficit cannot sustain the level of economic development which we envision for Nigeria. This brings to the fore the imperative to rapidly rebuild, maintain, upgrade, and expand our critical infrastructure. In our quest for practical solutions to our endemic energy problems, we have set in motion far-reaching reforms which have started to yield some positive results.

We have evolved a holistic strategy for the development and rehabilitation of the nation's transport system. We intend to concession the most economically viable roads across the country, while aggressively pursuing a road sector development and maintenance programme estimated to cover 5,700 km.

With the railways, we plan to concession some existing routes including the Western and Eastern rail lines as well as the uncompleted Central line; while rehabilitating and expanding the existing rail system. Notably, the Infrastructure Concession Regulatory Commission is expected to commence work shortly.

In the Agricultural sector, we have resolutely pursued a policy of sustained support for small-scale farmers, and structured development of medium and large-scale agriculture. We intend to utilize the National Resources Development Account to boost domestic production of food crops and development of agro-allied industries. Our goal is assured food security.

In order to properly focus our efforts at fashioning out a durable solution to the crisis in the Niger Delta region, we have sustained constructive engagement with the major stakeholders. More critically, we have set up a Niger Delta Ministry to anchor in a holistic manner, the execution of the Niger Delta Development Master Plan. We are confident that this is the way to go in meaningfully addressing the physical infrastructure and human capital development challenges which the region presents.

From inception, we have identified security and public safety as one of the critical areas of concern to both the Government and people of this country. This informs the seriousness with which we intend to implement the recommendations of the Police Reform Committee aimed at enabling the Nigeria Police effectively and efficiently meet their constitutional mandate of ensuring public safety and security, as well as the enforcement of law and order in every part of this country.

Our commitment to the entrenchment of transparency and accountability in the conduct of Government business remains unwavering. In practical demonstration of our efforts to sanitize the financial and budgetary processes, we have realized over N400 billion from unspent capital releases to Ministries, Departments, and Agencies. The strengthening of the anti-corruption institutions and other law enforcement agencies is a direct consequence of our determination to institutionalize zero-tolerance for corruption.

Our ultimate goal is to engender a culture of prudence, diligence, honesty, sincerity, decency, transparency, selflessness and accountability in our polity.

Fellow Nigerians, we have defined for ourselves a clear national objective to which we are totally committed: the transformation of our country into a strong, stable, democratic, and progressive major player on the global stage by the year 2020.

As we collectively face up to this challenge, I am inspired by the unquenchable spirit, the astounding drive, the passion, and consummate zeal of the average Nigerian.

Ours is an enduring story of courage, uncommon resilience and abiding faith in the common cause of fulfilling Nigeria's promise and our collective destiny.

On this forty-eighth anniversary of our nation's independence, let us all, dear countrymen and women renew our faith in Nigeria and recommit to the transformation of our Fatherland.

I wish you very happy celebrations.

May God continuously bless Nigeria. Thank you.

GOODLUCK JONATHAN'S SPEECH (GJ1)

1. My Dear Compatriots, I stand in humble gratitude to you, this day, having just sworn to the oath of office as President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of our great nation.
2. I thank you all, fellow citizens, for the trust and confidence, which you have demonstrated through the power of your vote. I want to assure you, that I will do my utmost at all times, to continue to deserve your trust.
3. I would like to specially acknowledge the presence in our midst today, of Brother Heads of State and Government, who have come to share this joyous moment with us. Your Excellencies, I thank you for your solidarity. I also wish to express my gratitude, to the Representatives of Heads of State and Government who are here with us. My appreciation also goes to the chairperson of the African Union and other world leaders, our development partners, and all our distinguished guests.
4. I want to specially thank all Nigerians for staying the course in our collective commitment to build a democratic nation. To members of the PDP family and members of other political parties, who have demonstrated faith in our democratic enterprise, I salute you.
5. At this juncture, let me acknowledge and salute my friend and brother, Vice-President Namadi Sambo; and my dear wife, Patience, who has been a strong pillar of support.
6. I thank her for galvanizing and mobilizing Nigerian women for the cause of democracy. In the same vein, I owe a debt of gratitude to my mother and late father. I cannot thank them enough.
7. I cannot but pay tribute to our late President, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, with whom we won the Presidential election four years ago, when I contested as his running mate. May God bless his soul.

8. I also wish to pay tribute to our founding fathers, whose enduring sacrifices and abiding faith in the unity and greatness of our country, laid the foundation for the nation. We take enormous pride in their contributions. The pivotal task of this generation is to lift our fatherland to the summit of greatness.
9. Your Excellencies, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, earlier this year, over seventy-three million eligible Nigerians endured all manner of inconvenience just to secure their voters cards, in order to exercise the right to choose those that will govern them.
10. At the polls, we saw the most dramatic expressions of the hunger for democracy. Stories of courage and patriotism were repeated in many ways, including how fellow citizens helped physically challenged voters into polling stations to enable them exercise their franchise. The inspiring story of the one hundred and three year-old man, and many like him across the country, who struggled against the physical limitations of age to cast their vote, is noteworthy.
11. Such determination derives from the typical Nigerian spirit of resilience in the face of the greatest of odds. That spirit has, over the years, stirred our hopes, doused our fears, and encouraged us to gather ourselves to build a strong nation even when others doubted our capacity.
12. Today, our unity is firm, and our purpose is strong. Our determination unshakable. Together, we will unite our nation and improve the living standards of all our peoples whether in the North or in the South; in the East or in the West. Our decade of development has begun. The march is on. The day of transformation begins today. We will not allow anyone exploit differences in creed or tongue, to set us one against another. Let me at this point congratulate the elected Governors, Senators, members of the House of Representatives and those of the States Houses of Assembly for their victories at the polls.
13. I am mindful that I represent the shared aspiration of all our people to forge a united Nigeria: a land of justice, opportunity and plenty. Confident that a people that are truly committed to a noble ideal, cannot be denied the realization of their vision, I assure you that this dream of Nigeria, that is so deeply felt by millions, will indeed come to reality.
14. A decade ago, it would have been a mere daydream to think that a citizen from a minority ethnic group could galvanize national support, on an unprecedented scale, to discard ancient prejudices, and win the people's mandate as President of our beloved country. That result emanated from the toil and sacrifice of innumerable individuals and institutions, many of whom may never get to receive public appreciation for their effort.
15. Only a couple of days ago, I received an entry on my Facebook page. It was sent by Mr. Babajide Orevba. He wrote to inform me that I had lost a great fan. That fan was his father, Mr. Emmanuel Bamidele Orevba. The deceased, the son told me, was no politician, but had campaigned enthusiastically for my ticket. Tragically, overwhelmed by the joy of our victory, he collapsed, and passed on three days later. I pray God Almighty to grant his soul eternal rest.
16. The success of the 2011 elections and the widespread acclaim which the exercise received was due to the uncommon patriotism and diligence exhibited by many Nigerians, including members of the Armed Forces, National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) and others. Unfortunately, despite the free, fair and transparent manner the elections were conducted, a senseless wave of violence in some parts of the country led to the death of ten members of the NYSC and others. These brave men and women paid the supreme sacrifice in the service of our fatherland. They are heroes of our democracy. We offer our heartfelt prayers and condolences in respect of all those who lost their lives.

17. In the days ahead, those of us that you have elected to serve must show that we are men and women with the patriotism and passion, to match the hopes and aspirations of you, the great people of this country. We must demonstrate the leadership, statesmanship, vision, capacity, and sacrifice, to transform our nation. We must strengthen common grounds, develop new areas of understanding and collaboration, and seek fresh Ideas that will enrich our national consensus.
18. It is the supreme task of this generation to give hope to the hopeless, strength to the weak and protection to the defenceless.
19. Fellow citizens, the leadership we have pledged is decidedly transformative. The transformation will be achieved in all the critical sectors, by harnessing the creative energies of our people.
20. We must grow the economy, create jobs, and generate enduring happiness for our people. I have great confidence in the ability of Nigerians to transform this country. The urgent task of my administration is to provide a suitable environment, for productive activities to flourish. I therefore call on the good people of Nigeria, to enlist as agents of this great transformation.
21. My dear countrymen and women, being a Nigerian is a blessing. It is also a great responsibility. We must make a vow that, together, we will make the Nigerian Enterprise thrive.
22. The leadership and the followership must strive to convert our vast human and natural resources into the force that leads to a greater Nigeria. The Nigeria of our dreams must be built on hard work and not on short cuts. Let me salute the Nigerian workers who build our communities, cities and country. They deserve fair rewards, and so do the women that raise our children, and the rural dwellers that grow our food.
23. The moment is right. The signs are heart-warming. We are ready to take off on the path of sustained growth and economic development. In our economic strategy, there will be appropriate policy support to the real sector of the economy, so that Small and Medium Enterprises may thrive. Nigeria is blessed with enormous natural wealth, and my Administration will continue to encourage locally owned enterprises to take advantage of our resources in growing the domestic economy. A robust private sector is vital to providing jobs for our rapidly expanding population. But this must be a collaborative effort.
24. We must form technical and financial partnerships with global businesses and organizations. We live in an age where no country can survive on its own; countries depend on each other for economic well-being. Nigeria is no different. Returns on investment in Nigeria remain among the highest in the world. We will continue to welcome sustainable investment in our economy.
25. We will push programs and policies that will benefit both local and foreign businesses, but we must emphasize mutual benefits and win-win relationships. The overall ongoing reforms in the banking and financial sectors are therefore designed to support the real sector of the economy.
26. To drive our overall economic vision, the power sector reform is at the heart of our industrialization strategy. I call on all stakeholders, to cooperate with my administration, to ensure the success of the reforms.
27. Over the next four years, attention will be focused on rebuilding our infrastructure. We will create greater access to quality education and improved health care delivery. We will pay special attention to the agricultural sector, to enable it play its role of ensuring food security and massive job creation for our people.
28. The creation of the Nigerian Sovereign Investment Authority will immensely contribute to strengthening our fiscal framework, by institutionalizing savings of our commodity-related revenues. With

this mechanism in place, we will avoid the boom and bust cycles, and mitigate our exposure to oil price volatility.

29. The lesson we have learnt is that the resolution of the Niger Delta issue is crucial for the health of the nation's economy. In the interest of justice, equity and national unity, we shall actively promote the development of the region. I believe that peace is a necessary condition for development.

30. Fellow citizens, in every decision, I shall always place the common good before all else. The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective determination, to rid our nation of this scourge. The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist, so that the limited resources of this nation will be used for the growth of our common wealth.

31. I am confident that we have every reason to look to the future with hope. We owe ourselves and posterity the duty of making this country respectable in the comity of nations. Nigeria, as a responsible member of the international community, will remain committed to the maintenance of global peace and security. We will continue to play an active role in the United Nations. Our role in the African Union, ECOWAS, and the Gulf of Guinea will be enhanced to ensure greater human and energy security.

32. Your Excellencies, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a new dawn for Africa. We fought for decolonization. We will now fight for democratization.

Nigeria, in partnership with the African Union, will lead the process for democracy and development in Africa. In particular, we will support the consolidation of democracy, good governance and human rights in the continent. Africa must develop its vast resources to tackle poverty and under-development.

33. Conscious of the negative effect of insecurity on growth and development, my Administration will seek collaboration at bilateral and multilateral levels, to improve our capability in combating trans-border crimes. In this regard, we will intensify our advocacy against the illicit trades in small arms and light weapons, which have become the catalyst for conflicts on the African continent. All Nigerian diplomatic missions abroad are to accord this vision of defending the dignity of humanity the highest priority.

34. My fellow countrymen and women, Nigeria is not just a land of promise; it shall be a nation where positive change will continue to take place, for the good of our people. The time for lamentation is over. This is the era of transformation. This is the time for action. But Nigeria can only be transformed if we all play our parts with commitment and sincerity. Cynicism and skepticism will not help our journey to greatness. Let us all believe in a new Nigeria. Let us work together to build a great country that we will all be proud of. This is our hour.

35. Fellow Compatriots, lift your gaze towards the horizon. Look ahead, and you will see a great future that we can secure with unity, hard work and collective sacrifice.

36. Join me now as we begin the journey of transforming Nigeria.

- I will continue to fight, for your future, because I am one of you.
- I will continue to fight, for improved medical care for all our citizens.
- I will continue to fight for all citizens to have access to first class education.
- I will continue to fight for electricity to be available to all our citizens.
- I will continue to fight for an efficient and affordable public transport system for all our people.
- I will continue to fight for jobs to be created through productive partnerships.

37. You have trusted me with your mandate, and I will never, never let you down.

38. I know your pain, because I have been there. Look beyond the hardship you have endured. See a new beginning; a new direction; a new spirit.

39. Nigerians, I want you to start to dream again. What you see in your dreams, we can achieve together. I call upon all the Presidential candidates who contested with me to join hands with us as we begin the transformation of our country.

40. Let us work together; let us build together; let us bequeath a greater Nigeria to the generations to come.

41. I thank you! God bless you all! And God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

GOODLUCK JONATHAN'S SPEECH (GJ2)

FULL TEXT OF PRESIDENT JONATHAN'S REMARKS DURING PRESENTATION OF HANDOVER NOTES TO GENERAL BUHARI PROTOCOLS

I welcome you all to this occasion of the formal presentation of the Hand-over notes of my Administration to the in-coming Administration of the President-Elect, General Muhammadu Buhari.

This event and tomorrow's inauguration of a new administration are truly historic as it is the first time in the history of our nation that we are witnessing the democratic and orderly transfer of power at the Federal level from one political party to another.

The Hand-over notes which we now present, contain the governance philosophy, strategies, policies, programmes and activities of my Administration for the period – 2011-2015. Also to be found in the notes are the objectives, targets and implementation strategies, achievements and challenges of our key policies, schemes, initiatives as well as the status of commitments and liabilities of the various MDAs.

As we hand over the affairs of the nation, it is appropriate to recall that at inception, in May 2011, we committed ourselves to consolidating national unity through democratization and good governance. Our assessment then, and our firm belief ever since, is that the unity of Nigeria, the security, well-being, greater freedoms and opportunities for all citizens must remain the primary objectives of government.

The Agenda for National Transformation which we did our best to implement consisted of clear and consistent governance strategies, policies, plans, programmes and projects, in all facets of our national life. Emphasis was placed on human and state security, democratization, sound economic management, as well as structural and institutional reforms.

Our foremost concern was the unity of Nigeria. In keeping with that concern, we engineered a process that began with a review of issues outstanding from previous Constitutional Conferences by the Belgore Committee. After that, we widened political consultations through a National Dialogue that was orchestrated through the Okurounmu Committee. These culminated in the all-inclusive National Conference which unanimously reaffirmed that Nigeria must remain united and indivisible.

The Conference also made resolutions and recommendations for serious constitutional, political and governance reforms, which we have forwarded to the National Assembly for appropriate legislative action. It is our hope that the incoming Government will accord the Report of the National Conference the very high priority that it deserves, as a genuine expression of the will of our people.

The recognition that the starting point for good governance is the legitimacy of the government itself informed our commitment to promoting free and fair elections.

It also motivated innovations in the management and conduct of elections which we undertook. Hopefully, in the years ahead, those innovations will be properly and fully implemented so that Nigerians will be even more assured of the integrity of the electoral system and the legitimacy of any government that it produces.

To strengthen the social contract between the government and the governed, we institutionalized the rule of law as well as the independence of the legislature and the judiciary. We also promoted group and individual freedoms. As a result, there is vast expansion in democratic, social and economic space for all citizens.

Our nation and citizens faced many new challenges over the past four years but the greatest was the vastly increased menace of Boko Haram with their mindless terror, mass killings, utter ruthlessness, kidnapping of innocent children and other unspeakable acts of brutality.

We should all remember that Boko Haram's emergence predated our administration going as far back as 2002. The group however became extremely malignant with the killing of its leader, Mohammed Yusuf in July 2009.

It therefore became an urgent task for us to effectively confront the great threat Boko Haram posed to the security and well-being of our people. To do so, we overhauled and virtually reinvented our security architecture to confront Boko Haram and its insurgency. We re-organized our security apparatus. We re-equipped and fully motivated our forces.

Victory is now in sight and within our reach. However, the cost in blood of citizens and heroes; and the diversion of national treasure from urgent needs for development have been very high. While more than 500 women and children have been rescued from the clutches of Boko Haram thus far by our security forces, it remains my sincere hope and prayer that our beloved daughters from Chibok will soon be reunited with us.

I wish to thank the Nigerian people for their resilience and patience. I also wish to pay very special and personal tribute to all the men and women of our valiant armed forces and security agencies. Their sacrifice and dedication have brought us thus far.

While striving to overcome our national security challenges, we still gave necessary attention to economic development. Our goal was to achieve long-term economic growth and stability, improve the quality and quantum of infrastructure and enhance human capital development.

Our financial system reforms included the Treasury Single Account [TSA] that unified the structure of government accounts for all MDAs and thereby brought order to cash flow management; and Government Integrated Financial Management Information System [GIFMIS] was introduced to plug leakages and waste of resources. The Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System [IPPIS] weeded out 60,450 ghost workers in 359 out of 425 MDAs, yielding N185.4 billion in savings to the Federal government.

Improved Revenue Mobilization was achieved through improvements in the laws and compliance measures. In 2013 alone, these measures resulted in a 69% rise in Federal tax revenues from N2.8 trillion to N4.8 trillion. Also, Waiver Policy and Trade Facilitation were reformed to create a more rational regime. Our emphasis shifted to granting waivers to specific sectors instead of individual companies and the Sovereign Wealth Fund was established to provide stabilization from external shocks, provide funding for critical infrastructure and savings for future generations.

Our Financial Sector reforms addressed the issues of inefficiencies in the coordination and monitoring of the financial system. Our policies promoted transparency, better risk management, new banking models and payment systems. We established the Assets Management Corporation of Nigeria as a resolution mechanism for toxic banking assets. We strengthened banking supervision and enhanced public confidence in Nigerian Banks.

Similarly, we undertook innovative reforms for job creation and repositioned the manufacturing, agriculture and housing sectors. Specifically, it was observed that over the years, job creation did not keep pace with economic growth. Thus unemployment, especially amongst the youth was assuming alarming dimensions.

To address this, my administration made job creation a key consideration for all programmes in the Transformation Agenda. Emphasis was also shifted towards empowering youths to become entrepreneurs rather than job seekers, through such initiatives as Youth Enterprise with Innovation in Nigeria (YOU-WIN), Graduate Internship Scheme (GIS), the SURE-P Technical Vocational Education and Training Programme (TVET) and the Youth Employment in Agriculture Programme (YEAP).

Manufacturing in Nigeria faces many challenges, including poor power supply, high cost of input, high cost of doing business, multiple taxation, poor infrastructure and lack of synergy with the labour market. To address these problems, we launched several programmes and initiatives including the National Industrial Revolution Plan and a new National Automobile Policy designed to boost domestic car production and expand existing capacity. Since then, five new private vehicle assembly plants have been established.

Agriculture is critical to national survival and yet the sector was besieged with many problems. By year 2010, Nigeria was the second largest importer of food in the world, spending about N1.3 trillion on the importation of fish, rice and sugar alone.

The reforms we introduced in agriculture dramatically increased local production of staple food and saved us vast amounts of money that we would have spent on the importation of food items.

To address the glaring inadequacy of critical national infrastructure, we focused on the Power Sector, Roads, Railways, Aviation, Ports and Harbours as well as on Water and Sanitation, Information and Communication Technology.

My government introduced the Power Sector Roadmap in 2010. Since then, we have privatized the generation and distribution aspects in a most transparent process. Obstacles to the private sector investments in power supply were removed and we developed cost effective electricity tariff to make the sector more attractive. It remains our hope that the successor companies to PHCN and also the private sector will step forward with the necessary investment to make the power reform work.

The major challenge in the road sector in Nigeria is the high cost of building roads and it continues to rise. The other challenge is the fact that because of regular use, roads are one of the fastest depreciating assets in developing countries.

To address this, Government has developed the required legal and regulatory framework and created opportunities for Private Public Partnership (PPP) in road construction and maintenance.

From Ore/Benin Road, Lagos/Ibadan Expressway to the Kano/Maiduguri dualisation projects, we made concerted efforts to address age-long problems of delays in construction, design defect, neglect and ineffective maintenance. The construction of the historic Second Niger Bridge has also commenced, and on completion, it will open new and far-reaching opportunities for greater trade and interaction among our people.

In the Aviation Sector, our government developed a Master Plan to institutionalise safety and security, and to develop infrastructure at the airports and local airlines. We embarked on the reconstruction and rehabilitation of 22 airports nationwide. Construction work on five new international terminals in Lagos, Abuja, Port Harcourt, Kano and Enugu are also on-going.

There has been a revolution in rail transportation. We rehabilitated the old narrow gauge network and ensured that it has served our people steadily for three years running with new coaches and improved expanded services nationwide.

We are in the construction stages of a new national network for standard gauge speed-train services, with the new rail line segment, from Abuja to Kaduna, successfully completed. In addition, we have initiated the process for the construction of an ultramodern coastal rail line that will run from Lagos to Calabar, with a link to Onitsha.

We have also successfully completed the dredging of River Niger, from Warri in Delta State to Baro in Niger State, and completed construction works for the Onitsha River Port. Other River Ports at Baro, Lokoja and Oguta, are at advanced construction stages. Working with the states and development partners, we have facilitated the process towards the development of two new deep sea ports at Lekki in Lagos, and Ibaka in Akwa Ibom. We have also implemented reforms to streamline the clearing regime in existing ports, increasing cargo turnover time and easing business for all users.

In the oil and gas sector, our local content policy has continued to empower Nigerian companies, particularly in technical and engineering projects. The Gas Revolution Industrial Park in Delta State is unprecedented in the subsector, and will not only deliver Africa's biggest industrial park, but all the accompanying benefits to local industry and job creation.

We recognized Human Capital as the most important agent for transformational development. Our reforms in this sector focused on Health, Education and Social Development and also on Women and Youth Empowerment and Social Safety Nets.

In the Health sector, the comprehensive National Strategic Health Development Plan (NSHDP) of 2011 laid the foundation for widening access and improving the quality of healthcare with lower infant mortality rates and higher life expectancy for the populace. Our effective curtailment of the Ebola epidemic has continued to receive worldwide acclaim as an example in prompt and effective national disease management. On our watch, guinea-worm has been eradicated from Nigeria and we are on the verge of wiping out polio entirely.

In the Education sector, our objectives are clear and precise. They emphasise expansion of access and the upgrade of quality. I am proud that we have widened access by establishing 18 more Federal Universities and other specialized polytechnics. We strengthened TETFUND and used it to boldly address the problems of inadequate infrastructure in the existing institutions.

I am particularly proud of our efforts with regards to Early Childhood Education and Out-of-School Children. We provided modern hybrid Almajiri Education Programme in the North, attended to schooling needs of boys in the South-East and ensured the construction of special girls' schools in 13 States of the Federation to improve girl-child education. We expanded opportunities for open and distance learning and provided scholarships at all levels to help improve access to quality education for bright and promising Nigerians.

We have promoted gender-mainstreaming with commensurate priority and opportunities for our womenfolk, beginning with ensuring that not less than 30 per cent of key Federal appointments go to women. Other initiatives that we have taken include: the National Gender Policy, Establishment of Gender Units in Federal MDAs, Women Empowerment Training Programmes, Micro-Credit for Women, Social Safety Net Programmes and the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) Scheme.

My Administration has emphasized giving a free hand to our Anti-corruption agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC). We preferred that they mature into strong institutions instead of being the images, the hammer and the anvil of a strong man. We must encourage them to abide by the rule of law and due process instead of resorting to dramatic or illegal actions orchestrated for cheap applause.

Beyond the very impressive records of enhanced convictions by statutory anti-corruption agencies like the EFCC and ICPC, our other strategy has been to fashion economic policies that deliver higher deterrence and frustrate concealment. In this regard, the Bureau of Public Procurement has played a central role and impacted strongly on the fight against corruption.

In Sports, we have improved our national performance in team and individual events. The disappointment of not qualifying to defend our African Football Championship was cushioned by a decent FIFA World Cup appearance, an Under-17 World Cup win in addition to other victories in other international football tournaments and the Paralympics. We have also encouraged excellence in other sports, apart from football, resulting in exceptional performance in international sporting events, especially in athletics.

Our foreign policy position remains strong. In October 2013, Nigeria was elected as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council for the second time on our watch. Our country had only served in that capacity thrice before 2011, since independence in 1960. Our Administration also played a leading role in the resolution of security and political challenges in our sub-region, particularly in Niger, Cote D'Ivoire, Mali, Guinea-Bissau and Burkina Faso.

In addition, we increased engagement with Nigerians in the diaspora who contribute so much in remittances to their fatherland. Our Administration successfully encouraged more of them to invest in Nigeria and others to return home and join in the task of nation-building.

In summary, Your Excellency, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, our administration has done its best to intervene robustly and impact positively on key aspects of our national life.

There is no doubt that challenges still abound, but they are surmountable and overwhelming national transformation remains realisable, with continuity, commitment and consistency.

Nigeria is blessed with citizens that will always remain faithful, firmly committed to national unity, accelerated political, social and economic development.

As we hand over the reins of government, I believe that our nation is secure, our democracy is stable, and the future is bright. Let us all work together, and with greater resolve, continue to build a stronger and more prosperous nation. May God Almighty continue to bless our dear country, Nigeria. I thank you all.

APPENDIX B

[CORRUPTION-RELATED EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES]

EXTRACTS: Corruption-related clauses in the speeches – categorisations

Clauses suggesting corruption (actions) or indicators its presence (how it is perpetrated and/or helped)

Material processes

Good men were **shunned** and **kept away** from government while those who should be **kept away** were **drawn near**. (OO-D1)

Where official pronouncements are repeatedly **made** and not **met** by action, government **forfeits** the confidence of the people and their trust. (OO-D1)

...the total disregard for uprightness in our society, which has **enthroned** wealth by all means, **is** quite worrisome to me. (ES1)

Thus, not only are those who defraud our public treasuries **honored**, (ES1) even armed robbers and drug barons are able to buy respectability. (ES1)

The political climate **is poisoned**; economic activities are at low ebb while corruption, indiscipline and other social ill **reign** supreme. (ES1)

Relational

The corrupt, inept and insensitive leadership in the last four years **has been** the source of immorality and impropriety in our society. (MB1)

The premium on political power **became** so exceedingly high... (MB1)

...when Nigerians **were** being apprehensive of the frequency of fraud scandals, and the government incapacity to deal with them (MB1)

The use of money **was** again the major source of undermining the electoral process. (IB2)

Thus, not only those who defraud our public treasuries honored, even armed robbers and drug barons **are** able to buy respectability. (ES1)

Rampant corruption and get-rich-quick mania, therefore, **have become** cankerworms in all spheres of our national life. (ES1)

The twin problem of corruption **is** social indiscipline which **is** also widespread in our country today. (ES1)

It **is** indiscipline which breeds corruption and the other social problems afflicting us. (ES1)

It **is** how honest and principled we **are**, that will determine whether Nigeria attains that true greatness for which we all yearn. (AA1)

Government officials **became** progressively indifferent to propriety of conduct. (OOD1)

The impact of official corruption **is** so rampant (OOD1)

No society can achieve anything near its full potential if it allows corruption to become the full-blown cancer it (corruption) **has become** in Nigeria (OOD1)

I **am** very aware of the widespread cynicism and total lack of confidence in government, arising from the bad faith, deceit and evil actions of recent administrations. (OOD1)

To be appointed a minister, or to any other public office **is** not a license to loot the treasury (OOD1)

...more so because corruption **is** itself central to the spread of poverty (OOD1)

Its (corruption) corrosive effect **is** all too visible in all aspects of our national life. (MY1)

Mental

...that, political contestants **regarded** victory at elections as a matter of life and death struggle (MB1)

...we **deplore** corruption in all its facets. (MB1)

Behavioural

...and were **determined** to capture or retain power by all means (MB1)

Verbal

I am **referring** to the fire incidents that gutted the P&T buildings in Lagos, the Anambra State Broadcasting Corporation, the Republic Building at Marina, the Federal Ministry of Education, the Federal Capital Development Authority Accounts at Abuja and the NET Building. (MB1)

Clauses suggesting specific Acts of Corruption

Our Infrastructures – NEPA, NITEL, roads, railways, education, housing and other social services were allowed to decay and collapse. (OO-D1)

The War Against Indiscipline will continue, but this time, in the minds and conduct of Nigerians, and not by way of symbolism or money-spending campaigns. (IB2)

...and other acts of bad conduct leveled against the presidential candidates (IB2)

...but NEC went ahead and cleared them. (IB2)

Evidence available to government **put** the total amount of money **spent** by the presidential candidates

as over two billion, one hundred million naira (N2.1 billion). (IB2)

Apart from the tremendous negative use of money during the party primaries and presidential elections, ...there were moral issues which were also **overlooked** by the Defence and National Security Council. (IB2)

However, in the case of Nigeria, its impact was **aggravated** by mismanagement. (MB2)

Instead, the legislators were preoccupied with determining their salary scales, fringe benefit and unnecessary foreign travels, et al...which **took** no account of the state of the economy and the welfare of the people they represented.

As a result of our inability to cultivate financial discipline and prudent management of the economy ... thus **aggravating** the propensity of the outgoing civilian administration to mismanage our financial resources. (MB1)

The only political parties that could **complain** of election rigging are those parties that **lacked** the resources to rig. (MB1)

Arson has been **used** to cover up fraudulent acts in public institutions. Most of these fire incidents occurred at a time that a whole ministry has been created to stem it. (MB1)

The Supreme Military Council has already **announced** the assassination of His Excellency, General Murtala Mohammed. (OO-M1)

The Governor of Kwara State, Colonel Ibrahim Taiwo, who was **abducted** yesterday, was **shot** dead and his body was found in a shallow grave outside Ilorin. (OO-M1)

The attempt to overthrow the government of the day was **done** by eliminating political leaders and high-ranking Army officers but, unfortunately, certain parties **caused** suspicion and grave doubts of the Government's sincerity in several quarters...that he and the West Military Governor were both **kidnapped** by some soldiers. (YG1)

...these officers **kidnapped** the Prime Minister and minister of Finance and **took** them to an unknown destination. (TA1)

The revolt was widespread throughout the country and two Regional Primers and some high-ranking army officers were **killed**. (TA2)

Cases of impersonation of officers of the Armed Forces are still **reported**. (TA2)

Relational

...imprudent and uncoordinated budgeting at the state level will **have** an almost equally negative effect on the national economy. (SS2)

Government and all its agencies **became** thoroughly corrupt and reckless. (OO-D2)

Members of the public **had** to bribe their way through in ministries and parastatals to get attention (OO-D2) ...and one government agency **had** to bribe another government agency to obtain the release of their statutory allocations of funds. (OO-D2)

Mental

Instead, the legislators were **preoccupied** with determining their salary scales, fringe benefit and unnecessary foreign travels, et al, (MB1)

Existential Process

There were charges by opposition parties of rigging of the elections and general abuse of power by the Regional Government in the conduct of the elections. (TA1)

There is ample evidence that rigging and thuggery were relative to the resources available to the parties.

There were allegations of irregularities (IB2) and other acts of bad conduct leveled against the presidential candidates (IB2)

There were proofs as well as documented evidence of widespread use of money during the party primaries as well as the presidential election. (IB2)

However, there was in fact a huge array of election malpractices virtually in all the states of the federation before the actual voting began. (IB2)

There were authenticated reports of the election malpractices against party agents, officials of the National Electoral Commission and also some members of the electorate. (IB2)

...there were proofs of manipulations through offer and acceptance of money and other forms of inducement against officials of the National Electoral Commission and members of the electorate. (IB2)

There were also evidence of conflict in the process of authentication and clearance of credentials of the presidential candidates. (IB2)

Clauses suggesting what is done / to be done to curtail corruption

Nobody, no matter who and where will be **allowed** to get away with the breach of the law or the perpetration of corruption and evil. (OO-D1)

...all the rules and regulations **designed** to help honesty and transparency in dealing with government will be **restored** and **enforced**. (OO-D1)

I will immediately **reintroduce** civil service rules and financial instructions and **enforce** compliance.

Other regulations will be **introduced** to ensure transparency. (OO-D1)

The rampant corruption in the public service and the cynical contempt for integrity that pervades every

level of the bureaucracy will be **stamped** out. (OO-D1)

...but you will not be **allowed** to have conflict of interest, abuse of office, or illicit acquisitions. (OO-D1)

This will **help** the cohesion of the government, **ensure** discipline, and hinder corrupt intentions since all major contracts must **go** to council for open consideration. (OO-D1)

A code of conduct for ministers and other public officers will be **introduced**. (OO-D1)

Other measures for individual and collective self-control and self-discipline of ministers and other public officers will also be **introduced**. (OO-D1)

Politicians must carefully **examine** the budget to ensure that public funds are judiciously spent. (OO-Di)

We have waged relentless battles to correct many of the ills in our society. (OO-D2)

We have demonstrated our determination to bring about a more moral society. (OO-D2)

Nigerians have **reached** a national consensus in at least four areas...**display** zero tolerance for corruption in all its forms (UY1)

The bane of corruption shall be **met** by the overwhelming force of our collective determination, to rid our nation of this scourge. (GJ1)

My Administration has **emphasized** giving a free hand to our Anti-corruption agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC).

We must **encourage** them (Anti-corruption agencies) to abide by the rule of law and due process instead of resorting to dramatic or illegal actions orchestrated for cheap applause. (GJ2)

Beyond the very impressive records of enhanced convictions by statutory anti-corruption agencies like the EFCC and ICPC, our other strategy has been to **fashion** economic policies that **deliver** higher deterrence and frustrate concealment. (GJ2)

We gave it all the resources that it required to ensure its integrity and the credibility of its actions. (AA2)

...this administration introduced some far-reaching measures to sanitize the system and instill some discipline in the operation of the economy and public service management. (SA2)

...positive growth and development of our economy cannot be **achieved** without a *serious restructuring and sanitization* of the system (SA2)

I have **come** to the painful conclusion that to forge ahead as a society we must **extirpate** corruption from our public life. (ES1)

I am also convinced that to accomplish this very important task the battle must **begin** with the leadership of our country. (ES1)

Therefore, I am **servicing** notice here and now of the determination of the Interim National Government to *launch* a crusade against corruption in our national life. (ES1)

The ING will also ensure that laws against corruption are enforced without fear or favor. (ES1)

Therefore, we must join hands together to uproot indiscipline in all its ramifications from our society.

...the Interim National Government has **tried** very hard to bring honour to government (ES1)

...and has **taken** steps to campaign against the incidence of corruption and indiscipline in the society. Several times, I have publicly **acknowledged** the collective transparency and integrity of this cabinet (ES2)

These **were** the same bad conduct for which the party presidential primaries of 1992 were **cancelled**. (IB2)

This government will **not tolerate** kick-backs, inflation of contracts and over-invoicing of imports etc.

Corrupt officials and their agents will be **brought** to book. (MB1)

In this connection, unprofitable government ventures will be scrapped. (SS2)

In the spirit of the on-going ethical revolution, proven cases of abuse of office and corruption will **attract** immediate sanctions. (SS2)

Indiscipline and inefficiency will similarly be **punished** ... (SS2)

In answer to the demands of our times, only competent and trustworthy men and women, able and willing to deliver, will be **put** at the helm of affairs. (SS2)

...we shall **not allow** inefficiency or improper conduct on the part of any public officer. (OO-M2)

The Government will **not condone** abuse of office. The country **hoped**, however, that the military regime which **followed** would quickly **restore** discipline and confidence in the army and **introduce** a just, honest, patriotic and progressive government.

We shall therefore **not allow** them to divide and estrange us again from one another with their dubious and insulting gifts and their false humanitarianism. (YG2)

The National Military Government **owes** it as a duty to the people of this country to remove the ills which **infested** the former regime, to restore the faith of our people in their fatherland and its institutions which, as everybody **knows**, have **manifested** in political intrigues, or have been **used** as bases for party-political propaganda... (TA2)

Relational

Part of our task **is** the removal of politics based on tribal affiliations (TA2)

Our purpose **is** to instill a new sense of public morality among all classes of Nigerians. (OO-M2)

The strengthening of the anti-corruption institutions and other law enforcement agencies **is** a direct consequence of our determination to institutionalize zero-tolerance for corruption. (UY2)

Our ultimate goal **is** to engender a culture of prudence, diligence, honesty, sincerity, decency, transparency, selflessness and accountability... (UY2)

Mental

...we **intend** to run and open government with an emphasis on the twin concepts of accountability and transparency. (ES1)

Behavioural

My government...will not **hesitate** to do away with anyone found guilty of inefficiency, nepotism, tribalism and corruption. (TA2)

Nor will it **condone** forgery, fraud, embezzlement, misuse and abuse of office and illegal dealings in foreign exchange and smuggling. (MB1)

...but it (corruption) must not be **condoned**. (OO-D1)

We are **determined** to intensify the war against corruption... (UY1)

Existential

There **will be** no sacred cows. (OO-D1)

Clauses suggesting definition and redefinition

Corruption, the greatest single bane of our society today, will be tackled head-on at all levels (OO-D1)

The issue of crime **requires** as much attention and seriousness as the issue of corruption. (OO-D1)

Most youths **go** into the military now not to pursue a noble career but with the sole intention of taking part in coups and to be **appointed** as military administrators of states and chairmen of task forces. (OO-D1)

Relational

Corruption **has become** so pervasive and intractable. (MB1)

Corruption **is** incipient in all human societies and in most human activities, (OO-D1)

The fight against corruption **is** a war in which we must all enlist... (GJ2)

Clauses suggesting 'appeal' against corruption

The public officer must be **encouraged** to believe once again that integrity **pays** and self-respect must be **restored**... (OO-D2)

They (politicians) must **join** in the campaign against corruption and **help** re-establish integrity in the conduct of public affairs. (OO-D1)

...that we must **change** our ways of governance and of doing business... OO-D1)

This, we must **do** to ensure progress, justice, harmony, and unity, and above all, to rekindle confidence amongst our people... OO-D1)

...but if we **divert** from the path of economic prudence, reform and realities, we can **miss** the road. OO-D2)

Let us **work** together to restore our time-honoured value of honesty, decency, generosity, modesty, selflessness, transparency, and accountability. (UY1)

Let us **stop** justifying every shortcoming with that unacceptable phrase, "the Nigerian factor," as if to be a Nigerian is to settle for less. (UY1)

The fight against corruption **is** a war in which we must all **enlist**... (GJ1)

We must, forever, **resist** and **renounce** the seduction and temptation of political power and office. (AA2)

I **challenge** all of us to continue to show fidelity to and **rededicate** ourselves to those values of honour, courage, right conduct... (AA2)

...it is how honest and principled we are, that will **determine** whether Nigeria attains that true greatness for which we all **yearn**. (AA2)

Politicians must carefully **examine** the budget to ensure that public funds are judiciously **spent**. (OO-D1)

I am seizing the opportunity of this occasion, therefore, to charge the members of the ING to demonstrate the virtues of discipline and integrity at all times. (ES1)

It is equally important that we **strive** to improve the quality of governance ...accept transparency and accountability in the management of public finance...and **carry out** a crusade against corruption. (ES1)

I have to warn again those who **indulge** in these criminal acts to discipline themselves forthwith... (TA2)

On no account should we **allow** the selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardize the peace of the thirty-three million law-abiding people of Nigeria. (TB2)

...we know what we want, and we are sure that we can get it, and get it at the right time, provided we are **not delayed** by selfish quarrels. (TB1)

However, we were not to be **allowed** the selfish luxury of focusing our interest on our own homes. (TB2)

Relational

Let us **be** honest with ourselves, and let us **be** sincere — (TB1)

In addition, leaders of government must by their personal acts **be** a shining example of discipline. (ES1)

It **is** equally important that we strive to improve the quality of governance, (ES1)

Mental

I **expect** every public officer indeed, every Nigerian to measure up to a high degree of efficiency, integrity and moral rectitude. (OO-M2)

I **wish** to appeal to all governors in the nineteen states to ensure proper discipline and prudence in their general management of public funds. (SS2)

Each and every one should **resolve** to join the crusade (against corruption). (ES1)

Each and every one must be **determined** to expose corruption wherever it exists. (ES1)

Setting example?

I will **give** the forthright, purposeful, committed, honest, and transparent leadership... (OO1-D1)

...I will **set** a worthy personal example as your President. (UY1)

...our approach to governance has been **marked** by accountability, transparency and openness. (AA2)

To this end, I shall **strive** to lead by example. (ES1)

On this score, I pledge to take the lead. (ES1)

Clauses on other issues of corruption

In this regard, the Bureau of Public Procurement has played a central role and impacted strongly on the fight against corruption. (GJ2)

Our commitment to the entrenchment of transparency and accountability in the conduct of Government business **remains** unwavering... (UY2)

Most youths go into the military now not to pursue a noble career but with the sole intention of taking part in coups and to be appointed as military administrators of states and chairmen of task forces. (OO-D1)

Drug trafficking and other economic crimes such as 419 must be tackled and eliminated. (SA1)

The history of our nation had never recorded the degree of indiscipline and corruption as in the period between October 1979 and December 1983. (IB1)

While corruption and indiscipline have been **associated** with our state of under-development, these two evils in our body politic have **attained** unprecedented height in the past few years. (MB1)

Most of these fire incidents **occurred** at a time ...when Nigerians were being apprehensive of the frequency of fraud scandals and the government incapacity to deal with them. (MB1)

Relational

Those that **are** diligent and honest in their work need not fear. Indeed they would be rewarded. (OO-D1)

...and the confidence which the members of the Supreme Military Council **have** in your ability to discharge the responsibilities of a military governor in the best interest of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and without fear or favour, affection or ill-will in accordance with the oath. (MB2)

Government and all its agencies became thoroughly corrupt and reckless. (OO-D1)

Mental

I **believe** that this administration must deal with the following issues even in these difficult times of near economic collapse...law and order with particular reference to armed robbery and cultism in our educational institutions... corruption, drug, organized fraud called 419... (OO-D1)

We **preferred** that they (anti-corruption agencies) mature into strong institutions instead of being the images, the hammer and the anvil of a strong man. (GJ2)

Clauses suggesting results of anti-corruption of efforts

...we have **realized** over N400 billion from unspent capital releases to Ministries, Departments, and Agencies. (UY2)

Already, the Failed Banks Decree, which has come into effect, has **sent** positive signals for recovery and sanitization in that sector. (SA2)

